

Interview with James ‘Pate’ Philip

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Interview #1: May 9, 2011

Interviewer: Mark DePue

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DePue: Today is May 9, 2011. My name is Mark DePue, the Director of Oral History with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. Today I am in Wood Dale, Illinois, with Senator James “Pate” Philip. Good afternoon, Senator.

Philip: It’s a pleasure to be here.

DePue: It’s a nice neighborhood you’ve got. It was a fun drive up here. As I always do, we start with a little bit of background. I’m going to over to another one I’ve got. Tell me when and where you were born.

Philip: I was born May 26, 1930—John Wayne’s birthday, not the year—in Elmhurst, Illinois.

DePue: Tell me why it’s James “Pate” Philip, and “Pate,” most of the time I see it, is always in quotations.

Philip: Because I was a junior—I guess I still am a junior—and my dad was still alive. They called him “Jim.” My middle name was Peyton, so that’s a shorter version of Pate, P-a-t-e.



Senator James “Pate” Philip’s official photo circa the late 1970s.

DePue: Was it P-a-t-e-n was your—

Philip: No, no. P-a-t...No, you spell Peyton P-e-y-t-o-n.

DePue: Oh, okay.

Philip: But we shortened it to...Don't ask be how; I don't remember, but it ended up being Pate, P-a-t-e.

DePue: Why do they always put it in quotation marks, then?

Philip: I have no idea.

DePue: Is that how you've usually seen it?

Philip: Yep.

DePue: But from what you've told me, everybody refers to you as Pate.

Philip: Right.

DePue: Tell me a little bit about your parents. What was your father's name?

Philip: James Peyton Philip, Sr.

DePue: Well, I should have been paying closer attention, huh.

Philip: (laughs)

DePue: And what did he do for a living?

Philip: He worked for American Steel and Wire Company.

DePue: Where did you grow up?

Philip: Elmhurst.

DePue: Was the company he worked at in Elmhurst itself?

Philip: Chicago.

DePue: Do you know how he ended up getting to this country in the first place?

Philip: He was born here.

DePue: What's his ancestry?

Philip: German. It was Philip and Gras (??)

DePue: How about your mother?

Philip: Born in Germany. Came over when she was about nine or ten years old, Elsa Gehardt.

DePue: Do you know about what year she would have come to the United States?

Philip: Oh, geez, no, I do not know.

DePue: Did she have a job? Did she work?

Philip: No. Well, she went to school, and she was a model in her younger days. Then, when they got divorced, she worked for my uncle in West Suburban Stationers.

DePue: What year did they get divorced; do you remember, roughly?

Philip: No.

DePue: Do you remember when that happened?

Philip: Well, you know, it was probably 1937 or eight, somewhere around then.

DePue: So, you were still pretty young at the time.

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Did you have any brothers or sisters?

Philip: I have a brother. My dad got married again, and I have a half-sister.

DePue: Which one of the parents did you end up growing up with?

Philip: Mostly my mother.

DePue: Did that make for some tough times growing up? At that time, you were still in the height of the Depression, 1937.

Philip: Well, I don't know if it was the height, but the Depression was going on, no doubt about that.

DePue: Did she get a job at that time?

Philip: Yeah, she was working for West Suburban Stationers. My uncle owned it.

DePue: Do you remember much about growing up in the Depression?

Philip: You know, we never realized it was a depression. (laughs) You know, we only had radios in those days; there was no TV. And, of course, growing up we didn't listen to the radio very much.

- DePue: Did you get into Chicago much when you were growing up?
- Philip: Never.
- DePue: No attraction, no need to go to Chicago?
- Philip: No. What for?
- DePue: Were you a sports fan?
- Philip: Yeah, yeah, football, basketball, baseball.
- DePue: What were the teams you were following?
- Philip: Cubs, Bears. I don't know if there was a...I don't think there was a Bulls in those days. The Blackhawks.
- DePue: So, a typical north-sider, in terms of the baseball team, though?
- Philip: Yep. Well, most people in DuPage County are Cubs fans. You'll find some Sox fans, but not many.
- DePue: Was your mother a religious woman? Did you get to church quite often?
- Philip: Yes. I was an acolyte, Episcopal Church.
- DePue: Was that an important feature of the home life?
- Philip: Whether we liked it or not, we had to go every Sunday, my brother and I.
- DePue: How about the schools you were attending, were they public schools?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: All the way through high school in Elmhurst then?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: Do you remember in 1941, December 7, 1941—you would have been eleven years old at the time—Do you remember Pearl Harbor happening?
- Philip: I sure do. The teacher brought a radio in the class and turned it on when Roosevelt declared war.
- DePue: Did you have any relatives who were in the war then?
- Philip: Yes. I had an uncle who was in the war, Navy.
- DePue: Is that your mother's brother?

- Philip: That was my dad's brother. I think that was about it.
- DePue: Did your mother speak with a German accent?
- Philip: She did, yes. Spoke German fluently, *Sprechen sie Deutsch?* I picked a little bit up, growing up.
- DePue: What was the language that you spoke at home then?
- Philip: Oh, English.
- DePue: What did she think about the war? About what was going on in Germany?
- Philip: We never discussed it. I mean, it never came up that I can remember. They were happy to be in America; it's opportunity. And my grandfather came over with them. When they came over, there were three girls and three boys, and then they had two children here in America. It was kind of interesting, because my grandmother's brother was a professor at Elmhurst College. It's an Evangelical school. And my grandfather was in the First World War. After the First World War, he survived, and his brother-in-law talked them in[to] coming to America. They had to wait three years to get in, but they came for opportunity, freedom of religion.
- DePue: Straight to the Chicago area?
- Philip: Yes, they came to Elmhurst.
- DePue: Was your grandfather still living at the time?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: Do you remember if he had any opinions about the war, since it was his home country?
- Philip: You know, we never talked politics. I was just a kid.
- DePue: How closely did you follow the events of World War II?
- Philip: Oh, when we were kids, we would go to the movies on Saturdays; that was the big thing. And, of course, the newsreels were on, so you always saw the newsreels. So, that was about it.
- DePue: Were you interested in the military? Were you anxious to grow up so you could go into the military?
- Philip: No.
- DePue: At the beginning, you would have been in junior high, I would think. Do you remember things like rubber drives, aluminum drives?

Philip: No.

DePue: How about rations? Getting a ration card?

Philip: Yes. Of course, I didn't drive, so I didn't...But, I know they had the stickers on the cars.

DePue: Things like sugar and some of the other meats?

Philip: That never was a problem.

DePue: Well, tell me a little bit about what it was like growing up in Elmhurst at that time?

Philip: Oh, I always liked Elmhurst. I went there to high school and junior high there and grade school. It's like any other grade school. I think there was a lot more discipline. There weren't as many divorces and so forth, but there was a lot more discipline in schools.

DePue: Did you ever feel that you were stigmatized or set apart because your parents were divorced?

Philip: No.

DePue: How often did you see your father when you were growing up?

Philip: Not a lot. He was a traveling salesman. He lived a while in Evanston, so we used to see him on the weekends. My brother and I, we'd go to Evanston. Then he moved to Kansas City.

DePue: Well, about the time you got in high school, it looks like...You graduated from high school in 1949?

Philip: Um-hmm.

DePue: About the time that you started high school, being about the time of the end of the Second World War, do you remember much about that?

Philip: No, not really. We were happy to see the war over with, and all the guys came home.

DePue: What were some of your activities and interests when you were in high school?

Philip: Oh, I would say that I played football for a while, played basketball a little bit. Other than that, nothing unusual.

DePue: What was your strongest subject?

Philip: History.

DePue: How about the political science or—

Philip: We didn't have it in high school; we never had it in high school. (laughs)

DePue: At that time, would it ever occur to you, you think, to want to be a politician down the road?

Philip: Not in my wildest dreams.

DePue: I think you already said you didn't really talk politics at home either.

Philip: No.

DePue: When you were getting close to the end of high school, did you have a job of any type?

Philip: I delivered papers, and I worked at the Jewel, grocery store.

DePue: Did you plan to go to college afterwards?

Philip: Not necessarily. Wasn't the big thing, like it is today.

DePue: What did you think you wanted to do for a career?

Philip: I really didn't know.

DePue: Then you got to 1949; you graduated, and then what?

Philip: Then I moved to Kansas City for a while, with my dad. I lived there for about four years, until I went—Yeah, I guess it was about four years—until I went to the Marine Corps. Got drafted, and they swore us all in. We had our physicals, and a Marine came in and said, "We need some volunteers for the Marine Corps, if anyone wants to volunteer." I'll never forget this, I was standing next to a guy who I went to high school with, John Grosh; he's still mad at me. I said, "John, I'm not going to go in the Army; I'm going to go in the Marine Corps." So, I volunteered, and he did. He's still mad at me to this day, still lives in Elmhurst. I see him every once in a while.

DePue: Did he go into the Army or the Marine Corps?

Philip: Marine Corps. He went in the Marine Corps with me.

DePue: Do you remember June of 1950, when the Korean War started?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Did it occur to you at that time, wow, this could have some implications for me?

Philip: Yeah. Well, I mean, I assumed I was going to get drafted. I did get drafted.

DePue: You didn't go looking for them though?

Philip: No, no. [I] volunteered for the Marine Corps. I wasn't going to be in the Army.

DePue: Why?

Philip: I don't know. (laughs)

DePue: Well, you must have heard something about the difference between the two.

Philip: Well, that there was a difference. And we had some guys in high school that went in the Marine Corps. They had come home from leave, so I'd talked to them. It's a tough outfit.

DePue: What did your mother think about you getting drafted, going in the Marines?

Philip: She didn't think it was a good idea. Wasn't much she could do about it.

DePue: Where did you go to Marine Corps Basic then?

Philip: Boot camp?

DePue: Right.

Philip: San Diego, California. The Marines call that the "country club." (laughs) I didn't think it was a country club. I went in weighing 237 pounds. In eight weeks, I weighed 185.

DePue: Wow.

Philip: I remember, we came home for Christmas. So, my mother met me at the airport, walked right by me. I said, "Ma, it's me; it's me!" She couldn't believe it.

DePue: How tall were you?

Philip: How tall was I?

DePue: Um-hmm.

Philip: Oh, six-two, six-three, something like that.

DePue: Well, in high school you must have been playing football on the line then, I would think.

Philip: Tackle.

DePue: Was this all meat that you were carrying at the time, when you got drafted?

Philip: Well, I lived well, I guess. (both laugh) But, I tell you, they take it off of you. I tell you, they teach you discipline and organization.

DePue: Do you remember your drill sergeant by chance?

Philip: Yes, I do. Do I remember? I had two of them, Sergeant Cardova and Corporal Morgan. Now, Cardova was half Mexican, half Indian, mean son of a bitch. And Corporal Morgan was a good guy, reasonable. What can I say about that?

I'll tell you a little story. (chuckling) I was the squad leader. In the Marine Corps at boot camp you have about seventy-five men. You have a right guide, was Art Mahulic (??), who was a football player for the Detroit Lions, big guy, tough guy. His father was a Chicago cop. And then you have four squad leaders. I was one of the squad leaders. Unfortunately—and nobody knew it—I had a guy in my squad who was a conscientious objector from Iowa. [He] never said anything. The kid was nicest kid, never had a problem with him; [He] never said, "Boo." But, he got drafted, and I don't know how in the hell he got to the Marine Corps, but he got it. And about, oh, half way through boot camp... In the Marine Corps, we had little pieces of rope like that—in those days; they probably don't any more—

DePue: About a foot long?

Philip: Yeah. That you tie your clothes on. If you wash your clothes, you tie them on the line. He took those, tied them together, went in the wash room about 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning, tied them on a pipe above there, was standing on the toilet, jumped off the toilet and committed suicide. If you think that didn't raise a few eyebrows... And his uncle was a general in the Air Force.

So we had him come down. They interviewed us **three times**. You know, why did the kid do it? And, of course, being a squad leader... That kid never created a problem. I didn't see anybody pick on him any more than they picked on anybody else. I mean, he was very quiet. When he was told to do something, he did it. He was always on time, squared away. Still don't have any idea why he did it. It was the damndest thing.

DePue: Did you know, did the whole platoon know, at the time, that he was going to be a conscientious objector?

Philip: No. I never knew it. He never told anybody. The DI [drill instructor] never told us.

- DePue: Do you think the DI knew about it?
- Philip: I have no idea. Hell, they don't talk to you. They never ask you about anything. Listen, it's not easy.
- DePue: Was that whole experience of being in the boot camp a real shock to you, a surprise?
- Philip: Yeah, it sure as heck was. In fact, John Grosher used to say, "I'd rather be in jail than in boot camp." (laughs) We'd say, "Now, it isn't that bad."
- DePue: Did you understand at the time what the drill sergeants were trying to do with you.
- Philip: Make a man out of you...and to take orders.
- DePue: But, did you appreciate that at the time?
- Philip: Yeah, I sure did, absolutely.
- DePue: Were there aspects of that training, then, that you liked?
- Philip: Well, I tell you, I think it helped make a man out of me, absolutely. I mean, I never had that discipline. You never get that at home. And, I tell you, it was good for you. I think it was good for all those guys, the tougher the better.
- DePue: Oftentimes, when you get in that kind of environment, what you'd like to be is the invisible guy that the drill sergeants don't notice. Were you that guy?
- Philip: Well, being the squad leader, you always have to worry about your troops and try to keep them in line and keep them happy, which is not easy to do.
- DePue: How did you end up being the squad leader?
- Philip: You know, I have no idea. I don't know why he picked me.
- DePue: Would this have been Sergeant Cordoba that did that?
- Philip: Yeah, well, they do it together. But he was a mean son of a gun; I'll tell you that. In fact, you know...I didn't, I don't smoke anyway, so I didn't smoke, but they take everything away from you, other than your wallet and your money. If you had a Bible, they'd let you keep that. I don't care whether it's toothpaste, t-shirts, it's all got to be green. (both laugh)

The first night, we got off the train from Chicago. Now, we've been drinking beer and raising hell the whole way, playing poker all the way to San Diego. We got there; this DI was the biggest, meanest guy. He got us all off, and he got us in this little bus. There was no air conditioning. It was hotter than hell; it was in San Diego. So, we put all our windows up. All these guys

had their arms up, and this DI came by, with a swagger stick¹—you know what a swagger stick is—whacking them all and made them put all the windows down. Then you get in there, and [he] said, “I don’t want anybody to talk.” He just gave us a real chewing down.

Then we got there; we threw everything we had, all the issue that they gave us, in a mattress cover. Then they ran us over a mile—now, it’s hotter than hell out there; it’s about 2:00 in the afternoon—to our barracks. We had two guys that passed out. We tried to help them; you couldn’t help them. It was something else. (chuckling)

DePue: Couldn’t help them. You mean the DI insisted that you do not help them?

Philip: Right. It was a real awakener. It’s a shock.

DePue: Well, being six-two and that big when you first got there, I’m sure you kind of stood out in that respect, as well.

Philip: Well, you know what, I think they picked the squad leaders on size. (both laugh) Most of them were the biggest guys in the troop. But that was interesting. So, you don’t go to the slopshoe, the place where you drink beer, like a PX. In the Marine Corps, we call it a *slopshoe*. So, we never got to the slopshoe, until the last night before we were going to graduate.

So, I’m sitting down there drinking beer. Corporal Morgan is sitting here, and then we have two other guys from my squad there. We’re minding our own business. Well, our friend, Cordova, is really stiff. So, he comes over to our booth, grabs me; I guess going to pull me out. He wants to sit down in my place. So, I belted him one, knocked him down. Morgan gets me, and he says, “Pate, you better get out of here.” He says, “I’m going to take this guy. When he has too much to drink, he’s dangerous.” So, I didn’t sleep in my barracks that night. He took me over to another barracks.

I got up in the morning, shaved, shined and so forth, and then we have to have a march, and, you know, they graduate you. We’re in competition with three other platoons; there’s four platoons in competition. I’m standing at attention at the front of the line. So, he’s wearing a pith helmet. He takes his pith helmet off, hits me on the head three times, “Did you start that fight last night?” “No, sir.” That was it. (laughs) Would you believe that?

Was I a hero with the troops? They said, “Pate, I can’t believe you hit him!” I said, “Hey, I didn’t do anything to him. He came up and grabbed me.”

DePue: How much had you had to drink at that time, do you remember?

¹ A swagger stick is a short stick or riding crop, usually carried by a uniformed person as a symbol of authority. A swagger stick is shorter than a staff or cane, and is usually made from rattan.

- Philip: I didn't drink much, three or four beers.
- DePue: So, it's one of those things you just did without thinking about it.
- Philip: Yeah, I mean, just... The guy had a bad habit of picking on people. Morgan was fine; he was tough, but he was a much classier guy, from North Carolina, I think.
- DePue: But you don't remember this Sergeant Cordoba targeting anybody necessarily?
- Philip: No.
- DePue: Not this young man?
- Philip: He was mean to everybody.
- DePue: (laughs) How long was your basic training?
- Philip: Eight weeks.
- DePue: And what happened after that?
- Philip: Well, they take you in, and they interview you. They got all your stuff there, and they say, "Your MOS [military occupational specialty] is..." Mine was thirty, thirty-one. And he said, "It's electronics." So, what do I say? I say, "For Christ's sake, I can't put a light bulb in. What am I doing in electronics?" The guy says, "You never had it so good." He said, "You're going to San Francisco." I said, "You're kidding me." I said, "Well." He said, "And you don't have a choice." So, that's what happened to me. Talk about luck.
- DePue: Well, I was going to say, at that point in time, this would have been still in 1950?
- Philip: Yeah, '50 or '51.
- DePue: Fifty-one maybe, by that time?
- Philip: It was right in the beginning of Korea.
- DePue: Were you guys hearing about what was going on in Korea, when you were going through this training?
- Philip: I had a cousin, Herbie Claron (?), who was my cousin, who got killed in Korea. He was in the First Cavalry, and they were... He had played football for the Army, over in Tokyo. The First Cavalry was stationed there. And, unfortunately... He was my age; he was born May 20, 1930. I was born May 26. So, we used to run around together when we were kids. And, of course, his

mother was born in Germany, too. So, we had a lot in common. He was a tough kid. He got killed; thirty days there, he got blown away.

They really underestimated the Chinese and what was going on there. They didn't have the troops, the equipment, and they didn't have (clears throat), excuse me; they didn't have the right uniforms. I mean, they didn't have winter stuff, like shoes and boots. It was not a good scene.

DePue: Part of the lore now of the Marine Corps, I'm sure, is somebody going through Marine basic training and hearing about that first winter in Korea, the winter of '50-'51 and the Chosin Reservoir. And, like you were talking about, the Chinese come flooding in. They got pushed all the way out of North Korea, but they managed to do it in an orderly way, while on the western side of the country, the Army was getting its butt kicked, and it wasn't pretty at all. But, again, you knew a little bit about what was going on.

Philip: Oh, sure, because you know what? They would come back; we'd see them at our base, you know, the guys that were coming back from Korea. Oh, they'd always have a few beers in them and tell you all the war stories. You know how that goes.

DePue: Well, and then you go to this selection process, and you're told that you're going to be in electronics. I've got to imagine that most of them were picked to go to the infantry.

Philip: You know what? I quite frankly... I got a couple of buddies; I knew where they were going. But it's hard; I can't tell you what percentage went to Korea. I have no idea. And everybody went different. The base I went to, I was the only guy from my platoon that went there.

DePue: Went to San Francisco?

Philip: Yeah. It was a small supply depot, called 100 Harrison Street.

DePue: Was there an actual name for this, or just kind of a—

Philip: No, they always called it the Marine Corps Supply Depot at 100 Harrison Street. I don't even think it's there anymore. What we did is, the equipment that was torn up and not in good condition, they would send back to us. We would identify what it is—some of it was shot up—and then try to replace it or junk it and then send them something new to replace it. It was interesting.

DePue: Do you have any idea why they decided to put you in electronics? Was there anything that you tested on that you scored pretty high on?

Philip: You know what I think it was? My dad, when I was in high school, he used to think it was a good idea to get away from the family, and you had to go on your

own. So, two years in a row, I worked for the Union Pacific Railroad in the line gang, one time in California and one time in Kansas.

We had sleeping cars; we had bunks; we had a car to eat in. We were crews. What we did, [we'd] go along the tracks, pull up telephone poles, cross arms and wires. We worked our ass off, I'll tell you that. Hotter than hell, and I did that for two years. It was interesting; I liked it.

And then, the other two years, I worked on a farm for...I had an uncle [who] had a farm in Higginsville, Missouri. So, I worked on the farm for two years in a row.

DePue: These were summer jobs?

Philip: Yeah, yeah.

DePue: How long did it take you when you got to San Francisco to figure out, "Boy, I got pretty lucky on this deal?"

Philip: You know what? I'd never been to San Francisco. It's kind of a different town. (both laugh) I will tell you that.

DePue: Even back then?

Philip: Yes. You might come into town at the bus station or the train station or whatever it was, they'd be hanging around trying to pick you up. The Marines used to beat the hell out of them. But nobody ever did anything about it.

DePue: Beat the hell out of who?

Philip: The queers.

DePue: Oh.

Philip: They tend to stay away from Marines.

DePue: Where were you billeted when you were working in San Francisco?

Philip: I played basketball, and I made the basketball team there. We lived on subs and quarters. They pay you to live off the base. So, a lot of "jock straps" lived off the base; I lived off the base. It worked out fine.

DePue: Were you close to the commercial district, or what part of town were you closer to?

Philip: We were pretty close to downtown.

DePue: San Francisco now has a reputation for being...As much military as they have there, I don't know that it's a military friendly town. Was it at that time?

- Philip: Yeah. It wasn't the big gay community that you have there now. I mean, there were gays there, but not a lot of them.
- DePue: Did you eat in the mess hall, or did you eat off the economy most of the time?
- Philip: I ate in the mess hall.
- DePue: What was the unit of assignment, the unit you were assigned to?
- Philip: 1st Marines.
- DePue: 1st Marine Division?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: The division, I thought, was still overseas at that—
- Philip: Yeah, but not everybody.
- DePue: Exactly what was the job you had while you were there?
- Philip: Just what I told you.
- DePue: Just kind of getting equipment from Korea?
- Philip: Yeah. You'd be surprised what they sent back. (laughs) I mean, it's all kinds of stuff.
- DePue: Did you like the work?
- Philip: Yeah. It was enjoyable. There was always something different. You know, it wasn't the same piece of equipment. Some of the stuff was pretty well shot up. I don't know why they sent it back.
- DePue: How big a deal was it for the Marines that you played on this basketball team that they had?
- Philip: Well, not everybody was doing what I was doing. And we all lived in separate quarters. There was four of us that got an apartment together.
- DePue: Did you get to do some traveling, because you were on that team?
- Philip: Yeah. We used to play all the Army, Navy bases.
- DePue: In California or beyond that even?
- Philip: We never got out of California. There's plenty of Army bases there. It was fun. I enjoyed that.

- DePue: What did you think, hearing about what was going on in Korea? Was this spring, maybe, of 1951 when you got there?
- Philip: Yeah, it probably was.
- DePue: What did you think about not being sent to Korea? Did that bother you?
- Philip: Not really. I felt luckier than hell. I talked my young brother into going in. He's fifteen months younger than I am. Guess what? He volunteered for the Marine Corps. Ninety days, he was in Korea. Would you believe that? He has picked on me ever since. He calls me the *Pogey Bait Marine*². I said, "Well, Art, you got to remember this, did the North Koreans ever attack San Francisco? I was there!"
- DePue: (laughs) They heard about you.
- Philip: Yeah. But I'd say there was one thing that was bad; we got in all the parades. They always took them from our base. So, we had to... Every holiday, they'd have a parade. They'd always take everybody over six foot. So, I always got all the parades.
- DePue: Did you ever have to do funeral duty?
- Philip: No, never.
- DePue: Sure happy that you didn't have to go through that experience.
- Philip: You got that right.
- DePue: These guys who were coming back from Korea, then, rotating and coming back, did they give some of you guys, who were not being rotated over, some grief because of it?
- Philip: No.
- DePue: How long were you in the Marines?
- Philip: Two years. I passed the test for sergeant. So, they said, "We'll make you sergeant if you want to ship over." I said, "I don't think so."
- DePue: That sounds like that would have been late '52 at that time?
- Philip: Yeah, I suppose.

² The Marines in China before World War II were issued candy (Baby Ruths, Tootsie Rolls, etc.) as part of their ration supplements. At the time, sugar and other assorted sweets were rare commodities and much in demand by the Chinese, so the troops found the candy useful for barter in town. The Chinese word for prostitute, roughly translated, is "pogey". Thus, Marines being Marines, candy became "Pogey Bait."
(<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=pogey%20bait>)

DePue: Did they talk to you about re-enlisting?

Philip: Yeah, oh, absolutely. They'd try to twist your arm.

DePue: And you told them—

Philip: "I don't think I am going to do it."

DePue: Because you had some plans after you got out of the Marines?

Philip: No.

DePue: What were you thinking at the time, just get back home and figure it out from there?

Philip: Yeah. I certainly wasn't thinking about politics, I'll tell you that. (laughs)

DePue: A couple more questions here. Are you proud of your Marine service?

Philip: Certainly. Anybody that can get through boot camp, I'm going to shake his hands and pat his back, because not everybody can do it. We had two guys that couldn't make it. The one guy hung himself. The other, they put him back in a re-training platoon. And, hopefully, they shape them up. You know, if you were overweight, you lost weight, and if you were skinny, you put on weight.



"Pate Philip" celebrates the Marine Corps' birthday with a group of fellow Marines sometime in the 1990s. A Marine's pride in service is evident every December 10th.

DePue: Now, you said it turned you into a man. What else do you think you have been able to take away from that experience of being in the Marines?

Philip: Discipline. I've learned to control my temper. I never had much of a temper, but I think that...It's an organized operation. You learn. When I think back about that, I think it's a lot to do with organizing [a] campaign. You know, you've got to have responsibility; you got to give responsibility; you have to have an organizational plan. Plan your work, and work your plan. I think that's one thing I got out of the Marine Corps.

DePue: It sounds like being part of a team, and everybody knows the part that they've got to play.

Philip: Absolutely.

DePue: Have you been able to keep in touch with some of your buddies that you had while you were in the Marines?

Philip: Yeah. Ben Bows who was... Well he just retired; he was up from Indiana, played basketball on our team. He ended up... He played for Ball State, and he'd been teaching high school basketball. He'd been a coach for a lot of high schools in Indiana. I talk to him on the phone once in a while. And the manager of our team, I still talk to him. He lives in St. Louis.

DePue: What's his name?

Philip: Uh—

DePue: That's okay.

Philip: Why can't I think of his name? It's old age.

DePue: So, you're back. Did you return to Kansas City after you got out?

Philip: Yeah, I came back home for a while; then I went to Kansas City with my dad.

DePue: When you say "came back home," to Elmhurst?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Why didn't you stay in Elmhurst? Why Kansas City?

Philip: Well, I went to Kansas State.

DePue: Is that when you enrolled then? Started school at that time?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Under the GI Bill?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Does that mean that by 1954 you're in school at Kansas State?

Philip: Yeah, I guess, about that.

DePue: Is that because you didn't know what else you wanted to do with your life?

Philip: (laughs) Right.

DePue: And they were going to pay for school.

Philip: Why not?

DePue: What was your major when you got there?

Philip: Business.

DePue: How long did you stay at Kansas State?

Philip: One year.

DePue: Why didn't you stick around after that?

Philip: Good question. I'll tell you. I had been in the Marine Corps. I just didn't fit in; I was older than everybody else.

DePue: What did you go to then, after you got out of school?

Philip: Went back to Elmhurst.

DePue: Did you find a job there?

Philip: Yeah. Went to work for Pepperidge Farm Bakery.

DePue: Was it hard to land a job there or just a matter of applying?

Philip: I have a great personality, and I'm a charmer. How could they say no? I stayed there for thirty-eight years.

DePue: What did you do when you first started working at Pepperidge Farm?

Philip: Run bread routes.

DePue: Truck routes?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: How long were you doing that?

Philip: Oh, a couple of years. Then I was a sales rep and then a district sales manager. Good company. We were bought out by Campbell Soup, and it changed a little bit then, but nice people, had a good boss.

DePue: What year did they get bought out?

Philip: Oh, hell, I can't remember what year they got bought out.

DePue: Was that still early on, when you first started working there, or was that many years later?

Philip: Well, you know, Pepperidge Farm was a family company, Mrs. Rudkin.

DePue: Redkin?

Philip: Rudkin, yeah. It's Irish, Protestant though. She had three boys; two of them were vice presidents. The other one was different, and we never met him. He was over in France most of the time; I don't know. But anyway, she had boys that had had health problems. The doctor there told her whole wheat bread.

So, believe it or not, she started making whole wheat bread in her kitchen. Her husband was a stock broker in New York, and they had this farm. And so, the doctor started to buy bread and was selling bread to some of his patients. That's how she got involved. They converted the barn into a small bakery, and they started making it. That's how it developed.

When I started, they had a plant in Norwalk, Connecticut, one in Downingtown, Pennsylvania, and then they just opened the one in Downers Grove. I was there. The thing that was there, let's see, [it] was there one year when I started. So, it was just brand new.

DePue: In other words, you got involved with Pepperidge Farm during a time when they were experiencing some growth and some opportunities for people who were going to stay with the company.

Philip: Absolutely.

DePue: At what time did you get married in this process? Did that come later?

Philip: Well, I was working for Pepperidge Farm... When the hell did I get married? I've been married more than once. (phone rings) Whoop!

DePue: We can pause here for a second if you need to.

(pause in the tape)

DePue: We took just a very quick break. We were talking about getting married that first time. Do you remember the year you got married the first time?

- Philip: No. I'm trying to forget it. (chuckling)
- DePue: (laughs) You've already talked a little bit about this, that Pepperidge Farm was a good organization to work with. What was it that especially appealed to you about the work that you were doing?
- Philip: That people that were working for the corporation. The sales department was good. The guy was from New England, Jack Tierney. In fact, he just died here last year, in his sleep. [He was a] good guy, too, always a friend of mine. We used to hunt and fish together.
- DePue: I know you first ran for office, at least the Illinois State Legislature, in 1966, I believe. So, I'm wondering if you can fill us in between starting with Pepperidge Farm, that timeframe, and how you got interested and involved in politics.
- Philip: Well, the secretary in the sales department's husband was a lawyer, and we used to have a Christmas... You know, in those days, we only had about 500 employees; they've probably got 1,000 now. And we had a Christmas party, and we had a Thanksgiving party. So, I met her husband through that. Cliff Carney was his name; he's still alive, believe it or not. He talked me into joining the Young Republicans, because he was running for president of the Young Republicans.
- DePue: And this is DuPage County?
- Philip: Yes. And so, I worked on his campaign. He got elected, and I said, "I think I'm going to run." He said, "Christ, you've only been here for two years." I said, "So what? I think I could win."
- DePue: In what office?
- Philip: Taking his place. It's a two year office. So, I ran, and I won. Then I ran for state president; won that. I was the national committeeman for Illinois for DYRs. I won that.
- DePue: DYRs you say?
- Philip: Yeah, [DeKalb] Young Republicans. So, that's how I got started. And then... How old are you?
- DePue: Fifty-six.
- Philip: Oh, you're just a kid. You won't remember this, but we had... In my lifetime, it's the only at-large election we ever had that the General Assembly could agree on the Senate districts, but they couldn't agree on the House districts. So, the Senate, they ran in their district; the House ran at-large. They call it the bed sheet ballot. Maybe you remember that.

- DePue: I've certainly heard the stories about it.
- Philip: Yeah. Well, they were true. We elected Eisenhower's brother. The guy, he ran a small newspaper, I think, in LaGrange.
- DePue: David Eisenhower, I think?
- Philip: I don't know if it was David. I don't remember.
- DePue: Milton?
- Philip: Milton! Christ, he was 900 years old.
- DePue: Well, since we're at the beginning of your political career, and I think I know what your answer is going to be, but why Republicans? Why not Democrats?
- Philip: Because my father was a Republican. The first time I voted was in the Marine Corps, and, of course, I voted for Eisenhower. But my dad was for Taft.
- DePue: Robert Taft of Ohio.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: Who was considered to be much more the standard conservative.
- Philip: Right. My dad was for Taft, no question about that. But, of course, if I remember right—Christ, this is so damn... You know, it's a long time ago—I don't think we voted in the primary. We only voted in the general election, in the service. So, of course, I voted for Eisenhower, but never, that I remember, had any in my family ever run for public office. My dad was always an outspoken Republican though. My mother was, you know. My dad will never forgive my mother for voting for Roosevelt. (both laugh)
- DePue: Your views at that time, how would you define your views at that time?
- Philip: Oh, conservative, absolutely, no question about that.
- DePue: I don't know that it was necessarily defined back then this way, but today we break that down as a social conservative, a fiscal conservative, a national defense conservative.
- Philip: I'm for all three of them. You know, I'm for the death penalty; I'm pro-marriage; I'm pro-guns. What's left? Oh, I'm pro-life.
- DePue: And who you were politically in 1966 was—
- Philip: I never thought about those issues, quite frankly. You know, you don't think about those things, quite frankly, unless it happens in your family. And we never had anybody have an abortion, that I know of, in my family. But, before

I got to the General Assembly, I did a lot of hunting and fishing. So, I'm an outdoor type of guy.

DePue: Was this still in the 1950s, when you first started to get involved with the Young Republicans?

Philip: Yeah, when I went to work for Pepperidge. Barbara Carney was her name in those days, the secretary. And her husband and I became very good buddies. He talked me into getting involved in politics.

DePue: How did you get from being involved in the Young Republicans, then, to thinking seriously about running for public office? I guess that's where we're talking about the bed sheet ballots, by that time.

Philip: Yeah, yeah. That was a disaster. In those days, we had... This is before your time. We used to elect three state representatives from one district, two from the majority party, one from the minority party. The school did a terrible job explaining it to the children. And most people in our day, would say that they got 10,327½ votes. Nobody could figure out where the hell the half vote went. Obviously, if you voted for two people, you split a vote. There was only one other state that had it, but it always guaranteed, even in DuPage County, we have some Democrats. Did they deserve a representative? Yeah, I think so.

But, as you know, when we changed the constitution—when we had the Constitutional Convention—that's one of the things they did that I didn't think it was a good idea. It knocked out all the Democrats in DuPage County.

DePue: And all the Republicans in Cook County, in Chicago.

Philip: You mean, Crook County?

DePue: (both laugh) I've talked to a lot of people about this cumulative voting process, and it does take a while to kind of wrap your brain around it. You can go with a bullet ballot. You get to vote three times for the same person?

Philip: Well, yes, it would just be three. Yep, that's correct.

DePue: I understood, though, in those days, the toughest hurdle to get over—maybe lay this out for me—Your running in DuPage County, which at that time was a solidly Republican district, a solid Republican county.

Philip: You got to remember; we had more than one district in DuPage County. I don't remember how many we had then, probably four or five. But, I ran from Elmhurst to West Chicago.

DePue: But, was the toughest part of that election, then, winning in the primary, becoming one of those two people that's on the ballot?

- Philip: Right. Once you won in the primary in DuPage, you were elected.
- DePue: Remember much about that first primary that you ran in '66?
- Philip: Yeah, there were seven guys in the primary.
- DePue: Well, something must have stood you out, as the new guy that pushed you over the top.
- Philip: Well, I was a Young Republican. I had been the state president, had made a lot of friends, and I worked hard in the primary. I led the primary; I got more votes than anybody else. My running mate was Gene Hoffman, who came in second. He was a school teacher, lived in Elmhurst. He was a school teacher in Bensonville, in the Bensonville High School, good guy. He's dead now, unfortunately.
- DePue: Were there any incumbents that were running for those seats at the time?
- Philip: That was right after the at-large ballot. So, there weren't. I don't think there was any incumbent on that.
- DePue: The at-large ballot, what you've referred to before as the bed sheet ballot.
- Philip: Yeah, that's what the media called it.
- DePue: Now I'm beginning to understand. So, you've got all these people who were elected on the at-large ballot, and now '66, two years later—
- Philip: You've got to remember, too. The Democrats elected about two-thirds; we only got one-third. It was a slaughter.
- DePue: That would have been the '64 election, the Johnson-Goldwater election.
- Philip: That wasn't a good year for us either; although, we carried DuPage County, two and one-half to one for Goldwater.
- DePue: But, the end result is it gives you and some other new people real opportunities you might not have had otherwise?
- Philip: Yeah. But, of course, you know what? I didn't run in that election. I ran in the election after that, when they had the districts.
- DePue: Yeah, that's what I mean, the 1966 election, because that kind of opened the playing field for you, it sounds like.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: At that point in time, my understanding is you're still very much working at Peppridge Farm. This is your second avocation, perhaps?

Philip: Well, I got lucky. Our general manager at Pepperidge Farm, a guy by the name of Davis, Dick Davis, was our division manager. Dick and I always got along. And when Campbell Soups traded stock with Pepperidge Farm, with the Rudkins... The Rudkins were getting old, nicest people in the world, incidentally. She [Mrs. Rudkins] would come in our plant in Downers Grove.

In those days we kneaded all the bread by hand. Everybody else was using machinery. We finally got to that, but she would come and put an apron on and go out in the plant. There would be forty, fifty, sixty women doing... She'd sit there and knead bread with them. (clears his throat) Excuse me, I mean, they were very nice people.

So, anyway, when that happened, I never... Nobody ever, in their wildest dreams, thought Dick Davis would ever become the president of Campbell Soup. But that's what happened. So, I just called him on the telephone. I said... I had to get permission to run.

Now, the first time I ran, it wasn't for the House. I ran for township auditor. So, I was the township auditor for not even a term, only two years. I got elected to the House in the middle of that term. That paid \$35 a meeting. We had two meetings a month, (chuckling) no retirement, no hospitalization, no nothing. It was interesting. I learned about township government, and I got to know a lot of people. But that was interesting.

But, yeah, they [the Rudkins] traded... You know why they did it? We didn't have a retirement; we didn't have health; we didn't have anything. And, when I went in for a job, I never thought about that, quite frankly. All I wanted to do was get a job. You know, today, that's the first things these kids ask you, what's the retirement; what's all this; they got a list.

So, she [Mrs. Rudkins] did that, because she thought that Campbell Soup had a good program, and they did. So, they traded stock. She got on the board of directors of Campbell Soup. It worked out fine for me. And they were very nice people too. The two sons are still alive; that third son, he disappeared.

DePue: At the time you started in the legislature—correct me when I get off base here—but that was still the timeframe when you only met every other year?

Philip: Yes.

DePue: And how long were you actually in Springfield, in that every other year time period?

Philip: Less than ninety days. I'll tell you what, we should have stayed that way. We spent a lot less money.

DePue: How much of a salary did you get as a state legislator?

Philip: Eighty-five hundred.

DePue: For the year?

Philip: Yes.

DePue: Did you get that both years or only the year that you—

Philip: They gave you one check when you got sworn in.

DePue: That would last for the next two years.

Philip: Yeah. You know what they gave you for expenses? Fifty dollars a year...for postage. We didn't have offices; we didn't have secretaries.

DePue: No staff whatsoever?

Philip: None.

DePue: Do you remember that first time you went down to Springfield and sat in on the legislature?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: What were your impressions?

Philip: Well, you know, it was certainly a lot of different people. Today, the overwhelming majority is lawyers. We didn't have that many lawyers. We had a lot of farmers from downstate, school teachers, real estate people, much more of a broad spectrum of people than we have today.

DePue: Do you remember where you lived those first few years you were going down there?

Philip: Yeah. I lived in a motel.

DePue: Well, Springfield, there were Republican hotels and Democrat hotels.

Philip: I'll tell you where I stayed, in the Republican hotels. Neither of them are there anymore. (laughs)

DePue: What was the name?

Philip: The Lincoln.

- DePue: The Lincoln Hotel.³
- Philip: Normally. And the other one... What was the other one's name, the Democrat hotel?
- DePue: Leland?⁴
- Philip: Yeah, I think it was the Leland.
- DePue: What did all those geographic bachelors do at night then?
- Philip: Played poker. If they weren't married, [they] chased girls. There was always something. They're always giving you parties down there. There's always a party going on. Go to a cocktail party.
- DePue: How much did you understand about the legislative process, the process of writing bills and getting things pushed through?
- Philip: We never wrote bills. I mean, we had the reference bureau. You'd go in with the ideas, and then they would put it together for you. If you didn't like them, you went back and said, "Change it."
- DePue: And that was an established branch of the legislature?
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: Did you have a reference bureau for both the House and the Senate?
- Philip: No. Let's see... I think it was the same unit. We had two of them. One was a research thing, you could go in and, you know—
- DePue: Legislative Research Unit.
- Philip: Yeah, and then we had the one that put the bills together.
- DePue: Were they supposed to be non-partisan?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: Were they non-partisan?

³ Demolished on December 17, 1978, the Lincoln Hotel stood for 53 years on the corner of Fifth Street and Capitol Avenue. The well-known Springfield architectural firm of Helmle and Helmle designed the hotel, which opened to acclaim in 1925. (<http://www.sj-r.com/x133039435/Remember-the-Abe-the-original-Hotel-Abraham-Lincoln>)

⁴ The Leland Hotel, on the northwest corner of Sixth Street and Capitol Avenue, opened in January 1867. For 103 years it played host to travelers, party-goers, celebrities and politicians in Springfield, Illinois. (<http://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/?p=8661>)

Philip: It all depends on who the executive director was. Most of them were pretty good.

DePue: How long did it take you to get acclimated to that? I guess you were only there for ninety days, and then its two years later that you're back in there again.

Philip: Right. Well, you know what, we go to these conferences where they teach you what to do and what's going on and so forth. We had a guy by the name of Noble Lee, who was...He had to be seventy years old at least. He was the president of the law school in Chicago, John Marshall. And Noble Lee was the teacher. He was a real character, too;

I'll tell you that. It's basic. If you're not a lawyer, you don't have much of a background, or [if you] have never been elected to anything, it's a little more difficult. But, as they told us, "Don't say much. You're a freshman; just sit there and shut up." (laughs)

DePue: Was he a Republican?

Philip: Yes, he was a Republican. He was from Hyde Park. You got to remember, that's when we elected three. So, he was the minority. He had two Democrat running mates, and then he was a Republican. He took the "L" [Chicago rapid transit] down to the college to teach. He was a tough guy. If there was anybody that was listened to... When he got up to speak—and he always spoke on the constitution and on pensions—you could hear a pin drop. Not very many people could do that, but Noble Lee could.

Then he got beat up. They robbed him on the "L" platform, and that was it for him. He was in the hospital for quite a while. He never ran again. Nice old guy, too. Geez, he wouldn't hurt a flea.

DePue: I interviewed Mike McCormick, and he told me stories about his dad, C.L. McCormick, as being another spell binding speaker.

Philip: Yeah. I served with him. Oh God, he could talk for half hour. He's a real character.

DePue: People would be listening?

Philip: Oh, yeah. He was always funny.

DePue: How about some of the other representatives you remember at that time, especially those first couple of terms that you served.

Philip: Well, the Speaker of the House was Ralph Tyler Smith.

DePue: Was that a Democrat at the time?

Philip: No, Republican. He was from southern Illinois. I think Belleville, but I'm not sure. He was a big Cardinal fan, and, up at the podium, he'd always have the radio back there and some Cardinal flags and so forth. He would listen to the game all day, while he was running the House. (both laugh) Good guy.

Then they used to have a washroom in the back, and we had a black guy that would shine your shoes and so forth. The guys used to have these cabinets; they'd have whiskey in there. Christ, half of them... I shouldn't say half of them, but some of them had bottles. It would be 10:00 in the morning, they'd be back there having a shot. I couldn't believe it. (laughs) It was funny.

DePue: Was Blair... I know he became the—

Philip: The Speaker.

DePue: The Speaker later on. Was that a little bit later then?

Philip: Yes.

DePue: Who were the Democratic leaders at the time?

Philip: Oh, let's see. Who was the Democrat leader? Clyde Choate.

DePue: That's another downstater.

Philip: Yeah. I don't know if he is still alive. I would be surprised, but I don't know. [Clyde Choate died on October 15, 2001 in Carbondale, Illinois]

DePue: I don't think so.

Philip: He was the only guy, I think, in the General Assembly that I've ever known that got the Congressional Medal of Honor in WWII, I believe.

DePue: Right.

Philip: He was a big buddy of Paul Powell's.

DePue: Was Powell in the legislature at the time you got there?

Philip: No, he was secretary of state.

DePue: That's what I was thinking. How about Simon, Paul Simon?

Philip: Yeah, he was a big left winger.

DePue: But that would have been the timeframe he was in the legislature.

Philip: You know, I think that he was the—

- DePue: I'm trying to remember if he was in the Illinois Senate at that time.
- Philip: You know what, I think he was. You got to remember, I was in the House; I didn't go over to the Senate much. Let's see. Was he the... You know, way back then, if I remember correctly, the lieutenant governor was the president of the Senate. And W. Russell Arrington, you know, was the Republican. He was a character.
- DePue: Arrington was?
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: What do you remember about Arrington?
- Philip: I tell you, he—how shall I say it?—I think most people give him the credit [for] secretaries for every member, modernize it with staff, you know, a lot of staffers. I think that [Jim] Edgar was on his staff at one time. There were quite a few guys that were on his staff that ended up coming to the General Assembly.
- DePue: Arrington is also the person that is generally credited—or maybe in your perspective, blamed—for having legislature meet every year, instead of every other year.
- Philip: Oh, the reformers were for that, yeah. I didn't vote for the new constitution. I voted no.
- DePue: That would have been 1970.
- Philip: Yeah. That was a bad news Chicago passed. What didn't I like? Home rule, any municipality government over 25,000 could raise taxes without a referendum, bad idea. [It] also did this. We used to have, in the General Assembly, three divisions in the legislative districts, City of Chicago, one district overlapped into suburban Cook, and then suburban Cook, one district overlapped into downstate. That's the way it maintained much better balance. Now you have those districts, the guy lives in Chicago, and he's representing part of DuPage County. That's how the Democrats took over the General Assembly, maybe forever.
- DePue: Was that a matter of redistricting, or is it the constitution?
- Philip: No, the constitution. You had to change the constitution to do that.
- DePue: That was the same timeframe that Ogilvie was pushing... He's not directly involved with the rewrite of the constitution in 1970, but he is talking about the income tax.
- Philip: Yes.

DePue: And pushing the income tax. Arrington was the one who was primarily carrying that load in the Senate, in the legislature. What was your view about that?

Philip: I wasn't for it. I wrote like 800 or 900 letters, telling them I wasn't going to vote for it. It's interesting, because I was the Republican county chairman for DuPage County then.

When Elmer Hoffman retired as county chairman, he asked me to run, which I did. And I won, barely. [He] called me "Landslide." I won by about 300 votes out of 64,000. You like that?

DePue: That's pretty close.

Philip: Yeah, I got lucky. But, I had said no. The day we voted on that was on a Sunday. I was sitting in there, and I get a call from the governor's office. Now you got to remember this, I did not support Ogilvie for governor; I supported Altoffer, okay? And then he [Ogilvie] tried to defeat me for county chairman, because I didn't support him. He ran his guy. I beat him, but it was very close. So, I was on—what should I say?—the shit list with Ogilvie.

So, the first time we got in there, I have to say this for him, he called me down in his office, and said, "You're the county chairman. Any jobs should go through you." I said, "Fine." So, we got along pretty good.

But he called me down on that Sunday, and he wanted me to vote for the income tax. I said, "Dick, I've got 800 to 900 letters I've answered from my constituents saying I wasn't going to vote for it." And, I said, "I'm not sure it's necessary. I mean, what if we raise the money? We'll waste most of it. I mean, I just don't think it's a good idea. I think it's unnecessary."

DePue: Well, I know that income tax, part of that was supposed to go back to local districts. That was the plan. That's was part of the sales package, local governments.

Philip: Well, that was the sales tax. That was not the income tax. That was the sales tax, I believe. That was under Thompson.

DePue: I think you were right about that, okay. Tell me how the lines were drawn, not so much politically, but geographically, as far as that income tax was concerned.

Philip: The downstaters and the suburbanites, Republicans, were basically against it. You know who passed it? The Chicago Democrats.

DePue: How about the downstate Democrats, because there was a sizable contingent still at that time?

- Philip: Yeah, pretty good. You know what, I don't remember. I don't think a lot of them voted for it, though. You know, Daley got Ogilvie to... The Democrats in those days, Richard Daley would tell you how many votes you got and who they were. And deliver them. Young Richie could never do that. I mean, he could deliver some of them, but not the way his father could.
- DePue: Do you recall what percentage, or roughly how many of the republicans voted for the income tax, since this is Republican governor who's pushing it?
- Philip: I suppose most of them. Most of the guys that voted for it were Chicago guys. You know, that's when we still had—
- DePue: The cumulative voting process.
- Philip: Yeah, yeah. So, most of those guys voted for it, but the suburbanites didn't. You know, they put the Chicago guys together.
- DePue: They put the—
- Philip: The Chicago Democrats. Daley delivered those, you know, around twenty, maybe more than that.
- DePue: I don't want to put words in your mouth. You're saying that he, basically... The machine, the Chicago Democratic machine, was hand picking these candidates?
- Philip: You got to remember, Daley had his troops. I mean, all those guys had jobs. Their sisters, their girlfriends had jobs. The whole thing is jobs for the city and Cook County. That's where they worked. And they better be there, if Daley is for it. He could deliver.
- DePue: You just said, though, that Ogilvie was calling you and saying whatever jobs become available in DuPage County, I'm going to address that with you.
- Philip: They always did that for the county chairman. I was the county chairman. I beat his candidate.
- DePue: As far as you're concerned, was that a good way to run the business?
- Philip: Well, you know what? That's a good question. It all depends on if you're honest and a good judge of character. There are good people and bad people. Sometimes you get fooled. But, generally speaking, I've never had anybody indicted in my county.
- DePue: When you saying honest and a good judge of character, do you mean people come to you and say, "I want a job in this position." What was the criteria that you used to decide if they were going to get the job?

- Philip: All depends what personnel the state... They tell you what the qualifications are. I always sent them over to Republican headquarters, have them fill out an application, send the application in. Sometimes they got hired; sometimes they didn't.
- DePue: How did you validate that they were actually members of the Republican Party or were Republicans.
- Philip: Checked their primary voting record.
- DePue: I think probably a good place for us to end today is to talk about that election in 1972 for governor. We've talked a little bit about the constitution, and you said you were opposed to the passage of the constitution?
- Philip: Yes.
- DePue: Were you vocal in your opposition on that?
- Philip: Oh, it wasn't a big issue with a lot of people. I mean, I never had a lot of telephone calls or letters on it, but I'd always tell them why I wasn't for it.
- DePue: And home rule was the primary reason?
- Philip: Yeah, home rule and the way they knocked out the three divisions in the constitution.
- DePue: And then income tax. We've talked about why you were opposed to that, and that you were strongly opposed to that. The 1972 election, then, you've got this peculiar election on the Democratic side. You've got this outsider, Dan Walker, who's running, and he's running against then-Lieutenant Governor Paul Simon, who was kind of in the curious position, because he's the Democrat, as lieutenant governor, and Ogilvie is the Republican, as I recall. Any reflections on that side of the race? And then, you've got Ogilvie running for re-election on the Republican ticket.
- Philip: But, of course, Walker had that wild eye. Did you ever know Walker? No, you probably don't know him.
- DePue: I've interviewed Walker.
- Philip: Huh? Did you interview him?
- DePue: Yes, I have.
- Philip: After he's out of jail?
- DePue: Yes. Just within the last few years.

Philip: Oh, have you? What's he like these days? You know, he married a girl... You're going to like this. I was in the Senate then, and [Lee] Daniels was in the House.

DePue: This is a few years... We're jumping forward a few years now.

Philip: Well, no, no. I'm going to stay in this period, when Walker was governor. Ray Graham [Association] is a non-for-profit organization that takes care of kids with disabilities. They're big in DuPage County, okay? And one of the ladies that was active in it was Walker's second wife, Roberta. His first wife was a Roberta, too. He had two of them in a row. And [a] very nice lady.

She used to have a champagne brunch at her house. They lived on St. Charles Rd., big house. Her husband was a very nice guy. She divorced him and married the eight ball. And so, we would go over there. Jack Knuepfer was the Senator; I was the House member, and Gene Hoffman was the other House member. They'd have fifty people there, and do whatever. She was a real good Republican and so forth, and wonderful. She helped us on our campaign or donated money, and we had a good relationship.

She started coming down to Springfield, kind of surprised me. So, she comes in to talk to me and said... Well, when they get these kids, when they're old enough, they try to place them in an apartment. They buy the whole apartment, and then they have a housemother and father that stay there and help these kids. They help them get jobs and so forth. So, they had bought two or three of these facilities. Some of the wealthy people in Elmhurst would sign the real estate mortgage thing for them.

But they were running out of people that wanted to do that. So, they thought the General Assembly ought to do it. So, Gene Hoffman handled the bill in the House; I handled it in the Senate. She kept coming down after we had done that.

So, she said to me, she said—before she started coming down all the time, but afterward a lot more—she said, “I need to get in to see the governor.” I said, “I can do that for you, I think. He's got to sign that bill, because we'd passed the bill.” So, after that, she really started coming down, and all of a sudden she married him. You could have fooled me. (laugh) I'll tell you that.

DePue: Did he manage to keep it pretty quiet while he was governor?

Philip: You know, I never heard that she was dating him. But she sure came down a lot more than—

DePue: It didn't take too long after he was out of office that he divorced the first Roberta and married her, I know.

- Philip: No. He was still governor when he married her, wasn't he?
- DePue: No. He was out of office.
- Philip: Okay.
- DePue: So, getting back to the '72 race, Paul Simon versus Dan Walker, both Democrats. And Walker was almost looked on as the miracle man, because he beat the party favorite.
- Philip: Well, you know, the downstate Democrats are pretty conservative. I mean, the left wingers in the party. He was a new guy, and he was very flamboyant. He has a wild eye though. I don't know, there's just something about that guy. But he campaigned, too. Don't you remember, he walked the state? The whole thing. And he was on the boob tube [television] all the time. You know, he was a good candidate. He wasn't much of a governor though; I'll say that.
- DePue: Well, his main theme, during the whole campaign, was anti-Daley, anti-Daley Democratic Chicago machine. Did that resonate with you and some of the Republicans?
- Philip: Didn't make any difference to us. We had respect for Daley. At least he was pretty conservative.
- DePue: Well, how about Paul Simon?
- Philip: Left winger. May I say, I've always gotten along with Paul Simon. I will tell you this, when I was president of the Senate, he was teaching down at Southern Illinois. He called me and said, "You know, we want to do some reform campaign finances and so forth. I'd like to suggest we put together a commission."

I said, "Fine, I don't have any problem with that, as long as you don't get ridiculous. I don't have any problem. I'd like one thing in it, though." And, I said, "We shouldn't allow former members or members, incumbent members, to have their wives and their close relatives, their kids and so forth, to be lobbyists; it's ridiculous." He said, "Pate, you're absolutely right." I said, "That's the only thing I'm asking." And he says, "Well..."

The president of the Senate has to sign off on all of the commissions, all the senators, Democrat and Republican; although we Republicans... I never knocked anybody Democrat that the minority leader would recommend to me. I figure that... Could I do it? Yeah, but I never did. None of the Republican leaders that I can remember ever did. We let them do theirs. They let us do ours, because he [Simon] wanted our president, the great Obama, on it. So, he got on it. I called him back after that.

We passed it in the Senate, if I remember right, and they killed it in the house. Of course, the Democrats didn't want it, because it had that thing that I wanted, not letting your wife or your relative be lobbyists. I don't think that Obama voted for that either, come to think of it...the big reformer, ha.

DePue: Well, we're going to get to that in a couple sessions, but I'm going to finish off with that '72 election, again, and your support of Ogilvie. Did you have any qualms about supporting Ogilvie in that election, even though he'd pushed through this income tax reform, and he'd gotten the constitution or certainly helped in that?

Philip: No. I was a Republican, and I thought he was an honest guy. He didn't have a very good staff though. I'll have to say that. You know who had the best staff? James Robert Thompson, by far.

I got to tell you, one thing you need as the leader and as the governor? You need imagination; you need people that have ideas. I don't care what the problem is, there's a way to do it. But you got to have guys that are smart enough to figure it out. And Thompson, they had more angles than Carter's got liver pills. (both laugh)

DePue: Well, Senator, this has been a lot of fun today. I'm going to end right here, and we'll pick up next time, basically with getting you in the Illinois Senate and then into the Senate leadership. There will be plenty more to talk about in that respect. But thank you again for giving me this opportunity.

Philip: My pleasure.

(end of interview session #1)

Interview with James 'Pate' Philip

#ISL-A-L-2011-014.02

Interview #2: July 11, 2012

Interviewer: Mark DePue

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DePue: Today is Wednesday, July 11, 2012. My name is Mark DePue, the Director of Oral History with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. Today I am having the opportunity to do something I've wanted to do for a long time and pick up part two of an interview series with Senator James "Pate" Philip. Good afternoon, Senator.

Philip: Good afternoon.

DePue: We had quite an interesting discussion when we met. I think it is well over a year ago already, but there have been things going on in your life. I know you move around quite a bit, do a lot of traveling. But I'm thrilled that you have given me the chance to sit down and talk again.

We finished off last time roughly about the time when you needed to make a decision whether or not you are going to be running for the Illinois Senate. So, the Illinois House years were, 1966 to 1974. What I'd like to ask you about is that decision you made to run for Illinois Senate in the 1974 election.

Philip: Well, as you are probably aware, I was in the Illinois House for eight years. Jack Knuepfer, who was my Senator, decided not to run for re-election and decided to run for president of county board. As soon as he decided to do that, we sat down and talked. He said, "You've been in the House eight years; you'd make a good senator. I'll support you." So, that's exactly what happened. He turned out to be the best president of the county board we've ever had, in my opinion. Did a fantastic job.

DePue: Weren't you president of the county board, as well, for a while?

Philip: No. Never served on the county board. I'll tell you, I served in the local government though. I was the township auditor at one time.

DePue: I think I'm confusing the position in the Republican Party, versus the county board itself.

Philip: Yes, I was the Republican county chairman for almost forty years.

DePue: At this point in time, I wonder if you can flush out for us what you saw as your political philosophy. I'm talking the 1974 timeframe.

Philip: Quite frankly, I didn't have a philosophy. I worked for Pepperidge Farm Bakery. I got of college, out of Marine Corps, and came home and went to work. My secretary's husband was active in the Young Republicans. And they talked me into getting involved in the Young Republicans in helping him. So I did. I joined the Young Republicans. We elected him president of the Young Republicans for our county.

After that, I decided that I was going to run. So, I ran for that, and I got to be the president of the Young Republicans for DuPage County. Then I ran for president of the Illinois Republicans for the state, which I became. Then, after that, I was the junior national committeeman for Illinois. So, that's how I got my start. I found a lot of nice people. I enjoyed it. Other than that, politically, the first time I ever voted was for Eisenhower. I was in the Marine Corps in San Francisco, voted absentee for Eisenhower. But, other than that, there wasn't anybody in my family that have ever been involved politically.

DePue: In the 1974 election, we're talking about DuPage County, essentially, and that's where the district was, your senatorial district. I assume you won overwhelmingly in that election.

Philip: Yes, I did very well. I don't remember the figures, but we did very well.

DePue: I wonder if you can tell me what you saw, once you got into the Senate position. What was different about being in the Illinois State Senate, versus in the Illinois House?

Philip: Well, of course—and you probably don't remember this—back when I first got elected, we elected a state Senator for a district, and we elected three House members. And we had, if I remember, a 177 House members. So, it was a much bigger operation, and, of course, the House allows people to explain their vote all the time. When you get a 177 people explaining their vote, let me tell you, after probably the first five people talk, there aren't any other questions left. You've all heard it, but they want to get up and do it. In the Senate we don't; we never let people explain their vote. So, that made it a lot simpler and a lot quicker.

DePue: You seem to have moved into Illinois Senate leadership positions early on. Did that happen after you'd been in just a couple of years in the Illinois Senate?

Philip: Well, I was there for more than a couple of years, but Dr. Shapiro, was our leader and a great guy. He developed cancer. And, unfortunately, he didn't survive cancer.

DePue: That's a little bit ahead of my time line here. I wanted to get to that certainly. Do you remember that first year? Now, you were no longer in the Illinois House in 1975. But certainly, you had to be watching closely as the House

went through vote after vote after vote, trying to determine who the House Speaker would be that year. Remember much about that battle?

Philip: A little bit, not a lot. You know, if I wasn't in the House anymore. But I think the Democrats took over the majority, if I remember correctly. It was a big battle between my friend, Bill Redmond and Mike Madigan. If I remember correctly, over my objection, because I told my members from DuPage County that it was a Democrat problem and stay out of it. Unfortunately, two of my members voted for Bill Redmond.

DePue: Well, it ended up being from DuPage County. It was both. Well, Lee Daniels was the one who broke ranks first.⁵

Philip: Right. Lee Daniels and Gene Hoffman. I'll tell you, Bill Redmond was a friend of mine. He was a Democrat county chairman. We got along very well. And I will tell you this, anytime, if it was an issue for DuPage County, he was always with us, never got political about that at all. He's the best county chairman that the Democrats ever had, quite frankly. I just thought that I don't want the Democrats messing around in my election and, you know, for leadership in either house and vice versa. I just thought [it was] something we should have stayed out of. And then, when the poor guy got it, Mike Madigan had the majority of the members.

DePue: You mention Mike Madigan was the other person running. I think the main candidate, otherwise, would have been Clyde Choate at that time, although Madigan was already there and very powerful in the leadership of the Democratic caucus.

Philip: You got to remember this too, that there are a lot more Democrats from Cook County than there is from downstates. A lot of those guys have, what I call, political jobs with the city or the county. So, they're going to listen to the leader from Cook County.

DePue: You were in the House for a couple of years while Governor Walker was in position. Then you spent his last two years in office as governor in the Senate. Are there any memories you have about challenges of working with Governor Walker?

Philip: Unless you're the leader, and I'm talking about the president of the Senate or the Speaker of the House, you don't have much conversation with the governor, if he's a Democrat. Like nothing. (both laugh) He did not enjoy a very good reputation. He was always fighting with the General Assembly and

⁵ For Lee Daniels' perspective on this event, see his 2011 oral history interview ## ISL-A-L-2011-053.01, pages 34-44. (https://www.illinois.gov/alplm/library/collections/oralhistory/illinoisstatecraft/legislators/Documents/DanielsLee/Daniels_Lee_4FNL.pdf)

didn't get along with them very well, the Democrats or the Republicans. I didn't have much to do with him, quite frankly.

DePue: Just to continue with that discussion, in the 1976 gubernatorial election, the Democratic Party from Chicago, and we're talking Richard J. Daley at the time, made sure that they put up a credible opponent, even in the Democratic primary. So Walker gets beat in the Democratic primary by Michael Howlett. And, on the Republican side, is Jim Thompson. So, just to set that up, what were your thoughts about Jim Thompson as a candidate that year?

Philip: Well, I didn't know him very well. I met him, and I believe that I was the first county chairman to endorse him. But, as you know, he had been a... I think he was an assistant Illinois attorney general, and, of course, he was the attorney general for—

DePue: I think he was the U.S. district attorney.

Philip: Yeah, U.S. [district attorney].

DePue: And one of the scalps he had on his belt was Governor Otto Kerner at that time.

Philip: Yes. Yes, that's correct. And, I'll tell you, he had a very good reputation. You'd see him on TV once in a while. I liked him. He's a very personable guy, very friendly. He likes people, and I liked him. And I said, "I'm going to be for him."

DePue: Did you have a chance to see him on the campaign trail that year?

Philip: All the time. You've got to remember, I was the county chairman for the second largest county in the state of Illinois and the most Republican. So, of course, we carried for him big.

DePue: I've heard it said—you can confirm or deny this one—but, at that moment in history, DuPage County was perhaps the second most powerful Republican county in the United States.

Philip: Well, I don't know if I'd go that far, quite frankly. (both laugh) We certainly had a lot of national candidates come and sit down and talk.

DePue: I think it would have been California, Orange County, does that sound right?

[Carter Hendren speaks in the background] Orange County. I was going to say Bucks County or Orange County.

DePue: The other voice we're hearing is Carter Hendren. And Carter will chime in every once in a while. Carter, you were the chief of staff for quite a few years.

Hendren: Yes. I'm sorry.

Philip: Well, I just may say this; there were a lot of chiefs of staff. Carter had the reputation of being as good as any chief of staff that was in Springfield, and I couldn't agree more. He did a fantastic job. In a lot of our meetings with the governor, the governor's staff or the governor, who would they ask first? Carter Hendren, our budget expert.

DePue: I should also mention that I've had the opportunity to interview Carter about your role in a couple of campaigns, but especially the—I think the 1982 campaign; I might be messing this up—the first campaign that Jim Edgar ran for secretary of state.

Hendren: Eighty-two.

DePue: Eighty-two and then the 1990 campaign for governor.

Philip: Well, he also ran [Charles] Percy's campaign, I think, at one time.

Hendren: Eighty-four, yeah.

DePue: We did talk about that one, as well. Tell me more about Jim Thompson, as governor, and your relationship with him.

Philip: I probably had a very good relationship with him. I was the first one to endorse him, and we had a very good working relationship. He had a very good staff, a lot of young guys. And I will say this about his staff; they had a lot of imagination. I've always thought this.

We had a lot of legislative problems. There's always a way to solve them, but you have to have a good imagination; you can do a lot. His staff had a lot of ideas and a lot of imagination. So we worked it out. And I will say this, that he was flexible. I'll tell you what I learned; it took me a while to learn this. When you get to be the leader, some of the other leaders go in and sit down with the governor—whether it's a Democrat or Republican—make their deal, come back and try to talk their caucus into it. I went through that for a little bit, and I finally—I hope I did the right thing; I know I did the right thing—I decided to say, "Well, you know what? It's not a bad idea, but, you know what? I want to talk to my caucus before I come to my conclusion. We may have a better idea." Quite often, I'd say 30 or 40 percent of the time, we had a better idea than they did. So, we changed the governor's mind.

I remember one of them that was interesting; the governor wanted to raise income tax, Governor Thompson, and make it permanent. We came back, because Reagan would just become the president. Of course, the economy was getting better; he had cut the federal taxes down. Everything was doing good, and he was talking about it; it was all over the radio. He was very popular. He had done the right thing. And I said, "Hey, if we need the

money, let's make it a short period tax. The economy is getting better; everything is getting better." So, in my caucus, I said, "My caucus is for that; we ought to do it." He agreed; he said, "Fine, we'll do it." That's what we did.

DePue: That would have been 1983, I think, like you said, a temporary income tax increase.

Philip: Yes. Yes.

DePue: Let's go back just a couple of years and talk about your selection as the Senate minority leader. That would have been following the 1980 election, 1981. How did that come about?

Philip: Well, as you know, Dr. Shaprio died, unfortunately, who was a great guy and had done a very good job. And then... I'm trying to remember how many candidates we had. We had four candidates. So, we had a Republican caucus, and the first vote was to have a secret ballot. I was not for a secret ballot, because, at that point, we had never had a secret ballot in the history of the Senate caucus. I mean, if you are somebody, you ought to stand up and say, "Hey" and, you know, explain why and do that. Every time we vote, everybody knows how we vote. Why shouldn't they know about it for the leader? Of course, that vote came out, if I remember what it was. In fact, I can tell you exactly how it was, because that was the first vote (looks through some papers). The votes on that, believe it or not, were—

DePue: You got the paper right here.

Philip: Yeah, I got it right here

Hendren: Is that on the secret ballot question, that one?

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: Really?

Phillip: Yeah.

DePue: He's done his homework.

Philip: Yeah, I've done it a little bit, not much. But there were, if I remember right, sixteen for secret and thirteen against it. So, we won that. So, I knew I had the majority, because all my people were not for secret.

Hendren: Sixteen no, thirteen aye.

Philip: So, that's what happened. And then I asked for a recess. The chairman of the caucus was Dutch Ozinga, who was the senior member on our side. The senior member always runs that election. So, I tried to talk to some of the

other candidates. I said, "Those are my votes. I got enough votes." Well, some of the people agreed to do that and got out of the race. But we had one more. It ended up, Dick Walch stayed in the race. And then that vote was twenty-one for me and seven for Walch. So we did pretty good.

Hendren: Didn't you and Senator Weaver have a meeting in Champaign about who might succeed Doc?

Philip: Yes. Oh, yeah.



Senate President James "Pate" Philip's 1993 leadership team. From left to right are Aldo DeAngelis, Adeline Geo-Karis, Stanley Weaver, Senator Philip, Laura Kent Donahue, Frank Watson, John Maitland and Walter Dudycz.

Hendren: That's kind of an interesting sidebar.

Philip: He and I have always been friends, but he had been in the Senate longer than I had. He's older than I am. And he's well-liked by a lot of people. But he didn't have the support. After that first vote on secret ballot, he said, "Hey, I'm for you." And I put him in. He was the majority leader for all the years that he was there and did a super job.

DePue: At this point in your career, you were a pretty young guy. Was that part of the attraction, that and being from DuPage County?

Philip: Well, I was a Republican county chairman for the second largest county. So, that certainly helped. And then, two of the people that didn't vote for me, I put them in leadership. I think that was a smart move.

Hendren: Including one of your Republicans, Walch. You put Walch in.

- Philip: No, I did not.
- Hendren: You did not. Who'd you put in?
- Philip: I put in...I got them right here, and I will tell you who I put in. Maitland—
- Hendren: That's right; he was with Walch.
- Philip: Yeah. And there was one other female...Why can't I find her on here? Kent.
- Hendren: Kent, that's right.
- Philip: Kent. So, those are the two I put in leadership. They both turned out to do their job and were always loyal to me and fine.
- DePue: Were these downstate Republicans?
- Philip: Yeah, both of them. One was from Quincy. She's from Quincy, and he is from Bloomington.
- DePue: I want to see if you have any comments to make about a couple of the major initiatives for the Thompson administration, early on, as well. The first one is this whole issue of Class X crimes. I think that happened in his first term, first or second terms.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: Your position on that issue—
- Philip: I'm a law and order guy. I believe in the death penalty, so I don't have a problem with that at all, the tougher the better.
- DePue: Well, the implication of the Class X was that there were mandatory sentences that would be passed down for some of the more serious felony crimes, which would translate into a lot larger prison population. Were you supportive, then, of a prison building campaign through the '80s?
- Philip: Unfortunately, there are people that should be in jail. I couldn't agree with it more. The tougher the better, as far as I'm concerned.
- DePue: And since we're in the neighborhood, you're position on capital punishment?
- Philip: I'm for it. I've always been for it. I'll tell you, Governor Quinn has let some very violent people out early. I think, I don't know, 1,200, 1,500. Now he denies that he didn't know about it. Well, the new director of corrections is a guy from out of state, and he comes to work here in Illinois. Now, if you think that he didn't talk to the governor before he did that, you're sadly mistaken. I have friends who work there, who told us that. One of them [a released inmate] murdered a guy in Peoria. One of them murdered a person in

Kankakee. One of them murdered a person in Chicago. My opinion is they should've never been let out.

DePue: This would have occurred shortly after Quinn became governor, after Blagojevich was impeached. Since we're into the contemporary era, what's your opinion about Quinn's position on closing some Illinois prisons, to include Tamms⁶?

Philip: Absolutely ridiculous.

DePue: I think the legislature found the money, and he's still trying to figure out how to close those prisons.

Philip: The prisons are overcrowded, and, as you know, we have what we used to call it, the "brand new" prison that Thompson did. I think there are some people there, but very few. Now, if you were half-way intelligent, you'd talk to the federal government, which is another Democrat and have them use part of it and have Illinois use part of it, and keep the thing open. You'd get federal money for it. I think Obama would do it in thirty seconds. But one of the problems with him, he doesn't have any imagination.

DePue: You're talking about Quinn in this case.

Philip: Yeah. Imagination solves more things. One reason I had such a good staff was Carter Hendren. I never hired or fired anybody myself. A lot of the members, they put in their relatives, their friends, the members' friends and kids. I never did that. If I had somebody come to me, I'd send them the resume and say, "Hey, if this is the best person for the job, put them on. If they're not, don't worry about it." I did it with one of my relatives.

DePue: Carter, you're shaking your head.

Hendren: That's absolutely true.

DePue: You got to do the hiring and the firing, if it was necessary?

Hendren: If necessary, yeah.

Philip: And once in a while, I would say to him, "I don't know what about this person." I didn't say that very many times. (some laughs)

⁶ Prior to its 2013 closure, the prison in Tamms, Illinois housed people in a 500-bed supermax facility, that had opened in 1998 for people defined by the prison leadership as most disruptive and dangerous. Prior to the March 9, 2011 abolition of the death penalty in Illinois, prisoners were executed via lethal injection in an execution chamber, located within that section of Tamms Correctional Center (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamms_Correctional_Center)

Hendren: No.

Philip: But we had a little different operation. I trusted Carter 200 percent.

DePue: Well, this next series of questions is before you became minority leader. Let me set it up a little bit. I'm sure you remember some of this. Nineteen seventy-eight, Thompson had to run again. He had just two years as governor. He had to run again, because the new Illinois—

Philip: Constitution.

DePue: ...state constitution of 1970 had shifted the gubernatorial election year off of the presidential election year. Anyway, at that campaign, I think, he made some promises about not raising legislators' pay. He promised he would veto raising legislators' pay.



Governor Jim Thompson and 'Pate' Philip talk in 1978 during Illinois's fall campaign season. Their buttons read "Help Pass the Thompson Proposition." Governor Thompson had proposed putting a lid on state taxes and spending as part of his campaign.

Philip: I don't remember that, quite frankly. That may be right; I don't remember it though.

DePue: This is kind of leading up to the cut-back amendment. Right after that election, the legislature came into session, the veto session, which is typically in November of every year. And the legislature passed a pretty significant pay increase for the legislature.

Thompson was in Florida at the time, and he immediately vetoed the legislative pay increase, and then that gave the legislature the opportunity to override the veto. The Illinois public thought they smelled a rat in this deal, that there was some kind of a special deal, that Thompson had vetoed it so quickly that the legislature would have the opportunity to come back. And people were outraged. Do you remember any of that?

Philip: You know what? I may be the exception to the rule, but I never went to the General Assembly in regards for the money. I worked for a large corporation, and when I was in Springfield I didn't get paid. But we're only in about a 110, 120 days a year, so they're not able to go back and work for the rest. The money never was an issue with me.

DePue: So, you're saying you never voted for a pay increase for legislators? Or, at least, that you recall?

Philip: You know what? (laughs) I don't remember, quite frankly.

DePue: The outcome of this was that—

Philip: Well, you know what? I probably did, now that I think about it, because when you're the leader, whether you think it's right, wrong or indifferent, you want to stay in as the leader. I guarantee you one thing, you'd vote for it.

DePue: Well, this would have happened before you were in the leadership position. So, the outcome of this was a guy by the name of Pat Quinn, who did not hold an elective office at the time, I believe, decided to move on an initiative that became known as the "Cutback Amendment," which would reduce the size of the Illinois House by one-third and get rid of this notion of cumulative voting.

In the cumulative voting process, you would have a Senate district, and within that Senate district, you would have three House of Representative members. But, the way it was set up, it was guaranteed, practically guaranteed, that two out of those three would be from the majority party. But the third member of the House, from that Senate district, would always be the minority party in that district.

Philip: Except in the city of Chicago. Now, downstate that was true. But in the city of Chicago, some of the Republicans that were supposed to be Republicans, they voted with the Democrats all the time.

DePue: Would the same thing be true for DuPage County? You couldn't get much more Republican than DuPage County.

Philip: Well, let me say this. We always had Democrat minority. What do you think Bill Redmond was? And he was a good man. I would say that, of the Democrat members, I would say, he's by far one of the better members. In all our districts, we always elected real Democrats. You know, we should stay out of that picking Republicans for a Democrat's spot.

DePue: Interesting that you make that point. I think that's important. My question, though, were you in favor, at the time, of the Cutback Amendment?

Philip: No, I was not.

DePue: Because?

Philip: It didn't accomplish a thing. (laughs) They introduced more bills than they've ever had, with less members. I'll tell you, now you don't have any Republicans from the city of Chicago, zero. A lot of people didn't understand accumulated voting. I must say that. We were, I think, the only state that did it the way we did it. But it guaranteed some Republicans in the city of Chicago, which I don't think is bad.

DePue: So, to this day, do you still think that was the wrong move?

Philip: Absolutely, I do. The media, it was a whole...The media did it. The media with, "Oh, that's going to save money." It hasn't saved money. It hasn't cut down the amount of bills. What has it done? All it did is just dissolve the Republican Party in the city of Chicago. That's exactly what it did. There is no Republican Party to speak of.

DePue: Well, the other criticism I've heard from lots of people is that it made the Republicans and Democrats more partisan. It separated them more, because you didn't have these minority members from these districts.

Philip: You know, there's probably some truth to that.

DePue: And it made—and this one is important from your perspective—It made the four caucus leaders more powerful. Would you agree with that?

Philip: Well, I don't know about that. I'll tell you, when I look at the four caucuses, I had the easiest job, okay? I'll tell you why, because, generally speaking, we had pretty conservative people. Most of them didn't need the position. They were fairly well-to-do, and most of them had college degrees, and they had common sense and judgment.

Like the House, they have a woman's' caucus. They got a downstate caucus, the Democrats. The same way in the Senate. I didn't have those caucuses within my caucus. We all met, and I'll tell you, I think I'm the only guy that ever didn't sign off on what the governor wanted, whether it was Democrat or Republican, and brought it back to my caucus, and we talked about it. They trusted me.

DePue: Well, I think we should flesh out a little bit, for the novice who happens to be reading or listening to this interview down the road, what caucus means, in that respect. You can correct me when I'm off base here. My understanding is, the way the Illinois legislature is organized, it's organized around those four caucuses, the Democrats in the House, the Republicans in the House, the Democrats in the Senate, the Republicans in the Senate. And, if there's a criticism about the Illinois legislature, over the last twenty or thirty years, it's that the four caucus leaders have an inordinate amount of power. So, now that I've thrown that out there, what would your response be to that criticism?

- Philip: Well, I would say that probably they have more influence than anybody else. There's no doubt about that. But, I think that my power is exaggerated, if the truth be known. I would say this, generally speaking, there were very few times... In fact, I don't think, in my years as the Republican leader, we ever had our caucus vote on voting, whether we're all going to vote this way. In other words, I can't remember what you call it—
- Hendren: Locked them in on a caucus vote. It's called caucus vote. One time—
- Philip: We never took one. I don't remember us ever having a problem. Most of the time... You don't have that many tough votes. Sometimes, like workmen's comp and some of that stuff with Thompson, some of the lawyers wanted to stay with the Bar Association. But generally speaking, we never had a problem; they all voted right. I don't think we ever caucused in one time that I can remember.
- Hendren: One time, just one time. That was in the early '90s.
- Philip: What did we caucus on?
- Hendren: Caucused, ironically, on an income tax extension for education funding.
- DePue: Would that have been the 1991-92 vote?
- Hendren: No, it would have been the ninety... We were in the majority, so it would have been the '94 or '95, I guess. No, '93, '93.
- Philip: Did we prevail?
- Hendren: Yeah. We prevailed with that vote, and then, subsequently, we made part of that tax permanent that year, but not the whole thing, if you remember.
- Philip: You've got to remember, we probably have, what, 4,000 or 5,000 votes a year?
- Hendren: Oh, yeah, not when we got there. It went down dramatically. (all laugh)
- Philip: And, you know what? When you're the leader, particularly the president of the Senate... I only served on one committee, the executive committee, because the governor's office calls you, the attorney general, they'd want to talk, "You got to come down right away" for some reason. So, that's why I only served on one committee. If I'd served on three or four, I couldn't keep track of everything, if you want to know the truth.
- DePue: Well, I think it's also important to acknowledge here that it was the four caucus leaders who controlled the staff, so that the members didn't have much of a robust staff. But you had a decent size staff, correct?

- Philip: Well, we had a smaller staff than anybody.
- Hendren: We had the smallest staff, and I could interject a whole bunch here, but I'm trying not to.
- DePue: No, I was going to turn it over to you anyway.
- Hendren: Pate gave broad and general directions, but you knew exactly what he wanted. That staff worked for the members. They did not work necessarily for the leader. They were assigned a committee, so they were committee staff. They became an expert in their area or areas of expertise. We had the smallest staff; there's no question about that. It was the concept of lean and mean. If we needed somebody else, we put them on contract for thirty days or sixty days.
- Other staffs, however, (clears his throat) which I think was wrong, but other offices, their staff allotment was more to work for the leader exclusively or the leadership exclusively. That's not how we did it in the Senate. That is absolutely not how we did it.
- DePue: So, you saw your boss as Senator Philip or as the caucus members?
- Hendren: All of them. But I worked for Pate, and they all knew that. They also knew that the staff worked for Pate, but the staff was required to respond to them, because they were members. There was no delegation problem, trust me, with that. We would have members that would disagree with... Maybe Pate wants to pass a bill. [You] have a member that's opposed to it [say], "Write me an amendment that destroys the bill." Okay, that was their job. They did that, knowing that that's not what he [Pate] wanted to happen. But that wasn't their job, to make that decision. They understood it. We had a little different operation, but it worked more efficiently. It truly did, because everybody knew—
- Philip: Remember this too. I don't think I ever told any member how to write any opinion—
- Hendren: No.
- Philip: ...and we were the first ones that did this. You know, we used to have these books of bills. God, they got that high on your desk. It was unbelievable. Then we decided to put a book together, with all the bills. It would have our explanation, our staff's explanation, and then how the members in the committee voted. So, you could look at it. Like myself, I would flip it open, and look at it. On each committee, I have somebody that I trust. You know what I mean?

Like on the lawyer committee, you know, a good lawyer on there, and I would look at how he voted or she voted. So, that made it a lot easier for— And the Democrats, if you remember right, copied what we did. Then they

decided to do it. So, they copied exactly what we did. But, I say that worked out good. Then, were we the first ones to put computers in?

Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: We did get computers. So, it was on the computer, and you could punch it in the computers so that made it... So it cut down on the—

DePue: For the voting process? Computerize the voting process or just the staffing?

Hendren: No, pulling up the analyses. We did a lot of that stuff early. Nobody seems to remember—

Philip: Saved a lot of paperwork.

Hendren: The other thing that can't be ignored though, Mark, on this whole thing about leadership power, the rules by which the General Assembly operates today are different than the rules by which they operated in the '70s and then in the '80s. Those rules, particularly those rules imposed in 2001 by Senator [Emil] Jones in the Senate, vested power in the leadership exclusively. It took power away from committees.

In the '70s, the committees existed only in a pro forma manner, because everything came out of committee. It could come out of committee with one affirmative vote and twelve presents, right? I've seen it happen many times. Our rules were a little different. We required a majority of the members of the committee to get it out.

Why do I get into that detail? [It] is because the rules, as they evolved, have vested power in three or four people in leadership. You want a bill out of committee, you don't go see the sponsor; you don't go see the committee chairman; you go see the leader. I don't think that's right. I think it's a terrible abuse of the system, but that's what they've done from 2003 forward.

Philip: Well, the other thing, too, that I didn't like, and that is... Remember that when we would do two or three days on second readings... Now a bill would be killed in committee. So then, somebody would file a bill amendment that would be just like the bill. Then they would try to put it on with all the membership. I thought that was a—

Hendren: And they did. They didn't try; they did.

Philip: Oh, yeah, absolutely. (all laugh)

Hendren: Nothing was killed in a committee.

Philip: And then, when I became the president of the Senate, we decided to change that. You know what we said? That amendment had to go back to the

committee where it originated at. Then we never spent two or three days on second readings. We abolished that. I tell you, that made it much better.

DePue: Did that slow down or speed up the—

Philip: Speed up, absolutely.

DePue: What was the size of the staff when you were in the minority in the '80s?

Hendren: I think our full-time staff was in the twenty-eight to thirty-two range for substantive and appropriation staff, plus probably thirty to thirty-five or six clerical staff, maybe even forty clerical staff, because they had members and staff. It really didn't go up much over the time we became the majority. Again, we used a lot of people contractually, for three or four months at a time.

Philip: And you know what? I bet you [that] you forgot something, and I think I remember. I think we're the only group that ever turned money back, that we didn't spend our whole appropriation for those sessions. So, we got the same amount. All four of us got the same amount. How many times did we turn money back?

Hendren: You know, I don't know, Pate. We turned money back quite a few times. There were also times we didn't, because, frankly, we didn't get any credit for it, so, we bought stuff. (all laugh) It was a terribly inefficient system, as it is today; it's very inefficient. But we did turn money back, \$50,000, \$100,000, \$200,000, whatever.

DePue: Is the House majority staff—the one that Madigan has controlled for so many years—is that considerably larger than the staff you had?

Philip: Well, you can't compare the House to the Senate.

DePue: So, that's unfair to make the comparison?

Philip: Yeah, he's got twice as many members as we have, so he's going to have more. There's not much you can do about that.

DePue: I want to ask you a series of opinions about some of the people you worked with, and this is during the late '70s and '80s. We'll get to the '90s here a little bit later. But, I don't know that a couple of these were at the time you were Senate minority leader, but Cecil Partee, the Democratic leader when you first got there.

Philip: Nice guy, liked him. He knew what he was doing, articulate guy.

DePue: Tom Hynes?

- Philip: Tom Hynes is a nice guy. Could never get an answer out of him. I don't care what it was, I'd go up and ask him, and he said, "I'll get back to you." But he never got back to me. But a very nice guy. I will say that for him.
- DePue: Was that one of the reasons he was not in the position as Senate president for very long?
- Philip: You know, I don't know. I think he ran for another office.
- Hendren: He became the assessor of Cook County.
- Philip: Right.
- Hendren: And that was considered a promotion at the time.
- DePue: (laughs) Well the next name is—
- Philip: That was a real big battle between Rock and between Hynes. Mayor Daley supported—he was in the Senate then—he supported Hynes, and so Rock got beat. I'm not sure that Hynes really wanted to be president of the Senate in the first place.
- Hendren: Yeah.
- DePue: You say that Rock got beat? For what position? For Senate president?
- Philip: Yeah.
- Hendren: He and Hynes in their caucus, not in a public—
- DePue: So, after Hynes leaves the position, then Phil Rock is in that position. You had a lot longer relationship with him as the Senate majority leader.
- Philip: Oh, absolutely.
- DePue: Your opinion of Phil Rock?
- Philip: I'll tell you, he always thought about the Senate and how it operates and did a very good job on how it operates. And, I'll tell you, he was very fair and tough, except that when it came to reapportionment. (laughs) You know what I mean?
- I'll tell you one thing, he called me every day at about fifteen or twenty minutes before noon, and say, "This is what we're going to do." If we thought we were going to have a battle or argument about it, we'd talk about it. We got along fine. He's an honorable guy. He did a very good job, and we're still friends. I still talk to him.
- DePue: He was one of the other people that I've had the opportunity to interview.

Philip: Oh, good.

DePue: The other names I've got here are people in the House of Representatives. I'm only asking, because I assume there were times during the Thompson administration when the "Four Tops"⁷ — that's the term that is often used—the four tops would get together and really sit down and figure out how to work through the major pieces of legislation, especially budget issues and things like that. So, you're opinion of George Ryan, who was House Speaker from '81 to '82?

Philip: Oh, I and George would always sit down and work out a deal. So, I didn't have a problem with him at all. He'd been a very good secretary of state and, as the county chairman, I worked with him. I always got along with him.

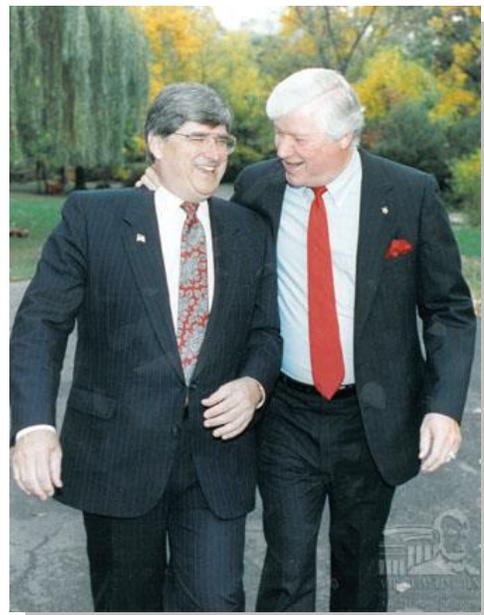


Secretary of State George Ryan (left), Senator "Pate" Philip, and Nancy Philip with a Taiwanese official during a visit to that country in July 1987.

DePue: Well, we'll get to that timeframe in the discussion. How about Lee Daniels, your fellow DuPage County member?

Philip: You know, he was my running mate, my friend. I knew his family for a long time. He always supported me. I always supported him. Once in a while, we'd get on opposite sides of an issue, but very seldom.

DePue: Some have characterized that relationship as a father and son kind of relationship or more of a paternal kind of relationship. (Philip laughs) Would you say that's fair or not?



Lee Daniels and "Pate" Philip in a photo from the cover of the Chicago Tribune Magazine, August 16, 1992.

⁷The Springfield name for the Democratic and Republican party leaders in the Illinois House and Senate. (http://www.mywebtimes.com/news/illinois_ap/the-four-tops-why-illinois-leaders-have-failed/article_d87646c8-5893-5d74-8528-f06e99f3fcf6.html)

Philip: You know what? I'm much older than he is; there's no doubt about that. (both laugh) And I'm more conservative than he is, but, generally speaking, we agreed on most things.

DePue: Well, that leaves Mike Madigan.

Philip: You know what? I liked Mike Madigan. I always have. I respect his ability. We don't agree on a lot of issues, but I'll say this, when you get his word, it's good. I'll give you this one example. We had a problem in Illinois prisons that people were bringing in drugs and knives and weapons. Every Sunday, they have these big picnics there; they got it fenced in and so forth. They come to visit people. But, they didn't put them through a metal detector. They didn't search them or anything.

Well, the new director of corrections decided to do that, and guess what they found? They found knives; they found guns, drugs, everything you can think of. So, now they put up a metal detector, and they search them when they come in. Now, unfortunately, that cut off a lot of people coming to visit their incarcerated friends. But, he thought that was going to stop everything.

And the other thing is too, he decided to take all the cell phones away from everybody in the prison. But, the drug dealers, they were still getting drugs in the thing. Then they stopped that. Then, what happens? He thinks some of the employees are bringing the stuff in, which was true.

You know what the union thing was? That you had to be caught three times before you could fire an employee, a state employee in the corrections system, for using drugs or bringing them in. So, the director comes over to me and says, "Hey, this is ridiculous. If you're a truck driver, if you're state police, a village policeman, a county policeman, they catch you one time, they fire you. That's what we ought to do.

So, we pass a bill to do that in the Senate over the House. The Speaker won't let it get out of committee. So, it was there for one whole session. The next year, I said, "It's the right thing to do." He's got a problem with the unions, because the unions help them, big time. And I said, "Well, I'll tell you, I'm a nice guy, but my attitude is I'm not going to let any of the city of Chicago bills out of committee for the unions at all. Forget them, until you're going to pass that; it goes to the governor's desk; the governor signs it, and it becomes the law. One strike, and you're out.

Well, guess what? He called me up and said, "Okay, I understand. You're right. We'll do it." So we did it. We finally did it.

Now, I don't know what's happened since I've been gone. (laughs) I wouldn't be surprised if they've changed it again. Do you know, Carter? Have they changed it back?

- Hendren: I don't know, Pate. That's all that dismissal stuff, and a lot of that is now negotiated with the AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees] contracts. I think it's still a problem.
- DePue: That was AFSCME? It wasn't SCIU [Serious Crimes Investigation Unit]?
- Hendren: No, that would be AFSCME, with correctional guards.
- DePue: Do you know the timeframe that was going on? Was that the '90s?
- Hendren: I remember dealing with it in the '90s.
- DePue: Do you remember who the corrections director was at the time?
- Philip: Yeah, Donny Schneider.
- DePue: This next series of questions is something that covers a lot of time, dealing with the yearly battles that went on in the state legislature about the Equal Rights Amendment. It first came up in '72, when you would have been in the House. It continued on. The last year was 1982, and that's only because the pro-ERA forces got a three-year extension from the U.S. Congress, because, otherwise, it was supposed to have taken just seven years. Any memories of that timeframe and those battles?
- Philip: Yeah. I'm just trying...Shapiro was the Republican leader, right?
- Hendren: Uh-huh
- Philip: Was I an assistant then?
- Hendren: I believe you were, because you became an assistant in '78.
- Philip: Yeah, because, I'll tell you, he told me he was going to make me an assistant. And then what happened is...Who's the guy that was going to run against him? The city, the north suburbs—
- Hendren: Walsh.
- Philip: No.
- Hendren: Oh, Brad Glass.
- Phillip: Right.
- DePue: What was the name again?
- Hendren: Glass, Senator Brad Glass from Northbrook.

- Philip: He got in the race against Shapiro, and, of course, I was for Shapiro. He put Shapiro in leadership, which honked me off a little bit. But I said, "That's all right," and I worked hard.
- Hendren: Um-hmm.
- Philip: Sold a lot of tickets and was a team player. So then, when Brad decided to retire...I think it only happened for two year—
- Hendren: I think it was two years.
- Philip: Yeah. So, then I got in leadership. But at that time, I was not in leadership. But anyway, let me just say this, they had some movie stars that came to testify. They had some really unusual things, like people from Florida, women from Florida, women from New York City. Everybody you can think of was down there. And then, I think it was chicken blood, if I remember correctly—
- DePue: Pigs' blood. In 1982, there was pigs' blood spilled outside the Senate chambers.
- Philip: Oh, was it? Yeah. They wrote in front of the Senate, on the floor. Then they had some women offer money to people to vote for it. In fact, I think one of the ladies got indicted and convicted for trying to bribe a member of—
- Hendren: This was the same time they chained themselves, too. Didn't they—
- DePue: Nineteen eighty-two was the last year; that was the hunger strike year; that was the year that the women chained themselves outside the Senate chamber, in disgust over what was going on with the Senate. And after it died in committee, and this ten year battle was over, that was when they spelled some names in pigs' blood outside the Senate chamber.
- Hendren: Oh, the governor's office. It was on the doors of the governor's office, the glass doors of the governor's office.
- DePue: Well, Thompson was a supporter, I thought. I know he was a supporter.
- Hendren: He was a supporter. I'm not...and I could be wrong, but I don't believe that I am, because, at that brief time, I was down with Edgar. I remember they're in charge of the security in the building, and we had guys in full riot gear out there, which is crazy by the way.
- Philip: Remember Forest Etheridge?
- Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: He was the president of a large junior college, was a great senator, nicest guy. He was going to vote for it. But, after he saw these women, some of the t-shirts, they used the F-word.

You wouldn't know this, but I'm an early riser. I'm always there between 7:00 and 7:30, so I get in early. I try to get in before everybody else, because I always have more problems, more stuff to work on than anybody else. My secretary, I never ask her to come in early; she always came in. And then, we had Weaver, always came in, and Maitland always came in. So, the three of us would sit down there and work out what we're going to do with the leadership. In my leadership, we met every morning before the session, every morning to try to work out what problems we had and so forth.

But Forest Etheridge was the nicest guy, and he was going to vote for it. I didn't try to twist his arm at all. But the women that came down there, that talked to us and threatened us, and the stuff and the actions they did, turned him off completely. He changed his mind 100 percent and voted *no*. I think Phil Rock voted *no* in the end.

DePue: Well, Phil Rock was the one who decided not to let it get out of committee, because he knew he did not have the votes.

Philip: Well, I—

DePue: That would have been '82.

Philip: Yeah. I thought we had some kind of a vote on the floor.

Hendren: The Senate had votes on the floor at one time or another, but I thought Rock was for ERA, but it was killed in committee. One of the issues was, whether or not it was a three-fifths vote or a constitutional majority. Remember that fight?

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: Because some of them wanted a ruling that it was a constitutional majority, which is contrary to history precedent. And our argument was that it was contrary to the constitution.

DePue: It was Illinois State Constitution that said any kind of amendment to the constitution needed a three-fifths vote. So, that occurred in 1970, and that rule ended up being applied, both to the U.S. amendments, as well as amendments to the Illinois State Constitution. And so, I know that almost every year, there was a two-phase battle, one over the three-fifths vote and then over the ERA itself. But, Senator, you've never said specifically what your position on ERA was.

Philip: I was **never** for it.

DePue: Because?

Philip: They've got plenty of rights as it is. (laughs) What do they need more rights for? And you want to set up a committee that decides what salary you are going to give women, and if their job is equal to the men's' job? That's nuts.

DePue: Are you saying that they already had equal rights under the U.S. law at that time?

Philip: They got more rights than men, if you ask me. (laughs)

DePue: Well that was—

Philip: You know, the interesting thing...I worked for Pepperidge Farm Bakery. In our bakery, probably 85 percent of the employees are women. Our company was started by a woman, Margaret Rudkin. (laughs) And I'll tell you, in my work place—

Hendren: Wasn't your argument, though, Pate, that it was unnecessary? You have the 14th Amendment; you have due process; you have equal protection that was color blind and generic neutral. So, that was the Republican position overall, was it was unnecessary.

DePue: I think there's also legislation in 1960s that says equal pay for equal work, something to that effect. And this was—

Philip: So, how do you decide that? You're going to let some board that has never seen the people working or been at the place—

Hendren: The answer to that is the free market system. Let them decide.

Philip: I don't buy that at all. Incidentally, one morning I came in, there was, I don't know, maybe fifteen women, twenty women, and the sign said, "Nursing Mothers for ERA." And they were nursing their babies in the first floor of the Rotunda. Do you like that?

DePue: I assume you got a chance to meet Phyllis Schlafly at the time?

Philip: Oh, I knew her before that. She always was an active in Republican politics.

DePue: Well, there are some women who blame Phyllis Schlafly for the ultimate defeat of ERA, not just in Illinois, but across the country. Your opinion of her?

Philip: Well, you know what, I like her. She was a reasonable person, articulate, very nice lady. I don't know how much clout she had with the members, quite frankly. But she talked. I don't think she ever talked to our caucus, though,

that I can remember. But she would come down and talk to us, write us letters. I mean, I always liked her. I always got along with her.

DePue: But, are you saying that you don't think her involvement changed the vote in any material way?

Philip: Well, she didn't have... I wouldn't think she had much influence with the Democrats. With the Republicans, she'd have some with more conservative Republicans.

DePue: But, as I also understand, this an issue that crossed party lines in both ways. There were Republicans that voted for and Republicans that voted against. There were Democrats that voted for and Democrats that voted against.

Philip: Very few Republicans voted for it. There weren't a lot of Democrats that were against it. But I suppose a few downstaters—

Hendren: There were some, yeah.

Philip: There were a few downstaters—

DePue: I thought there was Stevenson and some black Democrats from Chicago that voted against it.

Philip: Hmm

DePue: I could be wrong on that.

Hendren: I don't know.

Philip: Not many, I'll bet.

DePue: Well, Governor Edgar told me a story that—this would have occurred in the 1972 vote—that Daley was upset about a completely different issue, essentially about the issue of his delegation to the '72 democratic convention in Miami being barred from getting credentials, and that he got upset and put the word out to have some of his members vote against ERA as punishment for it

Hendren: I remember they were denied credentials, yeah.

Philip: You know, I'm going to get a drink of water, if that's alright?

Hendren: Here, I'll get it. Go ahead and stretch if you want to.

DePue: Do we need to take a break?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Let me know when you're ready to start.

(pause in taping)

Philip: I'm ready.

DePue: We took a very quick break. I wonder if one of the two of you could tell me the years that Carter [Hendren] served as your chief of staff. Carter, do you remember?

Hendren: Yeah, '87 to 2003, when we both left.

DePue: Were you on his staff in a different position before '87?

Hendren: I was staff director for a period of time, when he was both the assistant leader and leader for a brief period of time. Then I went with Edgar.

DePue: Well, I want to go back to 1980 just very quickly. Nineteen eighty is a significant year, for Republican history, at least, because that's the year that Ronald Reagan ran for president and won for president. That certainly

changed the Republican Party politics at the national level. I believe you were a John Connolly supporter in the primary for that year. But I



Governor Thompson, Senator Philip, and his wife Nancy, standing with Ronald Reagan at rally at the College of DuPage in the 1980s.

wanted to get your impressions of Reagan and the Reagan Republican revolution, if you will.

Philip: Well, it certainly turned out a lot of Republicans, and mostly, the people were very conservative. I tell you, it was very helpful in our county. We did very well.

DePue: Nineteen eighty-two, that was another gubernatorial election year. You got Jim Thompson running for the third time now, and his opponent is Adlai Stevenson.

Hendren: That brochure from 1980, you—

Philip: Oh, okay.

DePue: Do we need to touch base on that real quick?

Hendren: No. We were going to show it to you.

Philip: I will show you the—What did I do with it?—the best political brochure that I've ever seen, and it works. They ought to use it this time. What the heck did I do with it?

DePue: Is this your brochure? Or is this—

Philip: Well, this is what the county did.

DePue: Here's the cover of it.

Philip: That's what Mitt [Romney] ought to do.

DePue: (reading) "Aren't you better off now than you were eight years ago, under Carter-Mondale? Take a look at the facts." Then it's got a whole series of things. So this would have been the election of 1980?

Philip: That's what we put out. And I'll tell you one thing, we got more compliments on that brochure than anything. We had—if I remember correctly—we had over 80 percent turnout, which was extremely high. And, if I remember correctly, Bush carried it by like almost 70 percent, close to 70 percent.



Governor Jim Thompson, Vice President George H.W. Bush, and Senator "Pate" Philip visit a state park in the mid-1980s.

DePue: This is 1988. So, this is taking a look at the impact that the Reagan years had. Inflation, 13.3 percent under Carter-Mondale; 4.8 percent under Reagan-Bush. Misery index, 19.9 percent for Carter-Mondale; low of 9.1 percent for Reagan-Bush team. Interest rates—this one has got to shock people today—

21.5 percent interest rates for Carter-Mondale, and a low of 9.5 percent for Reagan-Bush. Nine point five would seem to be outrageous today.

Philip: Today.

Hendren: In those_days, yeah, right.

DePue: But 21.5 percent, that's astounding interest rates. And then income tax burden, 10.4 percent under Carter-Mondale; 8.8 under Reagan-Bush team. So, you say that should be the theme for this year's election as well?

Philip: Just change the figures. I'll tell you, when people read that and look at that, if you are half-way intelligent, got some common sense, I know who you're going to vote for.

DePue: Let's go back to the '82 election. That was an interesting election, because it ended up being a real squeaker between Thompson and Adlai Stevenson III. It ended up with Thompson winning by 49.44 percent, versus Stevenson 49.3 percent, very close.

Philip: Um-hmm.

DePue: Some would say that it was because of your efforts to turn out the DuPage County vote, that that put Thompson over the top. (phone rings)

Philip: It certainly helped. No question about that. (phone rings)

Hendren: (Answers the phone and talks in the background)

DePue: So, you don't think you deserve all the credit for that victory?

Philip: No, you know what? It's like, if you're a candidate, if you think you can win on your own, you're sadly mistaken. It takes a lot of help, good organization. We have that in DuPage County; we had that in DuPage County. But, I put it together with a lot of good people, but I had a lot of help. I don't deserve all the credit. The organization deserves the credit.

DePue: Of course, that's the reputation that the Democratic Party machine in Chicago always had, especially under Richard J. Daley, that they had the reputation of being very capable of turning out the Democratic vote in the city.

Philip: Absolutely correct. Listen, there's never been an election where they haven't had election fraud going on.

DePue: So you think that the Democrats in Chicago were pushing the boundaries of legality?

Hendren: (laughs)

- Philip: Are you kidding?
- DePue: (laughs)
- Hendren: Be blunt, Pate
- Philip: I mean, there's always some kind of a scandal going in on an election in Cook County. Every election, never fails.
- DePue: Let's jump four years ahead to the 1986 state elections.
- Philip: Well, excuse me, but you know what? I forgot to say that Jim Thompson was a great candidate. That guy worked his rear end off, let me tell you. About May 15th every year, we have the largest parade, the Lombard lilac parade. It has over one hundred units in it. You know why? Because a lot of people who like to go to parades and work on parades. There's not another parade—you know, like the Fourth of July or Labor Day. You know, every other city's got a parade. Well, Lombard has this gigantic—and I tell you, he [Thompson] worked that parade like you can't believe, walked the whole thing, shake hands, kiss babies. Somebody offer him a beer, he'd have a swallow of beer. And I'll tell you, he's just a very good campaigner, as good as I've ever seen.
- DePue: The best you've ever seen.
- Philip: I don't know if he's the best, but he's certainly in the top two or three. I mean, he likes people. People can tell that. I mean, they like him.
- DePue: Well, while we're in the neighborhood of Thompson's style, he also had the reputation, sometimes, of working the floor of the legislature as well.
- Philip: Yeah, that's true.
- DePue: Do you think that was effective?
- Philip: Yeah, absolutely, particularly in our side of the aisle. I mean people like him.
- DePue: Do you have any stories that you remember about his campaign style or work in the legislature?
- Philip: Oh, I can remember this. It was on White Sox Park, which was controversial with downstate Republicans, particularly. You know, Chicago, generally speaking, most Republicans say they [Chicago] always get more than their share. That is probably an accurate description of what happens. It's worse when they've got the majority in both houses, which they've had for a long time. I don't care whether its school aid, if its food stamps, housing, they always get more than their share. Well, we were trying to work out something reasonable on the White Sox. I'm a Cub fan, quite frankly. But, I thought it was a reasonable proposal, and Jerry Reinsdorf is the better owner, if there's a

good owner in the city of Chicago, Jerry Reinsdorf is that guy. For the Bulls and the White Sox, he's done a fantastic job. And we had to issue bonds to rebuild White Sox Park.

Well, the problem is, where is the money coming from? And how are you going to do it? Our attitude was, put a hotel-motel tax in the City of Chicago, and then take part of the ticket, the cost of the ticket, to pay off the bonds. The state shouldn't be doing anything like that.

I think, if I remember correctly, we prevailed, and we passed it. Didn't we pass it in the Senate first? And then, it went over to the House. So Thompson and I decided we'd get our members, our Senate members, to go over there and lobby the House members, which I don't think we've ever done it. Have we done it any other time, other than for that?

Hendren: I don't remember.

Philip: And Thompson went over with them. I went over with them. A lot of our downstate Republicans didn't want to do anything for Chicago. And, you know, most of the downstate Republicans, they're Cardinal fans. (all laugh) I mean, from Springfield down, forget it. Even my chief of staff is a Cardinal fan. (all laugh) And that was one of the interesting things. They finally passed it over there. Of course, that helped out the city.

DePue: So, a full blitz on the House made the difference.

Philip: I think it made a lot of difference, yes.

DePue: I wanted to talk a little bit about the '86 election, just to get your reflections on that. It was a peculiar election, only in Illinois you got to think. That was the year that they got done with the Democratic primaries, and suddenly Stevenson and others realized that, hey, some of these people on this ticket that we're not having to share with are Lyndon LaRouche⁸ candidates. It wasn't the governor, but it was the lieutenant governor. The winner was a LaRouche candidate and the secretary of state. The winner was a LaRouche candidate, and not a party Democrat by any means. And, as you recall, Stevenson felt like he couldn't leave his name on the Democratic ticket with these LaRouches on there. So, he ran under the Solidarity Party ticket. Any reflections on that particular campaign?

Philip: You know, I never met a LaRouche in my life.

DePue: (laugh)

⁸ Lyndon Hermyle LaRouche Jr. was an American political activist and founder of the LaRouche movement, which originated in radical leftist student politics of the 1960s. LaRouche wrote on economic, scientific and political topics, as well as on history, philosophy, and psychoanalysis. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lyndon_LaRouche)

- Philip: Never saw anybody in DuPage County that would ever admit they were one, if we had had any here. I'm surprised; there were zero, as far as I'm concerned.
- DePue: It made a pretty easy election for Thompson that year.
- Philip: Absolutely, it certainly helped him. No question about that.
- DePue: I think the end result was... You just had this incredible squeaker in '82 that had to go to the courts in '82 to finally sort it out. But in '86, Thompson pulled 52.7 percent. Stevenson got 40 percent, so that's considered a trouncing in anybody's definition. And Fairchild, who was the LaRouche candidate, was 6.6 percent. No, I think he was a different candidate. Anyway, he got 6.6 percent.
- Philip: Where was he from? I don't remember. We never saw him.
- Hendren: I remember the name. I don't know where he's from.
- Philip: He never campaigned in the county that I ever saw.
- Hendren: He's pulling off what, eight or nine percent of dissonant people, is what he's doing?
- DePue: That was the thought that the Democrats had. You had Mark Fairchild, who won the lieutenant governor's primary race. That's a nice safe name, Mark Fairchild. And Janis Hart was the secretary of state. That's a nice sounding name.
- Hendren: I remember that one, yeah.
- Philip: I never saw any of them. (laughs) We're the second largest county—
- Hendren: (both talking)...for lieutenant governor, who was the party's choice for lieutenant governor?
- DePue: Was it George Sangmeister?
- Hendren: Yes, that's him. He was a state Senator at the time.
- Philip: Yep, nice guy.
- Hendren: But he never campaigns. That was part of the problem. He never left Joliet; I'll bet you anything. Great guy—
- Philip: Well, he was a Congressman.
- Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: He was in the Senate with me, and I'll tell you, he looks a lot like me. In fact, there were a couple of magazine or newspaper articles where they had his name under me and my name under him.

Hendren: Yep.

DePue: So, he was handsome, too, huh?

Philip: Well, (all laugh) I don't know about that. (laughing) But a nice guy. Should have been a Republican. He graduated from Elmhurst College, which I found out. He died early, unfortunately, nice guy though.

DePue: Well, I want to ask you about a couple of other issues that were from the Thompson era. You talked already about the 1983 income tax increase. Nineteen eighty-nine was another battle where Thompson felt they needed to get an income tax increase. It ended up being a temporary income tax increase. Do you recall that battle at all? And where you stood on the issue.

Philip: No, I don't remember that battle, at all. What did we do, Carter? Can you remember that?

Hendren: Yeah. We opposed the governor's tax increase, but it really wasn't the governor's; it was Mike Madigan's. This is the bill that came over from the Speaker, as I recall, overnight. There was never a discussion; [it] was never publicly disclosed.

It was a rate increase, but it was the allocations is what was interesting, half of the money to local governments, because they had this monster of the city of Chicago that they had to feed, and half to education, making it an attractive vote for downstaters. It was a very well put-together package. They called it "slam, bam, thank you ma'am" kind of style.

And it came to the Senate. We killed it the first time. You had one member, ultimately, that ended up voting for it. That was Ralph Dunn, deep southern Illinois.

Philip: Yep.

Hendren: The debate became, how much did the locals get? What's the nature of the "temporary"? There was all sorts of things. The governor... While you were opposed to it, as were all your members, with the exception of Ralph, (laughs) didn't want him to sign it. There was always the belief that the governor and the Speaker had had this all worked out. Senator Rock was the sponsor in the Senate, and they moved it through, passed it. We opposed that bill, if you will, at that time. But it was pretty well put together piece of legislation, great strategy. I mean, hats off to their tactics.

DePue: And my understanding is that Madigan had previously been opposed to the income tax increase, and this kind of surprised people, when he kind of changed his tune on it.

Hendren: Um-huh.

DePue: And this is the issue that is going to be the main issue in the 1990 election, which we will get to in a little bit here.

Philip: I don't know why I don't remember much about that.

Hendren: Well, it happened very quickly, and it didn't have the traditional build-up of the press and stuff, Pate, that the others had. Literally, they came in one day and passed it. It came over; they made an effort to pass it quickly, like, I think, the next day or something like that. And we were successful in stopping it. (coughs) But it ended there.

DePue: And was that a two-year?

Hendren: Two-year, temporary.

DePue: Two-year, temporary.

Philip: Well, you got to remember this now. Things have changed, I assume. But Chicago gets anywhere from 40 to 50 percent of their aid for their schools from the state. You know what my school district gets? 5 percent. And it's a terrible...and, you know, half the kids that start high school [in Chicago] don't graduate. I mean, it's a real joke. I mean, we do more for them than we do for anybody. Now, some of the downstate districts, too, the poorer districts like Peoria, Pekin, East St. Louis, they all get a lot more money than my school districts do. But, you know, it's really unfair. We pay the bill, and they get the money.

DePue: I'm going to ask some more questions about school reform, but that's a little bit farther down here, once we get to the mid-'90s.

So, let's go back to the Thompson years. I want to ask about the Build Illinois program, because that was one of the things that he felt was important, put his mark on contributing to the state, and a couple of the specifics in that Build Illinois project. This was a bond issue, as I understand.

Philip: Yes.

DePue: One of those was the construction of the outer loop—

Philip: Three fifty-five.

DePue: What became I-55? Was that something that you personally were advocating?

Philip: I'll tell you, it took me a while to come around to it. People had an idea of where it was going to go. Well, if your house was next to it, or in the way, you weren't too happy. [It] ran right through my district.

But I think Jack Knuepfer was the president of the county board. Before I jumped to a conclusion, I talked to him and talked to my local people. Generally speaking, Jack said, "Hey, we need it. I mean, the traffic is just unbelievable." I said, "Let's make a toll way out of it, as long as you're going to do it." Well, there was an argument about that, quite frankly. I had people in the caucus and people from DuPage said it ought to be a freeway. Well, in talking to... I'm just trying to think who was the executive of the toll way then? Gail Fransen.

Hendren: Gail Fransen, that's right. You're right.

Philip: And Gail Fransen had been the president of the county board at one time, if I remember correctly.

Hendren: Um-huh

Philip: I think later, if I remember right. They could do the tollway in like three years. They said, to get that done, if we were going to do it out of the state funds, out of the highway funds, it would be like fifteen years.

Hendren: Little sections of it.

Philip: Yeah, what are you going to do?

DePue: Was there supposed to be an end time period, when it would no longer be a tollway?

Philip: No. But, I'll tell you one went to sell the bonds in New York, and they raised the tolls

on that to pay off for the bonds. But they raised the tolls too much. They under-guesstimated the amount of traffic on there. They had a heck of a lot more traffic, so they had a surplus from that.



In 1988, Senator Philip visits with workers of the I-355 Veterans Memorial tollway, then under construction. Philip was a strong advocate for the north-south interstate, designed to improve the infrastructure for the western suburbs.

DePue: When the tolls were initially set?

Philip: Yeah, absolutely.

Hendren: Were the original toll ways paid? Once the debt was retired, were they supposed to revert back to the freeway system?

Philip: No.

Hendren: No? Okay.

Philip: That was never discussed that I remember.

DePue: Well, just to get here for the interview, I got to pay \$3.80 in two different toll booths.

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: It's a buck ninety now on 355 [Interstate 355].

Philip: You got to remember what the Democrats have done, almost doubled the state income tax for individuals and business. And now they just did the tollways.

DePue: Again, we're talking about just within the last couple of years that Governor Quinn was able to push through that significant income tax increase on both personal and business income taxes.

A couple of the other things, you already talked about the replacement for Comiskey Park. I read someplace, though, that there was some discussion, early on, that suggested maybe building that replacement in DuPage County and not the south side of Chicago.

Philip: Well, you know what? That would be in Addison Illinois. It was on the ballot in Addison, Illinois, and it lost by about ten votes.

Hendren: (laughs)

Philip: But I wasn't for it. Most of the people were not for it, but it almost passed. And I tell you, I like Jerry Reinsdorf. He came out and campaigned for it. He put some of my precinct committeemen on the payroll, and they campaigned for it. (all laugh). But I always liked Jerry. Jerry's a good guy.

DePue: Do you remember some of the other things that were included in that Build Illinois project? I mean, this went across the entire state. A lot of it was school building and road construction, etc.

Philip: Yeah, I think, generally speaking, it was pretty good stuff. Chicago always gets more than their share.

DePue: To include the Thompson Building in downtown Chicago?

Philip: You know, I guess that... Was that in Build Illinois?

Hendren: No, Thompson was done in 1978. It was in the Capital Bill in 1978, because, I remember, I was the Senate liaison the year when it died. The bill died, because we killed it, and Thompson wasn't very happy. (all laugh)

DePue: He wanted that building.

Hendren: Well, it was Tom Hynes. We had a deal. He tried to add to the deal late, and we said, "Stick it." And then, they told me, "Get the hell out of the building." (laughs)

DePue: Well, I know part that, part of the Build Illinois, I think, was the new state library, which Jim Edgar—at the time, he was secretary of state—and that was part of his purview. He was proud of the architecture of that building, as compared to the Thompson Center.

Hendren: Yeah, it's more traditional than the one downtown.

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: McCormick Place expansion, was that part of the package?



Hendren: McCormick Place was in the '89 debate. The year Thompson was leaving, we needed a cigarette tax for McCormick Place. Then Jim Riley left as chief of staff and came up and was running the McPier operation. I think part of the equation, but—

"Pate" Philip chats with Secretary of State Jim Edgar and Governor Thompson, circa 1990.

DePue: Not necessarily Build Illinois, but part of the efforts to do major infrastructure improvements.

Hendren: Yeah. And I'm certain, Pate, that there were things in the original Build Illinois that benefitted the McPier area, as there probably should have been. But, I know that McCormick Place, the big deal was the ten cent cigarette tax in '89. You remember; they called it a feeding frenzy that spring, when all the bills passed, (laugh) and the taxes were raised.

- DePue: So, I guess the question is, in general, were you in favor of these kinds of infrastructure improvements?
- Philip: Yeah, probably, generally speaking, yeah.
- DePue: And the key question, then, apparently, was how are you going to pay for each one of these?
- Hendren: Let me say this, Pate, on your behalf, because you're going to forget this. Pate and his caucus—I can't speak for the others—wanted guarantees on how these things were paid for. That was not only through the '80s and the '90s, when we were in the majority, because we had some fights with Governor Edgar on how certain things were paid for.
- But, in the '90s, we actually built and paid for a prison with cash—people don't remember that—rather than bonding it for twenty years. But they always demanded that there be a way to retire this debt. It was always a very, very important equation.
- DePue: The other thing, when I was doing some background reading, this one surprised me. Was there discussion in the late '80s about possibly getting the World's Fair in 1992 in Chicago?
- Philip: There was discussion. I didn't think it was a good idea.
- Hendren: Actually, there was money spent, and a lot of effort put into it. The guys in Chicago...I think Thompson wanted to do it.
- Philip: Chicago wants to do everything. But, generally speaking, most of the things they do cost a lot of money, and they're not run well.
- Hendren: Correct.
- DePue: Well, that gets us up to the 1990 gubernatorial election. Jim Thompson had been governor from 1976, all the way up through 1990. So, that's fourteen years. That's a pretty long time.
- Philip: You know, that's the longest serving governor in the history of the United States. There's only one governor that served longer than that, and that's because he got defeated, Rhodes from Ohio, if I remember correctly. He got beat, and then, after he got beat, four years after that, he ran again.
- Hendren: So Thompson's was consecutive.
- Philip: Yeah, right, right.
- DePue: And he basically handed over the opportunity to Jim Edgar, who had been secretary of state for ten years.

Hendren: Ten years.

Philip: Yeah, and a good one.

DePue: Were you interested in 1980 in that secretary of state position? Because Thompson had the opportunity to—

Philip: Appoint, yeah.

DePue: Thompson had the opportunity to select, to appoint?

Philip: Yeah, and we had a talk about it.

DePue: You and Thompson did?

Philip: Yeah, certainly. I mean, we're friends; he talks about those things with me. And he said, "Pate, you know, Dr. Shapiro's not going to live. I need you to be the leader." So, I said, "Fine."

DePue: That was essentially the same thing he told George Ryan, wasn't it? I know Ryan was the Speaker in '81 and '82. So, at the time, he would have had this discussion, he was the minority leader in the Illinois House.

Hendren: Speaker.

Philip: I don't know.

Hendren: He was the lieutenant governor candidate in '82.

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: And he was the Speaker during reapportionment, in '81 and '82.

DePue: Yeah.

Hendren: He was put on the ballot by Thompson. That's obviously Thompson's decision, however he wanted to do it. But he was the lieutenant governor candidate, without opposition, in '82. But they didn't run together.

DePue: Again, going back to the discussion he had with you, though, how disappointed were you that he didn't select you as the secretary of state?

Philip: Didn't bother me that much.

DePue: You saw the logic of—

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: ...being in the Senate instead?

Philip: Yeah, I was there, and I thought I could win it. So, why not just do it?

DePue: Let's compare, then, Jim Thompson as a political candidate and Jim Edgar as a political candidate.

Philip: You know what? They're both good candidates. Obviously, every election they've had, they've one. But it's a different operation.

Thompson always—what should I say—attracted a lot of volunteers. He had a lot of young people working for him and was a very good candidate, good debater, good speaker. I can say the same for Edgar. They were both good candidates.

I would say this, that Thompson seemed to enjoy people differently. He loved the parades, talked to everybody, shook hands, had his picture taken and was much more of a personality as a candidate.

Edgar was a—what should I say—not so aggressive as Thompson was. I don't know how much he liked to campaign, but he was articulate, bright guy, right on the issues and a very good governor.

Thompson always wanted to do more, spend more, do a lot more things. Edgar was much more conservative, when it came to the budget. And, if I remember right, one of the best things that he did, in my opinion anyway, was, he had a bill and an idea to solve the pension problem.

DePue: You're talking Edgar now?

Philip: Yes, yes, absolutely. In fact, we passed it, if I remember right. He signed it, and, in about ten or fifteen years, we'd have the pension problem solved.

Hendren: It was working, until Rod Blagojevich became governor. (laughs)

Philip: And then he... That was one of the great things he did, and it was a good idea. He tried to put things together. If I remember right, that was his idea, to put some of those departments together into one unit, which was a good idea.

I think the one thing that he missed was they all should have been on the same computer, the same system, so that a person who had to deal with state government could just go to one person, and that one person could solve his or her problem. But, they weren't able to do that for some reason. But it made things simpler, easier. If they would have all been on the same computer—unless you're going to two different departments—you could go to one department that could solve all of your problems.

DePue: That 1990 election we had talked about... Carter, you helped out quite a bit in this discussion about that 1989 income tax surcharge. As I understand, that was **the** issue in the 1990 election. The issue was whether or not that

surcharge would be extended; whether or not the state needed that money permanently or just temporarily.

So, Jim Edgar runs in the position that, yes, we need to extend it. He kind of goes against the grain as a Republican and says, "We need that to be permanent." Neil Hartigan said, "No, we don't need that; we're going to cut two percent." I think that was the slogan for that year, "Two Percent." At that point in time, what was your thought about the income tax, extending the exemption?

Philip: (laughs) I don't remember, quite frankly. Carter?

Hendren: You weren't thrilled with it. Most Republicans weren't thrilled with it. It kind of runs like a salmon upstream kind of thing. But it all worked out.

DePue: (laughs) So, at the crunch time, you ended up supporting your governor?

Hendren: Yeah.

DePue: That was also a very close election. Edgar wins by 50.75 percent, so he just squeaked into the majority neighborhood. Hartigan pulled 48.17, but I don't think that Edgar knew until something like 1:00 in the morning of election night. So, it was a long night for him, and they were pretty excited.

Once he gets into office, he's looking at a \$1 billion deficit. And the word was, boy, we had no idea the deficit was that bad. So, again, the question for both of you here, did you guys in the Illinois State Senate, as the senate minority leader, know that the budget was seriously out of balance by that time?

Philip: Well, we knew it was out of balance, but I always thought it was like 450 billion.

DePue: Million?

Hendren: Yeah. One of my jobs, Mark, during that, was to communicate with the governor's chief of staff, who used to be one of my staff bosses, great guy—

DePue: Who was that, at the time?

Hendren: John Washburn, who was his chief of staff. So, I would talk to John every now and then about how big this problem is going to be. I vividly remember sitting down with him. It was going to be \$750 million shortfall, is what they thought.

Philip: Was that it? I knew it was somewhere there.

Hendren: I remember leaving that office, walking down the hallway, going to Edgar's office and said, "It's going to be about three-quarters of a billion dollars, big number." It's lot, whoa. Well, it ended up being more than that. (laughs) But, you know, I mean, they solved the problem.

DePue: Well, that's what I wanted to talk about here, because solving the problem meant that there was going to be a pretty brutal budget battle for the first two, maybe three years of the Edgar administration. Do you remember much about those budget battles?

Philip: No. It wasn't much of a battle that I remember. Do you?

Hendren: We spent a lot of time in Springfield. Sessions went over each time. Remember, those were the days where we went into July. Once we went to July the nineteenth, I think, once to the fifteenth—

DePue: That first year, in 1991, there was at least one payroll, state payroll, that was missed, because you went beyond that point.

Hendren: Here's the bottom line, Pate; you'll remember this. One of the very first things that Edgar did was, he called for the passage of the Emergency Budget Act of 1991. And with that, he asked for what, at that time, was considered fairly broad powers. He wanted to go into certain special funds, recoup some of those monies to help with cash flow, and then just begin to cut spending and hold spending. I mean, it was kind of contentious.

I would argue—and I think I have—that that probably, for Edgar, established his reputation for the rest of his career in a very positive way, because he came in as a... They thought he was kind of a young guy; they didn't know if he had a lot of experience, and he came in and, boom, and put the hammer down.

We spent weeks trying to pass that bill. The Democrats finally gave him the authority to take money from special funds and stuff like that, only extraordinarily restricted, compared to where they are now. And then, ultimately, you passed a budget.

But remember, remember Edgar wanted the budget in one bill. Remember that? First time we'd ever done that. And we set at that table—you could ask Senator Rock about this—we set at that table for hours and hours, debating literally \$100,000 dollars, when in the old days, you debated a \$100 million, okay? It was a different philosophy. But, the bottom line was, Lee Daniels—

Philip: Of course, one bill is a pretty good idea, because everybody will know what's in it.

Hendren: Right. But you and Lee set over here. I mean, the visual was pretty dramatic. You're here; Lee's here; Rock's here; Madigan's here; there's the governor. It was this side against that side. And you literally set there, and there were times where minutes would go by, and nobody would say a word. You just stared at one another. It was a completely different negotiating atmosphere than Governor Thompson, because Governor Thompson would go get a bottle of scotch and bring it in.

DePue: (laughs)

Hendren: But, you were involved with it, because you said, "My members stand with the fiscally conservative approach." That's what you said. And it worked. Unfortunately, they didn't do that in 2003 or five or seven or nine. (all laugh)

DePue: I can tell you, in having spent quite a bit of time interviewing Governor Edgar about the first two years of the budget fights, especially, Edgar walked away with the sense that he won in 1991. And, I think it would be fair to say, he won, and Madigan lost.

After the 1992 battle, he figured, well, I think Madigan won that round, but he still had 1991. And you mention, Carter, that by that time he'd established his credentials as a budget fighter.

Hendren; And he had more flexibility in '92. And he'd learned this is not about the governor. But it takes a while to learn what your powers are there.

Philip: How bad did he leave George Ryan?

Hendren: Oh, we were in good shape.

DePue: There was a \$1 billion surplus when he handed it over to Ryan.

Hendren: There was a point in time, Pate, we had a billion five, at one point. There were times when, at the end of Jim's administration, that we moved money out of [the] general revenue fund before June the thirtieth, and put it into special funds, just so we wouldn't show the cash balance. I shouldn't probably say that, but that's true.

But, it all goes back to that first six months, where there was just absolutely rigorous financial discipline, rigorous discipline. It was, all the Republicans stood in line with Edgar, which really limited what these other guys could do, because they knew they had to help solve this problem.

DePue: And in both the House and the Senate, at that time, the Democrats had a majority, correct?

Hendren: Oh, yeah.

- DePue: In '91 and '92, at least.
- Hendren: Yeah, um-hmm
- DePue: I think this would be something you'd remember more about here, the whole discussion about the property tax issue for suburban Chicago districts.
- Philip: You mean, we were worried about suburban area? We pay a hell of a lot more taxes than they do. You realize that, don't you?
- DePue: In property tax?
- Philip: Oh, absolutely.
- DePue: And, I think I'm correct to say that the recent history, at that point in time, was that every year there would be a significant increase in the growth of the property tax, well exceeding the inflation rate.
- Philip: Generally speaking, the suburban areas, absolutely. In fact, tell them the taxing body school would have a public meeting, and they would say, "We're going to lower the rate on your property taxes. We're going to lower it 1 percent, .5 percent." But they'd forget to tell you, because the assessed valuation is going so high. They're taking in more money.
- Hendren: If your assessed value went up 10 percent, and you got a 1 percent reduction in your rate, [it] didn't really help you, did it?
- DePue: So, the cap would apply to the growth in the assessed value, as well?
- Hendren: No, the cap applied to the rate.
- Philip: Right.
- Hendren: That's unfortunately what we didn't anticipate, down the road, because then they started playing with the assessments.
- Philip: Right.
- DePue: They being who, in this case?
- Hendren: The locals.
- Philip: Local assessors, school boards.
- DePue: So, they needed more revenue. So, you just play with the assessments more, because you know you're not going to win on the tax increase, the rate increase?

Philip: I will tell you this, generally speaking, in DuPage County I can speak about, that if it's for schools, people tend to vote for it. I hate to say it, but that's what happens.

Hendren: But, the other factor here, Pate, that I think... Maybe that's not what you want to get to, Mark, but for you [Pate], Edgar ran on property tax limits in '90, and you supported him. And your candidates in '92, all were the suburban area. This was a huge issue for us, in terms of our electability of our candidates. So, this whole issue became really a political issue, big time that helped elect candidates.

Philip: Yeah, you're absolutely right.

Hendren: But, we did it sequentially. We did a little bit in '91, a little bit down the road.

DePue: I think you might remember a little bit about this battle, as well. This one, as I understand, has been an ongoing battle in discussions between Chicago and downstate and the suburbs, as well. But, the issue is that third airport for the Chicago area. I think it really came to a head in 1992, whether or not that third airport location would be Lake Calumet or Peotone or elsewhere. Can you flesh that one out a little bit for us?

Philip: Well, of course, O'Hare field is in my Senate district. And, of course, we hear a lot of airplanes, you know, if you live here, a lot of complaints. You'd be surprised at what happens. We've had parts of an airplane fall off on... lucky it was on White Pines golf course, where it fell off.

Once in a while, sometimes in the summer when it's hot, gasoline expands in airplanes. You know what they do sometimes? They go over to Lake Michigan and dump gasoline, or sometimes they dump it over Wood Dale or Bensonville. That's happened, and, of course, we don't like that. It's not good. You want to kill the lake? Keep dumping gasoline in it. It happens; they don't do anything about it.

And, of course, it's a lot of noise. All the people in Addison, Bensonville, Wood Dale, all the communities around here, are not for the expansion of O'Hare Field. They have more near misses at O'Hare Field than any airport in the United States. So, why are we putting more runways there? [It] just doesn't make any sense to me. I think the state still owns that property over there; where the hell is it? Didn't they buy some of the property?

Hendren: Bensonville?

Phillip: No, no, not Bensonville. I'm talking about—

Hendren: Oh, Calumet?

Philip: No, not Calumet.

Hendren: Because Edgar wanted to do Lake Calumet there that first time. That was his place.

DePue: Peotone?

Philip: Peotone.

Hendren: Peotone.

Philip: I think he bought some property over there, too.

Hendren: Yeah, probably.

Philip: If I remember right, that's where it ought to go.

DePue: The question, then, is why were you opposed to Lake Calumet as an option? Because, I think, that's what both Governor Edgar and Richard—

Hendren: Daley.

DePue: ...M. Daley, at the time, wanted to see.

Philip: Location.

DePue: Well, what's wrong with Lake Calumet, from your perspective?

Philip: I went over there on a bus tour one time with the people that were against that thing. They're putting it under a gigantic land fill over there, is where they're doing. It cost a fortune to take all that land fill out; it's all that garbage from Chicago.

DePue: So, was your objection primarily from a fiscal standpoint; it was costing much more money to put it there?

Philip: That's one of the reasons. I thought the location, out in Peotone, was pretty damn good. The farmers didn't like it, but there aren't that many farmers. But you got a railroad on both sides of it. You know, where it really ought to go is the arsenal over there. But that's—



Chicago Sun Times cartoonist Jack Higgins lampoons both Senator Philip and Mayor Richard M. Daley over the perennial dispute over a third airport for Chicago.

DePue: In Joliet?

Philip: Yeah! That's where it should have gone in the first place. For Christ's sake, you know, no homes there, nothing. And they were bitching about [it] because...It was interesting; I took a tour there, too, incidentally. When they cleaned the ammunition, or whatever they were doing, they put the water out in these...Well, they dig it about that deep, and they let the water evaporate. They said it's all polluted, that you couldn't do it.

Well, I went out there, and guess what? Because they're not doing it anymore, there's grass growing, the same grass, the same weeds that's growing on the outside of it is growing inside of it. So, that's a lot of boloney. I don't believe it. And it wouldn't cost us any money to buy it. We could buy it, get it from the federal government. That's where it ought to go.

DePue: Well, I think the issue is, for some in terms of Peotone, it's just too far out and, I believe, they were able to use the example of the... What was the name of the airport that was built in Illinois, well east of St. Louis, Midway?

Hendren: Mid-America.

DePue: Mid-America?

Philip: That was an army base they built it on, right? There's nobody down there.

Hendren: Yeah, I mean—

Philip: Who the hell is going to need a big airport down there?

Hendren: At one point they were going to use it as a hub for like the Flying Tiger, freight, a freight hub. You got Interstate 64, Interstate 72 or Interstate 70, I think it is, Interstate 57. So—

DePue: It's right next to Scott Air Force Base, is where it's at.

Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: Right.

DePue: So, they said, "Well, Mid-America isn't successful, and Peotone would be the same kind of relationship."

Philip: Well, you know what? They always bitched about O'Hare being so far out, but look what happened? It grew, right? It's got people around it now. And I've said, you've got more near misses there than any airport in the United States. We ought to put more traffic in there? And, believe it or not, you can only stack them so high and so far out.

DePue: Well, to this day, we still don't have a third Chicago airport. We've got Midway, and we've got O'Hare.

Philip: And now they're putting in three parallel runways, like this.



Senator Philip stands with a runway of O'Hare Airport behind him, during the O'Hare expansion project in the 1990s. Philip and other DuPage County representatives often fought to limit the growth of the airport, then the busiest in the world.

DePue: At O'Hare.

Philip: Right. Now, tell me if that isn't...I think, I've been told, anyway, that it's the only airport in the world that's got three parallel runways together.

Hendren: Remember, they're talking about Calumet. I remember meeting; we had a group of pilots came in who opposed Calumet because of the winds. They said the winds off of the lake change direction so much, it's a dangerous airport. If you ever landed at Meigs—

Philip: You know, you're right.

Hendren: And the other thing was, remember, if you bring Calumet in, Midway goes down. In that small of an airspace, you can't have all that. So, there was other problems with Calumet that really didn't get a lot of consideration.

Philip: Look at every major city in the United States. How many airports does New York have? How many airports does Boston have? Los Angeles? San Francisco? They all got three or four airports. We basically got one. And I'll tell you one thing, you ever land in Midway?

DePue: Yes.

- Philip: Holy Christ. Boom and the guy slams on his brakes.
- DePue: (laughs)
- Philip: I got a guy up the lake who's a retired United Airline pilot, good guy. We have coffee in the morning sometimes, and I said, "What do you think of Midway?" He said, "We hated to go in there. Jesus Christ, the runway's not long enough." He said, "That damn thing ought to be shut down; it's crazy."
- DePue: (laughs) Well, while we're in the neighborhood of airports, any comments about Meigs field, and then—
- Philip: That was so—
- DePue: ...Daley's closure of that?
- Philip: Well, I hate to say it; Edgar was a wimp on that. I mean, there was no authority to do that. That contract was for twenty years, you know, with the state. And, you know what that brought in the city a year? Seventy-four thousand dollars; sorry, \$74 million, tax wise, from that airport. There's no reason to do it whatsoever.
- DePue: When you say no reason to do it, no reason for Daley to rip it up and to close it?
- Philip: Right. Should never done it in the first place. And Edgar should have never agreed to it.
- DePue: Well, I think Edgar thought he had avoided the possibility of doing it. But there was a time frame to it, and as soon as the time frame was up—
- Hendren: All I remember was, he [Edgar] just saw the big X's that he [Daley] had the guys use for the back hoes to ruin the runway, which is like criminal damage to property, as far as I'm concerned.
- DePue: I can't recall when that occurred, but it was after Edgar was out of office, correct?
- Hendren: I don't remember.
- DePue: I think it was the early 2000s.
- Philip: But he shouldn't have never been for that. There's a lot of small companies that land their planes there. A lot of people like to come to Chicago. What do they do? They land their small airplane at the airport, get on the cab, do their business, come back and go.

- DePue: So the question now—I'm putting you on the spot here, trying to read somebody's mind—but do you understand why Daley wanted to close that?
- Philip: I have no idea.
- DePue: That part never made sense to you?
- Philip: Why did he want to close it? There's no reason I can think of. The state airplane used to fly out of there **all** the time. I never understood that.
- DePue: Well, let's turn our attention to—
- Philip: That's the only thing I ever think he did wrong though. I'll tell you that.
- DePue: Tell me about your relationship with Daley, then, since you mention that, With Richard M. Daley.
- Philip: You're talking about the kid.
- DePue: Yeah.
- Philip: Okay. You know what? He was a Marine, like I am; [he] likes a beer once in a while, like I do. He used to smoke a cigar once in a while, like I used to. I always got along with him. You know, he was in the Senate with me. I don't know, how many years was he in the Senate with me?
- Hendren: Oh, Pate, I don't know. He—
- Philip: Not very long, and then his brother took his place. Friendly. I tell you, when I had my open-heart surgery, he sent me a gigantic plant like you wouldn't believe, with a very nice note on it, which was very nice of him.
- DePue: This next subject, I think, was a happy topic for you. Nineteen-ninety, of course, was the year that you had a redistricting initiative. At that particular time, the Republicans won the draw. So, can you tell us the story about how it was that Republicans are going to be able to control redistricting after the 1990 census?
- Philip: How we're going to control it? Well, we lost the draw.
- Hendren: Nineteen-ninety. We won the draw in '91, remember?
- Philip: Right. But, I mean, the next time. You worried about the next time?
- DePue: No, I'm talking about 1991, when you won the draw.
- Philip: Oh.
- DePue: Do you remember that occasion?

- Philip: Yeah, damn right I do. We got lucky. (Hendren laughs) Do I remember it? I was there.
- DePue: Well, tell me the story.
- Philip: In fact, well, George Ryan, you know, pulled it out of the... I think he had it in a bowl. In fact, you know what? He gave me a bowl.
- Hendren: Oh, did he?
- Philip: Yeah, I think he gave the four leaders a bowl. I don't know where the hell it is, but it's got all that stuff written on the bottom of it.
- DePue: Well, Senator, when I was here earlier, you showed me the bowl downstairs.
- Philip: Did I? Well, okay.
- Hendren: I was going to say, I think you have it here somewhere.
- Philip: Yeah, I wouldn't be surprised.
- DePue: And you probably aren't surprised to hear that I've seen the bowl that Lee Daniels has, as well. (Hendren laughs)
- Philip: We got luckier than hell. And I'll tell you, Carter did most of the work on the map. Thank god for Carter Hendren. He did a hell of a job.

But, you know what? I think we were smarter than some other people were, because we didn't mess with the Congressmen. Some of the previous people that did that stuff, they wanted to take care of House or Senate members for a Congressional district.

If I remember right, I told the Republican leader in Congress, "Hey, we're not going to mess with it. You tell us what you want for yours. We aren't going to screw with it." I don't think that some people agreed with it, my attitude. But that was my attitude. In fact, both times, that was my



Senator Philip presides over the Illinois State Senate in the early 1990s. He became Senate president in 1993, following a 1991 legislative redistricting that the Republicans controlled.

attitude.

DePue: Well then, Carter, can you kind of flesh out for us the process for redistricting, after that 1990 census?

Hendren: Well, it goes to the legislature, has an opportunity. Then, if they don't have a resolution by the conclusion of session, there is a period of time where a legislative redistricting commission, appointed by the leaders, meets, bi-partisan, equal numbers. If there's an impasse there, there is a ninth member drawn, and that's the tie-breaker. We went to the tie-breaker. We've always went to the tie-breaker.

DePue: Which is exactly what the constitution thought would avoid—

Hendren: Would never happen. Right, would never happen. We won that draw, and in all honesty, everybody, I think, believes it was over at that point. Really it had just begun. We had a Democrat supreme court, extraordinarily partisan. This has original jurisdiction with the Illinois Supreme Court.

We immediately filed, the day after we won the draw, in federal court in Chicago. We wanted to get jurisdiction in a federal court, so we would have at least parallel litigation. We went before the Supreme Court. We went to the federal courts. We did all the depo [depositions]. We did everything.

The State Supreme Court, after we had a map, made us come back, have a hearing in Chicago. We were up here for five days. I remember that, five days. We made very modest alterations in that map. Lengthy hearings, contentious hearings.

We filed all those findings with the Illinois Supreme Court, and they were going to reconsider what the status of that map was. In the interim, we were also in the federal court, before a three-judge panel. And ultimately, that federal court said, "This map is constitutional, pursuant to the Voting Rights Act," which was really the primary issue. Slightly, a few weeks after that, the Illinois Supreme Court said, "Yeah, this is legal."

Philip: They made me come and sit in that court.

Hendren: Federal court, yeah.

Philip: In federal, it was a pain in my ass.

DePue: Is this the Seventh District Court?

Hendren: Um-huh. But they do panels—

- Philip: (both talking) And I'll never forget this. The Democrats had a black guy that came in to testify. I think one of the judges asked him a question, "How many counties do we have in Illinois?" The guy didn't know.
- Hendren: Nor did he know how many state legislators there were. He was their expert, so that helped us a little bit.
- Philip: That kind of... What should I say? (DePue laughs)
- Hendren: And we had—
- Philip: You should have seen the look on the judge's face.
- Hendren: We had probably, at that time and maybe still today, I don't know, probably the best litigator in the country. Danny Webb handled this case, as the litigator in front of the judge. I've never seen a guy take a witness apart like he did. He was amazing to watch.
- Philip: You thought he was that good, huh?
- Hendren: Yeah.
- Philip: I thought he was over-rated.
- Hendren: (both talking)
- Philip: And you remember what happened? I don't know if you'll remember this, but he went on vacation.
- Hendren: Oh, we made him come back.
- Philip: I called Thompson, and I said, "You know, he's going to come back the day before the court case." I said, "How the hell is going to do his homework?" I said, "What we're paying you guys, are you kidding me? You tell him to get his ass back here." And guess what? He came; he wasn't too...He's still mad at me.
- Hendren: No, he was not a happy person.
- Philip: I just couldn't believe that. Can you believe, a court, something like this? Our lawyer's on vacation and doesn't come back until the day before the hearing?
- DePue: Well, I want to make sure I understand the process of actually drawing the map. What you two have told me so far, after the name is pulled out, and that last member is a Republican, Carter, you and your staff get to draw that map?
- Hendren: Yeah, the map, at that point, had been drawn, for all practical purposes. It had been finalized. It had not been made public.

- DePue: Was there a Republican version of the map and a Democrat version of the map?
- Hendren: Yes, there was.
- Philip: Certainly.
- DePue: So, you just took the Republican version?
- Hendren: No, we drew our map. They drew their map. And I did meet with my counterpart to see if there was any way we could agree on a map. We did do that. We offered, "Let's have three swing districts; let's have five swing districts." And they said, "Okay." But the problem is, how do you agree on a swing district? Here's what we did in 1991. I think we beat them in '91. I think they may have beaten us in 2001.
- DePue: Right.
- Hendren: Well, legally, I'm talking about technical technology. We went to a private firm. A friend of Pate's knew a couple of guys that were doing private computer research for McDonald's.
- Philip: McDonald's, right.
- Hendren: We went out to these guys in Sycamore, Illinois, two PhD's in mathematics, very difficult guys to communicate with. Nice guys, but they're PhD's in mathematics, right.
- Philip: Real egg-heads.
- Hendren: What we saw was what they were doing. The research for McDonalds was a demographic, geographic-based data base, which is exactly what reapportionment is. They were trying to tell McDonalds Corporation where the best and safest place was to market and build new facilities, railroads, timing of railroads, demographics, the type of people that live in this precinct or this town or this area, everything in the macro that we wanted.

So, we started from scratch and built a whole software system that accommodated everything we wanted. Then we had to begin to match 9,000 precincts to the census data, by hand, 9,000 precincts, actually 11,000 precincts, to the census data. It was an arduous, arduous task, great people that worked, literally, twenty-four seven. But, when it came right down to it, our information was like this (snaps fingers 3 times quickly). It was unbelievable.

We went over to their offices once and tried to draw a map. We were there for an hour and had not finished a map. And I said, "To hell with this; let's go over to my office." We went over to our computer. We drew like five

maps in like ten minutes, and they were shocked. They were shocked. It was good data, and they admit it.

Now in 2001, I think their database was actually better than our database, although very competitive, but I think theirs was a little bit better.

Philip: Why?

Hendren: I think they had a little bit more modern stuff. You remember, technology had changed dramatically in the '90s. It was a different world, just a different world. The first time I did remap, Pate, we used grease pencils and a calculator. I mean, literally. (all laugh)

DePue: But in the way that politics works in Illinois—again this is my understanding—you can correct this. But, since you have to declare your party when you go in to vote in the primaries, you folks, who are drawing the maps, would know exactly which household had voted which way. So, one of the legends was that you could draw the line right down the middle of the bed, if you had to split the bedroom.

Hendren: We could get real close. You also knew... For the first time, you were really able to know the demographics. When you put census data on top of that, you knew other demographics. In addition to race, age, you could do all sorts of projections. You knew home values, that kind of... I mean, it was a pretty sophisticated system, interesting stuff, in my opinion. I thought it was fascinating.

DePue: Here's my understanding of redistricting. Whether you are Republican or Democrat, the game is, once it's done, you can dictate whose going to have control of the legislature.

Hendren: I don't believe that's true, if you're Republican. I believe that's true, if you are a Democrat, because this is a Democrat state. So, you can draw... When you have a base like the city of Chicago, and if you have a court like we have, that refuses to enforce compactness and continuity of districts—which they refuse to say is a standard—then you can take districts, like they have, and go from the Austin-Gresham area on the southwest side—which is virtually 100 percent minority, very low income, high poverty—and take that all the way out, through the suburbs, like this, until you go into the DuPage County line.

But, twelve precincts in that Austin-Gresham area dictate the outcome of that race. That's all it takes.

Philip: Carter, in the old constitution, [it] said there's three divisions in the state, city of Chicago, with one precinct going into suburban Cook, suburban Cook, then second district and one precinct going into downstate. Once the god-damned constitution solved that problem, it just threw them out completely. There are

no three divisions. You know how they draw the districts? Big part in the city of Chicago and all the out suburbs.

Hendren: Everybody thinks, Mark, that we drew the map in '91, and we had assured ourselves of a majority. That is absolutely not true. We had to beat five incumbent Democrats. We had to hold two incumbent Republicans; one was in a 45 percent district, and one was in a 42 percent district.

So, I told the caucus, I thought we'd get to the majority, maybe, between '94 or '96, depending upon cycles and all that other stuff, because we don't have a lot of margin for Republicans. You got twenty-one to twenty-two seats that are automatically not competitive.

DePue: Chicago seats.

Hendren: Yeah. Now, Rock Island, at that time, three in the metro-east. So, now I'm at four. One in the deep southern part of Illinois; one in Joliet. So, I'm at twenty-six or twenty-seven non-competitive Democrat seats before I've drawn the first Republican seat.

DePue: Metro-east, you're talking about East St. Louis.

Hendren: Uh-huh, yeah. There used to be three. Now it's two, because of population losses. But, now, what we did though is—we called it the wall—everything inside that was non-competitive, fine.

We then had to draw some very competitive districts on the ring. Walter Dudich, he lived in the 38th Ward in Chicago; Bob Raka, he lived in the 23rd Ward of Chicago; Pat O'Malley, he lived in Orland Township. All of those districts became Republican districts, or stayed Republican districts, because they went out a little bit.

But they were competitive races, very, very competitive races. We beat Joyce Omberg in Rockford, who'd been a senator out there for almost twenty years. We beat Zeto, who was on the west side. We beat two other guys, too. I can't remember who they were.

Philip: My buddy, Bob Egan.

Hendren: Yeah, Dudich beat him back in '84.

Philip: Right, right, my pal.

Hendren: I know the Democrats don't want to admit this, but it's a different demographic, because they start with such a huge concentration of seats. We have to kind of pick and choose ours. We were never going to... When we got to thirty-three seats, it was amazing. I was shocked.

- Philip: I felt pretty good about it. (all laugh)
- DePue: Well, we should say, it was when you became majority leader. It was ninety—
Hendren: Ninety-three.
- DePue: Ninety-three. So, it was the '92 election that made the difference, right after the redistricting.
- Hendren: But, witness that—and this is no disparaging comments to anybody—but, we held the majority for ten years. In '96, two of those races went to recount, okay? We won one by eighty-one votes; we won one by a 147 votes, okay?
- So, you know, those weren't solid districts. The House Republicans held the majority for two years of the ten. So, that was a competitive map. I don't care what anybody says. That was a competitive map.
- Philip: Absolutely.
- DePue: I had a notion of where I wanted to go, and now it just flew out of my mind here.
- Philip: Oh, wait till you get to be eight-two. (all laugh)
- DePue: You both are saying that Illinois is very much a Democrat state. It certainly is today. It was in the early '90s, as well. So, how do you reconcile owning the governorship for the Republican Party ever since 1976, when Thompson won all the way through 2002? The Republicans dominated that governorship, even when you say, otherwise it was a Democrat state. So, how did that happen?
- Philip: You know what? Two things. We had some good presidential candidates that helped us, and we had terrific candidates. If you look at all our candidates, they were damn good.
- DePue: For governor, you're talking?
- Philip: Yeah, absolutely.
- Hendren: And it's become more "blue" from the '80s. It has incrementally gotten more and more "blue." And you will see a drop-off in your gubernatorial and presidential races. There's a drop-off in participation, down to the local level, which is the legislative level that sometimes can be 10, 15 percent. That's pretty significant.
- Philip: Well, and the other thing is, too, downstate is getting more conservative. Now, our last gubernatorial election, our Republican candidate carried all downstate. He carried all counties but three. Crook [Cook] County, he didn't carry that. Was it Peoria County? We know it was Madison County, right?

DePue: Would St. Clair County be the other?

Philip: Yeah, St. Clair. Yeah, he lost three of them.

Hendren: Yeah, he did, and not by much. One of the little bitty counties downstate, he didn't carry. I want to say it was Pulaski. Isn't that where Tamms is at?

Philip: Isn't that hard to believe though? Lose the state, and you only—

DePue: Well, the votes have always been in Cook County, though, and the collar counties.

So, 1992, that election, you end up being president of the Senate. I've got a series of questions on that.

You already mentioned, Carter, thirty-two out of fifty-nine seats that the Republicans controlled that year, makes you president of the Senate. Your feeling when you knew that now you had the opportunity to be president of the Senate, what were you thinking?



Senator Philip presides over the Illinois State Senate in the early 1990s. He became Senate president in 1993, following a 1991 legislative redistricting that the Republicans controlled.

Philip: We got lucky. And, you know what I thought about it? When you have the majority... [It] normally takes thirty votes. Now I got three votes I can let go south every once in a while. Makes it easier. You know, if you only got thirty votes, you know, sometimes you got to have everybody on it. Now, I've got some flexibility. I can (phone rings) let some guys get off the vote. You know what I mean?

DePue: Well, (phone rings) Mike Madigan has always been thought of as the master—

Hendren: (answers phone)

DePue: ...when it comes to counting the votes and knowing how his members are going to vote. So, is that one of the aspects of being the leader—whether you are in the majority or minority—being able to know how your members are going to vote?

Philip: Well, you never know really how they're going to go. I'll tell you, there's much more flexibility in my caucus than a Democrat caucus. You've got to remember, I'll bet you over 50 percent of their members have a loved one, a relative, who's on the Cook County payroll. They're all on the payroll, for Christ's sake, or their girlfriends. That's how they control them. Tell me who my guys have on the payroll, on anybody's payroll.

I can't control them like that. And, you know what I always say? Hey, I've got to be a good salesman. I've got to explain to them why we ought to be this way. And you know what? I would have the governor come up to our caucus, all of them come up and [I] say, hey, this is not a hot issue with my members. Come up and plead your case and answer their questions. And I'll tell you; they did it.

DePue: How would you define, then, your concept of being the leader, your leadership style that you wanted to have?

Philip: Oh, you know what? I think I'm the only guy that never committed to the governor. I brought those ideas to the caucus. They thought and they did; they had input. A lot of those other caucuses, they didn't have much of an input at all.

DePue: When you say "they," you're talking about your caucus members?

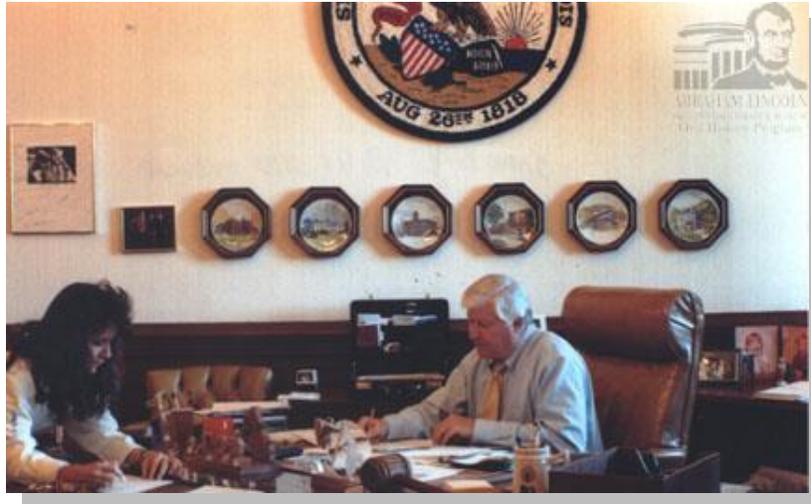
Philip: Yeah, my caucus members... I think, if you'd talk to any of the guys today, that [they would say], "Hey, Pate never committed, [he] brought the thing back, and we did it together. And, a lot of times, we had some better ideas than the governor's office."

Hendren: It was the most democratic of the four caucuses, and that was completely contrary to the outward perception. There was this perception of tough, strong, "This is what you're going to do; you're all going to march in a single line." [It was] absolutely contrary to that. That budget was gone over for hours and hours with those members. Any questions they have—"This is what you want to change, you want to modify." We spent one caucus... I think we spent an entire afternoon talking about the budget. We even went to room 212 instead of your office, so people could kind of relax. I mean, it was extraordinarily democratic. Anybody could speak on anything. They could ask any questions. That's not how some of them were. "This is what you're going to vote on. If you don't like it, too bad."

DePue: How was it different being Senate president, versus being the minority leader?

Philip: Oh, it's a lot more work. You know what? When you have the majority, you can certainly do a lot more. If you really want to go out of your way to kill a bill, you can do it, because the rules committee. The rules committee has got three Republicans and two Democrats.

DePue: In essence then, as the president of the Senate, you get to control the agenda, what's going to be discussed and what's never going to see the light of day?



Senate President Philip signing bills his capitol building office in the early 1990s.

Philip: Well, you can, and we did it very few times; I will say that. But, once in a while, we kept stuff in committee that we didn't want to let out, not very often. But, most of the time, it was controversial things that some of our members did not want to vote on.

DePue: I would imagine those are also the times when you end up having to deal with your House counterparts, as well.

Philip: Yes, sometimes that would be correct. Of course, some of the members would say this, "Well, you know, Pate Philip kept that bill in committee." And the media just hated me for it.

Hendren: And, Pate, you're right, everything you said. Another misnomer, in the ten years that we were there, the first year of the biennium, every Senate bill sponsored by any member was assigned to a committee. They always say, "Oh, big, bad Pate bottled all these bills up." Absolutely not true, absolutely not true. Off years is a different story, because, off years, we were on a shorter schedule; we were only there for about thirty days. (laughs)

DePue: Off-year being?

Hendren: Being the even number.

DePue: Being the election years.

Hendren: Being the election years, yes.

Philip: May I say this? We did a record; never got any credit for it. We got out April fifteenth. That's the earliest the Senate's ever gotten out in the history of the state.

Phil Rock called me, said, "I can't believe it; you did it." He said, "How the hell did you do it?" I said, "You know what I told my members? 'This is an election year. We're not going to make any votes down here.'" And I said, "Hey, if you've got something that's going to help you in your district, fine. Other than that, no more than ten bills, anybody."

DePue: Is there any truth to the legend that you were oftentimes the one who was driving the adjournment date, because you wanted to get up to your cabin in Michigan.

Philip: You know what? I didn't have a cabin in Michigan in... Well, let me see. Yeah, I guess. Yeah, yeah, I did.

DePue: Well, maybe wherever you were wanting to go.

Philip: Well, you know, walleye season opens up May fifteenth. (all laugh)

Hendren: The answer's "no." He was always was a good scapegoat. The answer is "no." When he needed to be here, he was here.

Philip: You know what? When you're the president of the Senate, you have to be there. Listen, sometimes I had some things I had to turn down, that I would have liked to done. But, I'll tell you one thing, I get extra money, and I ought to be there.

Hendren: But, Mark, that's ignoring the bigger issue, and that was, just structurally... I don't think Pate will go to this. One of the very first conversations with the Speaker, we changed the rules. He followed two years later. We said, let's adjourn at the end of May, instead of the end of June. Why? Not to get out earlier, [but to] give the governor a month to consider the budgets, before they're effective, on July the first.

The old system, the governor didn't get the budgets until sometimes the middle of July. School districts don't know what they're getting; park districts don't know what they're getting; agencies don't know what they're getting. You built a thirty-day period to get it done. All you had to do is start a little bit earlier. That's what we did. That was approved by an amendment to the constitution.

But Senator Philip's attitude, at least the Senate Republicans attitude, was, we don't have to be here; we're not a full-time body, so we don't have to pass a thousand bills. We never did an agreed bill list during his tenure as Senate president. You know what an agreed bill list is? Agreed bill list could be 700 or 800 bills on one roll call, no debate.

Philip: Is that ridiculous?

Hendren: That used to be routine around there.

- Philip: Hey—
- Hendren: It was routine.
- Philip: That's as bad as Obama Medicare's bill, 2,300 pages. Nobody read the whole thing, and they passed it, 2,300 pages. That's nuts.
- Hendren: But there were some institutional issues. When they say, "Ah, they wanted to go fishing." That's just not true. The institutional questions were, the responsibility was fiscal management, key issues, and they're just not going to be a full-time body. Some of these guys want to be here all the time, not him. It's a part-time job. They've forgotten that.
- DePue: Well, that also changed the timeline you got to a super majority then? Once you got into June—
- Hendren: Yeah.
- DePue: ...it required what? Sixty percent, instead of—
- Hendren: Three-fifths.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: Three-fifths.
- Hendren: They changed to May thirty-first. It used to be June thirtieth; now it's May 31.
- Philip: When I first got there, they'd stop the clock.
- Hendren: Yeah, in the old days. You can't do that now with the digital clock. (laughs)
- Philip: At midnight, you know, after midnight.
- DePue: Let me make sure that I hear this right. Somebody who was in control of the clock would stop it, so you were still in a—
- Hendren: There was debate. You could go back. I'm not sure where it is; you'd probably find this interesting. There was a debate—that's transcribed—back in the '70s or the '60s, maybe the '60s, where a member rose, and he said, "Just for the record, on personal privilege, I just want everybody to know it's 8:00 on June the thirtieth, PM."

A few hours go by, he said, "I just want everybody to know that it's now 11:00 PM on June the thirtieth." And he would make a couple of statements. He goes on and on like this, three or four times. Finally he stands up, and he says, "I just want everyone to know that it's now 11:59 PM, June the thirtieth, and the sun is up." (all laugh) That's somewhere in those

transcripts, back in the '60s. It's hilarious. That doesn't happen anymore though.

Philip: No.

DePue: It was the bad old days, or the good old days, however you want to look at it.

Hendren: I don't know. I guess it depends on what side you're on. My point though, Mark, is that institutional and structural changes were, I think, really important in the '90s. And they have proven to be good moves, very good moves.

DePue: We've been kind of skirting this whole issue, anyway, so, I wanted to ask a few questions about the reputation you had. One way of putting it was that you were a straight-talking, ex-Marine.

Philip: I never was an ex-Marine. Once a Marine, always a Marine. (all laugh)

DePue: See, straight talk. But, you were also called a sexist, a racist, a homophobe, in general, a hater of a variety of things. You were oftentimes—

Philip: What did I hate?

DePue: ...Chicago basher. You were a Chicago basher.

Philip: Oh. Well, you know what? Unfortunately, Chicago gets more than their share, and when they get it, then the results aren't very good, generally speaking. And you don't want to criticize people, yeah.

And, of course, you criticize some people, they call you a racist. I mean, I don't care. You ask them a question they can't answer, and they call you a racist.

DePue: Can you think you've any examples where that was a charge levied against you?

Philip: Voted against me because of it?

DePue: No, that people made charges that you were a racist, because of something that you said or did.

Philip: Oh, absolutely, I think that's what happens.

DePue: But can you provide us any stories about that?

Philip: Well, you know what? What the hell, I'm just trying to remember what I said.

Hendren: The one I can remember was, the very day after he was elected Senate president, a person asked him about bilingual education and the funding. At

that time, we spent \$300 million on bilingual education. And Pate said, "Let them learn English." Some people took that and, in my mind, missed the—

Philip: I forgot that one.

Hendren: The point is, what is bilingual education? Bilingual education is the process by which you help integrate Hispanic speaking children into our English speaking society. It's all he said, but the media made a big deal out of it.

DePue: Well, here is another one. I'll read a quote that I got from one of the newspaper clippings. This is your opposition to a twenty-five dollar monthly increase in benefits for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. And you were quoted as saying, "To give them another twenty-five dollar per family, they're going to go out and buy more lottery tickets is probably what they'll do."

Philip: You know, I think I said that, but I'll tell you one thing, it wasn't in regards to that exactly, what you said it was. It was to more money for public aid, I believe, when we were the heaviest state. We spend more money on that than Indiana does or that Iowa does or that Wisconsin does. And, you know what? There are people that take those checks or food stamps and trade them for money. Do you know that? That's a big business in Chicago. And I just said, "You know, we're the highest as it is. Why are giving them more money?"

DePue: Well, here's something else that you are quoted as saying, that giving more money—and oftentimes the issue was Chicago schools—giving more money to the schools was "like pouring money down a rat hole."

Philip: Yeah, I said that, yep.

Hendren: I think a lot of people said that. I mean, look at what the Secretary of Education Bennett said, year after year after year, "The worst public school system in America." Every result gets worse. Put more money in, educational standards went down. It's ridiculous.

DePue: There were times that, I think, on one occasion at least, where Governor Edgar thought that, perhaps, you had spoken unwisely about something and was insisting that you apologize. Do you recall that?

Philip: No, I don't. What was that?

DePue: Maybe I can—

Hendren: I don't remember a request for an apology.

DePue: Maybe I can find it here.

Philip: I don't remember that at all.

DePue: This is from an article written in 2002, but from an incident that happened in 1994. I'm reading from, I think, the *Chicago Tribune*. This dealt with the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services. Here's your quote, "It's probably a terrible thing to say, but I'll say it. Some of them do not have the work ethic that we have. Secondly, they don't turn on or squeal on their fellow minorities. I don't know what you do about that, but it's kind of a way of life." And Edgar thought that was something where you needed to make a personal apology—

Philip: (interrupting) Wait. Now, I'm glad you brought that up, because I remember that. And it was, if I remember correctly—and I might have the numbers wrong—but, the Chicago police raided an apartment. There were, I think, twenty-three kids that were in there and two women and a dog. They were selling drugs. There was nothing in the icebox [refrigerator]. The place was a disaster.

DePue: This made the national news at the time.

Philip: Okay. And, incidentally, I got this from somebody who was working, that the state was paying the two women like \$54,000 a year. The kids weren't dressed right. It was a disaster.

I had an employee from that department call me, and she said, "You know what, there's nothing in the file on those people. There's been no supervisor in that apartment, ever. There's no file whatsoever. And she says, "You know what, when I go home at night, I have to lock..." I don't know if she was—I think she was a black woman. I couldn't tell by the voice. She might have been a white woman. But she wouldn't tell me her name or anything. And she said, "I have to take all my personal stuff off my desk and lock it in my desk, because they'll steal stuff." She works in Chicago in that department. That department is a disaster. And, you know what, they never fired that woman who never went in the apartment. The caseworker was never fired.

DePue: Let me ask it a different way, then. What did you think about constantly being criticized, in the press and by your Democratic opponents and the public in general, for the things that you said? In other words, what did you think about the allegations that you were politically incorrect?

Philip: If you are politically correct, my friend, you will never tell the truth. That's what's wrong with this country. That's what people think. If you are politically correct, you never tell the truth. I've said that many times, and it's accurate, believe me.

DePue: I'm going to read you one other quote. You might like this one a little bit better. This one's from—

Philip: (laughs) I like them all.

- DePue: Very good.
- Philip: What do you think I am, a wimp? (all laugh)
- DePue: This one's from Lee Atwater. I think this is probably in the late '80s, early '90s timeframe.
- Philip: Lee Atwater, didn't he die?
- Hendren: Yeah.
- Philip: Wasn't he Bush's first campaign manager?
- DePue: And, at the point he said this, he was the Republican Party national chairman.
- Hendren: (both talking) National chairman.
- DePue: Here's what he said about you.
- Philip: I never knew the guy. I never met him, but go ahead.
- DePue: Well, you might want to list him as one of your friends after this. "He's as good a politician as there is in this country. Pate straight talks and gets right down to business. There's no double talk. His word is good. He delivers like a champ."
- Philip: I never knew he ever said that about me.
- Hendren: I think you have met him. I think you did meet him before. You don't think so?
- Phillip: No. Oh, you know what? You're right.
- Hendren: I think so.
- Philip: I forgot about this. We had a fundraiser out in Washington, D.C., and, at that fundraiser, I set up an appointment to meet him at the Republican headquarters there. We were going to talk. Well, I'm sitting there; I'm there for an hour. I wasn't too happy; I'll tell you that. (Hendren laughs) You know what I mean? Because I don't go to Washington, D.C. You know, I'm not a big fan of Washington, D.C. at all, so I don't like to go there. But, to raise money for the Senate campaign committee, absolutely. So, I'd go out there maybe once a year, twice a year at the most. But, I did meet him for a while.

DePue: Here's the same category of politically correct or not, the whole issue of Chief Illiniwek, as the mascot for the University of Illinois. I suspect you had opinions about that issue.

Philip: Absolutely, it's so ridiculous; it's unbelievable. Eighty-five percent of the students are for keeping him. Eighty-seven percent of the alumni were for it, okay? This is the justification. And, you've got to remember this; most presidents of universities never want to rock the boat. They don't want anything controversial. All they worry about is raising money and getting money from the State of Illinois. Most of them are a bunch of wimps. There's not too many stand-up presidents of universities, let me tell you that. And I used to deal with most of them, okay? And, you know what the excuse was for this? I'm not sure what body it was, whether it was the big ten or—



"Pate" Philip posing with his wife Nancy at his fundraiser in the early 1980s. Note the Illini 'I' and the pants, and the cigar, one of Pate's trademarks.

Hendren: NCAA [National Collegiate Athletic Association].

Philip: Yeah, I think maybe... Either one of those said, "If you don't get rid of Chief Illiniwek that we're not going to do a national tournament on basketball. No, he didn't say basketball... tennis, golf, all those other sports.

You know what I said to him? You don't make any money on those anyway. They're all money losers. The only thing you make money on is football and basketball. The rest of them are all losers. So what do you care? It's ridiculous. The students are for it, for keeping him; the alumni are for him; the big contributors are for him. I've had graduates from the University of Illinois say, "I'm not going to give them any more money." It's ridiculous. Everyone loved the chief. The chief, when he comes on the field, people stay there at half-time just to watch him. They don't go out and have a beer. I mean, it's fantastic. Why are you a wimp?

DePue: This is an example of why you got the reputation you did. I appreciate you being candid with us. (Philip laughs)

Philip: You know what? Everyone thinks I'm right. You talk to any graduate. It's just ridiculous.

DePue: Well, Senator, we've been at this, so far today, about two and one-half hours. I've got a ways more to go, probably another half an hour or forty-five minutes. Do you want to continue?

Philip: Certainly. Let's go.

DePue: Great. I want to ask you, then, you're role as the caucus leader, in terms of being the focus of fund raising efforts for your caucus members and also for identifying the right candidates to run in these districts, so that always had a strong candidate. Can you talk a little bit about your approach on that? First of all, is that truly one of the things the caucus leader had to take on, that leadership position?

Philip: Absolutely, with a lot of help from Carter. We talked about candidates. And, I'll tell you, sometimes...Did we make mistakes, yeah. Not very often. Carter was very good at recruiting; let me tell you that.

DePue: Recruiting the right candidates to run?

Philip: Candidates, absolutely. And you got to look at the district. I interviewed almost every one of them. And I'll tell you this, sometimes we had some guys we thought were going to be sensational, but you really don't know until you get in the—

Like Walter Dudich, now, he ran as a Democrat, right? I met him, and he was very conservative. He was a policeman. I liked him right off the bat. But he had a very bad experience with the Democrats, and he said "They told me they were going to do this. They didn't do it. They told me they were going to do that. They didn't do it". I said, "I'm going to tell you, if we tell you we are going to do something, I guarantee you we'll do it." And he said, "Well, that will be a first." Today you want to talk to him. He'll tell you, "When they told me they were going to do it, they did it."



Photo from a newspaper article of Illinois state senators Philip, Roger Keats, and Robert Egan with their wives during a trip to South Africa in early 1983.

And, I'll tell you, a friend of mine, Bob Egan, who was an incumbent Democrat state Senator, who I could get a vote out of once in a while, very conservative guy, but lazy, but a good guy, very good friend, not alive any more, unfortunately. We'd take his wife out to dinner, oh about once a year—

Hendren: You guys used to vacation together too; didn't you?

Philip: Yeah, absolutely. We went to Ireland together. We had a ball. But, you really never know until you get in the race. But, generally speaking, I would say 90 percent of the times, we were either lucky or...and Carter's a good organizer. You've got to have a good candidate, but you have to be organized and get these guys that work.

DePue: Well, getting the right candidate is the first part. But, then, making sure they have the money they need is the second part. And, again, I understand that the way it works in Illinois—at least in the '80s and '90s—was that the caucus leaders were the focus of the fundraising drives. Then you, as the caucus leader, could allocate out money to the candidates who needed it, correct?

Philip: Yes, I would say that was correct.

DePue: Tell me about the fundraising efforts. How did you raise the money?

Philip: Sometimes I would go down and be the speaker, or we would get...Governor Thompson did it a few times. Edgar did it a few times, and George Ryan did it sometimes. We raised money. We have a big fundraiser in Chicago. We always had a big fundraiser in Springfield, and we raised money.

You know what? I raised more money for the Republican Senate than any of the previous leaders ever did. They weren't even close. I worked at it. And I'll tell you one thing...We had a private phone in my office, and I would sit there. I would spend the whole day, calling people, because I'll tell you, you could send all the tickets out you want and invitations, but when you call them and say, "Hey, this is Pate. Will you take a table to the Senate dinner? This is the speaker. We need the money, and we want to keep the Senate. We've got to help those candidates raise money. They can't do it."

DePue: Were there certain things you had to be very careful of, or maybe Carter, in your case, that you had to be very careful of, in terms of being a paid member of the staff and what you could do and what you couldn't do on business time?

Hendren: Yeah, state time, yeah. You couldn't do it on state time. I was also paid in part by the campaign committee.

DePue: How did you work that out then? Was that just, you wait until after the regular duty hours, or—

- Hendren: Lunch, weekends, evenings, all kinds of stuff, any number of ways.
- Philip: And we had some of our staffers that worked on campaigns. So, we just took them off the staff completely and put them on the campaign committee. I paid them from there.
- DePue: So, you get to a certain point in the political year, and you do that?
- Philip: Yeah.
- Hendren: That was then. The laws have changed now. You wouldn't feel comfortable doing that now.
- DePue: What were the laws, as far as contributions from either individuals or corporations, at the time, in the 1990's?
- Hendren: Unlimited.
- DePue: Unlimited in both cases?
- Philip: Yep.
- DePue: So, were a lot of these corporations especially working both sides of the aisle?
- Philip: Yeah.
- Hendren: Oh yeah.
- Philip: Absolutely.
- DePue: Were there any corporations or individuals in particular that you could always count on?
- Philip: Yeah, a lot of them are gone or dead.
- Hendren: Well, it is the textbook; the business community tended to be more pro-Republican; [the] labor community, pro-Democrat. But, we got money from labor, and they got money from the business community.
- DePue: Did you get money from trial lawyers?
- Hendren: No.
- Philip: Not very much. Well, I used to get one table out of them a year. Who was the guy that worked for them?
- Hendren: That was Dar. That was the Board of Trade. We got one table. We got one out of him a year. But, I don't know that we got much out of the trial lawyers, did we? I don't remember. (both talking)

- Philip: Well, you know what? We got from the Illinois Bar Association. I shouldn't say the trial lawyers.
- Hendren: Yeah, the bar, yeah.
- Philip: Yeah, the Illinois Bar Association got a table.
- DePue: Well, to change the subject on you; what was your relationship with Governor Edgar in that position, while you were Senate president?
- Philip: Oh, I liked him. I liked his family. He would invite the leadership for one dinner a year. And we'd go over there. It was always pleasant.
- DePue: To the governor's mansion?
- Philip: Yeah, yeah.
- DePue: Do you want to talk anything about the Thompson years? Plenty of alcohol being served; open relations to get over the Edgar years? —
- Philip: Oh, I'll tell you what we did. I have a kitchen in my office and an icebox. We had booze in there. At certain times, we would have a drink in my office. Before we'd go over there, I'd say, "Come over to my office first."
- DePue: To your members you mean?
- Philip: Yeah, to the leadership.
- Hendren: They'd have a couple of cocktails, go visiting or whatever.
- DePue: Because there weren't any cocktails at the mansion, right?
- Philip: Right. It didn't bother us. We knew it.
- Hendren: Right.
- Philip: I mean, he was a good guy. He was helpful.
- DePue: Different subject again, do you remember much about the flood of 1993? Any stories on that one?
- Philip: The flood, oh, yeah, because my office was under water, here in Addison.
- Hendren: Yeah, it was statewide. But the big...Lake Street was under water.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: But, mostly, it was the Illinois River and the Mississippi River.

- Hendren: Mississippi River, that's when they used virtually the entire Department of Corrections, Department of Transportation, Department of Natural Resources. Everybody was out putting sandbags...
- Philip: Yeah, because they had the prisoners. (both talking)
- Hendren: Sandbagging.
- Philip: If I remember right, the prisoners were doing sandbags and so forth.
- Hendren: It was really bad.
- Philip: I thought it was well handled, under the circumstances. But then they let the people build their houses back in the same place. That's what I don't ever understand.
- DePue: Was that more an issue with the federal government and the Corps of Engineers, I would think?
- Philip: Yeah, right.
- DePue: In 1994 in the gubernatorial election that year, you've got Edgar, now, running for re-election, and you've got Dawn Clark Netsch. And early on, Netsch takes on the issue of school reform. Her way of proposing school reform was a significant income tax increase, but she also packaged it with, "but there will be a corresponding decrease in property taxes." Your views on Dawn Clark Netsch as a candidate. First of all, as a Senator and then as a candidate.
- Philip: Well, you have to remember one of the commercials she did. She's in a pool room, shooting pool. I mean—
- DePue: That was the one that most people contribute to putting her over the top in a pretty rugged Democratic primary, because she emerged as the surprising leader there.
- Philip: I mean, that is so untrue of her. She wouldn't go into a pool hall if her life depended on it or play pool. I bet she never played pool in her life. I could tell by the way she held the cue. She didn't know how to even hold a cue, for Christ's sake. That's ridiculous.
- DePue: I did have a chance to talk to her, and she had played pool in her days before she went to law school. That's where she learned how to play pool.
- Hendren: That was a long time ago. I'm sure that's true.
- Philip: You know, we had her up, and she played poker with us one night. She won some money, but she didn't have a clue. (laughs) I'll tell you that. You could

tell she wasn't a poker player. But she was friendly. She was nice. But I don't think that she—

DePue: How about the issue that she was running on that year, income tax increase, but let's also have a corresponding decrease in property taxes. That was meant to appeal to your constituents.

Philip: You say an increase in both of them?

DePue: No, an increase in income tax and a corresponding decrease in property tax.

Philip: Well, tell me how you're going to decrease the property tax, because, you know what? She left the opportunity to have it on the ballot and vote for it. Well, you know what happens in my county, in my district? They vote for that stuff. I hate to say, we very seldom turn down an increase in real estate taxes in this county for schools. Look at my tax bill; over 70 percent of it goes to schools. And, you know what? We had the highest paid superintendent in the state of Illinois. Bob—it was a Polish last name—he made, I think it was \$260,000 a year. I like him. He's a Republican. Guess what they did for his last year? They increased his salary \$50,000 for his pension.

DePue: So, when he drew the pension, he would draw much more?

Philip: Absolutely. That is absolutely wrong, absolutely dead wrong. And I'll tell you, was he overpaid? Yeah, I think he was overpaid. A nice guy. Did he do a good job? Yes, but that money was—

Hendren: Ninety-four, too, Pate. Remember, the national climate was very favorable to the Republicans, because of problems that President Clinton was having. In all fairness, Senator Netsch wasn't very credible on her arguments, because nobody believed that they were going to reduce property taxes, just like Pate said. And Governor Edgar did a great job about making it about income taxes, which he opposed. Then, remember, the death penalty was out there too.

DePue: He also ran heavily on "She was not tough on crime."

Hendren: Right, exactly. Those two were kind of like a knock-out punch. Then, with the national environment coming on top of it, it—

Philip: Yeah, I don't think I ever saw her in our county. She didn't campaign it, that I remember.

DePue: Do you remember getting in trouble, because one time you referred to her as a "broad"?

Hendren: That was me.

DePue: That was you?

- Hendren: That was me. (laughs) Yeah, little Pate.
- DePue: (laughs)
- Hendren: Yeah, I do remember that, and I regret saying that. But I did say it, and I said it off the record. The reporter was just intellectually dishonest, in my opinion, and he printed it. But I said it, and I'm not going to back down from it. I called her to apologize immediately, because I like Dawn. I'd worked with her for years. But, then, they started making a political issue out of it. I thought, Well, okay, I tried to be nice. You don't want to be nice, fine. It's not going to bother me. He taught me well, see. (all laugh)
- DePue: Well, since you mention it, what was your opinion of the way the press treated you?
- Philip: They didn't treat me fairly at all. In fact, that comment about increasing the welfare, [do] you know where I said that in? A meeting with the governor and with the four leaders, and one of the Democrats staffers went out and told the media that. I never said that publicly. But, I tell you, if you're conservative, they don't like you; they're left wingers, 99 percent of them.
- DePue: You already alluded to the fact that 1994 was a very good year for the Republicans, nationally, and it certainly was for Edgar. Edgar wins with 63.9 percent of the vote; Netsch gets 34.4 percent. Edgar is only upset because he didn't pull Gallatin County. That's the only county...(Philip laughs) I think he even pulled Cook County.
- Hendren: Yeah.
- DePue: Beat Netsch in Cook County.
- Hendren: Out in Shawneetown.
- DePue: So, 1995 and 1996, the significance here is that Lee Daniels, that year, becomes the Speaker of the House in 1995, for just—as you mentioned, Carter—for just those two years, he's going to be the Speaker.
- Philip: Right.
- DePue: So, here's the opportunity the Republicans have to really make some hay, if you will. And I want to go down some of these lists of things that were able to be on the plate at that time, welfare reform in Illinois—and you don't need to comment unless you have something specific here.
- Philip: No, we were for that. There's a lot of fraud. If you got rid of all the fraud, you could increase what you give people on welfare.

- Hendren: Of all the things that are on your list, that was a Senate Republican initiative that had passed the previous year, when we were in the minority. So, this was front and center, and it became a real huge piece of legislation; I mean huge.
- DePue: And the head of the initiative that was going to happen at the U.S. level.
- Hendren: At the national level, yeah. I mean, Clinton did it. People figured out that a.) It was good politics; b.) It was the right thing to do.
- DePue: Do you remember some of the specifics in a general way?
- Hendren: Two year maximum, and you can only be on welfare for so long. We increased our aid for daycare, things like that. The essence of that was, it was a Republican belief that you incentivize people to work. If you incentivize people to work, they will work; they will get educated; they will become contributing members of society. In exchange for that, they'll need things like daycare and additional help with transportation and things like that, to get to and from. We made sure that that happened.
- And, while Governor Edgar had some problems with that, initially—if you remember those conversations—as it rolled out for his re-election campaign, he was thrilled with that. That was actually one of his major accomplishments. And it truly was, because he did good things for people.
- DePue: Tort reform. Here's one that you knew the Democrats were always going to block. Were you able to get some tort reform done?
- Philip: We did pass a bill and put a ceiling on how much you could give to these people. As you know, the Supreme Court knocked it out, said it was unconstitutional.
- DePue: The Illinois State Supreme Court?
- Philip: Yes, absolutely, Democrats, you know.
- DePue: Do either one of you recall the reasons that the Illinois Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional?
- Hendren: I do not.
- Philip: In fact, that was one of the votes I didn't think that we're going to get. Who's the lawyer from central Illinois?
- Hendren: Hawkinson.
- Philip: Hawkinson.
- Hendren: We had problems with Carl on that one.

Philip: Yep.

DePue: Carl Hawkinson?

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: Carl.

Philip: But, I'll tell you, I talked to him, but I didn't threaten him or anything, but I was—

Hendren: No.

Philip: We needed his vote for that, to pass it, if I remember right. But, the other thing, I don't think we got any Democrats, did we?

Hendren: No, no. You're talking about the tort reform, there was "med mal," right?

DePue: Pardon me.

Hendren: Was it limited to "med mal"?

DePue: I'm not picking up on that; I'm sorry.

Hendren: Medical malpractice. I think the bill's in '95. I thought the bills were limited to medical malpractice, where the crescent of the threshold was \$250[000] or \$500[000] or \$1 million. And the medical society wanted \$1 million. The trial guys, they could live with \$250[000]. I think we passed it at \$500[000], I thought, but maybe not.

Philip: Yeah, I thought it was like \$750[000] though.

Hendren: Yeah, I can't remember—

Philip: Yeah, I know.

Hendren: I obviously don't remember. I know the one that was declared unconstitutional followed in the early 2000s, after the Carmeier campaign in '04.

Philip: You know, if the truth be known, what we ought to do is go to the British system, because the British system, on civil cases, go to a three-panel judge; they don't go to a jury. Only the criminal ones, they go to a jury.

I've been on a jury one time. Christ, you know, the attitude of some people is, screw the insurance companies; give them the money. I mean, it's crazy, what they give some of these people. Like that lady that had that hot

cup of coffee or that poor girl that decided, with the violin, to get on the L⁹, and she misses the door; the door was closing. So she lost a what? A leg, I think.

Hendren: I thought she lost a hand. I thought it, because—

Philip: No, did she? Okay.

Hendren: I thought it was key to her ability to play the instrument.

Philip: And they gave her, you know, \$17 million, or something. Now, it went to the appellate court, and they cut it down. But she still got a lot of money. I felt sorry, but she did it to herself.

DePue: Another one of the things that was on the Republican plate, issues to get done, was worker compensation and Scaffolding Act, as well. Maybe those are the same thing. But, the issue, I believe, was that you could possibly draw both workers' comp and under the Scaffolding Act?

Hendren: Yeah, you could go under both jurisdictions, which was ridiculous.

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: I think we are the only state in the nation that had that kind of system, and we repealed the Scaffolding Act.

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: How about higher education reform?

Philip: We've never done it. (laughs) Are you kidding?

DePue: Well, that was the year that I know the Edgar administration was able to push through reorganization of the college system in Illinois and make it a little bit more streamlined. Any memories about that?

Philip: Wait, wait, you know what? I think what we did was this; we used to let the state board run for election, and I think we let it be appointed by the governor.

Hendren: The trustees.

Philip: Yeah. Nobody cares about who's running for higher education. Most of the people don't know who's on there. They're spread out all over the state. It's a waste of money, quite frankly, makes the ballot larger. So, I supported it. I thought that was the right thing to do. You know what? Thompson and Edgar,

⁹ Short for "elevated," the L is the rapid transit system serving the city of Chicago, Illinois and some of its surrounding suburbs.

and even George Ryan, appointed some pretty good people. I can't say that with the Democrats.

DePue: The next one, I think you will have a couple of comments on, and that's Chicago school reform. This is 1995, now. That was the year that there were some significant changes.

Philip: Was that when Vallas was the a—

DePue: The end result is that Paul Vallas is going to be named as the chief executive officer.

Hendren: That's when you vested the authority... The ultimate authority of the school went to the mayor. He appointed the board, and he created all these local districts. But, the biggest thing, political in that, in terms of difficulty in passage, was we took certain work rules that the unions had enjoyed for years and made them non-bargainable. That was a huge part of that—

Philip: And then, I think we did something else, in that we combined some of the tax rates into one tax rate, so they could use it in other areas, that money. And Paul Vallas—if you'll remember, correct me if I'm wrong—he was on Rock's staff. I think he did the budget.

Hendren: He was a staffer, and then he ran the Economic and Fiscal Commission for a while, very capable, very capable.

Philip: And you know what? Quite frankly, personally I like him. I still like him. And he did a good job. He was a straight shooter. In fact, he would tell me, "The mayor isn't for that, but don't listen to him. This is what we ought to do."

DePue: (laughs)

Hendren: He was also kind of independent; that's true.

Philip: Yeah. Good, good guy, very good guy.

DePue: I understand also that the bill that ended up getting passed gave principals the option of firing or removing teachers?

Hendren: Bad teachers, yeah. It didn't work maybe as we would like it to, but, of course, one the very first things that the Democrats did, when they regained control of the place, was they started chipping away at that, immediately. The gavel was barely on the desk when they started going after that, because that's a big issue for them.

DePue: Your opinion, then, of unions in general and the Chicago Teachers Union, specifically?

Philip: Well, of course, they always support Democrats. And a lot of times I don't agree with them, with what they want to do. I don't believe in collective bargaining, and there's how many Chicago teachers, 27,000, 25,000, whatever it is? Then you call up and say, "When's the last time you fired anybody?" "Well, we fired two guys this year."

And don't you remember the principal, a sharp young lady? Because the teachers don't come to work on time and you got the students running around the room and doing all this stuff, she put a timeclock in. What did the union do? Took her to court. What do you think the court said? You can't put a timeclock in.

DePue: Time clock in? I'm not sure I understand.

Philip: In the school. When you come, you put a timeclock in (both talking)

DePue: Oh, for the teachers to check in.

Philip: Yeah. At Pepperidge Farm bakery, we have a timeclock for employees, when they come in.

Hendren: The point was, the teachers weren't showing up for work, unless they just wanted to. I mean, it was really terrible. And Pate encouraged this, and I did, I know, and I think other members did. We talked to principals, just to find out just what their life was like. It was unbelievable.

A principal could not get into the building, because the union guy had the key and wouldn't let them in. So, if a principal wanted to work a little bit later, wanted to come in a little bit early, wanted to come in on a weekend, couldn't get in. It would take up to a month, and oftentimes more, to get a lightbulb changed.

I remember one principal in an elementary school that told me what a graphic was that had been spray painted on the wall, as you came into the building. It was vulgarity at its highest. It took him six weeks to get that repainted. They just wouldn't do it; they didn't care.

So, that kind of an attitude ripples through a system pretty rapidly, just demoralizes people.

DePue: And all of these things you're talking about were things that existed before the—

Hendren: Well, these work rules, when they were not bargained or changed that rapidly.

DePue: So during that time that Vallas was the chief executive officer, some of that started to change?

- Philip: I'll tell you, he's probably the best superintendent they ever had. And then he went to Pittsburgh or Philadelphia.
- DePue: Philadelphia, I think.
- Philip: And then, I think he's—
- Hendren: He went down to... Was it New Orleans?
- DePue: I think he's still at New Orleans.
- Hendren: Then, at one point, he was, of course, in '02 he ran for—
- Philip: That New Orleans has got to be a tough one, I'll tell you that. (laughs)
- DePue: After Chicago school reform—now this is a battle that is going to occur later, in '96 and into '97—Governor Edgar decides to see if he can do something significant about improving the funding levels for Illinois schools, across the board. He put together a commission that was headed by Stanley Ikenberry, who was the president of the University of Illinois at the time.
- Hendren: Yeah, Ikenberry—
- Philip: And a good guy, but no balls. He's a capon. (all laugh) Nicest guy in the world, he used to go up and play poker with us. And, you know what he did? He grew horseradish in his garden.
- Hendren: Oh, he did?
- Philip: So, he'd always bring each of us a jar of hot horseradish, which I loved.
- Hendren: Oh, he did?
- Philip: And, you know, his wife was a Republican; he was a Democrat.
- Hendren: Oh, yeah.
- Philip: His wife, Judy, I think, was a sweetheart of a gal. We used to kid them. But I like Ikenberry.
- DePue: One of the recommendations of the Ikenberry Commission was something that sounded very similar to what Edgar had run against in 1994, and that was to raise the state income tax and do the corresponding reduction in property tax. I think you had a reaction to that position.
- Philip: Well, my caucus didn't like it; there's no doubt about that. But there's no way to making sure that somebody doesn't raise the real estate taxes. And that wasn't in there. They could still do it by referendum, I believe.

I'll tell you one thing, giving schools more money doesn't make them better schools. If we haven't learned anything, we've learned that. If you would see what my superintendents make, and tell me the last time a superintendent of schools went into a classroom unannounced and sat in the back to see what the teacher was doing. I mean, it just... More money, that certainly hasn't solved the problem in Chicago.

DePue: I know that the initial proposal that came out of the Ikenberry Commission, that Edgar was definitely backing, never made the hurdle of the Illinois State Senate. I'm not sure where the House was. By that time, the House passed it, because it was under Democratic control.

Philip: And it gave Chicago more money. (laughs)

Hendren: You had the obvious political fallout of voting for a tax increase. They'd all just ran in an election. Most of the members of the general assembly had ran against an income tax increase, because that was kind of our message that year. So, that was a huge problem, I think. [It] was not anticipated, number one. Number two, when you do a proposal like this and you have ideas, the state board runs printouts for your school districts. Many of the suburban districts—we had, I think, at the time, fourteen or fifteen members in the immediate suburbs—their district were losers.

Of all the issues that I've been around in the thirty years that I spent down there, education is about as parochial as you get. What are my schools getting? Forget everybody else; what are my schools getting? And many of these districts were suffering.

But—this is Pate's interview—but, process-wise, the bill passed the House [and] came to the Senate. Most people would say, "What happened to it in the Senate?" "Well, Pate Philip killed it." No, Pate Philip didn't kill it. [It] went to the rules committee. Rules committee assigned it to the Revenue Committee. The Revenue Committee is the committee that deliberates tax increases. He didn't kill the bill. If he had wanted to kill the bill, he'd have held it in the Rules Committee. If he'd wanted to kill the bill, he'd have sent it to the Executive Committee. He sent it to the Revenue Committee. The Revenue Committee took testimony and voted the bill down on a partisan rollcall.

This is one I disagree with former Governor Edgar on. I think they believed that there was some kind of a plan to torpedo that bill. That's just absolutely not true. It went to that committee. Bring your witnesses in, testify. Give it your best shot, and it failed.

DePue: In other words, it never even made it out of committee to get it to a floor vote.

Hendren: No.

- Philip: You've got to remember this. He (Hendren) has been an Edgar man from the word "go." He worked for him; he worked with him; he ran his campaigns. This guy has always been very pro-Edgar. I'm pro-Edgar, too. I like him. He's a good guy. He's a little different than... He's kind of a loner; he doesn't drink; he doesn't smoke. In our caucus, I think he's probably the only who doesn't drink or smoke. And when you think of it, who was his best friend? I don't know.
- Hendren: My point, for the record, though, is to correct what I think is a misnomer out there, that, again, the perception that there is this big guy in the Senate that killed it. That's just not true. It went to a committee; it had a hearing, and it failed to pass.
- DePue: So, who would you point to and say, they're the reason that there are these misconceptions about the Senate and Senator Pate Philip?
- Hendren: That's a great question. I don't know.
- DePue: The press?
- Hendren: I don't know.
- DePue: Democratic opponents?
- Hendren: For anybody that knows, the press should have known that that bill went to the appropriate committee. It was given a public hearing. It followed the procedures that every other piece of legislation followed. It would have been easy to say, we're not even letting it out of committee. Okay. Then their criticisms would have had some validity, but that didn't happen.
- DePue: Governor Edgar felt so strongly about this issue that even spent some of his campaign funds to put on some commercials, trying to generate the support he needed to get this through.
- Philip: If there was a way to keep the real estate taxes where they are, we could have done something, but there's no way to do that.
- DePue: Well, I know that the end result was that they were finally able to pass legislation that didn't do what they initially had proposed, but set a dollar amount for how much each student would get from the state government.
- Hendren: Right.
- DePue: I can't recall the specific number now.
- Hendren: Fifty-nine hundred. Does that sound right?
- Philip: That's way low.

- Hendren: Well, that was back then, though. I don't know; I really don't know. I shouldn't have even said a number. I don't know.
- Philip: Now let me ask you this, you told me that he wanted to spend the same amount of money on every student?
- DePue: That the state government would supply a dollar amount for every student.
- Hendren: Per capital guarantee. We'd had that. They wanted to bring it up and honor it. What we did—
- Philip: But, it would be the same for everybody in the whole state?
- Hendren: Yeah, we—
- Philip: You mean Chic—
- DePue: But that was before, you know, then you add on to that what came from local district property taxes.
- Hendren: Right, right.
- Philip: But Chicago is only at—last time I looked, and it's been awhile—their tax rate was like less than 2 percent. You know what mine is? Eight and 9 and 10 percent. They're not even close.
- Hendren: We came back in the fall, if I'm not mistaken, and passed an education kind of reform bill, because the governor spent all summer beating us up. (laughs)
- Philip: You know what? I've made a couple of notes that you have not asked any questions about. But I thought I might give you some information.
- DePue: Absolutely.
- Philip: I looked for this glass, because I had a glass from the first Senate fundraiser I went to. They passed out glasses; you got a free glass. On it was all the incumbent senators, and there was also the candidates. Now, I think there were some lady candidates, but I don't think there was an incumbent senator who was a female. Am I wrong?
- Hendren: What year was that?
- Philip: I don't remember what year. [It] must have been the first year. It was either before I ran for the senate, because it was a glass that I got—
- Hendren: Geo-Karis was elected in '74 or '76 to the Senate. I'm pretty certain.
- Philip: Was she there when I was there?

Hendren: Oh yeah. Adeline? Yeah.

Philip: Well, you know what? I tried to find that glass, and I can't find it. I think it's either in Florida or up at the lake. I'm going to dig that up, because there was no woman there.

Hendren: Really.

Philip: If I remember right, I'm the first guy to put a woman in leadership in the Senate.

Hendren: That's true.

Philip: How do you like that? And, after I did it, the Dem—because Democrats are all pro-women. You know, they do everything for women.

DePue: Do you remember who it was that you put in that position?

Philip: Yeah, Geo-Karis.

DePue: What was her first name again?

Hendren: Adeline Geo-Karis from Lake County.

Philip: She was a lawyer, Navy, born in Greece.

Hendren: She was like a naval commander, wasn't she?

Philip: Yeah, she had some rank. She was a lawyer.

Hendren: Yeah.



"Pate" Philip meets with a group of Republican women and constituents at a coffee in Wood Dale during the 1990s.

- Philip: You know another thing; I want to say this. I think one reason that I did so well was the staff. And I'll tell you one thing; he hired the staff. We were lucky. We had people that were conservative, bright, articulate, great imagination. And our leadership we had was...I was very, very lucky. And he always helped me pick the leadership. I think we spread them out in the state. I'll tell you, we had terrific people; they did a great job. So, I was really lucky, but Carter deserves certainly some credit for that.
- DePue: The next couple of things here...Some of this stuff, we have already addressed, but I know that Edgar did do some reform of state government. The Department of Natural Resources was created in July, '95, combining several departments together that were previously separate. And then the Department of Human Services, probably even more significant, much more significant, was one that was accomplished in July of 1997. And streamlining government...You've already talked about some of the initiatives and how it made more sense. Do you want to say anything more on those two subjects in particular?
- Philip: Didn't save much money, unfortunately.
- DePue: Are the citizens of Illinois better served because of those reorganizations?
- Philip: Yeah, I would say so. I would say this; what we tried to get him to do was use the same computers for all those departments, for every state department, the same system, the same computers. We think it would have done a lot better. But it was a step in the right direction.
- DePue: I don't know if you want to say anything about the creation of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library?
- Philip: I thought it was fine.
- DePue: Edgar started the initiative with a little bit of seed money, and George Ryan was able to kind of bring it to fruition. You didn't have any issues on that then?
- Philip: No.
- DePue: Good use of public money?
- Philip: Yeah.
- Hendren: Karen Hasara was involved in that, too. You've got to...We were sitting in that little room, Pate, when the four leaders were in there, and somebody said,

“What’s this presidential library thing?” Jim Edgar had already put some money into it, and somebody said, “Well Karen Hasara called.” Well, Karen Hasara called me, and she called you and said, “Well, we ought to do this.”

DePue: She was mayor of Springfield at the time?

Hendren: Yeah, and it was like boom (snaps his fingers). It happened. It was a great thing.

Philip: You know what they say? “Every hog’s got to find an acorn once in a while.”

Hendren: Yeah, exactly. (all laugh)

DePue: That gets us to the end of the Edgar years and the gubernatorial election in 1998 and somebody who you knew very well. That was George Ryan, who had been secretary of state during the years that Edgar was governor, had been lieutenant governor for much of the Thompson years, and had been speaker of the house back in the early ‘80es, as we mentioned before. Compare George Ryan to Jim Edgar, as a politician and a leader.

Philip: Well, he was certainly was more political than Jim Edgar, no doubt about that. And, I’ll tell you, he had more experience than any gubernatorial candidate in the history of the state. If you look at all the elected...He was the president of the county board in Kankakee; he was a state representative; lieutenant governor; secretary of state.

Hendren: Speaker of the House.

Philip: Speaker of the House. I mean, the guy was...And everybody thought, holy mackerel, this guy is going to be no problem at all. And, I’ll tell you, he worked pretty well with both sides of the aisle. He helped a lot of people on the other side of the aisle. He was able to put a lot of stuff together.

And, I’ll tell you one thing, his last term in office—and we never got any credit for this—we decided we were going to actually cut the budget at least \$2 billion. That’s not easy to do. Quite frankly, he agreed to it, and this is what we decided to do. Normally, the governors start half the budget in each house. I said, “Start it all with Senate sponsors.” “Why do you want to do that?” “Because this is normally the way the system works. Our half of the budget, we’d cut. We’d send it over to the House; they’d pork them all up again.

DePue: Because the Democrats had a majority in the House?

Philip: Yeah, certainly. And so, they would come back to the Senate. Then, of course, we’d get another shot at them. And so, we said, “Start them all there, because we want to get a shot at them. After we do the same thing to them...”

You realize, if there are House sponsors, they get back to the House again. So, we're out of there. Even if we cut it, they'd pork it up. We don't get another shot at it. But, if all of them come back to the Senate, then we get the final say-so.

Of course, we cut them down. They porked them up; they went to the governor's office. And then what happened? The staff sits down with the governor and his staff, and we decide what we are going to cut. And we get to the \$2 billion.

Then what happens? They all come back to the Senate. The House is out of the picture. Nothing they can do about it. They filed in the Senate, about 150, 160 amendments to put that money back. We killed the first fifty or sixty, right? They finally gave up, because all of the Republicans stuck together, and we didn't accept any of them.

So, what happened was, we sent them out of there, sent them back to George Ryan, and it was done. That's the first... I'll tell you what's wrong with the media, particularly. The governor introduced his budget—15, 20, 25 percent increase over last year. We cut part of it out. What do all the headlines say? Senate or House cut the governor's budget. They never mentioned that he got 10 or 15 percent more than he had last year. And guess when was the last time we actually cut the budget? Take a guess.

Hendren: At that time.

DePue: I don't want to make a guess, the 1970s.

Philip: Ah, shit. You know who the governor was? Bill Stratton. [It] was over fifty years ago when we did that. The last time we actually cut the previous budget for the year, in \$2 billion. We got no credit for it at all. But, you know, it hasn't happened since; has it?

Hendren: Yeah, they've had to, because of necessity here in the last couple of years. That's because of—

Philip: How much did cut?

Hendren: I don't know. Pate, I don't know. But that's because they spent wildly for about seven years. When you spend \$1 billion more than you take in, every year for seven years—

Philip: But, how do you like that? Fifty years without a cut, education, fifty years without a cut.

DePue: I know George Ryan liked to make deals; this is the reputation. He liked to make deals. He liked to spend money. Would you say that is accurate?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: When he got to office, he had \$1 billion surplus. There was a rainy day fund. They hadn't had one of those for a long time. When he left office, there was \$1 billion deficit. Who is that on? Is that on George Ryan or do you want to—

Philip: You mean, when he left office? You know, we cut about \$2 billion off the—

Hendren: I don't think there was \$1 billion deficit when he left office.

Philip: I don't know what there was.

Hendren: I don't know what the reconciliation date is there, but in 2002, the FY03 budget was balanced. The problem with that year was we were still trying to determine the effects of 9/11¹⁰. [The] immediate economic effect of 9/11 was pretty dramatic, but that fiscal year began July 1, 2002. George only had that for half a year.

Then the one and only, great Rod Blagojevich came in and started spending like a drunken sailor. So, I don't know what level you say. The 2002 budget, the budget that ended 2002, June 30, was balanced. The budget that was on the governor's desk, that they began operating with, beginning July first, was balanced, based on the revenue that had been projected by the Bureau of the Budget. What happened to that? I don't know, because we all left. (laughs) But I don't know, Mark

Philip: I didn't think he had that—

Hendren: George was spending more money than we had. There's no doubt about that.

Philip: Okay.

Hendren: You used to argue with him. You had some really interesting arguments with him about that.

DePue: About spending too much?

Hendren: Yeah, yeah.

DePue: About liking to spend money too much?

Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: Well, you know what? George likes people and likes to help people.

Hendren: Right. It wasn't mean spirited.

¹⁰ Reference to the date September 11, 2001, when a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group, al-Qaeda, struck the United States.

- Philip: He helped a lot of people. George didn't know the word "no." Neither did Jim Thompson. Edgar could say "no." If you think about operating government, money-wise, I would say that Edgar was as good as—
- DePue: Yeah, he earned the reputation of being "Governor No." That was one of the nicknames he had.
- Philip: Well, that's not all bad. Sometimes I didn't agree with Thompson or George on some of the things they wanted to do.
- DePue: When Ryan first ran for governor, he'd already had those eight years as secretary of state. There were already some significant rumors in the background about things that had gone on, on his behalf, in the secretary of state's office, some serious allegations about corruption. And then, obviously, that ended up destroying the man, and he's in jail right now.¹¹ What comments do you have about George Ryan that led to his difficulties with the corruption challenges?
- Philip: Let me just say this. Melrose Park, secretary of state's office there, that's where that driver got his license, if you remember.
- DePue: Are you talking about the truck driver who ended up killing a family on the interstate system?
- Philip: That employee there, probably was a Democrat. What she said was that she was forced into buying tickets to George's fundraisers, and that's why she took the money from this guy, okay? Now, I have friends and people that work on our secretary of state's office in Lombard, who are one of the biggest offices in the state. I have never had anybody come to me and say, "I was forced into buying tickets at George's fundraiser." Did some of them buy tickets? Yes. But never were they ever forced into doing it. It was there if you wanted to do it. I'm the county chairman. They would come to me and bitch, if they were forced into buying tickets, okay? Never had that happen.

Now, that guy might have been a good driver; I don't know. But, you got to remember what happened. A piece of equipment, not equipment, part of the truck, fell off of that truck and went under his van and hit the gas tank and blew that van up and killed, I think, four or five of his kids. Terrible, terrible thing.

But that's not George Ryan's fault. It's the owner of that trucking company who did not maintain his trucks properly. That's the guy. And he's the guy, you know, in the civil... He settled out of court, I understand, and

¹¹ Former Illinois Governor George Ryan was sentenced to 6-1/2 years in prison on corruption charges. He spent more than five years in prison in Terra Haute, Indiana, after his 2006 conviction. (http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-07-03/news/chi-george-ryan-sentence-ends-20130703_1_lura-lynn-prison-sentence-prisons-spokesman-chris-burke)

they got \$4 or \$5 million. I don't know how much they got, but they got a big a big... That guy went to court every day and made comments to the media about George Ryan, blaming George Ryan. It wasn't George Ryan's fault.

If I was secretary of state, I would never have a facility in Melrose Park. You know, everybody has always thought the fix is in there, whether you like it or not. That's what did him in.

I don't think George Ryan is a dishonest guy. Some of the people that he had on his staff, I wouldn't have hired in a million years. You know, Chicago Democrats, he had. I think that his staff got him in trouble.

DePue: What was his downfall, then, his tragic flaw?

Philip: He likes people. He likes to help people, and he put some people on there I wouldn't have hired.

DePue: One of the things that apparently was going on in the Ryan administration was, they were keeping careful tabs of who they were helping, so they could, I'm sure, somewhere down the road, say, "Okay, we helped you; it's time for you to help us" kind of a deal. I don't recall when exactly that came out, but the list came out, and your name was on there quite a few times. There were a lot of names on there.

Philip: Sure, and you know what? He did help me. I don't deny... He's never used that on me, though, or his staff never used that on me.

DePue: When you say, never used it on you, never came back and said, "Hey, you own us one"?

Philip: Never did, not one time.

DePue: Do you think he got a raw deal, going to prison for as long as he did?

Philip: Well, I'm going to tell you one thing. All the other governors... Walker got out early; Otto Kerner got out early; George is there the whole time. Why isn't he getting out early? He is not healthy; his wife died. I just a... Yeah, I'll tell you, he helped a lot of people. I will say that, and a lot of people liked him.

DePue: You had a good relationship with him in the legislature, then, in most circumstances?

Philip: In most, not all the time, but most of the time. I didn't agree with him on the death penalty or guns.

DePue: Here's my question on the death penalty. He, obviously, towards the end of his term, came out and decided that he was going to abolish the death penalty. And, forever after, people have been wondering about his motives for doing

that, whether it was because that would provide him some cover legally from his corruption challenges or he sincerely believed that. How would you come down on that?

Philip: I heard that. I don't know if that's true or not. It wouldn't influence me. I'll tell you what happened; I had something that happened. I don't know if it happened in my district, but it happened in Elmhurst, which used to be my district, and I live there. There was a Greek guy that took three or four women, raped them and then beat them to death with a wrench from his truck. Of course, DuPage County convicted him and gave him the death penalty.

There were all rumors that George was going to say something. So I called him up. I said, "Listen, that used to be my... I was born and raised in Elmhurst. Everybody is furious, because he raped them; he murdered them, and it was just unbelievable what he did to their bodies, and there was three of them. You don't think this guy ought to get the death penalty? What are you, nuts? I mean, that's terrible, George."

And then, he told me that, whatever the leader of the Greek Church is, whatever they call him, called him and asked him to give this kid a break. I thought that was terrible. I don't know what he did. I don't think he did anything for that kid. I think he decided to do something after that.

Hendren: He declared the moratorium though, Pate, which, I still want somebody to show me where that's at in the constitution, but that's okay. But he declared a moratorium on the death penalty, which means he wasn't going to enforce it.

DePue: Yeah, he personally wasn't going to make any decisions that would send somebody to the death chamber.

Hendren: Which, there's no moratorium in the constitution. There is the ability of the governor to review, as they should, every case. What Edgar did, he did it on a case by case basis, but he also pushed the plug, too.

DePue: John Wayne Gacy, [a serial killer and rapist] was that the first that Edgar did, maybe?

Hendren: I don't know if that was the first or not.

DePue: I'd have to check on that.

Hendren: For some reason, I don't think it was, but it might have been. I don't know.

Philip: How many kids did he kill, twenty-three or something?

DePue: Thirty-three, I think.

Hendren: I think it was in the thirties.

- Philip: And you're going to let that guy... What does it cost these days to incarcerate somebody? Like \$60,000 a year to keep them in jail, and he kills—
- Hendren: For a death row inmate, it would have been more than the standard fee.
- DePue: When I read some place that you were in favor of speeding up that appeal process, as well, shortening the appeals process that somebody on death row would have.
- Philip: Absolutely.
- DePue: Moving on to a different subject, then, Jim Thompson had *Build Illinois*. George Ryan had *Illinois First*, another bond initiative, I believe. Do you have any comments about *Illinois First*?
- Philip: Generally speaking, [they] were good projects. There was a few bummers, but I think, generally speaking, maybe 5 percent of them I wouldn't have done, maybe more than that. Some of them had some losers, but so did Thompson. But, I thought it helped a lot of people.
- DePue: You've already talked about your feelings about Ryan going to prison, as he did. That gets us to the 2002 election, another interesting election for governor in the State of Illinois. The Democratic primary, you've got Rod Blagojevich, Paul Vallas, who we've talked about quite a bit, and Roland Burris, all three running. And on the Republican side, you've got Jim Ryan, who emerges as the clear winner in that case. Jim Ryan's problem is his last name. Whoever the Democrats are going to run, you know, they are going to run against George Ryan.
- Philip: Right.
- DePue: Any comments about that particular race, the way it sorted itself out?
- Philip: No, Carter helped Jim Ryan out.
- Hendren: The last 100 days, "my days of purgatory," as I used to refer to them.
- Philip: Right.
- DePue: The interesting race, I think, that year, was the Democratic primary, because Blagojevich won, but Paul Vallas gave him a serious run for the money. Carter, you remember that race?
- Hendren: Oh, yeah, yeah. Actually, that night I was watching the election results and had the staff go find out what Blagojevich was doing in the Metro East and in Rock Island County, because Vallas was doing very well in the city, which surprised some people. And everybody thought...

Philip: (interrupting) Daley, allegedly, was for him.

Hendren: I think he might have been. And Paul had some very... I don't know if you remember his ads, his primary television ads. They were very unique. They were very well done, and they were kind of funny. So, while there weren't a lot of them, they were conversational pieces.

Blagojevich, obviously, had a lot of problems, name problems, etc. But, you saw, when you looked at Rock Island, Peoria and the Metro East, Madison and St. Clair, that he was going to get the labor vote downstate, which meant he was going to win, although it was going to be closer than we thought.

So, I actually thought that was good news that night for us, because I don't think Jim Ryan stood a chance against Paul Vallas, candidly. That was my assessment at the time. I thought Blagojevich had such a weak background, in terms of accomplishments, that even with the name "Ryan," even though that was a problem, he might be able to pull it off, but no such luck.

DePue: He had a little bit of time in the Illinois legislature, I believe.

Hendren: Six years, I think, or four, maybe.

DePue: Did you know Blagojevich at all when he served in the Illinois legislature? I think it was in the House.

Philip: Never met him, never saw him in a committee hearing in the Senate, ever. And the Speaker told me, one time—I asked about him—

DePue: Speaker Madigan, now.

Philip: Yeah, yeah. He said, "Pate, he's the first guy to come up here and ask me when we're getting out of here. (all laugh) The guy doesn't do a damn thing. And you know, his voting record in Congress, he missed 50 percent of the votes, more than—

DePue: When he was in the U.S. Congress, yeah.

Hendren: There was one, one of the—

DePue: In Rostenkowski's old district, no less.

Hendren: One of the subcommittees, the Foreign Relations Subcommittee, he never attended a subcommittee meeting. (laughs)

Philip: I believe that. And then, he **hated** Springfield. His wife didn't like it either. Now, this is the story I heard, and I think it is pretty accurate, because he

hardly ever stayed overnight in Springfield. And his wife, when he was forced into it, when he got sworn in and so forth...But when she was down there, she needed a hair dresser, somebody to do her nails. And then she complained about it, about the staff there in the governor's mansion. I mean, it was unbelievable, the things that she said about Springfield. She didn't like it at all. It was unbelievable.

DePue: This is an interesting timeframe here. He won the election in November 2002. You had no opposition, apparently, that year, in 2002, so, you obviously won the election in 2002. But, the question is, when did you start thinking, Now is a good time to retire, and why were you thinking about retiring at that time?

Philip: It was simple. The Democrats took the House, the Senate and the governorship.

DePue: In part, because they won the redistricting draw in 2001?

Philip: Right. I mean, forget it. I'd been there, that would be thirty-six years. I quit in the middle of my term, and I just thought, Hey. I talked to Carter; we didn't tell anybody. There were three guys running to replace me, but all three of them said, "If you're staying, we'll support you." So, I didn't have any opposition.

DePue: But you didn't have to run in 2002 for reelection?

Hendren: Yeah, he did.

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Why didn't you hang it up beforehand? Why didn't you let it just sort of itself out in the district, who was going to be the replacement?

Philip: Because I was ready to go. Hey, I don't want to put up with the Democrats. I couldn't do anything, because a lot of people wanted to get even with me.

DePue: But why did you run for reelection in 2002 if you knew you were probably going to retire?

Hendren: He wanted to see...Pate, what he's trying to get to is, if you knew you were going to be in the minority, and you knew you didn't want to be there, why did you run? The point is, we weren't 100 percent sure we'd be the minority.

Philip: Right.

Hendren: We thought we would be, but we weren't 100 percent sure.

Philip: We weren't convinced completely. That's why Carter decided to help Jim Ryan.

Hendren: We needed somebody to veto. (laughs)

Philip: Yeah, he needed somebody who knew what he was doing. And I told Carter, I said, "He's a hard guy to work with."

Hendren: The understatement of the year.

DePue: He being?

Hendren: Jim Ryan, nice guy, but hard to work for.

Philip: Yeah, a nice guy.

DePue: But he was coming from the attorney general position, which is normally a pretty good place to be launching your campaign.

Hendren: I don't know that we have ever elected an attorney general to be governor.

Philip: You know what? Come to think of it...

Hendren: I don't know that (both talking)

Philip: Not in my lifetime.

Hendren: I don't think it is a good position. Scott didn't do it; Hartigan didn't do it; Burris didn't do it. All tried.

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: Did you have a hand in naming the replacement from your district?

Philip: Yeah.

DePue: How did you end up selecting Ray Sodden? Was that the name?

Philip: Sōden. Oh, he'd been on the county board. He had been active politically.

Hendren: Well, you were county chairman too. You're district was all in DuPage.

Philip: Right.

Hendren: Right? Did you go in to—

Philip: No, no. I've got a little bit—

Hendren: Had a little bit of Cook?

Philip: Got a little bit of Kane. No, hardly any of Cook. A little bit of Kane, little bit of Schaumburg.

- Hendren: Okay.
- DePue: So, that position probably had as much power as any position, in terms of selecting somebody in this kind of a situation, right?
- Philip: Yeah, the county chairman would.
- Hendren: Weighted vote
- DePue: How much did you have to say about who was going to replace you as the Senate minority leader?
- Philip: Oh, I stayed out of it. I told them I was going to vote for the guy from my county. But, I said, "I'm not going to get involved in it. Let the best man win or best woman win. I'm not going to get involved in it. You guys have all been good to me, and I just think I ought to stay out of it."
- DePue: Well, Frank Watson was the eventual winner of that.
- Philip: Yeah.
- DePue: Your views on Frank Watson?
- Philip: Oh, I like him. He's a good guy.
- DePue: Is he an effective leader?
- Philip: Yeah. I think he did a pretty good job.
- Hendren: And he was in your leadership team from the first day of when we were in majority.
- Philip: Yep.
- DePue: Well, here's another name for you that was in the Illinois Senate during the time you were in the Illinois Senate, and that's Barack Obama. What are your views on Barack Obama, as an Illinois state senator?
- Philip: Came late and left early. Never did a thing. Could talk for a half hour and say nothing. I can remember one incident that was kind of unusual, maybe two things.

Paul Simon called me, when he was a teacher down at SIU, and wanted to put together a committee to do something about shaping up campaigns, finances. He called me, and I said, "You know, Paul," —I've known him for a long time; I like him. He's way to the left of me, but a decent, honest guy—I said, "Fine. I don't have any problem with that." He says, "Well, I want you to put Obama on it." I said, "You know what? That's not my choice." You know, the president of the Senate can knock anybody off

any committee, but Rock and I never did that. Whoever the Democrats wanted to recommend, I'd always okay. I didn't try to tell them who to put on. And Rock never told me who to put on, okay? So, I said, "Fine." I said, "As long as you don't do anything that's really stupid." I said, "I don't have any problem with that. [It] doesn't bother me at all." So, of course, he was put on there.

I said, "I want one thing. I don't think any members of the General Assembly, wife or close relative, should be a lobbyist. Now, I know they do that on the federal level. Our United States senator from here, his wife lobbies for American and United Airlines at about \$250,000 a year. I think that's outrageous. You shouldn't do that, period. Now, what do they think about my wife going in talking to my candidate and my members? It's bad news. My kids, my family shouldn't be doing that. He said, "Pate, you are absolutely right." "Well, just make sure that Obama..." "Don't worry about it."

Ha! That didn't happen in that committee. That committee was appointed. I don't remember what their recommendation was, quite frankly.

Hendren: We passed a bill in May of '98 that...Dillard was your guy; Obama was Emil's guy; Tom Cross was Lee's guy. I can't remember who the House Democrat was, candidly. I don't think it was Hannig, but it could have been. The bill passed, and it was supported by the Simon Institute and all the media. It made some changes in campaign contributions and receipts and gift bans—

Philip: But it didn't do a goddamn thing for what I wanted.

Hendren: No. No, it didn't, no.

DePue: What timeframe was this?

Hendren: Ninety-eight. This passed on the last day we were in session, I believe, in '98, because it was weird. The reason I know that, Pate, is because there was hesitancy in the House to pass the bill. And we had a conversation with the people at that time, that our candidate for governor, Governor Ryan, might want to have this bill out there in the campaign.

Philip: But it didn't do anything, right?

Hendren: Not according to the press.

Philip: What does the press know?

DePue: Did you have any personal experiences with Senator Obama?

Philip: No. I'll tell you one thing I noticed—correct me if I'm wrong—when I took over, we had committees at 8:00 AM, went into the Senate at noon. We'd have a priest or a rabbi or minister do the prayer and do the Pledge of

Allegiance and start the business. I don't ever remember seeing Obama there for the Pledge or the prayer, ever. And I never saw him with the American flag; I'll tell you that. I used to wear the American flag almost all the time. Most of my Senators did. A lot of the Democrat down Senators wore a flag, too. But I don't ever remember him doing that, ever. So, I kind of wonder about that.

DePue: One of the things you hear about Obama, during those years, is that Emil Jones kind of took him under his wing and was mentoring him.

Philip: Well, in my opinion...He was never an assistant. You know, what he had, eight leadership spots?

Hendren: Well, every year it got more.

DePue: You talking about Jones?

Philip: Yeah. Never put him [Obama] in leadership, never was an assistant leader or a whip or anything. [If] he's such a hot shot, why wasn't he in the leadership?

DePue: I don't know that you've mentioned your relationship with Emil Jones.

Philip: I'll tell you. I don't know if I mentioned this before...Oh, yes I did. Phil Rock called me every morning, before we went in session. We had an excellent rapport. What he told me, I believed. When he told me he was going to do something, he did it. We did have a little argument on reapportionment. (laughs) Other than that, never had a problem with him.

Emil Jones, I called every morning and asked to talk to him, about fifteen or twenty minutes or half hour before we went. He was never there. I never talked to him one time. I left a message; (he) never called. (phone rings)



Senator Emil Jones, Governor Jim Thompson, Lieutenant Governor George Ryan, "Pate" Philip and House Minority Leader Lee Daniels gather in the Governor's office for a leadership meeting, circa 1990.

- DePue: So your relationship with Jones wasn't nearly as healthy as it was with Rock?
- Philip: No, no. Never had a problem with him [Rock].
- Hendren: (talking on the phone) Yes, this is Carter.
- DePue: Once you got in these caucus meetings, and you had the four caucus leaders, were you able to work things out with him in those kinds of scenarios?
- Philip: He and George got along very well. So, there wasn't any problem.
- DePue: George Ryan?
- Philip: Yeah. He had helped him in the past.
- DePue: I do want to ask you another question. I've got to go back to the end of the Edgar administration. At the end, as in many times, you're closing off your career as governor chief executive. You forward a bunch of nominations for boards, appointments and things like that. And, as I understand, most of those didn't make it out of the Senate, that you or somebody in the Senate decided that those board positions would not be filled.
- Philip: I don't remember that, quite frankly. Carter will know, though. I don't remember that.
- DePue: We'll wait for him to come back then. Let me ask you this, then, your general opinion of Rod Blagojevich as governor? Now, you're out of the picture at this time. But, I would imagine you are still in contact with plenty of people who were still in the Senate.
- Hendren: (talking on the phone in background)
- Philip: He only came in to see me once. When I was president of the Senate, I never had any dealings with him. He just never came to the Senate. I don't think he had any bills. He never came before my committee; I was on the Executive Committee. But, I never saw the guy. He was pleasant. I know his father-in-law, who I like and respect.
- DePue: Dick Mel?
- Philip: Yeah. But I—
- DePue: What's your assessment of the man, as governor?
- Philip: He's a big spender, and he didn't work too hard at it; I'll tell you that. But I don't think that he had anything. We're as bad as California, financially. I'm not sure what the figures are. I thought it was a \$185 billion—when you put everything together—that we're short.

And then, you know what? I called up because my doctor's office is mad about the payment of bills by my state insurance. So, I called down there. I still have a few friends, and they pumped it into the computer. They said, "The last time we paid a bill for you," —now this was about four months ago—they said, "It was December 10, 2010." That's over a year and a half. That is so irresponsible, I can't believe it. It just... My doctor turned it over to an accounting... Now these guys all got firms that collect the money. You know what the guy at the firm told me? He said a lot of the doctors are not taking state employees. He said it isn't worth the wait. He says, if you're already his patient—

Hendren: There's no discipline.

Philip: Right. I mean, it's just so bad I can't believe it.

DePue: Carter, while you stepped out, I was asking the Senator about the end of Edgar's administration, when he put forward a list of nominees for various boards and commissions that he wanted to get through the Senate. From what I've heard, the Senate blocked those nominations.

Hendren: We blocked a lot of them.

Philip: Why don't I remember that?

Hendren: Well, I don't know. (laughs) But, it's very controversial. I'll tell you this, Pate, of all the things that happened the eight years that Edgar was governor that was probably the thing that—

DePue: He remembers.

Hendren: ...he remembers the most. And it's a bit unfair. His assessment's a bit unfair, but not completely. The dilemma was, you had an incoming governor, who wanted the opportunity to appoint certain positions, vacancies, boards and commissions primarily, okay? But some of these were three and five year appointments.

Then you had an outgoing governor, who you'd worked very well with, who wanted to put people in these positions, who had been helpful to him and were, obviously, qualified. I think a lot of other things kind of spilled over—

Philip: So, was it an argument between Ryan and Edgar.

Hendren: And what you asked us to do is—myself and Steve Schnorf—Schnorf, who worked for the governor—

Philip: Yeah, I know.

Hendren: ...and also worked for George.

Philip: And I liked Steve Schnorf. Schnorf was a good guy.

Hendren: [He] worked for George. And you asked us to see if we could kind of work something out, and we did. We came back with a list of people that we thought should be approved, which was insufficient in Jim's mind and insufficient in George's mind. So, it must have been an "okay" list, right? (DePue laughs) I mean, there are still hard feelings about it.

Philip: Did I have any horses in this race?

Hendren: You mean personal friends? Not that I can recall.

Philip: Yeah.

Hendren: It was a bit of a dilemma that had to go to the Senate. But, there had been a history that the new governor had... These are his appointments. Some of those appointments were going to last for the vast majority of the new person's term. So, the thought was, well hold on. You can't not give them that.

Philip: I wouldn't do that to anybody.

Hendren: Yeah, it was just an unfortunate circumstance. But, I know, every time I talked to Jim about that, that's one thing he remembers, like, "You guys," and he points his finger and everything. I understand that, because he had some pretty good people that he wanted to appoint. I understand that, unfortunately.

DePue: I want to give you an opportunity here to reflect on the job that Barack Obama has done as president.

Philip: Well, huh, it's hard to find anything yet that I thought he did that was right. I thought he had better common sense and judgment, quite frankly. The Post Office is bankrupt; Social Security is bankrupt; Obama Care is bankrupt; Amtrak is bankrupt, and our bond rating is the lowest it's ever been in the history of this country. It's just unbelievable.

And, I'll tell you, the House of Representatives, it acts rather normally by passing a budget over to the Senate. The Democrats, of course, what they would normally do to work things out is to put it in a committee, and then they would have a joint committee to sit down and work out the budget problems, whether the Democrats agree with it or not. They haven't even done that. Now they passed, I think, two budgets over there. And it just—

DePue: In the House.

- Philip: Yeah, over to the Senate. And they've done the same thing. They haven't passed a budget in, what, almost three years.
- Hendren: Obama has never had a budget.
- Philip: I mean, its' crazy.
- Hendren: Continuing resolutions.
- Philip: Where is the judgment and the common sense?
- DePue: We are finally at the conclusion here, and I really appreciate your—
- Philip: Oh, I forgot one thing. The deficit is over \$16 trillion. By the time of the next election, it will be \$17 trillion. It's just so ridiculous; I can't believe it. I can't believe the guy can get reelected, just on the figures. It's such a terrible record.
- DePue: Most pundits right now are saying it's going to be a very close race.
- Philip: I don't believe that. I talk to people. This last campaign, I was out campaigning for my stepson. And not everybody recognized me, but about every ten houses, "Oh, Pate, how are you?" What's the first thing they said, "What about this guy Obama?" Holy mackerel, and they unloaded on him like you can't believe.

And then, I saw last night—I watch Fox News most of the time, because I think it is the most objective and the fairest. Do they complain about Bush once in a while? Yeah. Do they complain about Republicans once in a while? Yeah. I think it is the fairest, most accurate stuff that I watch. They were looking at this one national survey that was done by NBC or ABC, and guess what they did? Instead of taking 20 percent or 30 percent Democrats and 20 percent or 30 percent Republicans and then the rest, Independents, what do they do? They take like 50 percent of the Democrats, 30 percent of the Republicans; the rest are Independents. And then, what does it come out? Forty-seven to forty-seven. But, they're taking [an] extra amount of Democrats. That's not a fair survey.

I just think this; I think people are fed up with him for what he's done. He made all these promises, but he hasn't delivered on anything.

- DePue: Your comment about that particular poll, though, says as much or more about the national news media as it does about the candidates themselves.
- Philip: Well, of course, the three national stations are certainly very pro of the president. They have been, and they're going to be. No question about that.

DePue: I have a few wrap-up questions. Before I get into the wrap-up questions, I want to thank you for giving me the opportunity to do this and especially for spending this much time. And Carter, the same for you. It was very helpful and enlightening to have you here, especially talking from the staff perspective. I think that was great. I appreciate both of you taking the time out to do this.

You had a long career, started in the '60s, finished in 2002. That's a long time to be working, in Illinois politics at least. Of all those years, what do you look back and are most proud about?

Philip: Huh, that's a good question. Well, I know nobody will believe this; I always tried to do what was right. Sometimes it's difficult to decide what's the right thing to do. Sometimes you get misinformation. Sometimes you can't trust the people that you've talked to. But, I tell you this, we always tried to do what was right, and generally speaking, we did what was right. I used to tell my caucus that also.

I never got indicted. I'm as honest as you can be. I never took any money. Did I have some opportunities? I sent some checks back to people. And, I'll tell you, I made enemies out of those people. I hate to say it, but you send campaign contributions back, they don't like it, let me tell you. But, I've done that a couple of times, and I said, "We try to do what's right."

We're conservative in attitude. If you haven't got it, don't spend it. We were very conservative in our attitude. You know, I don't have any regrets whatsoever.

DePue: Can you look back and identify one or two moments in that career that were most exhilarating for you?

Philip: When I got elected president of the Senate. That certainly was unusual.

If you want to be a leader, you got to like people. If you don't like people, you're in the wrong place. I like people; I trust people. I trusted this guy [Hendren]. Would I question him once in a while? Yeah. But, I'll tell you, I knew he was honest. He was hardworking. And I tell you, he worked his ass off. And most people that know Carter Hendren would say he's the best chief of staff we ever had in Springfield, on either group.

DePue: On either side of the political aisle?

Philip: Absolutely. The lobbyists would tell you that. And they would tell you, "When Pate Philip told you something, he would do it."

DePue: How about something you were disappointed about or you would identify as a failure?

Philip: Oh, I think that we've increased taxes too much. There's not much you can do about it. And we've wasted a lot of money. You could fire one-third of the state employees; you wouldn't know they were gone. And these pension things—

DePue: Hopefully you wouldn't fire my position. (all laugh) Pension.

Philip: And the pensions. I'll tell you. What we ought to do—and I don't care if you are elected or you're a cop or a school teacher or a professor or anything—everybody ought to pay the same amount of money towards their pension and towards their healthcare, **everybody**. And, instead of having all these little pensions that nobody can watch and nobody can keep track of, everybody ought to be the same. I don't care if you are the president of the university or you're a janitor at the university, you ought to pay the same amount of money towards your pension and the same amount of money towards your retirement and have one pension system, and everybody knows about it. You know how that would solve our problem, financial problem? That would do a lot to solve our pension problem.

DePue: What you want to be remembered for?

Philip: I don't worry about that. I mean, a stand-up guy, honest stand-up guy, an American. We are so lucky to be Americans. You know, my mother was born in Germany, came here when she was about nine years old, and that was after WWI. My grandfather was in the German army. Now, just think, if they didn't come to America, I probably would have been in the German army in WWII, because they were taking fifteen—

Hendren: They were taking kids.

Philip: They were taking young kids.

DePue: Lucky if you survived the war, then.

Philip: I would have been dead or wounded or in a prison camp. I was lucky; I'll tell you that. But, we are so lucky to be Americans, the greatest country in the history of the world. Is it perfect? No. But, if you can't make it in America, you can't make it. I don't care what your color is, what your religion, you are so lucky to be an American.

I tell you, and I've told all my kids this, and I mean it; it's easy to be the best employee. Be the first one there; have a smile on your face; be nice to everybody, courtesy to everybody, and when you've done your work, ask your boss, "What else can I do?" You'll be a star; let me tell you.

These kids today, I can't believe their attitude. They don't know what it is to be on time. And I'll tell you; it's so easy. It's so easy to be the best employee. It's simple.

Hendren: Yeah, it is.

DePue: Speaking of an employee, for all those years essentially you were an employee of the people of Illinois. But, I think you will agree with me that politicians have a very poor reputation now.

Philip: Absolutely.

DePue: Are you proud that you served as senator for all those years?

Philip: I don't have anything that I'm ashamed of. And I'll tell you one thing, I think there's a different class of people these days. When I ran, I didn't run for the money. Today they pay them so much, it's a full time job.

You know what? We made a mistake. We should have never made it a full time job. We should have one session every two years. We spent less money. Most of these people didn't have another job somewhere, and they didn't get paid much. You know what they paid us for our postage and stationery when I first got elected? Fifty bucks.

Hendren: A year.

Philip: Yeah. And you know what the salary was? It was either \$8,500 or \$9,000. I don't remember. We got one check for the whole session. No expenses, no car expenses, no expenses at all, that was it. You think I did it for the money? No. Now these guys are full-time. They want to be down there all the time. It's a big money deal. What do we pay them, \$70,000 a year?

Hendren: Yeah, something like that.

DePue: They just reduced their pay. I know that.

Philip: Reduced their pay?

DePue: Or reduced the increase.

Hendren: They reduced the increase. But their pension will be based on the statutory level is what I'm told. I don't that that's true, but I think that's true.

DePue: Do you understand the public's cynicism about politicians and politics in general?

Philip: Absolutely. I can understand that. I'm not happy with a lot of them myself.

DePue: Carter, I haven't directed most of this to you, but I'll give you a chance to make some reflections here on being his chief of staff and being in the Illinois Senate all of those years.

Philip: Do you want me to leave the room?

Hendren: No.

Philip: Then you can honest. (all laugh)

Hendren: Greatest boss I've ever worked for, truly, and I've worked for some good ones, some really good ones. State Senate is a great place to work. I am fortunate, very fortunate, guys like Pate...but there's a lot of guys, too, Bill Harris, Doc Shapiro. I mean, there's just really good people. It's been a lot of fun.

Let me give you two things for Pate, because this interview's not mine, as a wrap-up. A month or two ago, during the session—and the old, old, Democrat lobbyist—as we normally do, we were bemoaning the status of Illinois. [We] can't pay our bills; we're totally dysfunctional; we got a governor who can't make a decision; decisions are made by two or three people; they change their mind every twenty-four hours; it's ridiculous. And this old guy looked back, and he just kind of laughed. He said, "You know what? The word 'no' walked out of the building when Pate Philip left this building." I got thinking about that, and that's absolutely true. This system is based on a check and balance, and somebody had to be in that. He served in that role, and he served admirably for a lot of years.

As we were getting ready to leave—we were in the majority in the Senate—everybody knew that Pate probably would retire sometime shortly. We were packing our bags to go over to the minority offices. I had a guy who came into the office, stuck his head in. He's a lobbyist for a social services. He never got a lot of good...He always wanted to spend money, and that wasn't what our office was about, okay? But he came in, and he said, "I just wanted to tell you, and then I want you to tell Pate the same thing," — because it was for both of us—he said, "I rarely agreed with you; you rarely agreed with me, but I never left either one of these offices without knowing exactly what was going to happen, and I appreciate that." To me that was the best compliment anybody could ever pay.

Philip: Who was he?

Hendren; I'd rather not say; he's not around



"Pate" Philip with his son and grandson, in front of his portrait that hangs in the Capitol Building, in the late 2000s.

anymore. But he was a social service person that just... We'd said no to [him] 1,000 times. I mean, he was afraid to come in the office, because he knew what was going to happen. But that was a good compliment. And I think the tragedy is, Mark, that you don't see that a lot anymore.

Everybody worries about, well, what's the press going to say? What's the press release going to be? Instead of just saying, you know... The reason Pate Philip was successful as a leader and a politician, in my opinion, is because he operated from a set of values. Much, in my opinion, like Jim Edgar. Again, I have tremendous respect, as you know, for Jim Edgar. He had a set of principles and a set of values, and the decisions he made, governmentally or politically, worked within those parameters. So, there was no second guessing, because you believed in something. This is what I believe in; this is what we are going to do. It then becomes much more simple in how you manage your life and other people's lives. Rather than trying to anticipate what the press is going to say or what that editorial's going to be or whether you are politically correct or not, or what the next poll is going to say, this is my principle; these are my guidelines, and I'm going to stay within them. Let the chips fall where they may.

And for that reason he, Governor Edgar, Chuck Percy, guys like that, I have tremendous admiration for those guys that lived with those kind of principles.

Philip: Well, you know what? You're right. And one thing, everybody wants to be politically correct, because they want the press to endorse them before... You know what I mean?

Hendren: Yeah.

Philip: And, if you're politically correct, you're not going to tell the truth. You'll never criticize anybody. Some people should be criticized.

Hendren: In Springfield, now, there is no trust that exists. And unless there is trust and respect at the top, where you can sit down at a table, shake hands and reach agreement, you're never going to have solutions that are meaningful.

In our day, those happened routinely. You went in to a room; you shut the door; it was usually the four leaders, the governor and the respective chiefs of staff, so there were like eight or ten people in their, maximum. You didn't read about those meetings in the newspaper. You didn't get questions from the press about what did you say? Did you really say this? I mean, it just didn't happen. If it did, it was very rare; of course, it did a couple of times.

That doesn't exist now. It just doesn't exist. And I think that is fundamentally a huge problem, because people just won't be open sometimes. So anyway, things change.

Philip: I'm going to talk to Jim Thompson at the end of this month. I'll tell him that I think you're a good guy, and I'll see what I can do. And I will call you and let you know what he tells me.

DePue: That would be great. Senator, I'll give you the last word then.

Philip: You can call me "Pate"; everybody else does.

DePue: (laughs) Well, I'll give you the last word.

Philip: Hey, I enjoyed it. And, of course, I admire this guy. [Hendren] He's done a fantastic job, and he has refreshed my memory on a lot of things, because I'm not getting any younger; my memory is not that good; I don't hear too good; my eyesight is shot. I don't know what's left! (chuckling) But I kind of enjoyed it. You're my kind of guy.

DePue: Well, I really appreciate that you gave me the opportunity to do this. This was important for me on a lot of levels, and I thoroughly enjoyed the experience. So, thank you very much.

Philip: How did you like Phil Rock?

DePue: I enjoyed that too.

Hendren: He's a good guy.

DePue: This won't surprise you; he has a little bit different personality than you, Senator.

Hendren: (laughs)

Philip: Well, you know what? Did you do Emil Jones yet?

DePue: Somebody else did Emil Jones.

Philip: Oh, holy Christ.

DePue: We'd better stop here. (all laugh)

(end of session #2)