Interview with Dick Lockhart

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Interviewer: Mark DePue

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DePue: Today is Friday, June 1, 2012. My name is Mark DePue, the Director of Oral History with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and I'm here today, this morning, in the Library with Dick Lockhart. How are you, Dick?

Lockhart: Just fine, so far.

DePue: We're going to be talking to you about your career as a lobbyist. I thought this would be a good way to start. There's an *Illinois Times* article I found and this, I think is heralding, this is a few years back already, the fifty years you've served as a lobbyist here in Springfield with the Illinois Legislature. And what year would that be, 2008?

Lockhart: Well, the business was formed on actually September 16, 1958. The legislature in those years only met in the odd numbered years. So my first lobbying venture began in January of '59.

DePue: Here's the title for this article, "*The King of Lobbyists*: Dick Lockhart says the first 50 years were the hard part.

Lockhart: I didn't write that, obviously.

DePue: But fifty years obviously one of the most venerated members of the lobbying force there.

Lockhart: Fifty-three now.

DePue: Fifty-three years.

Lockhart: Yeah, that's right.

DePue: That's pretty impressive.

Lockhart: And never been indicted.

DePue: (laughs) Well, this is Illinois, you had to throw that in, didn't you? But it thought what might be good and for anybody who is listening to this, this is not quite a stand-alone interview. We've already had two sessions with you talking about your youth growing up and especially your time in the U.S. Army during World War II and your experience as a POW. Normally we get a lot of background, but pick up with your return to the United States afterwards and ask what your intentions were as far as a career once you came back.

Lockhart: Once I came back, of course, I was still in the Army and the war with Japan was still going on so I was a soldier at Fort Benning, Georgia, subsequent to my return from Europe until the surrender of Japan. I was actually discharged on the twelfth of December, 1945 at Camp Atterbury, back at Camp Atterbury, Indiana, for the third time. And so my intentions were to go to Chicago, I'd always wanted to go to Chicago, ever since my father took me in 1933.

DePue: That was for the World's Fair, was it?

Lockhart: World's Fair, yes, took us on a one day excursion from Fort Wayne to Chicago and back again. I got infected, I think, with Chicago that day. Then, of course, I had a little university time at Purdue, but I knew I did not want to go back to Purdue. I didn't care for that course of study so I found out that Northwestern University had a downtown campus and students could enroll there, and so I did that. And until 1951 I took classes there, usually four hours a couple nights a week, from 1946 to 1951, something like that.

DePue: All on the GI Bill?

Lockhart: All on the GI Bill, right. They didn't pay living expenses, but they paid the University.

DePue: Were you working during that time?

Lockhart: I was working during the day, yes.

DePue: What were you doing?

Lockhart: Well, I had different jobs. My first job in Chicago was the last job I had in Fort Wayne, which was a soda jerk, I was a soda jerk in Fort Wayne. So that was the only thing I knew basically. I got a job as a soda jerk in a restaurant

but I didn't like that. And then I heard that there was an opening with the United Press office in the Daily News Building and so I went, that only paid twenty dollars a week, which was kind of poorly. But I was always interested in journalism and so I didn't quite know what it was but I knew United Press had something to do with the news business. But I was not given any significant instructions and I could see there was a lot of returning journalists from the war fronts who were now looking for work back in the states. I realized that that was probably not a good career move. Then I did get a job as an editor for a legal publishing company called Commerce Clearinghouse. I ended up working there for six years.

DePue: So that started while you were in college and extended beyond the college years.

Lockhart: Yes, I finally got a degree in 1951.

DePue: What was your major?

Lockhart: History, imagine that? (both chuckle)

DePue: You thought you might want to be a journalist but you're majoring in history?

Lockhart: I kind of realized that a journalistic career was probably not for me. I didn't quite know what I wanted to do. But I wanted to get a degree and one in history has always had an appeal to me, so that's what I did.

DePue: Well, the opportunities in history all point toward education though.

Lockhart: Um-hmm, well I wasn't necessarily indicated in that. I really was kind of open, shall we say, I was open, and I wasn't really worried about it. Somehow this is Chicago. I was a returning soldier and things were opening up so I was optimistic about whatever.

DePue: Did you enjoy those early years in Chicago as a student?

Lockhart: Yes, I did. I did get gradually involved in some local political situations. I became a member of the, what is called Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) which was a liberal organization, but basically political independents. That was probably in 1950 or so. I got involved in the campaign for Congressman Sidney Yates that would be in 1950, that was probably my first venture into precinct politics.

DePue: He was a Democrat?

Lockhart: He was a Democrat Congressman from the near-north side. Gotten elected, I think, two years before and so he was up, he was a bona fide liberal, good hard-working Congressman. He was supported by the Independent Voters of Illinois and I did precinct work in the 42nd Ward.

DePue: I'm assuming the "Independent" part of the label applies to "independent of the Chicago political machine" even though this is prior to the Daley years.

Lockhart: Yes, it was that, but it was also independent of any Republican either. It was basically, it was a liberal organization so probably most of the members voted in the Democratic primary but they would, on occasion, support Republicans as well.

DePue: How would you describe your own political views at the time?

Lockhart: My own political views was that I came out of the war as a liberal, basically. In high school I was more or less independent. We always had voting elections in Fort Wayne in the schools. I can remember even going back to 1932 when I was only, what eight years old, I voted for Roosevelt in Fort Wayne school. In 1936 that's the next presidential election I voted for Norman Thomas, the socialist candidate for President. And in 1940 the Republican candidate was Wendell Willkie, a fellow Hoosier, so I voted for him.

DePue: (chuckles) Well, you've covered all bases.

Lockhart: In 1944, of course, I was in Europe, I couldn't vote at all, but I was glad to hear that Roosevelt was re-elected.

DePue: Well, terms like liberal and conservative especially when you put them on, lay them over the spectrum of American history are slippery terms. So how would you describe what a liberal meant in 1950?

Lockhart: It would mean that you were probably in favor of organized labor, that you were for a strong government, that you were probably opposed to segregation which was still wide-spread, and you were in favor of more governmental programs of one kind or another. I think that would be a major distinction.

DePue: To a certain extent you sound like a New Deal Democrat.

Lockhart: Yes, I think that is correct.

DePue: I think you also got married during the time frame you were in college. Can you tell us just a little bit about that?

Lockhart: Got married in 1948 to a woman I met at a place of work. By that time I had moved from the United Press into a business called Hitchcock Publishing Company, that's a business journal of one kind or another. I worked there as an editor, and went to school at night all during that period. And lived at the YMCA Hotel on South Wabash, which is still there, but I think it's empty now. So I'm back in the same neighborhood that I lived when I first moved to Chicago.

DePue: What was your wife's maiden name?

Lockhart: She was Dorothy Phelps.

DePue: Was she a Chicago girl?

Lockhart: She was, yes, I think she might have been born in Southern Illinois. Her parents were from Southern Illinois, but her father had come up north some years and gotten a job at Acme Steel. She lived with her two sisters and her parents in the Town of Harvey, which is not far from, I guess, Acme Steel which was a big employer in that area at that time.

DePue: That's on the south side of Chicago, is it not?

Lockhart: Far south suburb, yeah.

DePue: Was she working during those years?

Lockhart: Yes, that's how I met her at the Hitchcock Publishing Company.

DePue: Okay, I wasn't paying close enough attention there. What then happened after you graduated from college? You were still at work at a…

Lockhart: At the Commerce Clearinghouse.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: Yes. I started becoming more and more active with the Independent Voters of Illinois. We were pretty much strongly in favor of Adlai Stevenson and worked hard in the precincts for IVI during that period. And, in fact, after the election, after the '52 election, when Stevenson lost, carried Chicago however, but IVI then hired me on a part-time basis with a small amount of money to help organize chapters in the various wards in the City of Chicago. I went to work during the day at the Commerce Clearinghouse and went to school two nights a week, and did voluntary field work for the Independent Voters of Illinois on weekends and a couple other nights of the week.

DePue: Would we recognize any of the names of others who were involved with IVI at that time?

Lockhart: Not today. I think our organization became somewhat more abandoned and lost a lot of its independent leadership. I was never really involved in doing any of the office work.

DePue: Well, I might have this wrong, but wasn't there also an organization, the Independent Democrats of Illinois?

Lockhart: Not that I'm aware of.

DePue: Okay. I might have the name of it wrong, but I know there was another group that was formed in the 1950s that saw themselves as independent rather than the Democratic machine. (Both talking)

Lockhart: Yeah, Democratic Council, or Democratic Workgroup, you're right, there was another one, but I'm not…

DePue: And that group would have included people like Abner Mikva, I think,

Lockhart: Yeah,

DePue: Dan Walker, early in his years, Dawn Clark Netsch.

Lockhart: Yes, that's correct, both of those people were involved.

DePue: Did you know any of them at that time?

Lockhart: I got acquainted with them. Anyway, at least with Abner Mikva somehow or other. Can't remember if I did any precinct work down in his area, but he was running against the congressman from that area, Barratt O'Hara who'd been Congressman since Woodrow Wilson's election. His picture's hanging up in Room 409 of the Capitol building. I'm one of the few people who know who Barratt O'Hara once was. And Mikva, I think, is still alive, but I understand he's not in good health.

DePue: Yes, we're in the process of interviewing him; we're hoping his health holds up long enough to get a good interview about his political career.

Lockhart: Yeah, that would be good to do. I think it's mostly his eyesight I've heard, but I haven't seen him for a while.

DePue: Can you take us then from what you were doing at this time frame up to the point where you got involved in lobbying and then made the big decision?

Lockhart: Yes, well all this got me more involved in the political things, shall we say. And in 1953 there was formed a reform group called Citizens of Greater Chicago, big fanfare.

Members of the Austin Citizens Council, League of Women Voters, and Citizens of Greater Chicago plan a candidates' meeting for the primary election of March, 1954. Left to right (seated) James P. O'Malley, Mrs. Barry Norton, and Dick Lockhart, (standing)Morris Wexlar, Mrs. George Ryan, Mrs. J. Frank Lindsay, and Mrs. Marton Altschular.

DePue: Citizens of?

Lockhart: Citizens of Greater Chicago, of Greater Chicago, yeah, with some big contributors and they were going to do great things in terms of good government in Chicago, primarily Chicago based. I went and applied for

a job there, and I got it, kind of a field representative because I had some experience on organizing with the IVI, Independent Voters of Illinois. I was hired by Citizens of Greater Chicago and I was involved in a lot of local civic activities, get out the vote drives, and some legislation probably in the city council, and on rare occasions, something would come up legislatively in Springfield. And that's where I first started paying attention to Springfield. I remember coming down, driving down a couple of times, mostly to really get a picture of the process and all the legislation. I still remember the first day I came down to Capitol Avenue and stayed at the Leland Hotel; I could see the Capitol building right down the way, and I had a funny feeling that this was going to be a significant change in my life. I remember driving people to Springfield so they could testify and one thing and another. And then, eventually, I even became Executive Director of Citizens for Greater Chicago.

DePue: You've mentioned the IVI and now the Citizens of Greater Chicago, both organizations, is it just you and others who were involved with this saw something wrong with the two major parties and perhaps even, especially, the Democratic machine in Chicago?

Lockhart: Yes, I think that's correct.

DePue: What was it that you guys were hoping to change?

Lockhart: The attitude of, what do I want to say, maybe would normally be called corruption but old cronyism. You know the adage: we don't want nobody that nobody sent. I think that comes from Abner Mikva.

DePue: It does, it's his quote.

Lockhart: Yes, I know how that arrived because these were people who were not machine driven patronage oriented individuals but they wanted to quote do good things.

DePue: We should mention, that it wasn't Abner Mikva who said it, but it was Abner Mikva who heard it.

Lockhart: Yes, that's correct, that's correct. But it's always one we always remember, isn't it (both laugh) and we associate with him. So it was gradually, gradually, bit by bit I was becoming more involved in political events, shall we say. And so in 1958, I was executive director of Citizens of Greater Chicago for a while. Then along came an opportunity to work in another organization, a different kind of organization, a civic organization, it's called Chicago Central Area Committee. It gave me a different perspective, but the catch of it was the Executive Director was apprehensive that I was going to take his job, basically. I could tell you he didn't want to give me any responsibilities. I started thinking about creating my own business about that time, because I wasn't given enough to do deliberately, not given enough to do.

DePue: Do you remember this gentleman's name?

Lockhart: I could think of it if I mulled it over for a while. Randall Cooper.

DePue: Okay, well maybe we can get that into the transcript when you have an opportunity to look at that.

Lockhart: He's now deceased but I remember, and I think, I'm not sure whether Chicago Central Area Committee exists anymore or not. But I left that organization to start the business basically, Social Engineering Associates.

DePue: Had you done any lobbying before the time you started the business?

Lockhart: Not really, not in a professional kind of sense.

DePue: So what makes a very young man at that time think, "I could be a successful lobbyist?"

Lockhart: Well, it didn't sound like that difficult in those days. You know, you have to remember that we're back in a different era of the legislature only really met intensively probably for April, May and June in those days. They only met every other year, the odd numbered year. I was interested in the political world that included lobbying, but I was also interested in campaigns. So I got involved in a number of campaigns. I'll give you a good example. In 1954 there was a Constitutional amendment under the old Constitution. It had something to do with making it easier to amend that old Constitution, I think it's called Gateway Amendment, or something like that. The person in charge of it was a gentleman named Sam Witwer, we'll come up with his name again. This constitutional campaign dealt with amending the old 1870 Constitution. Mr. Witwer was looking around for help to participate in this work and so the president of Citizens of Greater Chicago said, "Well we'll lend you Lockhart." And of course, I'd never been in Illinois outside the city of Chicago, so I didn't know anything about the rest of the State of Illinois. (both chuckle) So it was an opportunity for me to realize that there was a hundred and one other counties besides Cook and so I got involved in that campaign. It was a very edifying one and it was successful. And that led to a relationship with Sam Witwer; so when in 1960 he ran for United States Senate against Paul Douglas, he hired me to help out in coordinating the statewide campaign.

DePue: Was this in the primary campaign?

Lockhart: Well, both the primary—had a Primary election contest—we won the primary, but Paul Douglas defeated him in the general election. That would be 1960.

DePue: Douglas was a Democrat, correct?

Lockhart: Yes. So Witwer was a Republican? Witwer's a Republican, yes, very much so, yes very much so. So back to Sam Witwer, we won the Constitutional

campaign. Then I started my business and I had business going on so when his senatorial campaign come up he hired my services to help him. And like I said we won the Primary, was a nasty Republican primary as they frequently are. We won the Primary, but Douglas beat him in the general election. However, the next part, ten years later, ten years later, comes the Constitutional Convention. Who's the president of the Constitutional Convention?

DePue: Ahh

Lockhart: Sam Witwer. Sam Witwer hires Lockhart to, not to hire him, but retained his services, shall we say. To provide consultation, as a special consultant not on an everyday basis, because I was lobbying in the Capitol building on legislation. So I have a relationship starting in 1954 with Sam Witwer.

DePue: I definitely want to spend a lot of time talking about the Constitutional Convention, but I want to keep that down the road a little bit, if that's okay?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: So that was an exposure to state politics in another respect. I don't want to put words in your mouth, but you know, you're part of that World War II generation, soldiers that came back, would it be correct to say that you were like a lot of soldiers, optimistic about your future, ready to get going at it.

Lockhart: Definitely. There was actually there was a liberal veterans' organization, I think it was called the American Veterans, AVA, American Veterans Association, I'm sure they've disappeared by now. IVI was a part of ADA, Americans for Democratic Action; that was definitely a national liberal organization, ADA was. I was, yes, part of the World War II generation that wanted to change the world. Yes, or at least part of it.

DePue: And we're optimistic that you could do that?

Lockhart: Yes. Um-hmm. After all, we won World War II, didn't we? (both laugh)

DePue: You know, I think that we overlook the power of that experience that you all had sometimes and the impact that it had on history for the next generation.

Lockhart: Absolutely. Even further, people could not articulate that I think they had, you know, the sense that we were victorious. It took a while, took four or five years, took a while, but the country pulled together. These soldiers did what they had to do.

DePue: So you started Social Engineering Associates in 1958.

Lockhart: That's correct.

DePue: Why the name?

Lockhart: Well, I get asked that question, used to get asked more, but I think back on it now, it's a dumb idea. I read a book, it's called *Organization Man* and it came out in the fifties I think. I think it was a guy named William White was author of that, if I'm not mistaken.

DePue: Very influential book at the time.

Lockhart: Very influential book, right. And he made references to the social engineers of the future who would be able to understand the issues, understand the politics of things, make things better in the world, so it rang a bell. I went down and registered the name, and we, like I say, filed annual reports every year.

DePue: I was looking at some of your paperwork here, here we go. The logo is very distinctive as well. Did the logo start at that time?

Lockhart: Well, the logo, thanks for mentioning that. My wife was a commercial artist, so she designed the logo, as a matter of fact.

DePue: Well you get it done on the cheap that way, at least.

Lockhart: Yes, right. She did a couple of other things for other clients from time to time. She was definitely a talented artist.

DePue: The logo is, and we need to have people take a look at this, but it's SE in bold capital letters with lines drawn through it. Was there some significance in that?

Lockhart: I think it was trying to indicate maybe that there's a lot of interests here and there, and they're all going in all directions you'll notice. Not a just straight rectangular lines so, I don't know, she dreamt it up and I thought it was ideal.

DePue: When you first started this, what was your notion of what a lobbyist was and what a lobbyist did?

Lockhart: I wasn't necessarily just thinking about lobbyist because as I said the lobbying business was pretty slim because the legislature was only in a limited time every other year. I had to be involved in some kind of other activity. The other activity, to an extent, was campaigns. Then I also started doing some work for some associations, small things, PR kinds of things, you might say. I think in 1960 I got the opportunity to have a program on Channel 11 in Chicago, it's the NPR station now, and I had a fifteen minute program every week. And so I could have whoever I wanted on and interview and that gave me some exposure and in '61 I started publishing the *Illinois Political Reporter* and that, when it first came out in Springfield, it was a sensation because it was the only political publication devoted to politics, you might say, with no kinds of advertising or anything. So it was a period when I was doing creative kinds of activities.

DePue: So the *Illinois Political Reporter* starts in ’61, you said?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: May of ’61.

DePue: And 1960 the TV show starts, *Metropolitan Report*, is that the name of it?

Lockhart: Yes, ran for a little more than two years.

DePue: Okay. What happened after that? Why stop after two years?

Lockhart: Why did it terminate? I don’t know it was up to the station. I suppose they had other things, you know, I didn’t know about. Actually, it was getting to be a pain had to do fifteen minutes every week and it created problems with Springfield, so in a way I was glad I could get shut of that.

DePue: But my thought is that putting out the *Illinois Political Reporter* would be a pretty ambitious job in and of itself. How often did that come out?

Lockhart: Ten times a year. Ten times a year. (both talking)The fact is it got so big and the lobbying got so intense, that after twenty-five years I called a halt to it. I just couldn’t do the quality and do the lobbying demands as well.

Springfield 1962. Dick Lockhart talks about politics on his show Metropolitan Report on WTTW, with Rev. Arthur M. Brazier (President of the Temporary Woodlawn Organization).

DePue: Well a lot had happened in Illinois politics in those twenty-five years. So what was the last year it was published?

Lockhart: 1986.

DePue: So right in the middle of the Thompson years.

Lockhart: Yeah, I guess. Kind of a blur after a while. (chuckles)

DePue: And both of these, both the TV show, but especially writing this, almost monthly, journal…

Lockhart: It’s not a big journal though, it’s just four pages you might say, but didn’t have any advertising, except for myself, I guess.

DePue: My impressions were if you’re in the legislature or you’re a political junkie or if you’re a journalist at that time frame you’re reading the *Illinois Political Reporter*.

Lockhart: Well, it was and we had even some organizations who took several hundred for their membership because they wanted their membership to receive it too. It was on a subscription basis I didn't hand it out free. The one thing that we did do that was a great idea of mine, every other year we had a contest of the subscribers. The contest had to select had to select the best freshman Representative, the best freshman Senator in the House and Senate and the most effective and so this is where, for example: Phil Rock first gets any kind of public notice when he's a freshman Senator and the readers picked him and also Tom Hynes at the same time as the best freshman Senators in that particular year. I'm not quite sure what year it was. Might have been 1970 or '71 or something like that. So anyway, that was a big thing for the legislators. And what I did was I had the front page of the *Illinois Political Reporter* then converted to a plaque. So then I'd say, George Ryan was one of the winners, and so I said to him, he must have been, I don't whether it was the best freshman Representative or the most effective, I can't remember, I have all of that in my office, but anyway, I said, "Well George, if you want I can come to Kankakee and we'll make a ceremony out of this and I'll give you this plaque and maybe get some publicity, blah, blah, blah." I did that with all the other winners: I have one for Barbara, not Barbara Flynn Currie, Judy Barr Topinka, Bill Kempiners, a lot of other people who thought that was a good idea. Get some publicity and it didn't hurt anybody, it was just plus for everybody.

DePue: I seem to remember that another one was Lee Daniels and the reason I remember that because he mentioned that in the interview I had with him.

Lockhart: Is that right?

DePue: Does that sound familiar?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: And if you ever talk to Michael Madigan he was one of the, what am I trying to say, frequent winners as the most effective. I think probably might have won as the best freshman legislator in '71, I'm not sure about that.

DePue: I think if you ask anybody over the last thirty to forty years say, who's the most powerful legislator?

Lockhart: Yeah, right.

DePue: Who did the writing for this?

Lockhart: I did.

DePue: All of it?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: That's part of the problem got too big a job to keep the quality high. Well you look at copies here in the Library, that you can look at.

DePue: Yeah.

Lockhart: Took work to do. Took time and work. But it was gratifying work and it helped educate me about Illinois politics.

DePue: I'm curious also then about your political leanings at the time and publishing something like this, doing the TV report, did that mean that you needed to, at least on the surface, appear to be independent, non- partisan?

Lockhart: Yes. And I became more, more independent, you might say. Because I realized, especially down in Springfield in the legislature, that it's not like it is in Chicago where we have the Democratic Machine basically riding herd; we have a lot of variety in the State of Illinois and both political parties can be pretty strong. I became more focused not on the social issues, but on governmental issues, shall we say.

DePue: During the two years you were doing the TV show and I think WTTW, is that the station?

Lockhart: Yes, that's it.

DePue: *Metropolitan Report* that suggests that the focus was on Chicago issues.

Lockhart: It suggested that and that's the way the station wanted it to be because most of the time the guests were people like the Mayor of Gary, for example, I interviewed for fifteen minutes on the *Metropolitan Report.* I'd have somebody else from the Chicago metropolitan area. I remember I had Mrs. Fermi come and talk about her husband and when he worked down at the University of Chicago in Hyde Park.

DePue: On the development of the atomic bomb.

Lockhart: Yeah. The station didn't care who I interviewed. Basically, it's up to you, Lockhart; you're supposed to know all these things. That's why I got Paul Powell. He was Speaker of the House but he was three hundred miles away; so I called him up and I said, "well, I'd like to do this interview, Mr. Speaker." And we didn't know each other, basically. And he said, "Well, that's fine, I'm very happy to do it but you're going to have to come here. I'm not going to go to Chicago." So for a fifteen minute interview I drove to Carbondale. It just so happened SIU had opened up a media center there so we were one of the early people to use their new media center, and did the fifteen

minute, Then we had that duplicated and a number of stations, particularly in the Southern Illinois used it. I had tapes made of it. I don't know whether you've seen some of that?

DePue: I have watched that one. It strikes me that Paul Powell didn't come across very well on TV.

Lockhart: Well, he's Paul Powell. (both laugh) Maybe it's the first time he's been on TV, I don't know.

DePue: It could very well have been, but he was, by the time you got to that interview he was almost legendary especially in Southern Illinois.

Lockhart: Definitely. Definitely. And he has a museum in Vienna, Illinois. I understand this interview is being shown down there from, I guess, people hear about it and ask about it. I've not been to the museum in Vienna, Illinois.

DePue: Well, we'll get to Paul Powell again here a little bit later into the interview—

Lockhart: But that's how things just went kind of just bit by bit.

DePue: Your first exposure to Illinois as a lobbyist then began in the 1959 legislative session?

Lockhart: That would be correct. That would be correct.

DePue: I think it would be helpful if you described what lobbying was and what the legislative cycle was at that time, because this would have been '58, would have been an election year.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Certainly not all the senators would have been elected, but all the house members were elected.

Lockhart: And there were one hundred and seventy-seven of them in those days.

DePue: And that was not an election year for the Governor.

Lockhart: No, not that I recall anyway. Well, I was retained by the Mental Health Association. I left out one thing. There was a referendum in Illinois for a bond issue to provide mental health facilities; big bond issue was on the ballot. I was retained to work on that and that was successful.

DePue: And this is at a time when if there's mental issues most people were institutionalized?

Lockhart: Yes, fifty thousand of them I understand, as I recall were in hallways and everything else, you know, over here in Jacksonville. So out of the McFarland

Center at the south end of Springfield here was one of the products of that bond issue campaign. I had some statewide experience with campaigns and so I was retained to help with that, and like I say it seems like there were two campaigns, one of them was not successful and one of them was successful. But out of that came a contact with the Mental Health Association of Illinois. At that time they had an office here in Springfield which I became a lobbyist for them and also to do some field organization of chapters of the Mental Health Association. So you can just see how things kind of crept along.

DePue: Let me pause very quickly here. (recording stops) Okay you're talking about mental health…

Lockhart: Yeah, my first lobbying client and they are still lobbying clients. People, of course, say, "What have you done to get rid of mental illness? Things are worse now Lockhart. We have more mental illness now than when you started." (both chuckle) "You must be the reason; you're the problem."

DePue: Must be your fault.

Lockhart: I'm the problem, right? So, like I say, it's incremental moving from one opportunity to another opportunity.

DePue: When you started Social Engineering did you have an office in Chicago?

Lockhart: I shared an office with an attorney friend of mine.

DePue: Did you have any kind of staffing?

Lockhart: No.

DePue: You're a one man operation to begin with.

Lockhart: One man operation, yes, right.

DePue: Any particular struggles you had in getting the business going early on? You talked about had lots of dimensions to it when you first started.

Lockhart: Well, sometimes it's hard for me to remember how I even got business. For example: I was retained by the Village of Tinley Park to help them with some bond issue on the ballot, which was successful. Now I go to Tinley Park and I see big convention centers and everything else; it stemmed from that bond issue back in 1960. I was also retained by the North Shore Sanitary District; that would have been about 1968, maybe, perhaps later, for referendum. That was successful. Some of them were temporary though, they said, "Thanks very much for your big help; we appreciate it, but we don't need you anymore," in effect. But anyway, you keep going because you know, you never know for sure what one issue will lead to another. I thought I got involved in some kind of politics. I can't remember how I got tied in with the

Illinois Medical Society. I the Medical Society became clients of mine, not for the lobbying side but for their political side. I helped them form a political action committee called *Impact;* I think it is still functioning and well. They did have a bunch of lobbyists that came in; they didn't stay very long. One of them was Jim Brady who took a bullet intended for President Reagan. They only stayed about two years. I did a lot of, you might say, in-house training of some of those, and did public affairs for the Medical Society, you'll see some of that stuff in my other notebooks. I'm a little uncertain about how I made some of these connections, but anyway.

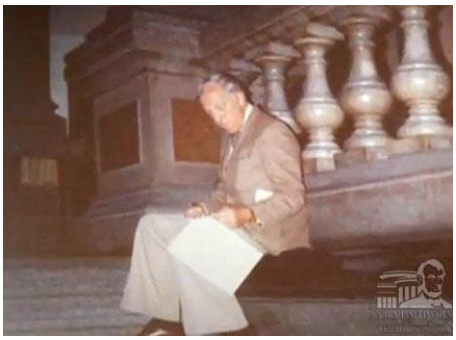
DePue: Were these things paying the bills for you? Was it a successful business?

Lockhart: Um-huh, yeah. Well nothing extraordinary shall we say, but yes, I was paying my way and paying costs. I think when did it not quite sure when I had an independent office when that came about. I would guess somewhere in the '60s.

DePue: Let's go back to the lobbying side of the business…

Lockhart: Sure.

DePue: …and have you lay out a typical legislative calendar for us. When they were in session, and how that operated?



Dick Lockhart takes a moment to review some documents on the steps of the State Capitol.

Lockhart: Well, of course, now we have continuous legislative sessions, basically. And so the lobbying is intimately related of course to the political scheme of things here in this state. Everything is politicized, basically. So what I try to do is provide political education to the client organization. I also try to provide information to the legislators about the client, because they don't know what a lot of the organizations do. I make sure, I guess, everybody understands the dates, because I tell them up front, my life is determined by dates that I do not have any connection with myself. The legislature days are relevant, so we have to comply with them and their deadlines, that means if we want to introduce bills we have to have them prepared. I have to take them to the Reference Bureau and I have to find clients, I have to talk to legislative staff. So there's a continuous process now; it didn't used to be that way.

DePue: And that's what I wanted to start with, what it used to be.

Lockhart: We did not have the volume of legislation we have today. As I said, the legislators met only a relatively short time.

DePue: Was that in the spring of the odd year?

Lockhart: It was in the spring of the odd-numbered year, basically. And so I remember one year we were retained by the Psychological Association to get psychologists licensed. Anybody could call himself a psychologist in this State before we got the bill passed in 1963, I think it is. So, you know, I have to educate the organization about the process. Because I want them to be a part of this partnership where I do the Springfield bit but they do their contact work with their own legislators, so that I don't have legislators say, "Well, you want me to vote on this, Lockhart. Nobody's called me about it in my district, I don't know anybody there who cares about this bill." So I try to obviate those kinds of issues by educating the organizations about what their responsibilities are, and what my responsibilities are once you get them trained, you might say. But a lot of times the organizations says—just like the psychological association—I was successful getting licensure through for them, worked all the kinks out and they said, "Well, thanks very much." And that was the end of the relationship, shall we say.

DePue: Was there a veto session in the early sixties when you…

Lockhart: No. That didn't come about until the new Constitution instituted the veto session basically.

DePue: Tell us a little bit about the average legislator when you first got started.

Lockhart: The average legislator was a part time legislator in those days. They had businesses, they were farmers or sold insurance, or lawyers; a few of them from Cook County might have had political jobs, but they were part-time. That was the main thing that made the differences in people then and now is part-time legislators. Now most are all full-time legislators.

DePue: Because the legislative year is every year and it lasts for most of the year?

Lockhart: Yeah. And the issues have gotten more complex and the benefits have gotten better, much better. You know, there's retirement, there's hospitalization, there's offices, and you get per diem now, and even you get more money if you are a chairman of a committee: unheard of in those days.

DePue: Can you spend a little bit of time then explaining how we got from those biennial sessions, when they are there for just a few months and most of the legislators have to have some other business to make a living, to where we got to today with a much more professionalized process.

Lockhart: The complexity of society, I suppose is one thing. Environmental issues, there was no such thing as environmental issues years ago. So those are just an example, shall we say, of how things have changed with society. And legislation begets legislation so the more laws you pass the more laws that it generates.

DePue: I've often heard some of this is credited to W. Russell Arrington who was Senate President at least for part of those years in the 1960's.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Would you say that's accurate, that he was…

Lockhart: He was the one who instituted the professional staff, definitely that. And that was a big help then and has become even more important today, more important today.

DePue: So for people outside the legislative process, the legislative professional staffs, was that each legislator having staffs?

Lockhart: Not so much that, it's the committees have the staffs. Now there's some of the leadership have their own staff, but now we have every committee in the House and Senate has two staff directors, one Republican, one Democrat. They analyze every bill that is referred to that committee; they do an analysis of that. I have some examples of that if you wanted to see some. And so what I tell people now, legislators by and large do not read the bills. Once upon a time, they read the bills. Now they read the analysis. And the analysis not only analyzes the bills it also points out who is for it and who's against it. And what the department is of state government, what's their position on it? What will it cost? So they do a lot of the work that maybe the lobbyist once upon a time did, so I have to lobby the staff, basically.

DePue: In each one of the committees that you are dealing with?

Lockhart: In each one of the committees, the Republican and Democratic staff because I know they will write an analysis and I know the analysis will be read by the legislators.

DePue: So from what you've explained, you have a mental health bill and what committee would that fall in to?

Lockhart: Human Services Committee.

DePue: So a Republican staff member on the Human Services Committee would write an analysis and the Democratic staff member would do the same. So the Republican members read both or the Republicans.?

Lockhart: No, no. They only write the analysis for their own members.

DePue: And was this '60s time frame and Russell Arrington, also when the four caucus staffs really got beefed up?

Lockhart: I think it began then. Of course, the big expansion took place when the new Constitution came in which required annual legislative sessions; there were no

annual sessions before. Actually, Governor Ogilvie instituted an annual session in 1970 and he got away with it, basically; a lot of people say he couldn't do that, but he had somebody interpret the Constitution that nothing would prevent it. So he called them in for the 1970 session; which was interesting because the 1970 legislative session was going on and also the Constitutional Convention was going on at the same time.

DePue: Well this was, a lot of the focus was on that Constitutional Convention how that changed but it also was kind of an evolving process.

Lockhart: Kind of evolving thing, yeah.

DePue: So, let me finish with this question and then we'll jump back to the early sixties again. You have probably heard this over and over again in your career, some people, especially maybe outside the legislature, waxing nostalgic about the good old days when it was every other year and they weren't professionals.

Lockhart: Well, there's another factor here. It's what happened in 1978 when the Cut-Back Amendment was adopted. In the old days before that time three members were elected in each house district. And frequently one of the members was an independent. This is where Abner Mikva rise and Paul Simon and any number of other people broke in because there was enough diversity in all the house districts that you could elect one Democrat and one Republican, and in a number of places an independent person. He might have the party label of Republican or Democrat but he or she knew that there was enough independent people minded who would give them maybe three votes; he could vote for that one person and give that one person three votes. So one person if they ran the right kind of a campaign, and had the right kind of contacts, didn't have to have a lot of thousands of people, but have enough of them that would vote—bullet their vote, it was called—bullet their vote for that one person. So we had an altogether different kind of atmosphere that prevailed until the Cut-Back Amendment eliminated that and it was much more freer, less controlled, It's been much more controlled now. Much more involving campaign contributions now.

DePue: So was the Cut-Back Amendment a good thing?

Lockhart: Bad. No question, it was a bad thing.

DePue: How about your view of other things that led to a much more professional legislature and a continuous legislature.

Lockhart: I think the Cut Back Amendment was the big thing that eliminated cumulative voting. The cost of politics has gone up considerably, it's not an Illinois phenomenon, it's national and probably every state has the problem. It's the one thing that's troubling to me is the effect of money on campaigns and how that will relate to the legislative product itself. I've come to the conclusion,

money is what we call fungible; it will find its way to the legislator, or to the party, or to the ward organization that provided the votes to get that person to Springfield. But I say part of it, I think, is not necessarily unique to Illinois; politics has gotten more complex, we're dealing with more complex issues, more issues, and the price tag of everything goes up. Taxes go up, fees go up, and this generates organizations to be participants in the process. So like I say, legislation begets more legislation and it seems to expand year by year. I could show you the figures, the number of lobbyists, how that's grown. I didn't bring those figures with me, but that's remarkable. You go back a few years the number of lobbyists, how they've expanded. I keep track of that because you didn't have to even register as a lobbyist until I would say might have been the early '60s, something like that.

DePue: If we take the issue of the Cut- Back Amendment out because you've clearly expressed your views about that...

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Has the changes you've seen in the legislature, do you look at them as a positive or as a negative or just inevitable?

Lockhart: Inevitable. Inevitable, basically. Society has become, you know, I look back at my childhood. We didn't pay any attention to most of the issues that come up daily in the floor of the House and the Senate. So it's part of the complexity of modern society.

DePue: When you first started as a lobbyist, I know that was just part of your thing in 1958 and early '60s, what was the public perception of lobbyists and lobbying?

Lockhart: I don't think they probably had much of any. We've gotten the publicity such as it is, mostly bad, from news stories and one thing and another and what do I want to say, the influence that some lobbyists purport to have more so in Washington than in Springfield, I think. I frequently say to people, Well we know the word politicians connotes some low form of life; even below politicians is lobbyists. (chuckles) However, most people at some point in time, if they belong to an organization, I don't care whether it's a church organization or a community organization or a professional organization, at some point in time they'll probably realize you know we need a lobbyist to protect our interests. They just introduced ten thousand bills in Springfield. Some of those bills must affect our members, okay? What are they doing to us? We have to have somebody there to watch that we don't get put out of business.

DePue: Maybe this is more of a comment than a question, but I'm always struck by perhaps Americans don't even understand that lobbying is something that's protected by the First Amendment.

Lockhart: It's in the Constitution, yes, protected, 'the right to petition your government' that's what it is, right. I have to point that out to a lot of people. But some people don't like to use the fact, he's our lobbyist, they say, he's our representative in Springfield. He's our man in Springfield. They don't want to (chuckles). They're getting away from that, I think, because you know the demands of society, we just finished the legislative session last night here in Springfield.

DePue: And a lively session.

Lockhart: A lively session. And some things didn't get done. Pensions didn't get dealt with, for example, and that may relate to taxes, and that all relates to the November 6 General Election. Things get so intertwined, politicized I call it; everything is politicized in this state.

DePue: But you're right in the midst of that process?

Lockhart: Um hum, yes, that's right. I'm trying to understand it and wend my way and protect my clients' interest.

DePue: When you first got started, you told us already, the Mental Health was one of your first clients and those kinds of issues, were you seeking out other, carving out other areas and subjects that you wanted to represent?

Lockhart: Well, I was not necessarily, but I was probably getting known. Before people like myself got here, a lot of people would hire a lawyer here in Springfield to watch their issues, shall we say.

DePue: Where that was also their part-time job.

Lockhart: Yeah, right, their part-time job. So I think they realized that here's somebody in Chicago who could go to Springfield and report on things and if there was a question we could do this that or the other. Then other people like myself showed up here and there and so, you know, one thing leads to another. This is a dynamic society in the State of Illinois, it's not any kind of moribund, political arena, it's generating stuff all the time. I'm always worried that I'm missing out somewhere. (laughs) Something going on I don't know about.

DePue: During those early years did you have a lot of fun? Was it exciting doing what you were doing?

Lockhart: Yes, it was. It was a challenging thing and you got a sense that you could make a difference. I've always tried to be very up front with any legislator, if I had to oppose his or her bill I went to them and told them ahead of time so they weren't going to be surprised. I told them why and I always prepared a fact sheet about the bill. I didn't call them ""; I don't like the words "talking points". I like fact sheets, you deal with facts. And try to relate it to what their circumstances are back in their own district if at all possible.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: And we'd give them things, you know, give them out plaques, we'd put their picture in the local trade journal or whatever it was, it goes out to their membership so a lot of things you could do it didn't cost anything. Or I might send a letter to the editor of a local newspaper telling them about such representative so and so sponsored a great mental health bill that separated children from adult inmates. That was a piece of legislation I had to force the Department, fortunately Governor Shapiro signed the bill, but the Department resisted change. I wanted to keep the separation between children and adults mentally ill. You think that would be an obvious kind of thing, wouldn't you? (laughs). They could have done it by internal decision making, but they refused to do that. So, I said, "Well, I'll pass a bill then, then you'll have to do it." So I did it and Governor Shapiro signed the bill.

DePue: I want to kind of close the loop on some of the political things you were doing early in your career. You mentioned before, at a previous meeting, that you were involved with the Donald Rumsfeld campaign in 1962.

Lockhart: Yes, in 1962, he was running for Congress in that North Shore District and he had never run for office before. It was a vacancy; I think the incumbent was Congressman Church and he died and his widow was serving out the term. She indicated that she did not want to run and so it opened up; there was an opening you might say. And somehow he must have heard about me. I went up and met with him and his wife, and they lived in Glenview at the time. We talked about the campaign. He is so self-directed, though, he really didn't need anything that I could provide him. But he wanted somebody who would make sure the literature got out and got done and this meeting got covered. I actually suggested to him someone who worked for me to work in the district rather than work in the office downtown. I lent him an employee is what it boiled down to.

DePue: That turned out to be his campaign manager?

Lockhart: I don't think he had a campaign manager. I think he was his own campaign manager. He did not need direction, believe me, I can tell you; he was capable of doing anything that might be necessary to do to reach voters.

DePue: At that point…

Lockhart: He defeated the opponent, a significant member of the General Assembly. I think he was Majority Leader of the House, a guy named Marion Burks.

DePue: He was highly rated in the Illinois House now running for U.S. Congress.

Lockhart: He was in the Illinois House running for this U.S. Congress, yes. And he expected to win. He'd been in office for a while and I think he was from

Evanston, some of that big voting area. But he got outworked by Don Rumsfeld.

DePue: Would it be fair to say that at that point in your career it didn't much matter if they were Republican or Democrat, what their political leanings were; if they were approaching you, you were going to help them.

Lockhart: That's correct, right. That's correct.

DePue: What I'd like to do now is focus primarily on your lobbying career and get your impressions, basically take it gubernatorial administration by gubernatorial administration and then pick up some of the legislative leaders and the heavy weights during each one of those and walk through, and that's obviously going to take us some time. So, shall we start off with Stratton…

Lockhart: Governor Stratton, yes. Governor Stratton was the first governor where I began my lobbying career and his director of, it was called the Department of Human Services then as it is now today, so he went through a complete cycle on that. In that huge Department which included Public Aid and Rehab Services was a Division of Mental Health, so that is where I first started intersecting with people in the Stratton Administration.

DePue: Because you had so many people institutionalized that required such staffing was that perhaps the largest state agency, staff-wise?

Lockhart: Could be. Could be. Yeah, I don't have any particular statistics on that but that very well could be. Was kind of a crisis. I know they used to say, not far from here at the Jacksonville State Hospital, I remember taking some legislators there; that was an experience. They could see the overcrowding, the beds in the hallway, and the smells, and I didn't have any trouble getting them to support good mental health legislation (both chuckle) after they had that experience.

DePue: Your impressions of William Stratton then as Governor, and especially from your perspective from mental health.

Lockhart: I guess my feeling was that he didn't care enough about that. He was a kind of a politician's politician. His father had been State Treasurer, he had been State Treasurer. I just thought that he was not paying enough attention to running a good State government. Interesting enough, though, when I celebrated my fortieth business year in 1998, who comes to the party but Governor Stratton and Mrs. Stratton. It was held downtown. Of course, he'd been retired. He was also indicted but he beat the rap on that. Nothing to do with state government but something he was accused of, but as I recall Everett McKinley Dirksen came in as a character witness, and completely bamboozled the jury, and they found Bill Stratton not guilty, whatever it was that he was accused of. Nothing associated with State government as I recall. I don't know whether it was some tax thing I have a feeling about. I didn't have any special feeling one

way or the other about him. I just thought he was what I would call a machine politician from downstate Illinois.

DePue: The speaker in those years I think, at least for ’59 and ’60, was Paul Powell.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: And you’ve talked about him already. Your impressions at that time of Paul Powell as the Speaker.

Lockhart: At that time, of course, the Speaker didn’t have the power that the Speaker does today. He was just one of many legislators. A person I didn’t think I needed to have a good relationship with as subsequently one does nowadays. So he was just a downstate, he was this character, kind of what I would call a Southern Illinois Democrat, which is kind of unusual in the first place, but he was a master manipulator of issues and politicians, and somebody that I really didn’t have anything to do with.

DePue: Was there anybody in the House that you did deal with more so?

Lockhart: I’m trying to think, those days, that’s when we first started to see this small band of independents led by Abner Mikva, Paul Simon, Paul Simon’s future wife Jean Hurley, and there was a man name Bernie Peskin, there’s Representative Anthony Scariano. We started to see these kinds of good government liberal types becoming more and more significant in the halls of the legislature.

DePue: All Democrats?

Lockhart: Yeah, they were all Democrats.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: I’m trying to think. There was a few Republicans. Some ladies from the Republican Party with suburban, I think there was a woman named Frederick from Lake Forest, she was very helpful, and she was very interested in mental health issues. There was Esther Saperstein, she was a Democrat from Chicago. She was very interested in mental health issues as well. If I had some reference book I could come up with some names, but that goes back a ways now; that’s fifty some years ago.

DePue: That’s fifty some years ago, absolutely. How about on the Senate side? I think Arthur Bidwell was perhaps the President of the Senate at that time, or President ProTem?

Lockhart: President ProTem, yeah. I did get acquainted with, I would say, Russell Arrington. He and I got along pretty well. He was really a, well, the book written about him is called *Power House*. He was definitely a power-oriented

legislator, but he was also interested in issues and he liked the *Illinois Political Reporter*. He thought that was a great step forward in terms of making State issues more pronounced, more prominent. Just so happened he was interested in mental illness and I think he was an honorary member of the Mental Health Association of Chicago. I remember he invited me out to his house in Evanston out on the lake. He was a political animal. Anybody who seemed to have any kind of influence, I had the *Illinois Political Reporter*, and I was basically in Springfield every legislative day, and so there was not as many people doing that in those days. I was much more, what do I want to say, visible as a lobbyist in those days than would be the case today.

DePue: You mentioned before, the Leland Hotel. Is that where you were staying when you were in Springfield?

Lockhart: I'd stay there. I stayed at a number of places there in Springfield. There were only three hotels at one time: the Abraham Lincoln, the St. Nicholas and the Leland. The St. Nick is where the Democrats stayed, the Abe Lincoln and the Leland where most of the Republicans stayed. Now when the State House Inn opened in the early '60s, then I stayed there. It was close proximity to the Capitol and had a parking lot and had a bar, and a pool..

DePue: And wasn't tied to a particular political party.

Lockhart: Wasn't tied to any particular group of people, shall we say, right.

DePue: Was it the Leland Hotel that Arrington held court every breakfast? I'm trying to remember myself.

Lockhart: I don't believe so, but I'm not a hundred percent certain. That could have been the Abraham Lincoln, because that was also—that's been torn down, you know—that was on Capitol Street here, a little closer to the Capitol. I don't recall that.

DePue: Well, what I did want to ask you is you're now a commuter basically. You've got to be putting on lots of miles going back and forth between Chicago and Springfield.

Lockhart: I used to take the train more often. Used to take the train more often but…

DePue: There's also lots of stories if you go and talk to people about those days in 1950s and in to the sixties about the way that legislators conducted themselves when they were in Springfield. Do you have any comments or stories about that?

Lockhart: Yes, yes. A lot of them were not well behaved, let's put it that way. That is one of the things that Speaker Madigan has been very good about. It's a much more dignified institution, the Legislature, much more disciplined; there used to be a lot of horseplay, a lot of horseplay. I can remember on one occasion

they thought that they were going to meet all night, there was going to be an extended session. One legislator from Southern Illinois decided to come in his night shirt, carrying a bed pan through the Capitol Building, now okay. (chuckles) Another guy who's going to chop expenses in state government came to the Capitol Building carrying an axe. We used to have people who would, especially toward the end of the session, who would fight over the clock or do all kinds of horse play—I'd call it, horseplay. It made me ill almost to see it. It doesn't happen anymore, I can tell you that.

DePue: These are things that are happening in the floor of the House or Senate?

Lockhart: Yes, right. Mostly in the floor. I do remember in the Senate one time, there was a heavy debate about increasing the state sales tax because that was the only source of income for the state, basically. Senator Shapiro was the Lieutenant Governor and under the old Constitution he presided in the Senate. And, of course, the administration was trying to get the sales tax increase passed and the vote was nip and tuck. I do remember one of the Republican senators, his name was Art Gottschalk, as a matter of fact, he couldn't get the attention of Shapiro, the President ProTem of the Senate, couldn't get his attention. So he climbs up on his desk and waves and tries to get his attention to be called upon to make some kind of a motion or whatever. Now I've not seen anybody stand on top of their desk since that time or anything nearly. Oh, another time a guy didn't like the rules so he threw the rule book at the presiding officer. So, that used to be that sort of thing, we don't do that anymore.

DePue: But there are also from the legends much less dignified when they weren't in session, but still in Springfield.

Lockhart: Oh, still in Springfield, yes. There used to be, well, there used to be what they called clubs, key clubs, you had to a have a little key to get in them. There was also out at the lake something called the Lake Club which had dancing girls and live entertainment and I understand at some point in its life had even slot machines; that was before I got there. So that's true, there was a lot of horseplay and the legislature was, well you know, they couldn't do things that they came from Carlinville that they could do maybe in Springfield so they did maybe over-consume beverages. There were some people who unfortunately, I think they became alcoholics down here.

DePue: How about the stories about mistresses, that so many of them had their mistresses here in Springfield?

Lockhart: I've heard that, but I don't have any personal knowledge of that.

DePue: Well, one of them of course would be Paul Powell.

Lockhart: Yeah, one of them was Russell Arrington, too. I know that for a fact, but I believe she's still alive here in Springfield, if I'm not mistaken, so I don't want to mention her name.

DePue: Okay. Let's move on to the next governor then and that would be Otto Kerner.

Lockhart: Otto Kerner, yes. Otto Kerner came in with a lot of pizzazz because one of the things he did, he promised he would create a Department of Mental Health, which was one of the Mental Health Association's prime objectives. And he did it.

DePue: Was that a campaign theme going into the election?

Lockhart: He promised to do that, yes, as a campaign thing. He followed through on that. Shapiro was a legislator from Kankakee, a member of the House at the time, a Democrat; that's when they had the three member district so that was the strong Republican area. That's where George Ryan came from. There was enough Democrats in Kankakee County to elect one Democrat if they all voted for him and that's where Sam Shapiro got elected. He was very interesting; he had no children but he became very interested in the mentally ill and the mental retarded and the facility now is named after him in Kankakee County. But he became lieutenant governor under Kerner. We really had a good pipeline in terms of the issues, shall we say. That was good now, I don't remember too many other things about Kerner except obviously he got into trouble with horse racing stock or something of that nature. I was frankly surprised.

DePue: And that happened, well, he was indicted after he was out of office.

Lockhart: He was a federal judge, no less. (chuckles)

DePue: Yes.

Lockhart: That started the pattern we've seen here in Illinois. He was not the kind of person that I would have ever suspected would be "on the take" you might say. I think that was Jim Thompson's first big "scalp" thing that he hung on the wall.

DePue: Yes, became Governor in part because he was able to…

Lockhart: It was big, what do I want to say, publicity in terms associated with that. And lo and behold, then he became the Federal Judge and still got sent to prison.

DePue: Were you surprised when Kerner stepped down from being Governor to take that judgeship?

Lockhart: Yes, I was. Um-Hmm. He comes out of the Chicago political machine, or Cook County, you know. His wife was the daughter of Cermak who was one of the political bosses of Cook County during the '30s and maybe the '40s.

DePue: Well, not into the '40s because he, Anton Cermak is who you are talking about and he was actually assassinated down in Florida…

Lockhart: Oh, that's right, in 1933.

DePue: Yeah, I think he might have even been riding in the same vehicle as FDR at the time.

Lockhart: No, it wasn't in the same; he was nearby though, I do recall that. Yes, you're right. You're right.

DePue: But certainly, she comes…

Lockhart: She comes from that antecedent, yes. And she also was, when she was here in Springfield, had an alcohol problem of considerable embarrassment because sometimes she would come in to the Capitol Building and go up with the governor for some event rather, and I've heard her on one or two occasions go to the podium, shall we say, say a few words to everybody from the speaker's position. (chuckles) Kind of embarrassing, shall we say, until somebody took her off, but anyway so that was the unfortunate aspect about Governor Kerner, too, his personal life, was not very pleasant, I'm sure.

DePue: Did you have any other major clients during the Otto Kerner years?

Lockhart: Well, I did mention the one about the psychologists, licensure for psychologists, I got that done. I can't think of any, but there might have been, might have been some.

DePue: How much of your time and your focus during this time frame was spent on publishing thi…

Lockhart: Oh, not too much because probably—we're 1960 so I was involved in Sam Witwer's campaign for U.S. Senate, that took up almost all of my time and the legislature was not in in 1960.

DePue: Well, during the time frame that Kerner was Governor though, so that…

Lockhart: Well, that's right, well, let's see. There was a Constitutional amendment on the ballot in '62 dealt with judiciary, the Modern Juditional Revision, shall we say. That's how we got to three levels, circuit court, and appellate court. I was retained for that campaign. I can't remember, there must have been something else but I honestly can't remember. Might have been doing something for the Medical Society in those years.

DePue: I don't know that you've mentioned much about a couple of the other people who would have been prominent in the legislature at the time, Arthur Bidwell?

Lockhart: I didn't really have anything to do with Mr. Bidwell. I don't know whether you know this, but his two great-grandchildren, the Walsh's, have been serving here. Now Tom Walsh is a lobbyist, used to be in the State Senate. Tom Walsh's brother was Bill Walsh and their grandfather was Bidwell, I think. I think that's right.

DePue: How about John Touhy?

Lockhart: Yes, he only served one term as Speaker and this was when the Democrats elected a hundred and eighteen House members. This is the "Bed Sheet Ballot" issue, remember that?

DePue: Yes, I sure do.

Lockhart: That would be '64, the '64 election. That's because Governor Kerner vetoed the redistricting plan; he thought it was too Republican. So he vetoed it and under the old Constitution, and when that happened there had to be an at-large election for the members of the House. That meant everybody had to run statewide. But also it provided that the two parties would – neither party could elect more than a hundred and eighteen of the hundred and seventeen. I have the ballot in my office. So there was a 118 Democratic names and 59 Republican names; this was the '64 election. So that was a big election between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. So all the Democrats won and certain Republicans won, mostly the ones that were endorsed by the *Chicago Daily News*, now unfortunately no longer around. That's when we had Earl Eisenhower on the Republican side, interesting enough. And we had Adlai Stevenson III on the Democratic side.

DePue: Earl Eisenhower being President Eisenhower's brother.

Lockhart: Yeah, Eisenhower's brother. Not, his name was Earl Eisenhower, as I recall. That was a two year period, of course, the Democrats had a big majority, but within that were all the Liberals, because they didn't have any district, you might say, because that's where Mr. Touhy, who is a very fine fellow, but he came out of the machine politics. He's used to having all of his people come out of Cook County politics, do what the leader says and had a bunch of them who said, "No, we'll do what we want to do."

DePue: I want to ask you, this is a point of clarification: you said 118 House members at the time. Wasn't it a larger number? Wasn't it cut back to 118 after the…

Lockhart: It was a 177, what was that? Yeah, that's not the right number.

DePue: So, now you've got this what, 300 names on the ballot that the electorate is supposed to choose from?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: And they get to pick out what, a 100 and…

Lockhart: Well, the Democratic Party was strong that year; that was Lyndon Johnson versus Goldwater, so they elected the whole slate of Democrats. The Republicans basically were recommended by the *Chicago Daily News* which was a very independent, highly-thought-of journal at the time.

DePue: Yeah, that's one of those legendary stories about only in Illinois politics would you have something like this.

Lockhart: That's the old Constitution, too. They put it in the Constitution because they thought it would never happen. (both chuckle)

DePue: As the guarantee it would never happen right.

Lockhart: It's Illinois though, as you say.

DePue: Just like the new Constitution would have issues about how redistricting would occur because they were sure it would never happen that way either. But, we'll get to that later. This might be a good time, we're about towards the end of the Kerner administration and getting into the Ogilvie years. Is this a good time then, you already mentioned the Constitution, the problems with the old Constitution, did you get involved early on with that push toward the new Constitution?

Lockhart: Well, yes, to get a Constitutional Convention it took an action by the legislature to put this on the ballot, so that was the first requirement: the legislature had to vote to put it on the ballot. I didn't get involved in that, no.

DePue: You did not?

Lockhart: Did not get involved in that. It got on the ballot because a lot of people probably, civic minded people said, "We can't just piecemeal amend this 1870 Constitution. We need a new Constitution." People like Sam Witwer and other people in the business community, civic federation, the Farm Bureau, for example. I have things in here from that period.

DePue, I've got things in there that illustrate that. So there was a civic effort made and the newspaper, the *Chicago Daily News*, in particular, was very persistent in advocating for a new Constitution, so that required a Constitutional Convention, so a call, 'Shall a Constitutional Convention be called?' I was involved in that campaign, yes.

DePue: What year did that get on the ballot?

Lockhart: That would have been in '68, probably, and so that was successful. So then came the enabling legislation to set up the election for delegates. The original Constitution had two delegates from each Senatorial District, but how they got to the Constitutional Convention was a job of enabling legislation that had to be passed. So the enabling legislation set up two elections: a primary and general election just for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. I think I was involved in helping some of those candidates, but I didn't do very much on it.

DePue: Would this have been an election that occurred in 1969 then?

Lockhart: Yes, um-hmm, in '69. Look through those *Illinois Political Reporters* and that period of time you'll see some of those people, so yes. That was the blue-ribbon cast of characters who then in February, excuse me, in December of 1969, began the Constitutional Convention which went till early September of '70.

DePue: And you were selected early on to be what an advisor or consultant?

Lockhart: Yes. First Witwer asked me if I wanted to be the executive director and I said, "No, I can't be the Executive Director. I got a business to do and that's not the kind of job for me." So I said, "But I will be your special consultant to you and for your executor, who was a good friend of mine, on a per diem basis because I still have other responsibilities." I was here for most of the days of the Convention to provide maybe PR and political advice. I told Witwer and the Executive Director we needed to keep the newspapers, particularly, aware of what issues we're doing because we want, when it comes down to the referendum to adopt the new Constitution, we want people doing that who have been brought up, shall we say, on the issues, so they realize how bad things were under the old Constitution and what we're trying to do to correct them. I did a lot of PR kinds of stuff like that. I was not here every day but we would talk about issues. He knew he could trust me and I had some general experience with the legislature, and so I was to an extent, uniquely valuable.

DePue: Are there some particular portions of the Constitution that you can point to and say you had influence over that?

Lockhart: I had influence over one thing, but it was critical. And that is the election to approve the product, the very product now. The Convention adjourns September 3rd, I think. Ogilvie says to Witwer, "Put the Constitution on the November ballot."

DePue: September 3rd of 1970?

Lockhart: 1970, right. He says, "Well we have an election coming up in November. Why don't you put this on the November election?" Because it was under the

Constitution, the Convention could decide when they wanted to have the election and the circumstances of it. So I said, "No, Sam, we don't want to have this on the November ballot. People go in and vote for the candidates and walk out and not vote on the Constitution. Also, there just so happens, there's an old Constitutional amendment to the old Constitution that's been adopted. So that would be on the ballot. So if you have people come in and vote on the Constitution in the November '70 election, they will come in and vote for the people, vote for this other ballot issue which exempts property taxes from taxation and walk out the door. Not enough people will go through and read the Constitution. " I said, "We need to have a special election just for the Constitution. So the only people who would vote are those who were either for it or against it." We set the election for the 15th of December.

DePue: A month after the general election.

Lockhart: A month after the general election, a month after the general election. It was a light election, but it was very well, what I want to say, people were prepared for it. The delegates were free to go out and campaign for it, the newspapers could concentrate on the Constitution that was being presented rather than getting entangled with candidates and parties and everything else. The focus was on the product, shall we say. And obviously, in terms of the product itself, the Constitutional Convention was very good in giving cities more power. The big complaint was that the City of Chicago was one of the biggest complaints. I remember, they used to say, "If you wanted to change the lights in a police car in Chicago from red to blue, you had to pass a law in Springfield to allow that." So we created home rule units, home rule municipalities, that could do a lot of things on their own—cities of 25,000 or more. Wonderful. Mayor Daley thought that was wonderful.

DePue: (chuckles)

Lockhart: And we knew we needed to have something like that, so he obviously churned out a lot of votes. Illinois Municipal League did the same thing. The delegates did their work. Interesting enough too, one of the delegates was Richard M. Daley, son of the mayor. He was put on the Human Rights Committee. Membership on the committees was determined by Sam Witwer, and I had some input on that. So we put Rich Daley on the Human Rights Committee, the Chairman of which was Elmer Gertz, a big human rights advocate for many years. In the course of the Convention, I do know this, there was a group of people from the Welfare Council of Chicago. They wanted to put some things in their bill of rights about discrimination in hiring and in living conditions. They could not, I misspoke, we did not put Richard M. Daley on the Human Rights Committee. He was not on the Human Rights Committee, but the people who were advocating this non-discriminatory language for the Constitution went to the Human Rights Committee with their proposal but they did not get the okay to put it in. They came to me and said, "We don't know what to do. We got this proposal and we can't get the Human Rights

Committee to approve it so it would be on the ballot." I said, "Why don't you get Richard Daley, Richard M. Daley to be the sponsor. No one will vote against Mayor Daley's son's proposal especially if it is a human rights, it will be on the ballot." Sure enough, that's exactly what happened. He became a great sponsor of the human rights provisions in the Constitution barring discrimination in the matter of housing or employment.

DePue: And you're talking about the process, this is going on within the Constitution Convention itself.

Lockhart: Yes, yes, that's right. That's the only two instances where the timing of the campaign was critical because the test is so high you have to have a majority of the total votes cast or three-fifths of the votes cast on the issue. So people go in and vote, but they don't vote for the Constitution, they just raise the bar, so to speak, to make it more difficult. Having a special election for the Constitution was absolutely critical.

DePue: So let's finish today with your reflections on the new Illinois State Constitution of 1970; your critique of it.

Lockhart: I think it was a very good product. I sometimes think too much power was given to home rule units. I know one of the things that we did: they gave the power to license to all home rule units. I said to a lot of people afterwards, "You've got to do something about your licensure law. You have to put a provision in, which is allowed under the Constitution, to pre-empt home rule units from licensing doctors, lawyers, architects, whatever the state license, that we got to go back and put it what is called the pre-emption." And so that was done. Right now you will see all the licensure bills just automatically do it now, they put in a "home rule pre-emption" so that every home rule municipalities cannot also go out and license psychologists. Can you imagine all the chaos that that would create. That could be attributed to the Lockhart influence post adjournment of the Constitution.

Now the other thing that the Constitution provided which is strangely enough, never been, well not strangely enough, it allowed for "home rule counties" to be created. It would take a local referendum. So the home rule county would have the same power as a home rule municipality. I said to a lot of people here after the Constitution was adjourned, I said, "Now that's meant for chaos. If we have Sangamon County seeking to be a home rule county and the City of Springfield a home rule municipality, you can just see all kinds of conflicting situations. "

DePue: Did that occur because of some particular county?

Lockhart: I don't know how it got in. Cook County was grandfathered in, so to speak. Cook County is the only home rule county in the State, but that was kind of grandfathered in. It just so happens in '82 the primary election, nine big

counties decided they wanted to be home rule counties; put it on the ballot. I was retained to defeat them all. (chuckles) And we did, defeated them all. We haven't had any counties pursue that since. It was a big mistake to put it in the Constitution in the first place, probably, because it would create so many jurisdictional problems. It would probably be great business for lawyers, but very confusing for the public.

DePue: Well, I want to finish with this one question that's specific to the Illinois Constitution.

Lockhart: Sure.

DePue: Anybody who's a real political junkie and knows how the game is played, knows that a big part of the game is redistricting that happens every ten years after the census. And that Constitution created a model for how the State of Illinois would do that that has, most would say, has not served it well ever since.

Lockhart: That's correct. It only worked once correctly, the very first one. Afterwards, there was a general consensus by the members of the legislature that there would be a division that they proceeded in a bi-partisan way to make the decision about districts. Since that time the attitude has been well it depends on the flip of the coin, so to speak. We might win, we might win the toss, so to speak. Now it's not a good way to make decisions but that is such a political question. It's hard for me to come up with an alternative that is not political in a political State like this one. People talk about: well we try to do it by computers. Well, I'm not sure about that. What I would like to see, the word "compact" has not been imposed, shall we say. Everything is supposed to be compact and contiguous at an equal population. We have districts that go all over the place. They are not "compact" by any stretch of the imagination.

DePue: They would fit the perfect definition of gerrymandering. (chuckles)

Lockhart: Yes, right. They do it to benefit the incumbent, basically. That's the rule. I always wanted to somehow file something with the Supreme Court to declare some of these districts that are obvious, you look at them; you can see it, no way that that could be compact, may have the same population but… And the one that they just finished this year, last year, some of those districts defies understanding. It makes everything look cynical. I wish the Supreme Court had done something about the word "compact;" they have not.

DePue: Well, we've covered quite a bit. We got a lot more to go.

Lockhart: Oh, we do.

DePue: Well we've got up to…

Lockhart: Not today. (chuckles)

DePue: 1970, yeah. Next time. Thank you very much, Mr. Lockhart.

Lockhart: I think we did set a time, did we not?

DePue: Yes.

(End of interview session #1 #2 continues)

Interview with Dick Lockhart

IS-A-L-2012-024
Interview #2: June 20, 2012
Interviewer: Mark DePue

DePue: Today is Wednesday, June 20th, 2012. My name is Mark DePue the Director of Oral History with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. I'm here in the library this afternoon with Dick Lockhart. How are you today, Dick?

Lockhart: Pretty good.

DePue: And now we can say that you spent your last fifty plus years, a lot more than that, as a lobbyist.

Lockhart: Fifty-three years to be exactly the correct number.

DePue: You just mentioned that often times on June 20th the legislature would still be in session.

Lockhart: That's correct. Under the old Constitution June 30th was the adjournment date and it's quite frequent that they went into overtime. So I've been in

Springfield in July a number of years back. The Constitutional Convention moved it up at least one month which pleased all lobbyists, anyway.

DePue: Well, there have been plenty of years where they got to the stage of still being in session but requiring a super majority, right?

Lockhart: Yes, um hmm.

DePue: And so this time around I know the Governor is planning to call back the legislature when they figured out something about public pensions.

Lockhart: I get this question all the time, "Are they coming back this summer?" I say, "Not unless the bonding houses come out with the statement to the effect that Illinois needs to do something very quickly to solve their fiscal problems and any bonds issued by the State of Illinois would be considered junk bonds." That might motivate the leaders and the governor to come forth with something earlier than the veto session, the first one of which is the…

DePue: 27th of November.

Lockhart: I think they could come back earlier but only if it was some kind of fiscal crisis that would require it and to probably force the two political parties and the governor to formulate some kind of a solution.

DePue: But haven't I heard the governor make statements like, "We need to solve this pension problem this year."

Lockhart: He does say that. Right. I tend to agree with him. (both chuckle) I tend to agree with him but, you ask whether that would… the pension problem will not motivate the legislators as much as the bonding houses saying that we've lost all financial credibility with the markets. We have to do something immediately.

DePue: I'm going to start today when we left off last time. You'd just mentioned the Illinois State Constitution and they had the convention in 1970, '69 and '70. It was adopted by the Illinois public then in 1970. So that's where we left off.

Lockhart: December 15th, 1970, to be precise.

DePue: In a special election as you pointed out last time.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: What I wanted to do today though to start off is to have you tell us what you think it takes to be a successful lobbyist, because as you said, fifty-three years – you must know what it takes?

Lockhart: Well, I think you have to—I'm trying to think what the appropriate word without sounding like bragging—but I think you have to have a certain resilience because you're not going to be winning everything. It's physically demanding, you're on your feet lots of times, you're waiting around for other people, you're waiting around for votes, waiting around for committees to assemble. You have to have some kind of resilience to be able to handle those kinds of situations. I personally believe that you cannot be a good lobbyist if you're really identified with a political party, partisanship. I think it inhibits good communication between the lobbyist and the legislators who are much more partisan than we all wish they would be. So you have to be able to expect some disappointments, some commitments that people will make that they will not be able to support. There are a lot of frustrations involved going along with the physical and mental demands of it. I try not to bear any animosities because, I think, that just gets in the way of trying to communicate. Basically what we're trying to do is to establish credibility. Credibility is a non-renewable resource because once it's gone it's not going to return, probably. And lobbyists need credibility. What I try to do is to be up-front with legislators and up-front with organizations, both those that we're working for as well as even organizations that we might be opposed to from time to time; because yesterday's enemies may be tomorrow's friends. It's a job that you learn by doing. I do believe that. And observing and listening: can't take a course in it. I have put together a webinar to give some of the rudiments you might say, but mostly based upon the experience that a newcomer to an organization might have in representing that organization. In other words, how to make the grassroots lobbyist more effective; I've tried to work on that score. Because lobbying is a partnership between you and the organization; sometimes they can do better than you can. Lot of times they can do better than you can and there are some things you can do better than they can. You have to be able to know how to compromise, how to give and take. Like I say, it's a learning process, not taught in any course.

DePue: Do you have a ball-park figure for how many lobbyists there were back in the early '70s and then how many there are today, for example?

Lockhart: Well, there's a lot of people who are registered as lobbyists because the law is drawn as such. If you count as lobbyists as those who are there pretty consistently every day, during the day, and have maybe multiple clients or they represent one large organization, whether it's the Farm Bureau or the Manufacturer's Association, there were probably in the seventies, I'm just kind of guessing a ball-park figure of maybe twenty to thirty people in that category that I've just tried to describe. Today there are many more and it's almost difficult… The Secretary of State's office, I'm sure, will tell us there's a thousand or more that are technically registered. As to how many are there day after day is obviously a lesser number, but it's still a large number. It's a little hard to say, probably closer to eighty to a hundred.

DePue: So a significant growth though, bottom line a significant growth over the last thirty or forty years.

Lockhart: Yes, there's been a growth in the number of bills introduced, of course. The number of problems the legislature feels that they have to respond to and the pressure groups who want something out of the process.

DePue: Would you say that having a reputation of having a good sense of humor and a little bit of wit about you helps?

Lockhart: Yes, that's very important.

DePue: On that line, I wanted to read a couple of things out of the new legislative glossary written by Dick Lockhart. Do you remember when you put this together?

Lockhart: Not too long ago, a couple of years ago, maybe.

DePue: It says established in 1958, but that's Social Engineering.

Lockhart: Yeah, right.

DePue: So this is fairly recent.

Lockhart: Yeah, I've done two. This is the second one. I did one some years back, some of which I included here, but some of these are new.

DePue: I wanted to read some of the entries that you had in here. "Ego" Okay, you probably run into a few egos in…

Lockhart: Well, there's a lot of those around.

DePue: (laughs) Ego: "Be aware of it always; speak of it never."

Lockhart: Yeah, you don't want to accuse anyone of having a big ego, but they all do have a big ego otherwise they wouldn't be in politics in the first place.

DePue: There you go. "Good government is not an oxymoron. Government is usually good for someone, who and what is the good that is derived and at what cost." "Hardball – Let me see where was hardball—"is not a game with rules; it is Illinois politics with no rules."

Lockhart: Aren't these accurate, though? (both chuckle)

DePue: You think Illinois politics, you know, you've spent your life observing this State and so maybe you don't have a good comparison with other States, but…

Lockhart: I have none, no.

DePue: But do you think it is played differently in Illinois than other states?

Lockhart: I do. I do. Um hmm. I think we have strong political parties for one thing. And contentious divisions between big cities, suburbs, rural areas, small towns, African-Americans, whites, women. You know, all these varieties I think we have in strong numbers, shall we say.

DePue: And here's something that anyone who has any familiarity with writing legislation will appreciate the definition you've got for may. "May is the opposite of shall and must; a feel-good word in bills and amendments, it is also the month when the General Assembly is **supposed to** adjourn."

Lockhart: (chuckles)

DePue: Emphasize supposed to, cause that's often times not the case.

Lockhart: Not particularly.

DePue: Well, here's the last one. I want you to reflect on this one after I read it. Your definition of a "worthy", worthy causes: my clients.

Lockhart: Right. (both chuckle) You didn't read the one about Springfield.

DePue: Oh, well, okay, I will definitely do that for you.

Lockhart: Or no, excuse me, it's not about Springfield. Capital Punishment.

DePue: Capital Punishment. Okay, I've got to jump to a different place. Capital Punishment occurs when a non-resident has to spend a weekend in Springfield. (laughs) Well, it's spelled differently, Capitol Punishment is spelled differently.[1]

Lockhart: I understand. (both chuckle)

DePue: Very good. But have no guilt about a worthy cause is my client?

Lockhart: No. No. Because part of my credibility is that I do represent honorable organizations, straightforward people who ask the legislature to help out on some issues, but they are not known for being difficult and grabby and, you know, responsible, I think.

DePue: You've obviously been very successful over the years or you wouldn't be sitting here today still doing the same job at the age you are. How did you go about selecting the clients, then, that you have?

[1] Capital is the correct spelling for everything except the building which houses the head of government. An exception in Springfield, IL is that "Capitol" Avenue is the street leading to the main entrance to the Capitol, with a special view of it. [Editor]

Lockhart: I really didn't. It's best if they select me. I do belong to some organizations like the Chicago Area Public Affairs Group, or the Business Group here in Springfield, BIFEC [Business Industry Federation on Economic Concerns]. Part of it is being here year after year and having a reputation that gets passed around. Sometimes a legislator or an organization will contact a legislator and say, "Do you know any good lobbyist that we could afford?" So some of that happens. On probably a couple of occasions I've heard that an organization was looking for someone, I might have followed up on that. So it's being active, being involved and keeping circulation going, you know.

DePue: Is that typical of your other colleagues where they wait for somebody to approach them, or are they more aggressive in that respect?

Lockhart: A lot of them I think are now who start out as staff people for the General Assembly. They might be staff person for say, the utilities committee. They get to know the subject matter pretty well. It would be natural for some utility who were looking for somebody who knew the process, knew the subject matter, may be lived in Springfield, to look for a staff person to represent their interests. I've noticed and I recommend actually, some staff people to organizations because you don't have to do any in service training job, so to speak. So, yes, it's staff people, of course, where there were no staff a few years back, the staff that we have today is very professional, very bi-partisan and very savvy, no question about it, they all are knowledgeable people. They were not picked for some kind of political job, just to have a job, they're competent.

DePue: You said the staff. Are you talking about the caucus staffs?

Lockhart: Yes, but I'm thinking primarily of committees' staff. There's Democratic and Republican staff member for every committee, House and Senate.

DePue: But you did use the word, "non-partisan."

Lockhart: Yeah, but they are, they don't look at things in a partisan way. They're not supposed to analyze it; that may enter in to it, but usually the legislator's very well aware of the partisan aspects to it. If it's sponsored by the Speaker of the House they know it's a Democratic sponsored bill, et cetera. But the staff people on the committee, I think, analyze the legislation that's been referred to that committee in an objective way.

DePue: Okay. So you're making a distinction between these committees' staffs and the caucus' staffs.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Have you ever had the occasion to turn down a client that wanted to work with you?

Lockhart: Yes, I'm sure of that.

DePue: Do any come to mind for you?

Lockhart: I'll have to think about that one for a while. Umm. I can't think off-hand of any that I have rejected. There are some that, in the course of working with them, I've rejected. I didn't feel comfortable working for them for one reason or another. And so that's happened. Somebody reminded me—I forgot all about it—it was a committee hearing and he was representing another organization which interacted with the interest of my client, whatever it was. And we worked out an agreement in which my organization, that I was representing in committee, backed out of, very publicly. I got up and resigned my account then and there with that organization. I'd forgotten about that. He reminded me of it about a month ago. (chuckles)

DePue: Can you tell us what the organization was?

Lockhart: I don't want to get too precise, but it was something in the "health"world. I'm not quite sure of the contending forces anymore since it goes back some years ago. That is an example – because he reminded me of it just a few weeks ago.

DePue: Very good. One other kind of a general question here for you. Tell us about the Illinois Third House?

Lockhart: Yes, well these are the long term professional lobbyists, I would call them, both those who are independent like myself as well as those who may be employed by a given organization. It's been around since, I would say, the early 1950s. For a long time it was a kind of men's club, but we've had three women subsequently who were elected Speakers of the Third House. They don't really do much of anything, to tell the truth. They have a party in December which is the big thing, and legislators and others are invited; it's always in Chicago. Who is selected as Speaker of the third House, that is made by the former Speakers of the Third House. They get together usually in October and decide who would be a good representative Speaker for the subsequent year. Its term limits: you are only speaker of the Third House for one year. And there's no benefits; it's usually extra work. Because now they include golf outings; they didn't do that before. If you're in the odd-numbered year you usually have to sponsor a "freshman" reception for freshman legislators. The reason why it is, I guess, considered to be an asset is that you are selected by your peers. Now also, we separate the upstate and downstate, so we alternate from year to year. For the next selection it would be a downstate Third House Speaker. to take over in the odd numbered years.

DePue: And you were president?

Lockhart: I was speaker, we don't have presidents.

DePue: Speaker, then.

Lockhart: I was speaker in 1981. I was selected in 1980 and selected for the subsequent year, so yes.

DePue: You only have to do this, you only get to do this one time?

Lockhart: Yes, term limits.

DePue: Otherwise you would have done it quite a bit, I would guess.

Lockhart: I don't know about that. I don't know about that.

DePue: Okay. Well, let's get back to Illinois politics then. And again, we left off last time talking about the Constitutional Convention, but I don't think we discussed much about Sam Shapiro's term as Governor and it was a very short term…

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Because Kerner stepped down to take the judgeship, and so from May of 1968 to January '69 is when Shapiro served.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Any thoughts about Shapiro's effectiveness.

Lockhart: He was a real good guy. I had known him because was a State Representative from Kankakee and he sponsored mental health legislation. He was one of the advocates for the Department of Mental Health. The institution in Kankakee for the developmentally disabled is named after him. He, had a sincere interest in the issue, he was honest, hard-working, and he was put on the ticket to indicate balance between Kerner, who is from Chicago, of course—Chicago political family—so I was very fond of him. We had a bill—reminds me to get specific about a situation—in representing the Mental Health Association. It came to our attention that there was situations of which child patients were mixed with adult patients. That was brought to our attention. We went to the Department or the Division of Mental Health at that time and said would they be willing to do this administratively, which they could do, and that obviate the need for any legislation as far as we are concerned. Well, they came back and said No, we're going to continue to do what we've always done.

DePue: When you say, "to do it" do you mean to separate the two…

Lockhart: No, the department wanted to continue the mixing of adults patients with child patients. We didn't think that was right. We drafted a piece of legislation, maintaining that there would be a separation. We passed it and the Department fought it all the way, but it still got enough votes to pass. I'm sure the Department thought that they could get Governor Shapiro to veto it. Well, Governor Shapiro didn't veto it, he signed it, of course. Of course, we did talk

with him ahead of time so that was an example, one of a very few examples where the Governor went counter to his own bureaucratic administration people.

DePue: What was their rationale for keeping it the way it had always been?

Lockhart: Just because that's the way they would always do it. Always been done and they felt that they were in charge of their institutions and anything else would set a bad precedent about intruding into their prerogative, I guess.

DePue: It wasn't an issue of money.

Lockhart: It was bureaucracy talk at their worst, shall we say.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: They didn't even want to sit down and talk about it, you know. (chuckles)

DePue: Well, he wasn't in office too long before he had the challenge of running for re-election, obviously. '68 is an election year.

Lockhart: Lost that to Ogilvie.

DePue: Lost that to Ogilvie. Any reflections on that election?

Lockhart: No, I came to have a great deal of admiration for Dick Ogilvie I didn't really know him. He had been the Sheriff of Cook County and had been Chairman of the Cook County Board and had done a very good job, he got highly recommended by the *Chicago Daily News.* So I thought either, the people would come out alright no matter which way the election turned out. He won and it turned out to be, in my opinion, the strongest, the best, of the recent bunch that we've had. He realized that the State needed an income tax. He knew upfront that this would cause his defeat and a lot of other people's defeat. He announced that ahead of time to them. I'm aware of people who were there at the meeting and then he got the leaders of the Senate, Senator Arrington was President Pro Tem of the Senate, to be the sponsor of the income tax. Remember, this was the old Constitution, the 1870 Constitution. A lot of people thought it prohibited an income tax. He didn't think so; he thought an argument could be made that as long as it was a non-graduated income tax, he thought it could be found Constitutional. And so he pursued that. He realized that the state could not sustain its level of services off the revenue derived from the sales tax. That was the basic source of revenue for the State of Illinois. And so he lobbied the leadership, Senator Arrington became the sponsor of the bill in the Senate. Governor Ogilvie lobbied particularly the Republican members who were always opposed to any kind of tax increase, much less something as really wicked as the income tax. And, of course, the Democrats were not keen about being the only ones who would be voting for this income tax. That would not look too good. So what he did, he

worked out a compromise whereby the municipalities got a piece of the "action". So this became a source of new income for lot of the municipalities, particularly Chicago. He got the votes out of the Senate. Some of the senators, I'm sure realized they would probably get defeated the next primary election anyway. Some of the Republicans came over to the House and the Speaker at that time was Ralph Smith, a Republican from Alton; he became the House sponsor and he was, like I say, the Speaker of the House. He pounded it through on the thirtieth of June, 1969. I was there in the chamber when it happened. He subsequently, in a way, got his reward—I'm talking about Ralph Smith, Speaker of the Illinois House—when Everett Dirksen died, there was a vacancy. The Governor gets to fill the senatorial vacancy. The Governor picked his good friend and effective Speaker of the House Ralph Smith. Ralph Smith then serves maybe a year as U. S. Senator but is defeated in November by Adlai Stevenson III.

DePue: Was Jack Walker then the person who replaced Smith as the Speaker?

Lockhart: Yes, Um hmm.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: Yeah, he was the assistant majority leader and unfortunately, Mr. Walker had a serious problem with alcohol.

DePue: Well, that's an important event and you certainly aren't the only one who looks back in the Ogilvie administration with that kind of perspective. How about on issues that you were a lobbyist for, especially the mental health issues?

Lockhart: I don't remember anything particularly one way or the other to tell the truth. I always felt that I was dealing with honest people, straightforward people. I don't remember anything particularly good, bad or ugly that happened during those years in terms of my own clients' interests.

DePue: I know that part of your clientele has been public pension issues and public…

Lockhart: That's been more or less recent though.

DePue: Okay, so not from that time frame.

Lockhart: No.

DePue: And the reason I mention it here is, because exempting retirement income from the income tax remains in the law.

Lockhart: Well, the income tax bill that was passed, and this feature is still a part of it, exempted retirement income. Pension income, private or public pension income, is still in the Constitution that was put in to provide, anyway, to avert

I should say opposition that might come from the AARP world, you might say.

DePue: But you say that's an aspect of the Illinois Constitution?

Lockhart: No, did I? If I said that I didn't mean that. It was a part of the income tax law that was passed.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: At that time and it's still in the law. It's still in the income tax law.

DePue: Well I think the reason that's relevant to us today is you hear any kind of pension reform has to get passed that constitutional hurdle, so there is something in the Constitution about…

Lockhart: There's something in the Constitution, the 1970 Constitution, yeah. It says a person in a public pension system, their pension cannot be diminished or impaired; that is very important. It just so happens there's another constitutional amendment on the ballot this November 6th which amends basically that section of the Constitution and creates a big question in any case with respect to public pensions.

DePue: I want to make sure I understand this. I'm going to state my understanding as you just explained. So you have that Constitutional provision about not diminishing…

Lockhart: Or impairing.

DePue: …or impairing existing pensions. That passes as part of the Illinois State Constitution and gets adopted in 1970.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: 1969. Ogilvie administration manages to push through the income tax bill and part of that income tax bill includes this provision that retirement income will not be taxed.

Lockhart: Will not be subject to the income tax.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: That is correct.

DePue: And then probably after the Constitution goes into effect, sometime in this time frame, he also is able to push through some significant increases in pay and pension benefits.

Lockhart: Probably, but that was before my involvement with that world. I think when George Ryan became the Governor, as I recall, he was concerned about a lot of high-paying jobs. He wanted to get them off the payroll. They created an accelerated pension program in which inducements were offered like lifetime of health insurance, you might say, and for other things, so it removed a lot of very experienced employees. I don't like to use that word optimistic… what do I want to say…

DePue: It has a derogatory…

Lockhart: It has a derogatory, yes, I do find bureaucrat in their too, some work hard, some hardly.

DePue: (laughs) That's the reputation but there are plenty of effective, good bureaucrats.

Lockhart: It is. I became aware there was a lot of very valuable, knowledgeable people in the state government who left. I felt that kind of reduced the ability of the government to solve problems, maybe, help out in a number of ways, but there was a big departure of very long standing experienced people who were in the bureaucracy, shall we say, yeah.

DePue: And you're mentioning this incident in the George Ryan administration because that helped dig the hole deeper for us, that we're in today?

Lockhart: Probably, because of the health costs that were involved. I'm not sure whether in that period---because this is the period of time when I was not doing that kind of work--- the COLA, the Cost of Living Allowance, was put into the statute and that was put in for every year and was compounded. So this became, the COLA became a big issue, has become, still is today a big issue.[i]

DePue: I think I did read in a recent article that that was the time frame that the COLA ruling was put into effect as well.

Lockhart: I think so, but I'm not hundred percent sure.

DePue: We can make sure when we do the editing and when you have a chance to look at it, we can get that, we can verify some facts here.

Lockhart: The COLA's now a target for getting rid of… (both chuckle)

DePue: Were you working on security interests at this time?

Lockhart: That probably started in the early '70s, yeah.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: We got the first licensure for alarm contractors at that time; there was a lot of concern. Of course, security has become a bigger and bigger issue. The feeling between a number of alarm companies, they need to have some standards, they need to have a situation where their employees could have an FBI background check, because you didn't want to compromise security by having people on your payroll who are going to use that knowledge for nefarious purposes. I've been involved in a lot of licensure legislation through the years. That was done in the early '70s. Then that was put in the same act as the act that licensed guards and detectives who are armed individuals.

DePue: Well the Ogilvie administration had one unique aspect to it as far as Illinois history is concerned. The lieutenant governor was Paul Simon.

Lockhart: Yes. Um-hmm.

DePue: Paul Simon obviously was a Democrat, Ogilvie is a Republican. Did…

Lockhart: The old Constitution allowed that anomaly to happen, yes.

DePue: And the new Constitution fixed it.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Did you see anything that you want to comment about in terms of the relationship those two men had?

Lockhart: Well, it was not so much between those individuals. You see, the president pro tem as I recall in those days, excuse me, the President, the Lieutenant Governor became the President of the Senate.

DePue: That's right.

Lockhart: So this got him into conflict with Russell Arrington who was a very strong-minded person: Republican, very conservative, very strong-minded, who did a lot of other good things. There was an ego conflict, shall we say. Paul Simon had to leave the office that the lieutenant governor had, as I recall, on the third floor which he got because he was president of the senate and give that up, in a way, to the president pro tem who actually was the majority leader. But as I recall, it worked out something along those lines. Now the new Constitution, of course, resolves that.

DePue: Governor Edgar refers to W. Russell Arrington as the Madigan of his day. Would you say that's about right?

Lockhart: Um-hmm, Um-hmm.

DePue: That he was that powerful.

Lockhart: Many ways, yeah. He was a little more flamboyant; Madigan is quiet and probably working behind the scenes more. But Arrington was, in a way, advanced; he brought some professionals in to the staff positions in the Senate. He was the first one to do that. He also realized… He supported the call for a new Constitution; that had to be a referendum, had to get through the legislature to call a Constitutional Convention, so he supported that. And, of course, we thought at one point in time, were confident at one point, he wanted to be the president of the Constitutional Convention. (both chuckle) Definitely. And, of course, I was associated with Sam Witwer who eventually became the president of the Constitutional Convention. But Russell Arrington, there's a book written about him; I have a copy at home called *Powerhouse* and that's what he was. He definitely managed, shall we say, the Republican members of the Senate in no uncertain terms.

DePue: That book that you just mentioned I think was written by Taylor Pensoneau.

Lockhart: Um-hmm, Taylor Pensoneau, yeah.

DePue: I want your reflections on just a couple of the other legislative leaders at the time. I think we talked about him a bit last time, Thomas McGloom?

Lockhart: Yes. Thomas McGloom, known as Art McGloom for some reason.

DePue: Okay. He was a Democrat and the Senate Minority Leader at that time?

Lockhart: That's correct. He's from Chicago, on the west side of Chicago. Phil Rock became one of, kind of, his understudy in a way.

DePue: And the House side, you've got W. Robert Blair.

Lockhart: Yes, Bob Blair. He was pretty strong. As I recall, Bob Blair hired Jim Edgar.

DePue: That's correct. Edgar was working for Arrington—

Lockhart: Arrington, yes that's where I first met Jim Edgar was in Arrington's law office in probably 1968-69, something like that.

DePue: Well do you have any memories of your first impressions of the man?

Lockhart: No, he was a pretty kind of quiet person, you know, and he was obviously a person who was not going to say anything of any consequence in front of Russell Arrington who is just …

DePue: In '71 the Democrats took over in the Senate and Cecil Partee took over as the Majority Leader and President.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: I guess at that time then he's President of the Senate because...

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: …the new Constitution is in effect. Any memories about working with him?

Lockhart: The only one that I can think of, he was a good guy, had a good relationship with, he was known as Cecil Partee, he was pretty even tempered person. But the issue came up, he became, of course, President of the Senate at the time of the new Constitution was in effect. So in the past, of course, the heavy lifting was done in the odd-numbered years of the legislature. But this new Constitution required annual sessions. So in '72 we had an unusual situation, we had an annual session, they didn't quite know what to do. (both chuckle) They knew they had to do a budget, you know, but what else should we do? Well they came up with something, I'll have to go back and look at it, but it was "emergency legislation". Emergency legislation could be taken care of and processed during the even-numbered session years in addition to doing the budget thing they could do in an emergency. Well, that's in the eyes of the beholder, but that was the first year. I remember they're trying to restrict the even-numbered year from looking like the odd-numbered year in terms of the volume of and variety of legislation, and it did work. But over a period of years you can't tell the difference any more between the even-numbered years and the odd-numbered years. Of course, Cecil Partee, he was the first person that had to face up to, what do we do in this first even-numbered year other than pass the budget?

DePue: You anticipated my question, but '72, that's got to be kind of a bizarre legislative year for the Illinois House and Senate anyway, because right smack dab in the middle of that legislative year is the Democratic primary for the governorship.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: and that was the year that everybody…

Lockhart: Two-year term, as I recall.

DePue: No, this would have been for a four year term. Thompson's first two years were the two-year terms.

Lockhart: Yeah, right.

DePue: So for the '72 election this is the year that Dan Walker had walked the entire state and his drum beat of the message was, "I'm the anti-Daley candidate" and he painted …

Lockhart: Cook County as a…

DePue: Daley and Paul Simon as part of that Cook County machine.

Lockhart: Um-hmm, that's correct.

DePue: Just to set the stage a little bit more from what I understand, Paul Simon was the everybody's assumed Democratic candidate.

Lockhart: Yes. I think he defeated, no, U.S., no, trying to figure out the year he and Phil Rock---was that the same year?

DePue: No.

Lockhart: Anyway.

DePue: To cut to the quick, Dan Walker wins in a very surprising primary election.

Lockhart: Right.

DePue: So he's the Democratic candidate for Governor.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: So, reflections on that situation especially, I'm sure you knew Paul Simon from his legislative years.

Lockhart: Oh, yeah, real well, real well; I didn't know anything about this guy Walker and he was a corporate, I think he was a corporate attorney for Mobil…

DePue: Montgomery Ward.

Lockhart: Montgomery Ward, yes, okay. I didn't have any feel for him. I did know his eminence, the "gray eminence" behind him. Now I can't think…

DePue: Victor DeGrazia.

Lockhart: Victor DeGrazia. I did know Victor DeGrazia from some place. And so he became the "gray eminence" for Governor Walker and he kept the fire stoked; the fire if it looked like Walker was trying to get nice with the Daley bunch or something like that. He was, you know… DeGrazia and Governor Walker fed each other's fires and in basically being opposed to Daley and anything that Daley wanted to have done.

DePue: Do you recall the relationship, the nature of the relationship or working that you had with the Walker folks?

Lockhart: There were very difficult people, as I recall, because they wanted to demonstrate that they were the boss, they were in charge; so there was not the easy camaraderie that we would normally expect, that I would have expected

and received if Paul Simon had won that primary election. Do you remember a bad incident involving an attorney who, I can't remember his name…

DePue: Goldberg?

Lockhart: Goldberg, yeah. I think it was Goldberg. Anyway, I was representing also the Wildlife Federation at the time and he, Goldberg called up the president of the Wildlife Federation and said, "Did you know your lobbyist, Dick Lockhart, is", I don't know double-dealing or acting contrary to your interests, something derogatory. They just made that up. And finally, I got talking to Goldberg about what was said about me and he said, "Well we didn't like your position on the mental health issue that you took; so we went after you with another client. There's no complaint, but it was vindictive; that's what it boils down to and they were going to try to just hurt my reputation by saying I was double dealing or whatever it was. So that left a bad taste in my mouth, shall we say. Of course, Walker did not get re-elected; he was defeated by Michael Howlett in the next primary election for governor.

DePue: Well, the significant thing he was defeated by Democrat Michael Howlett in the Democratic primary in the next election.

Lockhart: Yes. And then, of course, Daley ignores Howlett afterwards. All he cared about was getting rid of Walker. (chuckles) And so I guess Thompson then gets his first crack at the governorship, as I recall.

DePue: That's when Thompson comes into office, a bizarre series of events in the Democratic circles for those years.

Lockhart: Yeah, yeah.

DePue: I know that Walker didn't just feud with the Daley folks but the Daley machine at that time had plenty of representatives in the Democratic House and the Senate, so I don't think Walker was able to get much accomplished in the legislature as well.

Lockhart: Did not, did not. There was feuding going on all the time. And, of course, there was this interesting period after he lost the primary to Howlett, he was still Governor for the rest of the year basically. And I don't remember anything specific that happened but it was definitely an awkward period.

DePue: So I would think that means it's a tough period to be a lobbyist.

Lockhart: Might or might have been a period when nothing happened, or nobody, everybody said, "Well, we can't figure this out, we'll step aside unless there's some emergency." Of course, we didn't have all the kinds of issues in those days that we do these days, you know, environmental issues, economic concerns.

DePue: Tap your memory here a little bit; challenge your memory, I guess. That mid-term election in 1974, that's not a gubernatorial year, it's not a presidential year that year either, but it was an important year for Governor Walker; he sought to get more allies in the state legislature and actually put up some candidates in the primary season.

Lockhart: He tried to control the Speaker of the House. He had a candidate; Jim Houlihan, was his State Representative, who was his candidate for Speaker. That's when they went for months polling, as I recall, before they compromised on Bill Redmond as the Speaker.

DePue: Well, I want to ask you about that. I've got a quote here, in fact, from the *Illinois Political Reporter* to read as well. Was it Houlihan or was it Clyde Choate?

Lockhart: Well Clyde Choate; he was not the candidate for Walker, no. But he was a downstate person who believed that he had a good chance of getting the votes. He comes out of the Paul Powell's worlds, you might say.

DePue: From tiny little Anna, Illinois.

Lockhart: Yeah, tiny little Anna, the county seat of Union County, I think. Anyway, I think it was more geographic than political, but it went on for a while. After a while people just ignored it, you might say, because we realized there had to be some kind of a deal worked out. So they went to, of all places, DuPage County to find a Democrat, like a Redmond who would be a compromise candidate. This is when the old three-member district, so the Democrats could elect one of the three in the DuPage County legislative district. So that's how a DuPage County Democrat became Speaker of the House.

DePue: Well, here's the quote that you had. This is November, 1974, and we're going to go back to another thing about why it is that the Republicans now find themselves in the majority in both—excuse me—they lost the majority in both the Illinois House and the Senate in that '74 election; they had it before. But here's your comment right after that election, "We will be witnessing during the next two years the very unusual experience of having a Democratic House and Senate and a Democratic governor. This has not happened since the 1930s. Of course, the fact that Governor Walker has a Democratically controlled legislature does not mean that he will be able to prevail on his entire legislative program."

Lockhart: Yes, that was it.

DePue: Or maybe any of it. "But it will greatly enhance his bargaining power. He still must contend with Lieutenant Governor Neil Hartigan and the Cook County Democratic organization led by Mayor Richard J. Daley. Walker will have to bargain with these forces in order to attain some of his legislative objectives."

Lockhart: There was very little bargaining that took place. (both chuckle)

DePue: Well, there's another name that crept in there, Neil Hartigan.

Lockhart: Neil Hartigan's still alive, but not well, I understand.

DePue: And Neil Hartigan was his Lieutenant Governor.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: And from what I understand of interviewing Hartigan, they broke very early, because I believe Walker expected him to resign from some kind of a position in the city government, as an alderman or something.

Lockhart: I'm sure that was the case. There was very bad blood shed between the two and I think Hartigan then became Attorney General, as I recall.

DePue: yeah, during the 1980's.

Lockhart: In the next go around, shall we say. And he got elected and perhaps re-elected, I can't remember.

DePue: Yeah.

Lockhart: Howlett goes down as Governor, of course. It's a chaotic period, shall we say.

DePue: Well, and you refer to one of the legendary fights in selecting the Speaker. You talked quite a bit about that. I had recently an occasion to interview Lee Daniels. Lee Daniels of DuPage County, a Republican, a freshman of that year, and it was…

Lockhart: Cross-over.

DePue: It was Lee Daniels who broke the log jam, much to the chagrin of most of his Republican colleagues.

Lockhart: Yes. He got Gene Hoffman, who was also Republican from DuPage County, to join him.

DePue: Right. And I think Gene was the second person to break ranks. You can't get much more staunchly Republican than DuPage County, can you?

Lockhart: No, you can't. You can't.

DePue: Okay. So this is why I like talking about Illinois politics; it's got all these interesting twists and turns.

Lockhart: (chuckles) Ain't it the truth; hard to keep track of the players.

DePue: 1974. This is going back to the ’74 election and maybe an explanation of what happened to the Republicans that year at the national level as well. That was kind of the end of the Watergate experience.

Lockhart: Yes, that was the big Watergate election. Didn’t they call that the Watergate election in ’74?

DePue: It would certainly make sense because that was the year he resigned.

Lockhart: That was when Nixon resigned, yeah.

DePue: Do you think that had an impact then on Illinois politics as well?

Lockhart: Well, it certainly enhanced if you were Democrat, if you were the beneficiary, because apparently a lot of Republicans didn’t vote; stayed away from the polls because of the, I guess, atmosphere that prevailed from Washington. I don’t have any figures in my mind, my head, but I would guess that there was a big drop-off of the traditional Republican vote so that probably affected races in court houses and whatnot around the state.

DePue: And because in that particular year, ’74 election, both the Illinois House and Senate went from Republican-control to Democrat-control. So national politics is more important than Paul Powell dying in 1970 and finding a shoe box full of money in his hotel room?

Lockhart: Well, it’s more, I suppose it all depends on the intensity of the---what do I want to say---the circumstances surround whatever political event that happens. It doesn’t lend itself to some neat analysis, I don’t think.

DePue: The other one I was going to mention, I think it’s 1973 when Otto Kerner is convicted and sent to jail as well. Do you remember your reaction when that one happened?

Lockhart: I was really surprised. Because I thought he was an honest person, straight shooter. He certainly portrayed himself as that. Here’s a guy he got picked for a Federal Judge, you’d think they would do a little vetting or just assume, as I did, that he was a true blue honest person. I was definitely flabbergasted when I heard that.

DePue: Well, of course, he got the judgeship during the time that he was working on the Kerner Commission. So he had a national reputation as well.

Lockhart: Yes, he did. That’s right; probably wanted to get out of politics.

DePue: You already talked about what happened to Dan Walker in the 1976 gubernatorial primary so you got Michael Howlett who defeats him, and I guess Daley gets his revenge? Is that what it amounts to?

Lockhart: Yeah. All Daley cared about was getting rid of Walker. He didn't care about electing Michael Howlett, unfortunately.

DePue: One other question then about Dan Walker because he's the second now of recent Illinois governors who's going to end up going to jail but for activities that occurred quite a bit after he was out of the governorship.

Lockhart: Not related to his governorship, yeah.

DePue: Any reflections on that?

Lockhart: On his going to jail? No. I was never a big Walker fan. He seemed like a sham.

DePue: Okay. That puts Governor Jim Thompson in office that year then.

Lockhart: (sighs)

DePue: (chuckles) Tell me what you thought about the team that Thompson brought in especially in terms of the issues that you cared about.

Lockhart: I think he was a good governor and had good people around him. I was a little surprised because I thought coming out of the federal law enforcement branch, so to speak, he would be tougher on pursuing people who were involved in politics, who maybe were not conducting themselves in an honest kind of way. That he would be more of a, take his crime busting so to speak, 'cause I think he sent a couple of other people to jail, as I recall…

DePue: Well he was a guy who's…

Lockhart: …when he was a prosecutor.

DePue: He sent Otto Kerner to jail and several other prominent politicians in Chicago.

Lockhart: Yeah, but when he got to be the governor, he seemed to forgot about being Mr. Law Man, the sheriff, you might say of Illinois, and became kind of a politician, and a good politician, too. I'm not using that in a derogatory sense. I was hoping that he would do something about the judgeships which under the 1970 Constitution, the public rejected the appointment of judges and wanted to retain the election of judges. I personally didn't think the election of judges is correct; too many were not competent and so forth. So I was hoping and thinking, anticipating that Governor Thompson would be of a like mind and want to do something about the judiciary. He did not apparently. The fact is he created this other level below the circuit, I think it's associate which is also on the ballot. So we're electing even more judges. There's a circuit court level and then there was created a vice, I can't think of what the other terms for the slightly lower level than the circuit judge which became a political

boondoggle as a source of appointments for a lot of people. I wouldn't have expected that from Governor Thompson, considering his background.

DePue: Was that an issue of who controlled the courts and how we selected the judges that was important to you from a lobby standpoint?

Lockhart: No, just from a good government.

DePue: You mentioned that you thought he was a good politician. Can you elaborate on that for us?

Lockhart: He certainly worked well with Phil Rock who was the Democrat leader in the Senate for part of those years. He was good about having some big projects, shall we say, Build Illinois, was his creation. I know it got characterized as… Anyway he came up with Build Illinois which put a lot of infrastructure in. He was involved, certainly, in creating the new [White] Sox Park on the south side of, definitely. He was the key player; probably couldn't happen without Governor Thompson. He would come over and set in the seat in the House, sat on the Republican side, but watched the debate and he would, unexpected of him to get up and walk around and talk to the legislators while the debate is taking place. (chuckles) So much for the separation of powers. He was a master politician. No question about it.

DePue: You oftentimes hear people talk about his campaigning skills.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: Did you have a chance to observe any of that?

Lockhart: No, I don't recall anything of that nature. I recall him down here when he was Governor. He was a skillful mover and shaker.

DePue: Well and he's…

Lockhart: And he went through fourteen years and there was no scandal; which is kind of unusual for Illinois. Fourteen years as governor: no one has served near that either, since or before.

DePue: Were his folks accessible to you?

Lockhart: Yes, I'm trying to think. Jim Edgar, of course, became Secretary of State. Kirk Dillard was involved, I believe in the office of legislative affairs, as I recall. Dillard had a job with Thompson as well as with Edgar. I can't remember which job went with which.

DePue: I'm not sure about the Thompson years. He was chief of staff for the first few years under Edgar. I think you're right about the legislative liaison.

Lockhart: He ran the legislative office for Thompson, that's what it was.

DePue: I know Jim Reilly was his…

Lockhart: Jim Reilly, yes.

DePue: Was his chief of staff for quite a while.

Lockhart: Those were all competent people that you could sit down and have a rational conversation with them. Yes, they were good people.

DePue: Something unrelated to the Thompson years, it went on for ten years, and that's the ERA fight here in Illinois from 1972-1982; it was something that came up in the legislature every single year.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: And I'm sure you were there to observe all of that. I don't know if you had a dog in the fight, maybe.

Lockhart: No I didn't have any dog in it, but it became such a waste of time, derision. Politicized the whole system basically for a while, but eventually resolved some of it; I forget. I guess other states passed it. For a while Illinois was about one or two more states that would take it before it would become part of the U.S. Constitution.

DePue: Right. They needed to ratify here. Early on everybody thought that Illinois would be a natural ratification state.

Lockhart: So the pressure was on real heavy and George Ryan, I think, was Secretary of State and was not in favor of that.

DePue: Well for a part of that battle, he was the Speaker of the House at that end of that.

Lockhart: There we go; that's right.

DePue: But your perspective, if I pick it up right, it just was a big distraction for what the legislature should be doing.

Lockhart: Well, it's what they had to do but if you're dealing with other issues, with the day to day issues, shall we say, of various interest groups here in Illinois, the fact that was going through all this drag over a Federal provision, just looked like it was crowding out what we normally be, what would be projects, that we would were working on.

DePue: Did it increase the amount of animus among the members?

Lockhart: Probably. Probably, yeah. And made security difficult. It was a big diversion from normal kinds of lobbying that the rest of us were trying to get accomplished for our clients. (both chuckle)

DePue: The 1978 election, that was the two terms, from ’76 to ’78 Thompson served as Governor. He had to run again in ’78, because the state Constitution is readjusting the gubernatorial terms.

Lockhart: Yeah. To a non-presidential election year.

DePue: He wins against Michael Bakalis. Thompson pulls down fify-nine percent versus forty percent for Bakalis.

Lockhart: Who was Bakalis’ candidate for lieutenant governor? Dick Durbin.

DePue: Dick Durbin. (both chuckle) You remember that one.

Lockhart: I do remember that one. Of course, before that Dick Durbin, later, I guess, Dick Durbin became the parliamentarian of the Senate.

DePue: Of the Illinois Senate, are you talking about?

Lockhart: Parliamentarian of the Democratic-controlled Illinois Senate.

DePue: Okay. Well, the reason that this one I think is significant, and if you don’t mind, I’ll lay out the background for this as well. Immediately after that election, Thompson’s overwhelmingly the winner. I think he goes down to Florida on vacation. The Illinois State Legislature comes back in the veto session and during that veto session they pass a pay increase for the legislature; which was something that Thompson had run on: saying he was against a pay increase for the Illinois State Legislature. So he immediately does a veto with an auto pen, I guess that was the terminology, auto-pen veto; while he’s down in Florida he vetoes this bill immediately, but gives the legislature plenty of time to override his veto.

Lockhart: Both of them were, what do I want to say, implicated in a deal which gave the opportunity for Mr. Quinn to carry on a big effort to cut back the House.

DePue: And that’s exactly where I was going at with this one. The Cut-Back Amendment, which ends up on the ballot in the 1980 general election. And, again, just the background on this, you know this better than I do.

Lockhart: It wasn’t the ’78 election.

DePue: The ’78 election is what started it all; that’s the furor because they passed the pay increase.

Lockhart: Okay.

DePue: That's when everybody got so mad that they were willing to expire it in 1980. So fifty-nine Senate districts translates into one hundred and seventy-seven House districts because of the cumulative voting process?

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: And the Cut-Back Amendment says we're going to cut that back from a hundred and seventy-seven House districts to a hundred and eighteen.

Lockhart: That's correct.

DePue: And it's single member districts.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: So, can you explain a little bit more of the background? What the cumulative voting process was?

Lockhart: We can go back to 1970 when the Constitution was adopted. The issue of a single member district for the House was on the ballot as a separate question, "Shall we have cumulative voting, shall we have single member district voting"? Cumulative voting won and then relatively short time later they did as you outlined here. Most of the, I would say the professional lobbying group preferred the cumulative voting. We look back on those days, as those were the good days and things started to go downhill when that amendment was adopted to the Constitution. I think I even might have contributed some personal money to the campaign to keep cumulative voting and maybe there was, I think, there might have been a law case that went to court.

DePue: Well, in September of 1980 the *Illinois Political Reporter*, as I understand, everybody's reading this, the legislatures reading what you're putting out in the *Illinois Political Reporter*. You stated, "We hope that the amendment to the legislative article does not get approved, but it could happen."

Lockhart: (chuckles)

DePue: So even before hand you're coming out against this.

Lockhart: Yes. Sure.

DePue: So what's the impact you think that it had, once it's been adopted?

Lockhart: I think it had an enormous impact, enormous impact, you mean the single member district?

DePue: Yeah.

Lockhart: Oh, changed everything because we used to have independents, basically, independents. That's how we could get a Democrat out of DuPage County. We could even get some African-American Republicans elected in the legislature. Well, then of course, all those people who would be normally a part of any kind of representative body, they were gone next election, basically. And we became much more rigidly structured in the state politically. In due course the leaders of both political parties became more and more in control. The independents disappeared, shall we say. And so the partisan remainder became much more amenable to the leadership of their parties in the legislature.

DePue: So that was an impetus for the four tops, they are oftentimes referred to? The four tops of gaining more power.

Lockhart: Yes, that's the way it turned out, that's the way it turned out.

DePue: How does that change the way you as a lobbyist does your job?

Lockhart: It made it more difficult, because there was always an element, a strong element of dissent, shall we say. Maybe a lot of the dissenters were Democrats, but they would dissent from a Democratic sponsored bill because they didn't think it was right, you know, and they were Independents. Abner Mikva and Tony Scariano, Gene Hurley, Peskin, there's a whole bunch of people who had a secure, political home and could in effect stick their nose up at even their own party's initiatives. They became somewhat difficult. I remember, when John "Jack" Touhy became the Speaker of the House, when there was a hundred and eighteen Democrats and only fifty-nine Republicans. Touhy had more problems with the Democrats than he did with the Republicans.

DePue: Was that back in the days of the "bed sheet ballot"?

Lockhart: Yeah, that was the "bed sheet ballot." A lot of those Independents were there before and some of them retained office later. The Independents basically disappeared once the cumulative voting was taken out.

DePue: Back in those days you were not just watching what was going on in Illinois politics but you kept a pretty close eye on national politics as well. Did you know of any other states that had this cumulative voting system.

Lockhart: None did. No.

DePue: Illinois was unique.

Lockhart: It was done, I understand that—track this back, some of the scholars maybe—it goes back to the 1870 Constitution. There was left-over problems politically between Democrats and Republicans. This was a creation, I think, of what the Governor said, not the Governor, but Medill who was the Publisher of the

[Chicago] Tribune at the time, and maybe he was a political operator or a legislator. I'm not certain what his role was, but what I gather, he was able to get into the 1870 Constitution this three-member district so that the minority party always had somebody in every district, at least one person in every district. And, I liked it personally and I think a lot of other people liked it.

DePue: Well, back in the 1870s the political map would have looked entirely different than 1970s. (chuckles)

Lockhart: Because there was animosities left over in the southern part of the state from the Civil War. Sure.

DePue: That whole subject has always fascinated me.

Lockhart: Yeah, I was always fascinated by the puzzle about it. Union County is down in the southern, most southern part of the state. You think that would be the least union-oriented county. I don't know how it got named that, Union County.

DePue: Well, I suspect it predates the Civil War though.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: But that was strongly a Democratic area in the 1970s and '80s, I believe.

Lockhart: Yeah, that's where Paul Powell came from, Clyde Choat, Paul Simon, you know.

DePue: Okay. Going back to the Thompson administration then and looking at the specific issues you are dealing with, any stories or memories you have about mental health issues in particular, or health issues in general?

Lockhart: I do not.

DePue: Was this a time frame when treatment of mental patients was changing?

Lockhart: Well, it was. This was a period, too, there were fifty thousand patients in mental institutions in this state and we would call them warehouses basically. Mental Health Association called them warehouses. We felt that the best role would be for them to be taken care of by community facilities. We supported a big bond issue in those days and this McFarland down here is one of the products of that. They were maybe six or eight of them around the state. There was one in Decatur, one in Champaign, McFarland[ii] is still operating I believe here.

DePue: McFarland Mental Health Institute?

Lockhart: It was then. I'm not sure what it is today.

DePue: I just want to make sure, but that's the correct title for it?

Lockhart: Yes. They were all mental institutions of one kind or another: they're smaller, more community based. There was an effort anyway to reduce the number of people who were being "warehoused" in old State mental hospitals, the one over in Jacksonville. I used to take some legislators over there to see how awful life was, beds out in the hall and the odor and everything else. Anybody who came back from that visit was in my pocket in terms of serving anything, or supporting anything that we come up with the Mental Health Association; they were so turned off by what they experienced, that they wanted to do anything they could to ameliorate that situation.

DePue: And those trips dated back to the Thompson administration?

Lockhart: Well, it would date back, I'm trying to think when the effort was I think the effort took a period of time to move these people from these large institutions, these large crowded institutions into community settings of one kind or another. Then this is where a lot of community mental health agencies were set up, some of them under local tax-supported arrangements. I'm trying to think, this would be in the late seventies and early '80s, I believe. It's a process that took a while. We started out of that history.

DePue: Was this movement to more local centers more expensive for the state or less expensive or a wash?

Lockhart: I don't know that. I don't know that. I think it was the care, shall we say, there would be actually no way that patients could be taken care of in these what we called "warehouses;" they were just housed there, you know. So we wanted to try to get them out of that kind of atmosphere and into a more home-like, less stressful, less crowded environment.

DePue: And, over time you think you were successful to achieve that?

Lockhart: Over time we were able to alleviate the problem, not necessarily solve the problem, which is always a residual situation of people in large institutions. I don't think we can ever quite completely eliminate that. What I want to say also, drugs that came in to help out the management of some of these patients.

DePue: So the State wasn't required to house as many patients because there are new medications that could release them?

Lockhart: They are trying to get them into smaller places and provide some medical care; especially there were a lot of psychotropic drugs that were developed in that period. So, yes, there used to be 50,000 in state mental institutions. I don't think we have anything near that today, anything near that today.

DePue: I am embarrassed to say, I'm racking my brain here, I know there were some court orders at the end of the Thompson years that dealt with the number of

patients, and the amount of money that the State was not spending to support, and it was either in the mental health area or in child and family services area. Does any of that ring a bell?

Lockhart: Well, there's been a number of litigations on the very question that you raised, but I think it was more recent; they were more recent in nature and I'm trying to think of some of the names of the litigants that might help me pin that issue down.

DePue: The next time we get together I'll have the answers for that; we can go back and review this because I know there was some kind of litigation, some kind of a court decision that occurred at the tail end of the Thompson administration.

Lockhart: Yes, there was. They found that this was kind of inhuman treatment and violation of civil rights or something as I recall.

DePue: What you just described all of these various mental health institutes that are scattered around the state, wherever they are, there's patronage involved with that as well. Was that an issue or concern that you recall?

Lockhart: No.

DePue: How about some of the other issues that you were working on, other clients that you had during those Thompson years?

Lockhart: Nothing comes to mind, nothing comes to mind, let's put it that way. After the Constitutional Convention I began representing the Illinois Press Association and State Veterinarians and then in the late '70s I started to represent the credit unions, and I still do, for that matter. Some of these organizations disappear, like the Wildlife Federation; I represented them for a number of years and then they went broke and disappeared.

DePue: You mentioned the credit unions. Was that community impacted at all by the S & L crisis that occurred in the mid-'80s?

Lockhart: No.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: Credit unions are a different structure.

DePue: Yeah, that's what I thought. I just wanted to make sure. Okay. This one-, I don't think there is any direct relation, but I did want to ask you about one of the initiatives that Thompson pursued early on and this is his crime fighter hat that he's wearing, but it's Class X crimes and how those would be administered.

Lockhart: Lock them up and throw away the key.

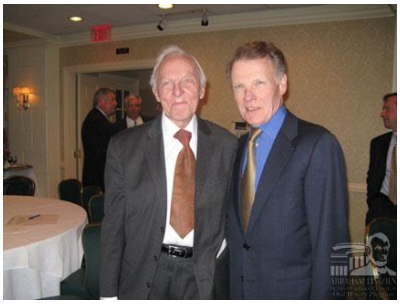
DePue: In other words, serious crimes are going to jail for a long time.

Lockhart: Yeah. I think he had a bunch of jails built during his administration. Yeah. I didn't have any client interest in that but I am aware of it.

DePue: Well, let's go through some of the legislative leaders that you dealt with for many of the Thompson years. And, quite frankly, some of these have a lot of longevity in the Illinois legislature.

Lockhart: Yes, they do.

DePue: So, you got to start, when you're talking about this time frame, and even today, with House Speaker Mike Madigan.



Dick Lockhart with Speaker of the Illinois House Michael Madigan. Lockhart boasted that he was one of the few people in the legislature that had been around longer than Madigan.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: What was your relationship, what is your relationship with him?

Lockhart: Well, of course, I met him first when he was a candidate for Delegate to the 1970 Constitutional Convention. I sensed that this was a person with potential. I was definitely right about that, because, you know, he went from the 1970 experience as a Delegate right into the House in '71 and has been there ever since. I said to him just earlier this year, "Mike, my only distinction as a lobbyist is that I was here before you were here." He says, "You were?" Like he had forgotten about that. (chuckles) So, yes, I go way back to the Constitutional Convention with Speaker Madigan.

DePue: And he was already in 1981 the minority leader for the Democrats.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: And then in 1983 he took over the Speaker position.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: And has had a long run except for two years with Lee Daniels in position, we'll get to that a little bit later.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: Okay. Good relationship with he and his staff?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: But if there's anybody you can look at in the Illinois Legislature and say, "Okay here's the impact of the Cut-Back Amendment, the power all seems to rest with these four tops and the power seems to rest with Mike Madigan.

Lockhart: Yes. I think a lot of people forget some of the good things that he's been able to do. Let me cite a few of these. Number one, he's brought professionalism to the staffing, got people there who are objective analysts of legislation and not particularly partisan. He's done a lot for the professionalization of the staff. He's been able to get rid of what I always thought was a bad legislative policy of conference committees. I don't want to have to try to describe them, but it was a way the House and Senate could reconcile their differences over a piece of legislation. And a conference committee was basically a few people signing off on it without any kind of hearing. It became a kind of ugly situation. He got rid of conference committees. When the new Constitution came in, one of the things that he objected to, as I did and others, was the amendatory veto power given to the Governor. I thought it violated the separation of powers, and every Governor from Ogilvie on has abused that power, or attempted to do so, and he didn't like it. He worked hard to find ways to control it. Finally came up with rules for the House, and this would be particularly important during the Blagojevich administration. He certainly had a very contentious relationship with Governor Blagojevich. I agreed with Speaker Madigan in his strategy of keeping the Governor from amending bills that were passed by the legislature. It just seemed to me to be contrary to the separation of powers.

DePue: Well, can you explain what the original intent in the Illinois Constitution for what the amendatory veto was supposed to allow the governor to do?

Lockhart: Yes, I can. It was, I think one or two states had had it. It allowed the governor to amend the bill after its final passage, and at the time of the Constitution we were thinking about and talking about situations where a bill has gotten through the process, before the new constitution. and maybe there was an error that nobody caught. But it's now in the law, so it's caused some problems, but it could have been a reference, you might say. So this change that's giving this power to the Governor was portrayed in many respects as: this is a way we could eliminate these floozy things that kind of happen with legislation where they inadvertently made an error so the Governor could correct it, and go back to the legislature for either rejection or otherwise. Well, right out of the box, Ogilvie rewrites a bill from top to bottom. That was objected to and finally it went to court. It was a voucher bill for school education as I recall. That went to court and the court said, "No, Governor, you cannot do that; you cannot rewrite the thing." But it was always a contentious matter as to were there any limitations on the power of the Governor, if any, could rewrite it but where does it end? So the speaker has come up with a way of really saying, "Well, if the correction does not destroy or eliminate the basic, underlying intent of the bill, that's fine. Now if he's going to make a change that really has a fundamental effect on the basic piece of legislation, he's gotten in to the legislative arena and he shouldn't be doing

that. So, that's now in the House rules; didn't get there immediately but it came there because of this provision in the Constitution and also how the Governors have always kind of, I hate to say, abused that power.

DePue: And this is different from a line item veto?

Lockhart: Yeah. This changed the text. Line item veto strikes the whole appropriation line out.

DePue: Which the Governor also has the power to do.

Lockhart: He still has that, he still has that. But, the other is amendatory power and it's still there, but the Speaker found a way to corral it, shall we say.

DePue: (both chuckle) Well, and I think I remember well the many battles that the Speaker had with Governor Blagojevich and a lot of it was dealing with that issue.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: Other comments you want to make about Mike Madigan as Speaker?

Lockhart: I think the other thing that I think is important, he brought dignity to the House. It used to be a lot of horse play and there's no longer a lot of horse play. This is a serious place and there is no "funny business" that goes on and there's dignity in the process. I used to wince at some of the goings on that happened in the old House and the Gallery full of young people watching State legislators; so I think he's done a lot in that regard. And like I say, some of the parliamentary procedures as well as the professionalism that he's brought to the staff.

DePue: You hear comments from the press sometimes that he's a difficult man to get to, to pin down a statement from. How about from the perspective of the lobbyist?

Lockhart: I'm sure. It's something you don't want to bother him with any more than you need to, shall we say. That's why Tim Mapes is his Chief of Staff, and understands him perfectly, and, you know, if you're not going to get a good reception from Tim you might as well forget about trying to influence the Speaker. For example: I noticed this year I represented the security interests and they come up under re-licensure in 2014. They wanted to get started early, so they wanted the bill in 2011 along with some other organizations who wanted to do the same. The Speaker came out, and I think correctly said, "No, you have to wait your turn, so if you're not coming up until 2014 you don't want to introduce bills in 2011. Wait until 2013 to introduce the bill to re-licensure." And basically, I think that's correct. I said to the sponsor at the time that I was having to explain this to my client but it didn't make any difference. So I went to the sponsor of the licensure bill that we had and I said

to him, "Do you think you could do any good by appealing to the Speaker on this issue." And he said, "No." Well, I agree with him, I agree with him, but I had to ask just in case. So, the Speaker makes a decision, he sticks with it pretty much and you can have your complaints about it but you might as well figure out that's the way it's going to be.

DePue: In other words in the community when you're working with legislators, trust and being able to take their word for something they say is important to you.

Lockhart: Absolutely. Absolutely and vice versa. You know, "You telling me Lockhart your organization is now supporting this bill"? I'd better damn well be right when I say, "Yes, we are." or "We're neutral." as the case may be. So, yes your word, credibility, is like I say, a non-renewable resource; once gone, it's gone.

DePue: Well, the next name I have the list is another power house, a previous power house in Illinois politics, George Ryan, who for this early time frame of Thompson's administration was at one time the Minority Leader in the House, and then he had a two-year stint as the Majority Leader and that was before he becomes Thompson's Lieutenant Governor.

Lockhart: Um-hmm. We missed Speaker; he was Speaker for two years.

DePue: Yeah.

Lockhart: Did you say speaker?

DePue: Yeah. That's what I meant to say.

Lockhart: You said Majority Leader.

DePue: Speaker.

Lockhart: What's the question?

DePue: Your views on George Ryan and the legislature.

Lockhart: George Ryan. I really didn't have any problems with George Ryan. He's a politician so he's interested in all kinds of things; you can talk to him about it. I don't remember anything specific on any issues that came up or problems that came up during that period.

DePue: So no stories of George Ryan that you did work with during the time he was in the legislature.

Lockhart: No. I don't have any memory of any problems whatsoever. Now he was not the Speaker. I don't know, was he more than Speaker more than two years?

DePue: That was it.

Lockhart: That's what I thought.

DePue: This is a Minority Leader for most of these years, but Lee Daniels. Your relationship with Daniels and his team?

Lockhart: Yes. I was good relations with Lee Daniels and part of it was because he had a developmentally disabled daughter and so he was sympathetic to the "retarded" organizations as well as the mental health organizations. I know he used to bring her down every year and she spoke a few words to the members of the House, which I thought was a great experience for them to have a face-to-face with a person who was mentally disabled, but she could respond. Her father was proud of her and brought her in to the Chamber. And from that standpoint, he wasn't Speaker, just I think two years.

DePue: Two years. So the relationship you have with the Majority Leader, the Speaker in these two houses is much different than in the minority party?

Lockhart: No, not particularly.

DePue: Does it change anything if the Minority Leader, let's say it's a supermajority, let's say the Democrats have a super majority where the Republicans couldn't possibly have any impact on the legislation? Does that change what you as a lobbyist do in working with the minority?

Lockhart: Well, I don't want to completely ignore them or treat them as if they are non-people, non-persons, you might say. I remember one time, I think it was some years back, the Republicans were in the minority in the House and the sign on their door said "Minority Leader" or the sign that hung outside said "Minority Leader" and I had my wife do a sign that said, "Republican Leader." (both chuckle). Little things sometimes are appreciated, shall we say. So everybody would rather be known as the Republican Leader rather than the Minority leader.

DePue: So the Republicans liked that at the time?

Lockhart: Right, or the Republican Leader at the time liked that, I can't remember who it was. Oh, it was a guy named Hackmeister, since deceased, I think.

DePue: Well, let's move to the Senate side of the ledger and start with Phil Rock who for quite a few years was the Senate President.

Lockhart: Yes, I had a good relationship with Phil Rock. In fact, have you seen this book that Wojcicki has gotten on him? I'm in that book 'cause the Illinois Political Reporter here had these contests every other year as to who is the best freshman Representative, the best freshman Senator. I just ran across those, I do those. And he, as a freshman Senator, was selected, along with Thomas

Lyons as the best freshman Senators. So that started me off. He points out that this was a big boost to him when he was starting out in his legislative career. That's in Wojcicki's book. I always was very careful about not intruding on his time, but always, I think, had a good relationship. However, there was one occasion I thought there was a decision made on the floor when he was not presiding, but I didn't think it was the correct call on it. I went to him afterwards and mentioned that I didn't think that was wrong number of votes necessary, as I recall, and he said, "You're right." And he said, "We'll have a motion to 'reconsider' the vote." He readily observed that a correction was needed and he proceeded to do that in the following week. He was a very good, fair-minded person and remains still.

DePue: Well, on the…

Lockhart: I got him to autograph his book!

DePue: Very good. On the Republican side of the ledger, you've got James "Pate" Philip.

Lockhart: Yeah. I had good relationship with Pate, as well. I'm not quite sure why, come to think of it. What brought us together, maybe.

DePue: Well, I don't know, can you get much different than you can between Phil Rock and the personality, and Pate Philip and the personality?

Lockhart: No, but they got along pretty good. They got along pretty good. I was at a program a few years ago after they both had left office but they were brought back for a kind of reunion of sorts. And in the Phil Rock book, he makes frequent references and good references to Pate Philip. Pate Philip was a different kind of personality, yes.

DePue: How so?

Lockhart: Well, he's much more kind of abrupt and if he thinks you're full of baloney he tells you you're full of baloney right to your face. Maybe we use something else other than baloney. (both chuckling) But he's very much, very much, what do I want to say, speaks his mind kind of thing, speaks his mind. I can remember one time we were having a problem with one of the unions, Service Employees International Union. He says, "I hate that union." So they became my problem, I was his friend, so to speak, you know it kind of worked that way.

DePue: Were you representing them at the time?

Lockhart: No. No, I was making comment about them and he said, "I hate that union." I didn't want to know what the reason was, I suppose there was something that they said about him once but if the union was against something, I was going to be for, he was going to be for what I wanted for the vote. I just remember

he was that kind of an outspoken person; he didn't "pussyfoot" around about his position, shall we say.

DePue: Were both Rock and Philip the people you could trust when they told you something?

Lockhart: I think so, yes.

DePue: Wanted to ask you then how it was different in working with the leadership in the House versus the leadership in the Senate? Did it play differently as a lobbyist?

Lockhart: Oh, I don't think so, not basically. Basically, it's the same process. You have fewer people to deal with. I can't make any distinction.

DePue: Well, this goes back to the late '70s, early '80s time frame; we're still talking about the Thompson years in general. But those are very tough years for the national economy and the State of Illinois is no different at the time. So you've got high unemployment, you've got high inflation, those are the years when you have very high interest rates, as well, if you wanted to borrow some money. I'm wondering: There's a lot less money available for government in many respects. Does that make it tough from your perspective because mental health and providing those services from the state that takes a lot of money? It takes a big chunk out of the budget.

Lockhart: Yes. Money has always been a problem; remains a problem today for services for the mentally ill and disabled. Yes. That's not changed, essentially.

DePue: Do you find yourself sometimes competing with other lobbyists because it is such a big part of the budget that you're competing with somebody else who wants the budget to grow in their area and that means…

Lockhart: Some of that, but you can't do anything about that, you know. I don't believe in denigrating some other entity or agency of government to enhance my own. That doesn't pay off very good. So we just try to say: we're for increased state support whether that takes increased taxes. Most of my people support the income tax and supported the income tax increases that have taken place. I think that that will continue. None of them ever said, Now why is Sears Roebuck getting a big bonanza of funds for moving their offices, and we, the mentally ill, are being short changed, shall we say? And that just happened for us some months ago. It's a temptation sometimes to be aggravated at the people who are supporting Sears and won't support mental health. But some of it is geography, I guess. It's a little frustrating for us to see how quickly sometimes money is allocated to support some business and how difficult it is to get extra money for community mental health services. You just have to do the best you can with your relationships.

DePue: Speaking of relationships, there's a lot of people, a lot of observers who say that politics at the national level and certainly politics in the state level has gotten more partisan, more divisive….

Lockhart: Definitely.

DePue: In the last ten to twenty years, especially.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: How would you characterize the relationship that you have with your fellow lobbyists?

Lockhart: I have good relationships with my fellow lobbyists. But, you're talking about the partisanship now. All of us hate the partisanship that goes on; they wish it wasn't around. But it's there. Some of the lobbyists, of course, represent business interests and they're more conservative and sometimes I represent the business interest, so I don't know. There's not a clear distinction.

DePue: But among the lobbying community is it generally a collegial kind of environment?

Lockhart: Yes. We understand differences; we don't dwell on them.

DePue: So it's not an adversarial relationship you guys give it.

Lockhart: Sometimes it is. You know the banks and the credit unions sometimes have disputation about particular pieces of legislation, yes. And they try to work out compromise if at all possible. I suppose some professional groups have as well, you know, the realtors have discussions. I represent condominium associations and we had a bill to license condominium managers, association managers, and the realtors' association took exception to that. Now we gradually worked out compromises so that they were reasonably satisfied with the concessions that we made. We were content with the concessions that they made . So that happens. Usually the professional lobbyists look for ways to come together; they look for ways to compromise and resolve issues, as do the legislators. There's a great, what do I want to say, when you say well the Farm Bureau is against this, somebody will say well what can we do to bring them around or neutralize them, you know. The greatest thing you can say in a committee is, "There is no organized opposition to this bill". Hey, (knocks on the table) vote yes.

DePue: (laughs)

Lockhart: Okay on the roll, what do I want to say, the roll call, the unanimous roll call and that, is that okay? And so everybody agrees to a unanimous roll call, bill is out of committee. But you had to be true that there is no organized

opposition, so yeah. The legislators and lobbyists work together to try to resolve differences, not to exacerbate them.

DePue: Does that mean also that the legislators are looking to the lobbyists to see what opposition might be out there?

Lockhart: Yeah. They don't want to have constituents rag on them about why did you vote on that dumb bill in committee the other day, you know, they don't want to have that. If he could say," Well I understood there was no opposition to that bill. and so I'd like everybody else on the committee to vote to support it. Now you're telling me that there was opposition, I didn't know about it. You know, who's representing them? Did somebody deceive me?"(both chuckle) Or was it some constituent who is just off on a rant, you might say.

DePue: I can see where it's an art form, isn't it?

Lockhart: It is an art form. Yes, exactly. Each individual situation is different from all others in timing, circumstances, players. It all got to be factored in somehow and sometimes you can sense how things are going or sometimes it's just a matter of time. Can we hold this bill in committee for a week and think about this or some way that we can resolve differences and sometimes, you work at that. Lobbyists want to have resolution, want to come back. Didn't get everything done with the bill that we'd like, but we'll come back next year and see what we can do. Now I just had an experience this year with the issue of bullying. My client is the school psychologists. The people, the proponents of the anti-bullying were some educational groups and they developed a piece of legislation, a very complex piece of legislation, and I was able to get inclusion in that bill for "school psychological services" which was fine. The contentious forces between: there was some religious groups, there were some school district people who thought it was a "mandate" and there were the proponents who wanted to get something on the books to prevent bullying and they could not resolve those differences. The bill lost by one vote in the Senate. I was not involved in the negotiating, but, seems to me that there was some good work and give and take, and maybe they'd taken the attitude: well let's not try to get everything in the bill this year. Let's get some of the basic elements and see if we can then enlarge on them or improve on them next year. I think some of that might have been done but maybe it wasn't done sufficiently. So when it loses by one vote it seems to me that some concessions should have been made because they got to start all over again. (chuckles)

DePue: The arguments begin once again, huh?

Lockhart: Yeah, now I got to make sure it includes "school psychological services" and at least that wasn't the problem, anyway.

DePue: Okay. What I'd like to do for finishing up today because we're getting close to the timeline for both you and the library here, is to touch base on some of the political events of the end of the Thompson years. And start with the 1982 election and just lay it out this way. Thompson wins that election by forty-nine point forty-four percent against Adlai Stevenson, 49.33%, so there's a difference of five thousand votes. I think it went to the courts that year, didn't it?

Lockhart: Yeah, I'm trying to think. The Democrats had to create a different party. Is this year when they had the entire statewide offices were up not just the Governor, and so some people won the Democratic primary who were not supposed to win.

DePue: Well, you might be referring to the '86 election…

Lockhart: Maybe that is what I'm referring to.

DePue: When the "LaRouchies" got in.

Lockhart: Yes. Yes, that's what I'm referring to.

DePue: Okay. Well let's go…

Lockhart: That's a different election the one you're referring to now.

DePue: Let's go to the '86 election unless you have some other comments to make about '82.

Lockhart: No.

DePue: It's just that it was about as close as it has ever been in Illinois politics.

Lockhart: Yes. Um-hmm.

DePue: Stevenson is the logical primary candidate for the Democrats again in 1986 and by this time, I think, Thompson has been Governor for awhile and he's thinking this is going to be a lot tougher election; it was close last time and they're worried that they're going to be able to win this time around.

Lockhart: Yes. Yes.

DePue: But then primary night and the political savvy people are looking at the primary results and thinking, "Well, wait a minute here," let me see if I got this right, Mark Fairchild wins the Democratic nod for Lieutenant Governor against George Sangmeister, of Mokena.

Lockhart: The very able State Senator.

DePue: Yeah.

Lockhart: And former State Representative, yeah.

DePue: So Mark Fairchild now has got the Democratic nod and he's a "LaRouchie."

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: And the same thing is true for Secretary of State. Janice Hart, these are great sounding names, Mark Fairchild and Janice Hart. Janice Hart wins as Secretary of State and now…

Lockhart: Yeah. So Stevenson says, I can't run with these people, and so they create a new party.

DePue: The Solidarity Party is what they called it.

Lockhart: Solidarity Party, and run Stevenson and Sangmeister, yes, probably. I can't remember now.

DePue: He runs with Michael Howlett as his Lieutenant Governor candidate.

Lockhart: Okay. Okay. Alright. And loses by more substantial numbers (both chuckle).

DePue: Well, Fairchild in the general election pulls 6.6%, Thompson gets 52.7% and Stevenson 40%. So, another one of those quirks in Illinois political history.

Lockhart: Only in Illinois politics, that's right. A real blow, a real blow to everybody except Thompson, of course, who coasts (both laugh) thinking he'd have a struggle on his hands and he coasts to victory.

DePue: Okay, just a couple of other comments here. And you already referred to Build Illinois…

Lockhart: Bilk Illinois some people used to call it.

DePue: "Bilk Illinois?"

Lockhart: Yeah. (both laugh)

DePue: There's another aspect of Illinois politics, huh?

Lockhart: Yeah, we reframe words.

DePue: Were any of your projects, any of your clients beneficiaries of Build Illinois?

Lockhart: To this extent, to this extent: I represented then the Public Transit Association, and when the enabling legislation came through for infrastructure changes I was able to get in to the enabling section. It could be used to build passenger transit facilities or something of that nature. So the Build Illinois money could

be used for transit facilities. That's the only thing. Whether anything came of that I don't know.

DePue: Early on in our discussion today you characterized Governor Ogilvie as being an effective governor?

Lockhart: Yes, he was effective, demonstrably so when it come to the income tax. The old Constitution was uncertain whether any kind of an income tax could be successful.

DePue: And my interpretation is you were not nearly as positive about the Walker years; that that was an unsuccessful governorship.

Lockhart: Yeah. I thought it was just bickering between between Cook County Democrats which carried forth on the floor of the House and the Senate with Governor Walker and his people. So it was just fussing over things, you know.

DePue: So how would you characterize Jim Thompson and the fourteen years that he had as governor?

Lockhart: Well, I think he was a disappointment in some areas, like I said hoped to get some judicial reform, considering his background and there was none of that. At the same time he went through fourteen years and there was no scandals which is also remarkable. He did, I have to say, too, I have to confess he appointed me to a Commission, There were no benefits to it, it's just that he came out with a news release that he was going to commemorate the centenary of Franklin Roosevelt's birth, '82. Roosevelt was born in 1882 so he was going to have a commission. I wrote to him and said, "You know I've been supporter of Roosevelt since 1932 and I voted for him when I was eight years old." (laughs)

DePue: (laughs)

Lockhart: And I said, "I'd like to be appointed to this Commission." And so he did it. The Commission didn't account to anything except he had a very nice party in the Mansion which I got invited to. There was some little doo-dads of Roosevelt. Like I say, he's the only Governor that I ever asked anything from and, you what do you know, he appointed me something. I'm pleased, shall we say. It's a little thing, but I felt good about it.

DePue: Do have any other memories of the Thompson years, anecdotes about Thompson?

Lockhart: No, I don't really, didn't really intersect with his issues. I think he was well liked, basically, by Democrats and Republicans. He had kind of a personality. He would take the initiative sometimes, make an effort to develop good relationships with people.

DePue: Very good. Well, we've covered a lot of territory today.

Lockhart: A lot of years you mean. (both chuckle)

DePue: A lot of years, yes. We get to pick up next time with the Jim Edgar administration. Another Republican but in most respects, most people say, quite a different personality than Thompson.

Lockhart: Yes, very different, very different.

DePue: So we'll pick that up next time. Any concluding words for today?

Lockhart: No.

DePue: Thank you, Dick.

(End of interview session #2 #3 continues)

Interview with Dick Lockhart

IS-A-L-2012-024
Interview #3: June 26, 2012
Interviewer: Mark DePue

DePue: Today is Tuesday, June 26, 2012. My name is Mark DePue, the Director of Oral History of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. This afternoon I have my third session with Illinois lobbyist Dick Lockhart. Good afternoon, Dick.

Lockhart: Good afternoon to you, Mark.

DePue: We've been at this for quite a while. It's been a fascinating discussion. I often don't get an opportunity to hear the lobbyist side of the legislative process and the governing process. So it's especially helpful to get your perspective. I thought today it might be good to start with a little bit of pearls of your wisdom that you actually one point in time put down into *Lockhart's Logic*, and have you read that into the record as we start.

Lockhart: Yes, sir. I've done a fair amount of this, because early in the '70s probably, I did seminars in lobbying. And, here in Springfield and in Chicago and in the course of that it seemed to me something ought to be written down and so over a period of time I put together what I call *Great Legislative Thoughts t*o give you some examples. They're not necessarily in order of importance, but the first one is really important and that is, 'Credibility is a non-renewable resource; once gone it is gone.' 'Expect the worst and plan accordingly.' 'You can never win an argument with a legislator, never. A legislator and his ego are never parted.' 'Never criticize a legislator, especially in print.' And 'Never say never except for the preceding statements.' 'Organizations have egos, too.' 'It is better to convert an opponent than to gain a supporter.' 'If it costs money it's in trouble. If it saves money it will probably also be in trouble.' 'If you can't defeat a bill dilute it, and if you can't dilute it delay it.' 'Getting mad at someone is a luxury you cannot afford.' 'Do not threaten.' 'Promise only what you can deliver.' 'Help those who help you.' 'It is better to look for a key to a locked door than to try to beat the door down.' 'Persistence wins.' 'If you want to know, ask.' 'Constituents make the best lobbyists.' 'Fear and/or greed generate most legislation.' 'Everything is temporary. Be nice to your enemies; tomorrow they may be your friends.' 'Be willing to forgive but not to forget.' 'A lobbyist is someone to blame when things go wrong.' 'Necessity is the mother of strange bedfellows.' 'Coalitions are temporary love affairs, seldom consummated or even blissful and they frequently lead to seductions by clever suitors.' 'The merits of an issue are seldom enough.' 'No bill should be called before its time.' 'Legislation is not only the art of compromise, compromise is also an art.' 'A good lobbyist learns something new every day. A lobbyist has no job security, however.' 'Repealing a law is usually more difficult than passing a new one.' 'Mandate is a dirty word.' 'It is almost impossible to keep a legislative secret.' 'Integrity is also power.' 'Say thank you often and mean it.' 'Don't take all of the credit even if you think you deserve it.' 'Commitments are important but don't count on them.' 'Legislative rules are important, especially the unwritten ones.' 'Legislation and political campaigns cannot be separated.' 'Publicity is a tool of lobbying, not a substitute.' 'Politics and war bring out the best and worst in people.' 'There is no such thing as flawless legislation.' And the last one: 'The only thing that can be guaranteed in legislation is that there are no guarantees.'

DePue: Okay, very good. Well, there's a lot of wisdom packed into those words.

Lockhart: Yes, I hope so.

DePue: I'm sure there's a few things that maybe even politicians could debate about once in a while, huh?

Lockhart: Sure.

DePue: I wanted to ask you a couple of questions, though. You start off with "Credibility is a non-renewable resource." And far down into this, "Integrity is also power."

Lockhart: There's a slogan somewhere, I think it was by some United States senator, I want to say, former Senator Simpson. He said something like, "If you have integrity nothing else matters; if you don't have integrity nothing else matters." (laugh) I always remember that. There's a lot of truth buried in those two little commentaries.

DePue: So from your perspective, how does that work when you're dealing with the legislators, how does having a reputation for integrity work to your advantage?

Lockhart: Well, telling the truth even when it's unpleasant. If the legislator asks, "Well who's opposed to this bill?", and I know that the AFL-CIO is opposed to it, the Medical Society is opposed to it, and so is the Farm Bureau, I better say that to him, because he will find that out soon enough and after he thinks about it for a while he'll never trust Lockhart's comments again. I tell also if I have a bill and I won't wait to be asked to tell him who is opposed to the bill. I will say. "You all should be aware that the AFL-CIO does not like this bill", whatever that may be, so they know up front, and if that's a problem let me know and I'll pick another person (both chuckle), if at all possible.

DePue: I'm sure you've dealt with hundreds, if not thousands of legislators, during your – fifty-three years is it?

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Fifty-three years that you've been a lobbyist. Some of them you just don't want to deal with at all because you can't trust them?

Lockhart: Well, sometimes, you have to ask, "Trust them with what?" Trust them with a secret, trust them with a fact kind of thing. He will ask, "How does the Speaker feel about this, how does the Minority Leader feel about this bill?" I would have to say, "If I knew, well, I'm going to tell you up front, we took it to the Speaker and he acted like he didn't like it. But we think we can maybe convert him." So these are all conditional kinds of things. It's just a matter of laying everything out on the table, the bad as well as the ugly and good and attractive. That's what it boils down to, just being honest.

DePue: Do you recall any particular encounters you had with legislators that just got downright ugly?

Lockhart: No, might very well have happened, but I tend to forget those unpleasant circumstances. (chuckles) Yeah. Usually they will not get mad unless there's good reason for it and I don't give them a good reason to get mad, if I can help it.

DePue: Then I pick a couple of other quotes that you had in there, "If you can't defeat a bill, dilute it, if you can't dilute it, delay it," and then way down at the bottom of this, "There is no such thing as flawless legislation."

Lockhart: Right. What I'm getting at there is compromise. What does it take to have some organization withdraw its opposition? That doesn't mean they necessarily become in favor of it but they can say, "We're neutral now. If you do this it will be neutral." Now the change may be anywhere from a time delay or a word change or any sort of thing of that nature, or it could be significant; maybe I have to take out Section 4 and pass the bill without Section 4. I may want to then next year, the next session, try to go back and try to amend Section 4 back in to the legislation. The objective, of course, if you want to pass legislation, is to remove all opposition or neutralize it in some kind of way. You can say in the committee, "There is no organized opposition to this bill.", and have that said on the floor of the House or the Senate or when it comes up for a vote. Of course, that has to be absolutely true, as well.

DePue: Okay, I'm going to jump way ahead and rip a page right off of the headlines. In two days, on Thursday, the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to come out with a decision about what is now generally called Obama Care.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: And here's a piece of legislation that was crafted two years ago, perhaps?

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: And I think it ended up being roughly 2700 pages and I believe it had no Republican votes in either the House or the Senate at the time.

Lockhart: I think that's my recollection, although I don't purport to be an expert on federal legislation or process.

DePue: I think perhaps it had a couple Republican votes in the Senate. Anyway, how does that match up with what you just talked about?

Lockhart: Well, they were waiting on a decision from the United States Supreme Court; we're not sure whether it's going to be a complete, what do I want to say, rejection of the entire act or are they going to focus on a couple of problem areas.

DePue: Well, one of them you had here a comment here about the mandates and that is certainly one of the components of the…

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: …Obama Care legislation that's most under threat, at least the talking heads say.

Lockhart: Mandates are tricky sometimes, you know. I think back on Governor Edgar; when he was Secretary of State he made automobile insurance mandatory. And that was very controversial. I was not involved in that legislation at all, but that's an example of mandatory legislation. Or some licensure legislation: if you want to practice animal care medicine you better be a licensed veterinarian. And so those are mandates: If you don't you're subject to fines and all sorts of bad things. Really most laws have mandates in them: they tell you what you can't do and what you can do; that goes with the territory, so to speak.

DePue: The reason I was asking is because some of the criticism is that the current Obama Care legislation was something that seemed to be little compromise on, at least there was never enough compromise to get a significant number of Republicans to support it.

Lockhart: But it got some Democrats to support it with some compromises.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: That's all President Obama could hope for maybe under the circumstances. (both chuckle)

DePue: Okay. The last one I wanted to ask you about here: "Politics and war brings out the best and worst in people." Now here's somebody who's spent your life as a lobbyist but also spent your war years as a prisoner of war, and you saw both the best and worst. So can you elaborate on that?

Lockhart: Well, I think it's a true statement. It's not necessarily just the prisoner of war, because even in training you come up against some sadistic individuals, usually sergeants who will torment, harass, abuse. I've seen that sort of thing happen to people. And these may be the same people who could be under certain hardships and maybe in combat, also provide solace and support and help and everything else. So, over in the Capitol building we have people who will oppose you on one particular bill but be very supportive of another piece of a bill or may be willing to share some information about something you would not otherwise know about. So, it's true because you deal with the extremes in both situations, deal with the extremes. But it is, in my opinion, a true statement.

DePue: The next thing I want to do is to correct the record a little bit to something I was talking about, interjected into the last interview. And that's in reference to whether there was an ACLU lawsuit that addressed DCFS or addressed the mental health issue. And it did; in fact, it was in a 1988 ACLU class action lawsuit, targeting DCFS and the number of caseworkers that they could have, and that was something that the new Governor Jim Edgar knew he had to deal with, which was going to be an expensive proposition. Just as health care and mental health were always expensive portions of the budget that he didn't really have much control over.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: It's significant because he inherited a one billion dollar deficit going in. I wanted to get that out of the way to start with. But also wanted to step back to 1986 and your decision in '86 to stop publishing the *Illinois Political Reporter*, because it was very popular at the time.

Lockhart: Yes, it was the only thing of its kind in the State, well, published for twenty-five years, so… The reason I did that is that the legislative volume becomes so intense and probably I acquired some more clients who had demands and expectations. Also the legislature was meeting annually at that time. Back in '61 when I started it the legislature only met essentially every other year and only for a relatively few months. But after the adoption of the Constitution in 1970, then everything definitely became intensified; there were more full-time legislators, more professional legislators, you might say. And the more sessions, more bills, more clients, and I could not maintain the quality of the publication because I felt my first obligation was to the clients and the people who hired me to protect their interests.

DePue: I read several letters that you received at the time, people who were rather nostalgic and regretful that you had made the decision to hang it up.

Lockhart: It was the right decision, though. (chuckles) And I picked twenty-five years, sounded like a good point…

DePue: You practically had an institution going at the time. Okay, let's get into the Edgar years. 1990 gubernatorial election, very hotly contested election, almost as close an election as Jim Thompson had in '82 with Adlai Stevenson III.

Lockhart: This was with Hartigan, I think.

DePue: This was with Neil Hartigan who had been the Attorney General for eight years. Any reflections on that campaign?

Lockhart: Well, that was an interesting one certainly because the Republicans in effect were advocating for the continuation of the income tax increase, or it was expiring, I think it was. It was expiring. And Hartigan, the Democratic candidate, was calling what Jim Edgar was saying—he was advocating a tax

increase—"My opponent is advocating," which I suppose in a way is true. So it's a little reversal of what's usually the rhetoric in the political world that we inhabit. So that was unusual in and of itself. But Edgar never wavered under that; he "stuck to his guns" on that. I was not involved in the inner workings of either of those two campaigns. Actually Neil Hartigan was a neighbor of mine in Chicago, just lived down the street from me. Of course, Jim Edgar I've known much longer, having met him in '68 or '69. He was a House member for a while, and carried a significant mental health piece of legislation for us. I don't remember for sure how I voted, but I thought basically the State had two well-qualified, ethical people running for Governor, and as you and I both know, that has not always been the case. (both chuckle) I don't want to say that's the last time it's happened but, I'm not prepared to say that, but anyway, it was an interesting campaign.

DePue: Well, then Edgar gets in office and as I already stated he finds out very quickly, that he knew he had some budgetary challenges, and it was a time of recession that was going to continue for the next couple of years. At least according to him and his team he had no idea it was going to be a one billion dollar hole that he was going to have to fill.

Lockhart: Apparently "Big" Jim Thompson, I don't know got in to the building frenzy, one thing and another, and got carried away, and may have thought well he'd been there for fourteen years, and he could bamboozle or persuade people that this was not a problem. One of the fallouts of this problem was which we objected to, is that Edgar decided to create a Department of Human Services and collapse several other departments, including the Department of Mental Health, into that so we were right back where we were before the Kerner administration in 1961. This was done on the basis that this would save money and bureaucratic back and forth of people shifting from one department to another; this would streamline that process. We tried to have that proposal rejected but that was not possible. I think the cause of mental health has suffered as a consequence of that, because we lost a voice, you might say, in the governor's cabinet that we had when we had the Director of the Department of Mental Health. That was not a pleasant piece of legislation to deal with, but it passed and I think in part it passed because of the economic situation that the State was in and this was sold as a way to cut governmental costs and increase efficiency at the same time, because things would be brought into one umbrella organization.

DePue: I believe that occurred roughly about the start of his second administration.

Lockhart: Well, somewhere in there. I couldn't remember whether it was the first either, whether it was the first term or second term.

DePue: The difference between those two administrations is, not to make too much of a point out of this, is that the American economy was definitely on the rebound by the time you get to '94 and '95. Here's what the Edgar

administration said about what they did in the area of mental health. And I'm reading a quote from the book that all administrations are required to produce at the end of the administration. It obviously has a very friendly, biased view of what… (both talking)

Lockhart: Yeah, only good news is put down on paper, right?

DePue: The name of the book that the Edgar administration produced is *Meeting the Challenge.* Here's what they say about mental health. "During Edgar's eight years, funding nearly doubled to nearly 312 million and the number of mentally ill persons in residential settings rose from 100,000 to nearly 150,000. At the same time state mental hospitals' admissions dropped by more than half to 9500 patients. Staff to patient ratios at the state hospitals increased by more than thirty percent during Edgar's tenure." Does that sound accurate from what you recall?

Lockhart: Yeah, sure, sure. Because there was movement started earlier before that (microphone issue) '50,000 people warehoused', we used that term, 'warehoused', in mental institutions and obviously could not receive effective, benevolent care, shall we say. And so the volume of people that were in these old state hospitals was definitely a problem. There was a campaign to try to move them out of the large institutions into the communities, and that went on for a number of years, and maybe it's still going on, probably.

DePue: And you see that as a positive trend?

Lockhart: Yes. But there will always be some need for institutionalized care and treatment and so right now, for example, this year, Governor Quinn has been seeking to close Tinley Park Mental Health Facility, and if that was closed, there is very little alternative facilities in the community there, in the south part of Cook County and Will County. So that has been a problem for the Mental Health Association that we've been trying to provide funding for the transition that may be necessary to take place to make sure that these people who are in these institutions do not get lost somehow in this shuffle.

DePue: Well, let's continue on with the Quinn administration here and his targeting of, I think, it's more than one mental health institution.

Lockhart: Yes, right.

DePue: From your perspective, why would the Governor think that's a place where he could make cuts, that he's not going to get that much political kick-back on it?

Lockhart: Well, he may have been told by people in the Department that they could do this. I don't know what goes on in the administration. Since it's in Cook County there may have been the feeling, that Will County, both heavily populated, lot of organizations there; they may have felt that there's enough structure there in the communities in south Cook County and Will County that

this would not really be a big problem and alternative care could be found somewhere in the community. But I think it's not been there to the extent that they thought it would be there. There's also, of course, a piece of legislation Mental Health Association passed a few years earlier, saying that if they closed a mental health facility the money had to follow the patients into the community, whether it was a nursing home or a community, kind of like a clinic, whatever the situation was. So there is, of course, there are jobs involved at the facility. You get into problems with AFSCME trying to protect their employees, so it gets a bigger, bigger—what do I want to say—controversy. It's not just the Mental Health Association, it's community facilities, it's the unions, it's bureaucracy, and everybody kind of gets in the act. We're going through some of that right now as we sit here.

DePue: Back in the early '90s, '91 and '92 budget years especially were very tough for the Edgar administration. They looked to try to make those cuts to get back into a balanced situation and I know there was lots of public protests on a variety of different issues down in Springfield. Where were you in terms of working with your clients who were facing some very tough challenges and the kinds of ways that were most effective and in influencing the legislature?

Lockhart: You mean due to economic circumstances?

DePue: Um hum. Were letter writing campaigns better, were open protests in Springfield effective?

Lockhart: I don't think any of those were reflected in my memory that would be associated with any of the clients that I had, to tell the truth. Thinking back to the late '70s I began to represent the credit unions, and we did some licensure legislation for particular groups. I think I got the first licensure bill for industrial hygienists in the United States passed here in Illinois. I do not recall any specific and, what do I want to say, a fact that the economic circumstances that period had on my clients or my work here in the Capitol on legislation.

DePue: In terms of actually influencing legislation from your standpoint, that's your job as a lobbyist to influence legislation on your behalf. Did you see public protests as being effective or ineffective?

Lockhart: Well, it's hard to say. I'm a little dubious about public protests myself and I don't really encourage. Some people do, primarily I think for the purpose of demonstrating to their members of the organization, whether it's Service Employees International—they have big rallies here—they bring bus-loads of people down. I don't think it's very effective in terms of changing policy by legislators, but I think it may be good in making members of the union feel like they're having a hands-on effect with their legislators. Of course, it's a day off from routine work, and so it's a way of kind of keeping their membership charged up. But like I say, I don't believe people marching in and

out of the Capitol Building in droves is persuasive a point of view by… I try to get people, my clientele, not necessarily to come to Springfield, but go to the Legislator's district office, that's just down the street. Your legislator has a district office, and he wants to meet people who are in his district, or her district. But it's very difficult sometimes to persuade members to go down to see the

Senator's office, and talk to the Senator in a face to face basis. And I think it's because of what I call the "fear factor": they're afraid the Senator's going to ask them a question that they won't know the answer, and they will be embarrassed, and they will embarrass the organization. I try to tell them, no that won't happen, you know more about the issue and the problems associated with it than the legislator will ever know, and it's a way of him finding out more, and it's a way of you getting familiar with how to talk to a legislator. I've had to take some people to a legislator's district office or they wouldn't go otherwise. It seems strange…

DePue: These would be people who weren't necessarily registered lobbyists but were representing different groups.

Lockhart: Not registered lobbyists at all. I'm talking about constituents. I'm trying to influence Senator Emil Jones, I'm not talking about the current Senator Jones, but I want to have some people who are constituents to come in and talk with him about this particular issue and urge him to consider it when it comes up for a vote next week in the committee he's on. Easier said than done. We think Lockhart, that's your job in effect. (both chuckle) We'll write letters, we may even make a phone call to the secretary, but a face to face thing. Once they do it then they're all right for the future, but getting them to take that first face-to-face step for some reason, that I call the "fear factor", I don't know what it is, is a hard step for them to do. But once you get people to do it, hey, they like it, they want to go talk to them. And they don't have to come to Springfield. I say, Don't come to Springfield. The District Office is just down the road a piece from where you are.

DePue: Were there certain clients that you represented that you found it easier to convince them to use their own power to oppose the legislation?

Lockhart: Well, I tried with everybody because I think that is the key to conveying information by constituents to the legislators – far better than the hired lobbyist does. Like when we both work together, you know, it's a partnership I try to say. But it's difficult no matter who your client is, that's been my experience.

DePue: I would imagine that groups SEIU and AFSCME would have their own lobbyists and…

Lockhart: Yeah, they do have lots of them.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: They have lots of them.

DePue: But I know that you mentioned before that one of your clients in general were public pension systems.

Lockhart: Yes. Yes. Retirees, shall we say. The retirees. I represent two organizations: one is State University Employees, you can be employed as well as retired from so, yes, we represent those, and we represent the Retired Teachers Association of Chicago. It's difficult to get them to come down. I'm not all that enthusiastic about bringing them to Springfield because there's so many distractions going on there, and the legislators are beset by people 100% of the time, the phone is ringing, the secretary's trying to get their attention, there are other legislators or the leadership is calling them up or the staff guy is calling them up, there's just so many distractions here in Springfield. I try to get people not to come to Springfield; if you get anything you only get a snatch. He may forget it. Go to the office in his district, take some fact sheet with you, if you can't see him leave something, the secretary is there, let them know that you are a constituent, leave your name and phone number and address. It's much more effective, much more effective.

DePue: Both these two that you mentioned though, they have their own unions that represent their cause, right?

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: But you're talking about individual constituents that may be members of the union but don't have a specific position in the union?

Lockhart: Well, I think that probably the heads of the union realize that their members will not go down the street and talk to their own legislator. The only way they'll have any kind of interaction with an issue with the General Assembly is if they all come down in big bus loads, so it's a mass effort. There's, I want to say, "protection in numbers". They won't get asked anything specifically by the legislator, just making a show of force. I don't believe in that tactic myself.

DePue: So this is a tough sell when you're talking to your clients.

Lockhart: Yeah, it is. It is. Sometimes. You know, I hate it when a legislator says, "Lockhart, you tell me all the school psychologists like this bill, not one of them has contacted me, and I know I have school psychologists in my district. You know, a Senate District has 218,000 people in it, and a House District has 109,000 people in it. I know we have, but none of them have contacted me, Lockhart, how come?" That's my problem. I have to go back to the organization, who do we have? See, that's why I try to get the organization to have people identified by legislative district and have maybe one or two

people who are responsible for conveying information to that particular individual of whom they are a constituent. It's not easy.

DePue: I was going to say that's what makes your job hard, I would think.

Lockhart: It is hard. You have to have somebody. Some of these clients' organizations, they don't know how to do that. By zip code that's fine; they can understand that. But the zip code and the legislative district lines don't coincide. Now the one thing that I have tried with some success, I get the home zip code of every legislator, like in my district 60605, so I say to the organization, go through your membership list and see how many people you have who live in 60605. They live in zip code 60605 but not in Legislative District Twelve, I understand that, but at least you get some kind of perspective; because that's the only way some organization can identify the constituent with the legislator, or come close to it. But there are services who will do that for a price. Some organizations don't want to have that privacy interfered with, some don't want to pay the money.

DePue: Has the Privacy Act in some ways made your job more difficult?

Lockhart: Well, I don't know whether it's used as an excuse or whether there's some validity to it, to tell the truth. But I know better than to try to argue with an organization that doesn't want to do it. So, they don't want to do it, so we'll have to come up with some other strategy.

DePue: Well, let's get back to the Edgar administration—not just the Edgar administration—1990s, as you know, there is a redistricting that is required by the Constitution every year. The Republicans win that time…

Lockhart: Every ten years.

DePue: Every ten years, what did I say, two years?

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Two years? Holy Cow!

Lockhart: Heaven forbid! (both chuckle)

DePue: It takes us two years just to work it through.

Lockhart: Ain't it the truth.

DePue: So, the Republicans are hopeful that they're going to make some inroads in the State Legislature and they actually are able to do that in the '94 election year.

Lockhart: Is this the George Ryan election?

DePue: Well, the ’94 election year is, I’m messing this up, seriously, I think. ‘94 election year is another gubernatorial election year, so it’s Edgar versus Netsch that year.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: And once again it’s a tax issue that is animating that.

Lockhart: Netsch carries one county, Gallatin County, she carries I think by four votes.

DePue: And you can’t get much farther south than Gallatin County.

Lockhart: That’s right.

DePue: Doesn’t even carry Cook County.

Lockhart: That’s right.

DePue: Edgar wins 63.9%. Netsch wins 34.4%.

Lockhart: She’d been the Comptroller of the State before that. Somehow she hadn’t gotten her work, or her character or personality. I was really puzzled by it. Unless she came out for some kind of tax increase or something, I can’t remember that fact.

DePue: What she did is, she advocated that the state should have an increase in the income tax and a corresponding decrease in property taxes. Edgar beat her up severely on that, he beat her up severely on her position on capital punishment, and on crime.

Lockhart: I see. Well, a lot of people won’t believe that the property tax will go down. They will think we will pay a higher income tax and we’ll pay higher property taxes. That’s because they are all confused about government, you might say.

DePue: The reason I started by talking about the redistricting is that it is 1994 which is nationally is a great year for the Republicans and this is the one year that Edgar is going to be Governor that he has control of both the House and the Senate, and Lee Daniels becomes the Speaker of the House that year. That leaves an opportunity then for the Republicans to make some serious inroads on some things that they’d been wanting to do for a couple of decades because most of the Thompson years they didn’t have control of both chambers. Madigan was soundly in control of the House for most of those years. I’m just going to run through these and see if you have any reaction to any of these or if you dealt with them: Tort reform and workers’ comp reform were right at the top of their list.

Lockhart: That's right, I do recall that. I do recall that. And there was some, some modest steps made, I think, for tort reform as I recall. It's not one that I was involved with, but I do recall that was an issue at the time.

DePue: Well, I don't want to get too much in the weeds. The Republicans were successful until it got to the court system and then they lost a couple of cases to the courts. Maybe back up a little bit. How was working with Speaker Lee Daniels different from working with Speaker Mike Madigan?

Lockhart: I think one of the problems that Lee Daniels had was his majority leader was a very unpopular person and I'd know his name if I heard it, but he would have disputes with a lot of people. I can't think of his name right now, starts with a "T" or "L", I'm coming up blank. So that was part of the problem because that caused some problems internally with his fellow Democrats in the House. It was kind of a bitter, as I recall…

DePue: You mean with his fellow Republicans?

Lockhart: With some of his fellow Republicans, as I recall, this individual's name I can't come up with, he and Phil Rock almost got in to a physical tussle on the floor of the House one day, as I recall. And there was a lot of bitterness between, apparently the Republicans in the House used this to try to, what do I want to say, punish the Democrats for what the Democrats did to the Republicans in the previous session with Madigan in charge. So there was a lot of verbal abuse and difficulties in reaching any kind of cooperative basis on a lot of issues. It's a little bit of a blur to me now but I do remember it was very bitter and as a consequence of that when the next go around, Madigan became the Speaker again, there was there was then retribution, shall we say, from the Democrats onto the Republicans. So it was not a good atmosphere as I recall.

DePue: How about in the Senate side with James Pate Philip being the Senate President?

Lockhart: I had a good, I can't quite figure out why I had a good relationship with Pate Philip. But we did, probably because I didn't have anything that was in conflict with, he was a very, what do I want to say, opinionated person about issues and values, and so like I say, I don't recall any problem areas. I think the Senate was a little more a little more sedate, a little more gentlemanly, shall we say, in terms of one another. There were flare-ups no doubt from time to time, but nothing…I tried, of course, always to avoid having issues that would generate any kind of a partisan response. And so I, like I say, I made efforts to try to avoid controversial matters, at least partisan controversial matters. Also in those days, Mark, this was some of those years after the Constitution was adopted, as you know in the new Constitution there was a whole section added dealing with local government and the powers of home rule units, cities of 25,000 or more. And there was a lot of legislation that was introduced and so sometimes the battle was over whether you could put the

Home Rule Amendment on the bill, which in effect lets the home rule units off, you wouldn't have to comply with it if you were a home rule unit. We don't have that anymore for some particular reason. It's faded away. After the adoption of the Constitution, and of course, Chicago legislators were most aroused by the Home Rule Amendment. It was almost a standard and a lot of it, I'm sure if we looked carefully through the statutes, they're still there whether they're complied with I don't know. But I used to get sick and tired of the "Home Rule Amendment" because if you were taking away a power from a home rule unit, that's a three-fifths vote. So that enters into the debate, and the presentation, and a lot of other things. I do remember a lot of those controversial issues relating to "home rule" which has kind of disappeared as the years have gone by.

DePue: Well, we can correct the record on this but my understanding is that in 1970 and the Constitution it was very much something that Daley insisted got into that Constitution.

Lockhart: That's correct. It was.

DePue: So that he and Chicago would have more control over their destiny.

Lockhart: The Illinois Municipal League, which was mostly downstate was very, very much in support of the Home Rule Amendment and they were very instrumental in the referendum for its adoption. So yes, Daley, in so far as he, was only caring about the City of Chicago, but the Municipal League saw all these opportunities and advantages that would come through the adoption of this particular section in the Constitution. So they were all out for the adoption. But one group that was held back basically was the AFL-CIO. They were urging a "no" vote, and I think, I'm not quite sure now why, but maybe Reuben Soderstrom, who was the head man at the time wasn't, didn't feel that he was given sufficient attention? I'm a little foggy about why the AFL-CIO was opposed to the adoption of the Constitution. I don't think it was because of the home rule issue, it must have been some other matter but they were the only significant statewide organization in opposition.

DePue: One other member I want to mention here to you, and this would have been the Senate Minority Leader for most of these years, and that was Emil Jones.

Lockhart: Um-hmm.

DePue: You have a good working relationship with him?

Lockhart: Excellent. Excellent working relationship.

DePue: Now your comments about Pate Philip were somewhat surprised that you had a decent relationship with him.

Lockhart: But there was nothing special, but it's just that I don't remember anything unpleasant, shall we say.

DePue: But he does have a reputation of being a very gruff, outspoken personality.

Lockhart: Yeah, yeah, yeah, he does. And he has, you know. He hated unions and fortunately I didn't represent any unions, but I remember him saying something about, somebody mentioned SEIU, Service Employees International Union, and he said, "I hate that union." So anything presumably that they wanted he was against no matter what it was.

DePue: So you start your *Lockhart Logic* with 'Credibility is a non-renewable resource' and you also say 'Integrity is also power.' So even though he had very strong opinions that didn't necessarily match up with yours, you could trust what he was saying?

Lockhart: Sure. Well, sometimes you have to. (chuckles) You can't put him under oath or anything like that.

DePue: Going back to the legislation then in that crucial 1995 year when the Republicans had control over the governorship and both houses. School reform, especially Chicago school reform, was that something that matched up with some of your clients with your Chicago teachers.

Lockhart: I can't think of anything.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: I can't think of anything. It might have been funding rather than power. They have their own retirement system.

DePue: That was the year the legislature gave Mayor Daley control over the school district.

Lockhart: That's it. That's it. That was '94.

DePue: That no longer are you going to have a superintendent, you're going to have a chief executive officer.

Lockhart: Yes and that was significant, very significant. The fact that he then would take the responsibility and he got to pick the Board of Education.

DePue: Um-hmm. To a certain extent one of the targets of that legislation was the Chicago Teachers Union as well.

Lockhart: Yes and I think the Republicans wanted that to happen, as I recall. I wasn't involved in the issue except as a spectator but, as I recall, they wanted the Mayor to hold the school board and the CPS, [Chicago Public Schools] held

them accountable to the Mayor and, of course, the retirement system—I don't know how long ago that goes back—but the retirement system for Chicago teachers is separated from the retirement system for downstate teachers.

DePue: How about this issue, this occurred I believe later in the Edgar administration when he no longer had control of both houses, but pension reform was something he was able to push through right towards the end of his time.

Lockhart: Pate Philip, I think, created the Pension Laws Commission.

DePue: Pension Laws?

Lockhart: Commission, that's my recollection. It was called the Pension Laws Commission and it had Republican House members, Senate members and there was both parties, both chambers were represented. They had big hearings in Springfield. I attended a number of those, but nothing came of it as I recall. After a while I think he asked that it be abolished.

DePue: Well, the end result was, was that there was pension legislation, where by 2045 the pension fund would be funded at a 90% level.

Lockhart: Oh, yes, yes. That's correct. But that was never adhered to in subsequent sessions: the legislature, the Governor didn't put the money that he should have put into the pension fund. He spent it for other programs, especially Governor Blagojevich was guilty of that. Maybe it goes back to Governor Ryan as well, I'm not certain.

DePue: Yeah. I'm pretty sure he did it at least a couple of times as well. Okay one of the things that Edgar said in his interview with me, and I've heard Lee Daniels say it as well, that it's tougher to get through legislation sometimes when you do control both houses. It's just more heavy lifting to get the goals that you want to achieve.

Lockhart: Um-hm.

DePue: Would you adhere to that?

Lockhart: Well, I guess, it would be true in a number of instances. Also I think the fact that it does it cost lots of money, does it take away power from some other entity, those are other factors that would enter into it. I understand what you're saying and sometimes you may think you have the power, and you try something, you find out you don't have the power you thought you did, somebody else had some power that was latent but got brought to bear on the issue.

DePue: Overall assessment of the Edgar administration then?

Lockhart: Overall---the what?

DePue: What's your overall assessment?

Lockhart: Oh, overall assessment? Well, I liked the fact that I felt that there was integrity in the operations. I think he had good people in some of the departments and I thought he was a conscientious administrator as well as political leader. So, you know, I don't have high expectations, lets put it this way, you don't have to be really terrific to get on my good list because I don't, like I said, I understand the pressures and the conflicts that go on here in the State of Illinois and the compromises that have to be made, so if they're kind of good that's wonderful. (both chuckle)

DePue: Does that mean that Edgar was wonderful because he was kind of good?

Lockhart: Well, I don't think he did any harm, except the consolidation of all those departments, and maybe there was some virtue in that that I'm not appreciative of.

DePue: The other consolidation he did ended up with the Department of Natural Resources.

Lockhart: Mines and Minerals factored into it, yeah. It's probably a department I didn't have very much contact with.

DePue: I'm going to take one quick question before we get into the Ryan years. I'm holding a cover page for the June 22nd, 1997, *Parade Magazine*, which is a national publication and most people are aware that every year they come out with how much people make, what people earn. And here on the cover of *Parade Magazine* in '97 is one Richard Lockhart, seventy-three, lobbyist, Chicago, Illinois, a hundred thousand dollars.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: How did you end up getting in this?

Lockhart: I got calls from people I graduated from high school with all over the country when that— (both chuckle)

DePue: Say, hey, you're doing okay.

Lockhart: Something like that. This is the way it happened. The Illinois Press Association was a client of mine for many years, starting almost at the time of the Constitutional Convention, that went on until relatively recent. So apparently the people that do *Parade Magazine* called up the Press Association and said, "We're looking for a lobbyist to put on for this wage, what, do I want to say, wage page, how's that? And do you know of anybody?" Well, this is Beth Bennett, she knew of me because I was the Press Association lobbyist so she called me up and said, "Do you want to do this?" And she said, "They're going to ask you how much money you make." And I

said, "Well, I'm not going pursue this, I'll just give them a figure." I just gave them—they did ask me—so I just said 100,000. They didn't ask whether that was my total income from salaries, investments, or whatever, and I just gave them a figure. I didn't want to put down too small a figure. It's probably gotten me in more trouble because people said, "How did you make all that money, is being a lobbyist is that kind of a, get away with things on the side?", you know, that, so, I'm not sure I did the right thing, but anyway, that's behind me. That was a long time ago, right? Relatively.

DePue: 1997, $100,000 would have sounded like a lot of money to a lot of folks. (both chuckle)

Lockhart: Yeah that's right. Especially when I was an indifferent student back at Southside High School. (both laugh)

DePue: Well, now that we're in that neighborhood, the public perception of lobbyists is…

Lockhart: Awful.

DePue: Awful.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Does that bother you?

Lockhart: Well, I'm aware of it, but I don't let it bother me too much because I know that I have not done anything unethical, much less illegal, and everything was on top of the table, and as far as I'm concerned, I answer all questions and so I'm aware of it, you know, but politicians get a bad rap, too. We're the only group, I think that's even lower than politicians, is the lobbyist. Some of them are basically out of the Washington scene, rather than the Springfield scene. They've had a number of scandals, I think, in Washington with lobbyists who really rake in the bucks, the big money. So it bothers me, but not much. And I call myself a lobbyist. I know some people say, "Well, I don't want to be called a lobbyist, I'm just a representative and some organizations don't like to call them… Some of them used to say, "This is our man in Springfield."

DePue: (chuckles)

Lockhart: You know, I usually get up and say, "Yeah, I'm your man in Springfield, I'm the lobbyist for your interests. I'm there to protect and advance your interests everyday while the Legislature is in session." There are a lot of lobbyists that do that, but I've always used the word lobbyist, because nothing I do is anything I'm ashamed of.

DePue: Well, I think the public oftentimes associates money and politics as money is what corrupts politics and lobbyists are the conduit to get money into politics.

Lockhart: Some of that is definitely true, some of it is definitely true, yeah. I think a lot of it is in D.C., I don't see all of it here in Illinois; we don't have the same kind of money that is thrown around in Washington, of course, not that I've ever been in Washington in a lobbying capacity, but…

DePue: Are the lobbyists a self-policing organization? Do you call each other out if you see somebody who is corrupt or working under the table?

Lockhart: I've never known that to happen, of course, lobbyists are under scrutiny, shall we say. There was a lobbyist, well, we talked earlier about the Illinois Third House which is an informal organization of the professional lobbyists. I'm not going to indicate the individual's name, but I found his name on a fundraiser for a member of the Legislature, and on the flyer they indicated that he was Speaker of the Illinois Third House, and he was supporting this particular candidate. So I called him up right away and sent him a letter and he agreed that he made an egregious error and wouldn't do it again. But, that's the only time I can think of that I ran across something, it wasn't a big thing; it was just the fact that it was on the printed flyer for a fundraiser for a legislator. I didn't think that was the right thing to put on, he could put his own name on, but not say you're Speaker of the "Third House".

DePue: I'm going to make a general statement here and then see what your thoughts are. In general, Americans hate politicians except the one who's representing them and then they're generally okay, especially it they know them personally, or if they've had some kind of relationship.

Lockhart: Um-hm.

DePue: Does it work the same way with your lobbyists?

Lockhart: You mean the public's attitude toward lobbyists? The public doesn't know too many lobbyists though, if they don't have the visibility that the politician does. We don't seek publicity and we don't usually like it. I've talked to some classes at the university; I just did that earlier this year at DePaul University in Chicago. I spoke to two classes on two different days and questions did come up about the corruption issue and no doubt some of it takes place, but I don't think it's… I don't see votes being bought and sold or anything of that nature. The money does constitute a problem in that there's so much and the demand for money, particular for campaign money gets higher and higher, and it troubles me that the focus is less on people and more on the finances that can be provided by people. And it seems to me that in recent years that it's gotten particularly more pronounced.

DePue: How have the laws that govern lobbying and lobbyists changed or evolved during your time?

Lockhart: Well, it's mostly more reporting and that sort of thing. They have not gotten around to asking, "how much does a lobbyist get for his services?" They do

require reporting of how much you spend to take a legislator to dinner, or to a football game, or that sort of thing. Now I have a policy of not taking legislators to anything, basically. I don't entertain. I don't entertain. But that reporting requirement has gotten more and more specific as time goes by.

DePue: Why have you taken the personal policy of not doing that?

Lockhart: Oh, probably one of them is that I can't afford it and I don't think it's necessary. I do use personal money and sometimes association money to support a candidate's campaign, a legislator's campaign or … I go to any number of fundraisers in the course of a year, but these are fundraisers where the cost is maybe a hundred and fifty dollars. The fact is I went to one last night in Chicago it was a hundred and fifty dollars. There was other people there doing the same thing. So it's just my way of showing support for this particular individual who I've had a good working relationship with for a number of years.

DePue: Do you do those kind of events for both parties?

Lockhart: Yeah, definitely, individuals from both parties, yes, sure.

DePue: Let's move on to the Ryan administration because I know you've got a time limit and I do as well today. George Ryan becomes Governor, he runs for governor in 1998, he's running against Glenn Poshard who is a southern Illinois Democrat. Ryan and his Lieutenant Governor candidate win 51% to 47%. So this continues in a state that otherwise would appear to be trending Democrat, this continues this very long run of Republican governors. Any reflections on that campaign?

Lockhart: I think before he ran for Governor he was Secretary of State.

DePue: For the time Edgar was running for Governor he was Secretary of State.

Lockhart: Right, right. And then before that he served a term as Lieutenant Governor under Thompson. So he had had a lot of exposure dealing with the political machinery of the state.

DePue: Well, you first encountered, I'm sure when he was in the State Legislature.

Lockhart: When he was in the State Legislature, yes, right. And so he had lots more visibility than Glenn Poshard had; of course, you look at the situation how it's reversed. Glenn Poshard is now President of the Southern Illinois University, Governor Ryan is in Indiana, what's the prison?

DePue: He's in Terre Haute.

Lockhart: He's in Terre Haute Prison, federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana. He should be coming out in a year or two, I would think. I don't think he'll get in to politics though. (chuckle)

DePue: Not again, no.

Lockhart: No. And his pharmacist license may lapse as well. So, and his wife just died; they were a very close couple. I know that must have pained him a lot.

DePue: Your assessment then of the team that Ryan brought in and in terms of your clientele, how effective he was?

Lockhart: I can't remember too much about him, so I guess there wasn't anything special one way or the other.

DePue: Well, part of the line on George Ryan was that he liked to make deals, he liked to spend money. Now he came in to office with a billion dollar surplus so Edgar started with a billion dollar hole and ended with a billion dollar surplus but that was during the "dot.com" years and some very heady days for the American economy as well. But Ryan did like to spend money. Any other comments about Ryan in terms of his legal or his political challenges he had?

Lockhart: No. We had a good relationship going back to when he was in the House and he was the---you have to go back in the Kankakee County. Kankakee County was the fiefdom of the McBrooms and Victor McBroom's statue is in the Capitol Building right now. His son, Ed McBroom, then continued that with long service in the State Senate and he was an active person, he was also an automobile dealer, I remember that. I think he sold Cadillacs and Buicks, I'm not sure. I remember I went to a fundraiser in Kankakee and who was his guest, a prominent Republican senator from Oregon, I think it was Senator Case came all the way to Kankakee to participate in a fundraiser for Ed McBroom. Ed McBroom then had George Ryan as he was mentor to George Ryan. And George Ryan, I think his brother was Mayor of Kankakee so that he became part of the McBroom, what do I want to say, force there in Kankakee County.

DePue: Some have likened it to the Daley machine in Chicago and the Republicans had their own machine in Kankakee County.

Lockhart: Yeah, apparently, apparently. I've never lived there but I've heard the same thing, yeah.

DePue: Were you surprised when there were rumors about what was going on in the Secretary of State's office even before he got elected Governor, that was already being kicked around during the campaign. It all came crashing down towards the end of his administration in 2002. He was still on the outside of jail, he hadn't been indicted or anything, but there were lots of rumors flying

around. Were you surprised at all about how that all played out for the Ryan folks?

Lockhart: Well, maybe. I guess I'm always a little surprised when people are indicted. Of course, I go back to Kerner, that was a real surprise. Here was a Federal Judge and gets indicted for bad activities while he was Governor. George Ryan, I don't remember too many things that brought it about. The only thing I can remember that he did that was kind of different, he had the power to appoint members of the University of Illinois and there was a vacancy, I think it was. He appointed a lobbyist to be the chairman of the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, Jerry Shea who was the Democratic leader in the House at one time. I can't think of it, but probably he was retiring and had a lobbying business going on. He was a Cook County Democrat but he had a good relationship with George Ryan probably going back to the legislative days, and so for some reason, something might have provoked it; I'm not sure what. Governor Ryan appoints him as Chairman of the Trustees of the University of Illinois (both chuckle) which surprised a lot of people, and of course, the unfortunate part, Jerry Shea, he's an attorney and certainly a competent person, he's still a friend of mine, but he was always identified as a lobbyist, you know, this is under---again it's a denigrating term to most people anyway and so, I do remember that I think Jerry Shea did as good a job as any, probably had a perspective that most academics couldn't provide. So, anyway, it's one thing that sticks out in my mind, anyway, is this appointment that George Ryan made.

DePue: But as a good thing, not as a wrong political move on Ryan's part?

Lockhart: I don't think it was a political move, no, I don't know, I think it was friendship and respect, would be my guess, and really demonstrates bipartisanship.

DePue: Well, it's at these same years from 1997 to 2004 those are the years that Barack Obama is part of the Illinois State Senate as well. Do you remember much about his service in the Illinois Senate?

Lockhart: I remember to some extent and I was aware of the fact that he was a man on the move, a young man on the move, and had all the apparent qualities to go places. The only thing I can remember where I interacted with him, again as a lobbyist for the Illinois Press Association, we had some kind of a bill it was a Press Association Bill and therefore good in terms of building relationships with the media, shall we say. I somehow remember, I was in a phone booth—that's when we had phone booths in the Capitol Building—and he goes by and the Executive Director of the Press Association wasn't very far away so I stopped him and I asked Senator, "We've got a good Press Association Bill is this something you would be interested in being a co-sponsor of?" and he said, "Yes." I did make that connection and I suppose it got him some, or at least he felt like he got some good… That was the only thing that I can recall about

Barack Obama, Senator Barack Obama. I knew he wasn't going to be State Senator very long.

DePue: He had the reputation, you hadn't had too many direct dealings with him, was that his reputation?

Lockhart: Well, he comes from Hyde Park. He was highly educated in terms of Harvard Law School, he was very presentable, you might say, an attractive candidate, articulate, so he just had the aura, of a young man on the move.

DePue: So did he have the reputation of being ambitious as well?

Lockhart: I guess to some extent, but most politicians get identified as having ambitions, you know.

DePue: Kind of goes along with that thing about ego, doesn't it?

Lockhart: Yeah, it does.

DePue: Okay, but you don't have too many memories of him.

Lockhart: No, I don't.

DePue: Is that because the nature of the Illinois legislature at that time was so dominated by the four caucus leaders?

Lockhart: Might have been, might have been. I just felt that he was a guy who was on the move and he would like to be associated with the Press Association legislation; that was my thought. I was doing him a favor, I was doing the Press Association a favor.

DePue: Can you say anything about the relationship that Obama had with Senate President Emil Jones at the time? Was that obvious to you?

Lockhart: I talked to Emil afterwards and I said, "You can always be proud of the fact that you were a mentor, maybe **the** mentor, to a President of the United States." He liked that and he was a mentor to him, yeah, no question about that. I don't know how, what they did behind the scenes or the private conversations but I'm sure Emil Jones is a very astute, very astute person about human beings, and what they want, and what direction they want to take. And I'm sure he figured out Obama real quickly. And, of course, reacted positively in trying to push that forward.

DePue: One of the things you hear about what Jones was trying to do to, as you say, "push that forward" was to attach Obama's name to lots of pieces of legislation working its way through the Senate, whether or not he was an initial sponsor of it, somehow in some cases his name ended up towards the end of the process.

Lockhart: I wouldn't know about that.

DePue: Okay.

Lockhart: I wouldn't know about that.

DePue: Either to confirm or deny that particular rumor.

Lockhart: No, it's a little dangerous you have to be careful not to put his name on something that's going to have an adverse reaction too, but I trusted Emil. Emil is a very astute political leader, no question about that.

DePue: Apparently you weren't surprised at all then when in 2004 Obama decides to run for the U.S. Senate.

Lockhart: I was not.

DePue: Any comments on that campaign because that was another in a long series of bizarre campaigns in Illinois politics?

Lockhart: Yes, it was. Well, there were about three other candidates as I recall, was it Hynes. There was more than one other candidate…

DePue: On the Democrat side.

Lockhart: On the Democratic side. So he was different in that he had probably maybe two, maybe three white candidates in the Democratic primary plus himself, and he made an effort to get around downstate and try to pick up whatever kind of support he could. He was okay in Chicago probably with the substantial population of African-Americans, and at least some relationships within the Hyde Park area, but he realized especially with his name, and maybe with his color, he would have to demonstrate that he was a superior kind of candidate. He worked hard downstate as I understand it.

DePue: I was trying to remember. Was Roland Burris also on the ticket? He oftentimes was.

Lockhart: I don't think he was.

DePue: Okay, not on that ticket.

Lockhart: No, he ran for one state office though. He got appointed to the Senate, that's what it was. (laughs) By you know who.

DePue: (laughs) Of course, he gets the primary nod and then he goes to the Democratic Party Convention in 2004 and that's where he bursts on to the national scene. Your reaction when that occurred?

Lockhart: U. S. Senator, Dick Durbin, I think, arranged that, probably and I have a lot of confidence in Dick Durbin's astute political sensitivity. He realized as well the potential that Barack Obama had and provided that kind of an arena for him in that particular way, four years before the…2004. And from that exposure he was absolutely correct. He was on an upward path continuously after that exposure on the national convention.

DePue: Okay, and back in Illinois then he still has a Senate race to run but he ends up running against Alan Keyes.

Lockhart: Yeah. (chuckles) No contest.

DePue: You know, where the Republican Party in the State of Illinois has to bring in somebody from Maryland, I believe it was.

Lockhart: That's correct, that's correct. Yeah. Like I say, it was no contest.

DePue: You've been involved in Illinois politics for your entire career, what happened to the Republican Party that had won governorships for, I don't know, well over twenty years, and suddenly the state is incredibly blue in its politics.

Lockhart: It is kind of strange when you contemplate the fact that Thompson was there fourteen years, Ryan was there, Edgar was there, and you'd think they would have built some kind of a statewide political organization, wouldn't you? Certainly had the opportunity, but I guess, what happened is they just neglected the grassroots basis of a political party, and they got out press releases instead of shoring up parts of the states. Now they're up against, in large part, a guy named Michael Madigan who is, thinks way ahead of everybody else. He's turned suburban Cook County, which used to be a Republican stronghold, he's elected a lot of Democrats out of suburban Cook County, and he's been very careful and very, what do I want to say, astute in what's he been able to do for the Democratic Party and done it well, shall we say.

DePue: Is there a flip side to that since…

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: I'm jumping ahead here that Illinois is widely regarded as having the worst pension system in the entire country and it's…

Lockhart: He's trying to correct that, though I see. I noticed that he's introduced a constitutional amendment this year which would make a remarkable difference in the pension system if it was adopted by the people on the 6th of November. So, I don't know whether he's thinking about the possibility of his daughter, the current Attorney General having a state office that maybe has got some of the problems being worked on, being taken care of to some extent. He realizes the pension issue is a brutal one, a brutal one. He needs to

do something if there's going to be any kind of a congenial relationship between his daughter and the Governor of the State of Illinois, but the problems are enormous, fiscal problems.

DePue: Let's go back to 2002 then and that particular gubernatorial campaign. I jumped ahead a little bit as far as President Obama is concerned. But in 2002 you have Rod Blagojevich running for Governor for the first time. He had been a U. S. Representative, in Rostenkowski's old district, I believe.

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Any reflections on that campaign.

Lockhart: Well, I couldn't "see" the guy at all. I mean, he had served two terms in the Illinois House where I've had a chance to see him, you might say. Not that he ever did anything, I just thought he was kind of a "zero". I couldn't understand how a person who showed no particular interest in any issue or in state government or held any other office of any interest that suddenly becomes the Governor of the state. I never voted for him because I just didn't think he was capable, he didn't know enough, he would be definitely manipulated by some people. So I just construed him to be incompetent.

DePue: In the general election all he had to do was run against George Ryan, who had a horrendous reputation because of all of his legal battles and, unfortunately, the Republican candidate was a guy by the name of Jim Ryan. But some people think that the real campaign that year was the Democratic primary…

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: And in this case I think, I know it was Roland Burris, Paul Vallas and Rod Blagojevich in that Democratic primary.

Lockhart: Paul Vallas was my candidate, shall we say.

DePue: And he had been the first Chief Executive Officer of Chicago Schools back in '95 when it was reformed.

Lockhart: That is correct.

DePue: I think that's where he got his reputation.

Lockhart: Um-hm.

DePue: Why did you back Paul Vallas then?

Lockhart: I just felt he was a person of quality, shall we say. A person of quality and he made sense when he spoke. Like I say, at least he'd dealt with some governmental problems effectively. Blagojevich was just as I say, I call him a

zero, I couldn't find anything good to say about him because I didn't know anything that was good about him.

DePue: And you're saying that even from the perspective of his first race in 2002?

Lockhart: Well, yes, because he'd been in the Illinois House for four years so he wasn't a stranger, but he was at the bottom rung, shall we say, of what would consider to be quality legislators.

DePue: Well, Blagojevich does squeak out a victory in the primary 36.4% to Vallas' 34.5%, so that was a close race.

Lockhart: Close race and some people say that because Vallas had a fear of flying and he didn't want to fly down to St. Louis and campaign in St. Clair and Madison counties which are two strong Democratic counties. If he had gotten over that problem and done some good work in those two counties, it might have been a different situation.

DePue: Well, if that was the case maybe Illinois history would have been different?

Lockhart: Right. Might have been very different. (both chuckle)

DePue: Maybe U.S. history might have been different.

Lockhart: Yes, indeed.

DePue: Blagojevich wins fifty-two percent versus Jim Ryan who got forty-five percent so a significant victory for the Democrats. Your thoughts about the team that Blagojevich brought in with him.

Lockhart: Can't think of any of them right now, but I was never impressed by any of those people.

DePue: There's some new people in the legislature at that time and I want to ask you about some of these: John Cullerton who was the majority leader in the Illinois Senate after Emil Jones retires.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: Your relationship and your thoughts about him.

Lockhart: Yes, we had a good relationship and when I was Speaker of the Third House he was my entertainment, shall we say, at the big luncheon we have once a year. So he's one of the few legislators who does have a sense of humor and sometimes allows it to be exposed to other people. He's, I think, smart and tries to work with the Republicans. I don't think Emil Jones is very good about working with the Republicans, even had some problems with some of the Democrats. But Cullerton has made, I think, a special effort to have a good

relationship with Senator Radogno. I don't hear the blistering rhetoric that used to be expressed on the floor of the House and the Senate and I think that is good, helps the atmosphere.

DePue: The next one, Minority Leader for several years was Frank Watson, a downstate Republican.

Lockhart: Yes, he's from Greenville, I think, and another pharmacist, by the way. All he needed to know about me was that I went to Purdue U. because he is an avid, avid alumnus of Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana. He's not from Indiana, but he got his pharmacist degree from over there and has become, like I say, a chief drum beater for Purdue. I was at Purdue a little bit before I went in to the Army back in '43. So, he and I always had a good relationship and, not necessarily would I ever pick him for the sponsorship of a piece of legislation because I knew him to be a very conservative individual, so I didn't attempt to give him something he would not be comfortable with. But we still see him, I think he may live in Springfield now, I'm not sure.

DePue: No, he's still down at Greenville.

Lockhart: Oh, he's still in Greenville. But I see him every once in a while at some event, some fundraiser. We chat a little bit about Purdue; he's more up on them then I am. (both chuckle) I never went back there.

DePue: Well, that's a dangerous position to be rooting for Purdue when you've got the University of Illinois as the preeminent sports team in the state.

Lockhart: Well, they're supposed to be, but, once upon a time Purdue had a good basketball team, probably not so good football team.

DePue: I don't know if you remember the circumstances that Lee Daniels, who had been in the Illinois House as the Republican leader for decades, left in 2003. Do you remember any of the particulars of that?

Lockhart: No, nothing in particular. Like I think I may have mentioned in an earlier conversation he has a daughter who is mentally retarded, and so he always had a soft---a big part of his thoughts were always on the mentally ill and the mentally disabled. He was good in many ways that I could talk to him about those particular issues, yes.

DePue: That put Tom Cross into the minority position in the Illinois House. What was your opinion of him, in working with him?

Lockhart: I think he's a classy, good legislator. I don't have anything particular in the way of a connection, between he and I. We're not particularly close, but we don't have any problems with one another either. He's been in the minority, I suppose that's part of his problem, (chuckles) all of his life, all of his legislative life anyhow. I tend sometimes not to involve myself, at least too

much time wise, with the Republican leader. I may go to individual Republicans and talk to them. He will always be the leader, so he's got to think of his caucus and how he can expand it, if all possible.

DePue: Okay. So I mentioned three out of the four. Obviously, the fourth leader at that time was the Speaker of the Illinois House Mike Madigan, as he had been for decades.

Lockhart: As a matter of fact, I talked to him last night at a fundraiser (chuckles) and he's sponsoring this bad Constitutional amendment which a couple of my clients bound to do everything they can to defeat. He's just an astute person and you don't fool around with, I mean, he takes everything seriously, he plans ahead. I don't always agree with his conclusions and how he wants to approach things but I respect his abilities and the fact that he is one very serious legislator. He's interested in solving problems not just making noise.

DePue: Would you say that, some say that he is the most powerful politician in Illinois?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: Has been for a while?

Lockhart: Yes. Nobody comes close, let's put it that way.

DePue: To include either Governor Blagojevich or Governor Quinn?

Lockhart: Much more. He's got much more on the ball than either of them.

DePue: Can you flush out why?

Lockhart: He's a student of government; he's a student of human wants, needs; he understands the State of Illinois pretty well. He understands power and how to distribute it and how to make it work, you might say. And he can be ruthless, too. He's not afraid to use the hammer but he's supposed to have a velvet glove but … we differ on some issues but we know each other from way back. I think I had him on some of these seminars, lobbying seminars as a participant, not a participant, on a so-called faculty. I have a high respect for Mike Madigan and I take everything he says or does very seriously.

DePue: He's been around, he's been in the Illinois Legislature since the early 1970's, do you see him retiring any time soon?

Lockhart: He'll retire when his daughter runs for Governor is my opinion. I said to him the other, a couple of weeks ago, or months, a couple of months ago, I saw him some place and I said, "My only distinction is, I've been in Springfield longer than you have."

DePue: (chuckles) That was my next question, "Who's going first, you or him?"

Lockhart: He says, "You have?" I think he'd forgotten that I'd been here before, yeah. But he will do, if it comes to this, of course he's taking a beating now in the *Tribune* every day almost, it gets knocked around. But he will do…

DePue: Because of the pension issue?

Lockhart: He will do a polling, if his daughter wants to run for Governor, if she thinks that's right, or he thinks that's right, he will do some polling, probably find out that she will do better if he's not the Speaker of the House. So he will probably announce his retirement, would be my guess.

DePue: Well, there were lots of people in the last gubernatorial election in 2010 who figured if Lisa Madigan was going to run, she would have easily gotten the Democratic nod, would you have agreed with that?

Lockhart: Yes. Um-hm. I think she's done a great job as Attorney General, nobody's got anything to say against her, she makes a very presentable appearance, she talks well, and so I'm for her. I think she probably has more phone conversations with her father. But once in a while I see them over at the Sangamo Club together. I wish I could tap into that conversation.

DePue: Well, the interesting thing to me is that's a great argument, that relationship is a great argument for nurture versus nature because that's his step-daughter. There's no direct relation at all, is there?

Lockhart: That's correct, yeah. She's been a good student, obviously.

DePue: (chuckles) Lets go back to Rod Blagojevich. How did you see his administration in terms of the issues that were important to you and your clients?

Lockhart: I just thought he was such a mistake. It goes back to before he took office, he had task forces, he appointed task forces of people to study some issues and to report back to him. But they were not allowed to release anything to the press or, everything had to be kept secret. Well, that just strikes me as the wrong way to start off the administration. (chuckles) And nothing he's ever done has made me feel differently about him. I think I realized from the very, very beginning, because I watched him campaign a few times, that there was nothing there, basically, nothing there. And, it was a mistake for him to get nominated, it's a mistake for him to get elected and we got stuck with him for four, six years, I guess. He won two statewide elections.

DePue: You've heard this question before, but, what does that say about the Illinois electorate then?

Lockhart: Yeah, that's right. Well, this is again where money enters into the picture, as I mentioned before, because he had so much money. We all can guess about how he extracted it. So he was able, particularly in the second term, to spend so much more money than Judy Baar Topinka could ever come up with and run an astute PR campaign and public media campaign. It's unfortunate. I told her, I told Judy Baar Topinka, she asked me—she was State Treasurer at the time—should she run for re-election of State Treasurer or run for Governor. I said, "Run for re-election of State Treasurer. At least you'll get elected to that and there will be somebody in state government who could say no to the Governor. I'm fearful, Judy, if you run for Governor, you're going to get beat and there won't be anybody around to hold back this Governor. Who knows what he's going to be up to for the next four years. And I fear for the state, shall we say." Well, she didn't take my advice and ran for Governor. It was unfortunate that he got this opportunity to further denigrate the State of Illinois.

DePue: When you had that conversation I'm assuming you didn't think she had much of a chance of winning.

Lockhart: For governor? Right. I told her that. I told her that. But she could get re-elected state treasurer, at least we'd have somebody there.

DePue: I interviewed Governor Edgar about this particular election and he was very seriously thinking about running himself, not because he had a great desire to run as he explained, this is his explanation. But because…

Lockhart: He's the only person who could beat Blagojevich (chuckles)

DePue: Because he thought that was the only way we could avoid that disaster, until he saw some polls that showed Topinka ahead of Blagojevich, and then he said he didn't need to run.

Lockhart: Well, he was right, but I never felt she could beat him for Governor. He had all this money. And he didn't do anything bad, he just didn't do anything good, either.

DePue: Well, a couple of the things that he did push through, the All Kids Program, that's healthcare for children, kind of, you know, that's the national dialogue that's said let's get healthcare for children at that time. As I recall, he kind of had to push that through the legislation and perhaps beyond what the legislative…

Lockhart: I felt everything he did had a PR purpose behind it. Didn't really want to do good; he wanted to "appear" to do good. He was just looking for good PR to help him get re-elected and extract more goodies from the process. I had a very low opinion of Blagojevich from the very early days on.

DePue: Well, let's, you were looking at him from the legislative perspective what was his relationship with the Illinois Legislature?

Lockhart: It was lousy with Madigan, of course, but was wonderful with Emil Jones. Emil Jones is supportive of just about anything that the Governor wanted.

DePue: How do you explain that because you have a high opinion for Emil Jones?

Lockhart: I do. But I think Emil Jones was split two ways: number one, he was always in competition with Madigan.

DePue: Jones was.

Lockhart: Jones was. So this would give him an asset, shall we say, that Madigan would not be able to get. I think that's part of it. Emil would have the Governor on his side. And he did. He did have the Governor on his side. I'm always grateful for Madigan that he was strong enough to say "no" and make it stick. Unfortunately, most people forgotten that part of the Madigan history during the Blagojevich years. That's the difference as I see it.

DePue: He eventually was impeached not because of the things he was indicted and convicted for on the criminal side, he was impeached for his abuses of his constitutional powers. I think that would be an accurate statement?

Lockhart: Probably. Probably.

DePue: Any reflections on that?

Lockhart: No. I can't be very objective about Blagojevich. I had such an objection to his whole performance, his whole mode of operating. I could not say anything good, whatsoever, emanating from him or his administration. Unfortunately, I was correct.

DePue: And part of that battle especially with Speaker Madigan was one overtime session after another and after another.

Lockhart: That's right.

DePue: Did that mean that you had to be down here for all that stuff as well?

Lockhart: No. I didn't have to be here because I knew it was just a farce.

DePue: And how about the Governor's relationship with the press?

Lockhart: I don't know what it was. I don't think it was very good though. I mean I don't know intimately or anything but I don't think it was very good. People in the press are pretty smart in watching politicians, you know. They've seen a

bunch of them come and go, I trust their astuteness in being able to make the correct evaluation.

DePue: I would think that from the perspective of one of your clients are public pension holders that…

Lockhart: Yes. When he said he would not fund the pension fund, he would use it for other purposes and he would not increase taxes or any of that so that left a bad taste in our mouth. Because that meant that the pension funds would become further, what do I want to say, unfunded and would just mean more difficulty in the future, and so we didn't like it. But you know the legislature liked it and that, well, we didn't have to, we get these programs we don't have to raise taxes to pay for them, we'll just steal the pensioners' money and use that! Somehow we'll work things out at the end, you know.

DePue: Edgar passed the legislation, the end was 2045, but you hear it a lot here lately, …

Lockhart: Kick the can down the road.

DePue: Kick the can down the road. Okay, well, let's get to 2008, the November election, the presidential election, Barack Obama is elected as President. And the significant majority that year and what, maybe about a month later, our Governor is arrested up in Chicago.

Lockhart: Yes, early December, right, it was.

DePue: What was your reaction then?

Lockhart: I'm not surprised. I'm only surprised at how it was done.

DePue: Were you surprised that it took Fitzgerald that long to actually do it?

Lockhart: No, I wasn't thinking about that, because I didn't know what was going on behind the scenes, but the fact that he was arrested for something bad, was not a surprise. I didn't know what the bad thing was and the one that Fitzgerald picked, I guess, was the manipulation over the appointment of the next U. S. Senator, for that spot. I'm not sure that was the best example but Fitzgerald was the guy in charge and he probably, like me, hated Blagojevich so, so what you grab on to anything to make the case.

DePue: By that time there was a long list of people who hated Blagojevich in the State of Illinois.

Lockhart: Yeah.

DePue: What did you think about the public spectacle that was Rod Blagojevich after his arrest?

Lockhart: Well, never surprised about him. I thought, facetiously, I said, "What he should do is plead "guilty by reason of insanity" because people would believe that. And he could go to a mental institution and maybe he wouldn't have to have his hair shaved off or whatever. But if he goes to prison, he's going to have to give up that bushy head of hair that he's got and he won't be able to open a hair salon in the mental institution that he will not be able to do if he's in a prison somewhere." (both chuckle) But see, he didn't take my advice about pleading guilty by reason of insanity, so like I say…

DePue: You've spent your entire adult career working to make Illinois a better place by working through the legislative process. So, how much does it bother you when Illinois politics is a punch line for a late night talk show host?

Lockhart: It's awful. It's awful. And you can't do anything about it. It's so deep now. It's so deep. That's why I told you this, I teach this class and young people, you know, eighteen, nineteen years old, isn't there a lot of corruption in the state legislature they ask me. So it's permeated down deep in the roots of the State of Illinois anyway and probably to some extent, elsewhere.

DePue: Well, we need to wrap things up here and we're at that point. I want to ask you some broad questions here and let's start with this one. How has lobbying changed during your fifty-three years here in Springfield?

Lockhart: It's gotten more based upon how much financial resources can be brought to bear on elections. I think that's one of the things I would say. Because elections have gotten more expensive, so how are they to be financed except through the political or special interest structures. That's the big thing. I think also the fact that society has gotten more complex. We deal with issues today that nobody would have any conception of a few years ago. Things relating to the environment, health issues, you know, the list just goes on and on. So you just look at the range of bills that gets introduced in the legislature. And the committees now that have to be appointed to deal with the subject matter, some of it gets to be pretty complex and specialized. That's been part of the nature of society and we have full time legislators. We used to have, that used to be very rare, we had part-time legislators. We have full-time legislators who are proud that they are full-time legislators. They get $68,000 a year, which is good money for a part-time job. They get coverage for health. They get a shiny new license plate. They get an office back home, help, they get assistance, they call up for information. A legislator calls up for information, people will answer the phone and provide it for them. If they get into some kind of a bind politically they can try to get support. So all those things that used to be done, either not done at all, or it was done as part of a political party now is been individualized, it's been specialized, it's gotten to be more expensive and more complex. So it definitely changed a lot since when I first came here.

DePue: We talked…

Lockhart: Part of it is society, though.

DePue: Yeah. We talked about this before how unpopular lobbyists are

Lockhart: Um-hm.

DePue: In the general collection of the lobbyists, how unpopular they are but is lobbying really necessary for our society to work properly?

Lockhart: I think so. I thinks it's important because otherwise there would be legislators making laws and they would not know the effect some of these laws would have on society or the economy. The interest group is there to say, "Wait a minute, Senator, you realize if you pursued this point that you're trying to reach in your legislation, that that will cause companies here in Illinois to close up or move away, that you're asking for things to change maybe too soon before there's time to make that happen." So somebody has to. The issues are so complex, that I'm grateful that there are some organizations who can say to the legislature, "Wait a minute, look at this piece of legislation, you realize that if this passed this would happen.". And the public won't be able to do this because the issues are so complex, the public can barely deal with what I would call the big issues of taxation and security and whatever else. The private sector is represented by lobbyists, of course, they're sanctified by provisions in the Constitution: the right to petition government for the redress of problems. And so, it's unfortunate the lobbyists get criticized but also if some people find out that there's an evil piece of legislation working their way through and they don't know how to stop it, they'll try to find a lobbyist to come down and do that for them.

DePue: Okay. You mention just now that lobbying is actually protected by the Constitution. It's one of our First Amendment rights.

Lockhart: Indeed. It's forgotten.

DePue: Yes, I was just going to say, the public hardly ever even recognizes that, do they?

Lockhart: Yeah, I don't think in the teaching of government somehow the word lobbying ever enters into it when it tells about the petition, the rights of the governed to express their point of view on issues. But that's there in the Constitution.

DePue: Are you proud that you've served as a lobbyist all these years?

Lockhart: Yes.

DePue: No hesitation, whatsoever.

Lockhart: No.

DePue: So it is a worthy, honorable profession?

Lockhart: Well, I'm not talking about everybody. But I feel like I've done a lot of good things for a lot of people who would not otherwise have those things made available, and have done it in an upfront, ethical kind of way.

DePue: What would you look back in your long career and say this is the thing I'm most proud about?

Lockhart: I'm not sure what I would do about that. I have to think about that one, it's been fifty-three years, you know. (laughs)

DePue: You mean there's so many things to be proud of.

Lockhart: (laughing) So many things, thank you.

DePue: Any particular piece of legislation that really sticks out in your mind?

Lockhart: No there's pieces of legislation I knew there were big fights over. I go back to the late '70s, the re-codification of the Credit Union Act. We were beset by all the bankers in the state but we managed to pass the bill and get Governor Thompson to sign it, but that was for the benefit of credit unions who are voluntary financial institutions scattered throughout the state. Now that's good for government and good for the public but it's kind of maybe a narrow piece of the public, I don't know. But I just use that as an example, otherwise bankers would have had pretty much a monopoly; so this was an opportunity to provide opportunities for communities and areas to have a financial institution of their own.

DePue: You might have the same kind of answer for this question then, but most disappointing or painful failure that you had. Not you personally but in terms of legislation, something like that.

Lockhart: Well, I think with respect to the Mental Health Association, our conflict sometimes has been with the nursing home industry. We pretty much lost all of those battles, so to say, lost most of those battles. The things we've tried to get in terms of better inspections for the facilities, more of the money to be used for community care. We've not done as well as I wished we had been able to do.

DePue: We talked a lot about the various governors, how would you rate the governors that you saw during your long tenure here? Who would you put on the top of the list as the best, most effective Governor?

Lockhart: I would put Governor Richard Ogilvie, primarily because he realized the State could not continue to support services only by raising the sales tax year after year; that was not the way to go. We needed an income tax and he took the bold, even though he knew suicidal step, of sponsoring it and working it

through; this is pursuant to the old Constitution, not the new one. The new one allows for a non-graduated income tax, but the old Constitution was very vaguish about what kind of taxes and a lot of people said, "Well, you want to get it through, but the courts will say it was an unconstitutional effort." Of course, he lost office and a lot of Republicans lost who voted for it. But it made a difference in terms of providing necessary services whether they are human services, whether they were roads and bridges, or whether they were educational, higher education issues. And no, we've not found too many legislators, not many governors willing to take on an obvious risk of that quality, that heavy burden and push it through successfully knowing full well that it will cause his defeat, and for many of his people that he is asking to support his position. Ogilvie is definitely at the top of the list.

DePue: I don't think I need to… I'll ask you anyway because I think I know the answer…

Lockhart: Who's at the bottom of the list?

DePue: Who's at the bottom of the list? (both chuckle)

Lockhart: Right, you know who it is. He is the present occupant of a facility in Terre Haute, Indiana.

DePue: But then so is George Ryan, well, Blagojevich is in Colorado, Ryan is in Terre Haute.

Lockhart: Yeah, that's right. That's right.

DePue: So would you say Ryan's…

Lockhart: No.

DePue: …administration was a failure in the same respect?

Lockhart: Not quite. Not quite. I never quite got grasp, to tell the truth on the automobile accident that presumably the Willis people died. I couldn't quite ever make that connection. I've tried to figure it out. I've not been satisfied.

DePue: Um-hm.

Lockhart: In my own way.

DePue: The whole, I think what the media called…

Lockhart: License…

DePue: The license for bribes scandal.

Lockhart: Yeah, I didn't quite get that. So Blagojevich is at the bottom of the list and George Ryan is an unfortunate thing and I have to plead ignorance. I should probably pay more attention to the charges and the jury. The fact is I thought he was going to be found not guilty, because I didn't see the connection, but somebody did I guess.

DePue: Are your comments based on your focus as primarily what's going on that legislature much more than what's going on in the Governor's office?

Lockhart: Yeah, definitely. Definitely.

DePue: Well, from that perspective, can Illinois dig its way out of the current problems we got, especially the pension problems, and the incredible debt we have, and the late payments on all the debtors that we have?

Lockhart: Well, the only thing I've said, in fact I talked about it today over with one of my client organizations in Champaign, and the question has come up, will the legislature come back into session this summer. And I said I don't think so unless the rating bureaus, the Moody's of the world come out with some kind of a statement, "That Illinois, you have to get your fiscal house in order immediately within the next thirty days or your bonds and everything is going to be junk." And this, I think, might force the Governor, the two political parties and the leadership to come forth with some kind of a fiscal plan other than, if there was this kind of outside pressure, shall we say. In other words, the legislators before the election don't want to be held responsible for the fact that they're living in a state which they are a party of, but the state is basically defunct. Some of the universities will have to close up, People will have payless paydays. You are a state employee, are you not?

DePue: Yes.

Lockhart: (chuckles) Might have to go without a paycheck for a while and what about the guards at prisons? So one bad thing will lead to another bad thing. So that would, especially in an election year---with the election coming up in November, I think, that would probably force them to do something and then they would all blame it on Moody's. if they had to do that rather than their own neglect maybe.

DePue: Um-hm

Lockhart: That's the only thing I think will happen right now. I wonder what will… They're supposed to deal with the income tax, you know. Increasing the income tax was done a few years ago, and they took a lot of heat on that, and I think it would be very difficult for them to increase the income tax again, because in the first place, no Republicans voted for the income tax increase a few years ago. It was done after the legislative session had adjourned, or just before it adjourned and before the new one came on. This would have been in early January. So in the first nine days of January 2013 will be critical days in

terms of whether that lame duck session of the House and the Senate will do some of these things that are too painful for them to do now before the election.

DePue: Painful because they are budget cuts…?

Lockhart: They have to inflict pain. Yeah.

DePue: And even though the Democrats control all the levels of power in this state, okay.

Lockhart: It's just their nature they don't want to cause more problems.

DePue: They don't want to lose the next election maybe?

Lockhart: They don't want to lose the next election for sure, right. Like I say, they're getting $68,000 a year.

DePue: Well, you say that as if it's a lot of money, I'm not sure that's what they would say.

Lockhart: They probably would not say because they say they're full-time legislators, but it's a part time job, basically. And sometimes they have elections and there is no opponent and there's a pension associated with them, plus free health care, district office, et cetera. It's not bad; most legislators want to be re-elected.

DePue: Well, Dick, how would you like to be remembered?

Lockhart: Basically as a good person who has helped a lot of people and organizations. Nothing special. Survived fifty years plus (chuckles) in the state. In a year and a half I'll be ninety, can you believe that? (chuckles)

DePue: When do you retire then?

Lockhart: I don't plan to, but I don't know either. I could have a health problem tomorrow.

DePue: But it's still that much fun, it's that enjoyable?

Lockhart: It's satisfying in a way and I'm also apprehensive about doing something different, or not doing what I've been doing for fifty-three years. Because apparently, you know, it provides certain satisfactions. I also have a feeling of responsibility to my clients, some of them would not quite know what to do, for a while anyway.

DePue: Why did you agree to do the interview?

Lockhart: I like history. If I get a chance to be a participant in that, that's fine.

DePue: Well, it's certainly been invaluable for us to be able to talk to you, somebody who's generally considered the "Dean of Lobbyists" in Springfield, Illinois, here, to get the kind of insights that you have, to read things like *Lockhart Logic* and your *Glossary* that you shared with us, some of the entries and the good humor; but also the insights into how legislation actually gets crafted. That's invaluable for students down the road sometime here. So I thank you very much for that. Do you have any closing comments you'd like to make for

Lockhart: I think it's a good thing that you are doing here at the Library. I would hope that more people would take advantage of it, and also more people would use the resources that you have accumulated here with this Oral History Project. And maybe teachers would be able to glean some insights that they would not otherwise be able to do.

DePue: Thank you very much, Dick.

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[i] COLA was first introduced in 1975: www.ssa.gov/.../automatic-cola.htm

[ii] Andrew McFarland Mental Health Center is a psychiatric hospital in Springfield, IL with 118 beds. http//health.usnews.com

(End of interviews)