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CONVERSATION WITH THE PUBLISHER



Congrats to Motorola winners and humbug on New York City

by Ed Wojcicki

People like to think the media never print the good news. So I'm happy *Illinois Issues* is once again co-sponsoring the Motorola Excellence in Public Service Award. Now in its ninth year, this award recognizes an innovative agency head who works for the city of Chicago, Cook County or the state of Illinois. I chair the selection committee, and the North Business & Industrial Council and Motorola have again joined the magazine as co-sponsors.

Congratulations to this year's winners: Mary Dempsey, commissioner of the Chicago Public Library, and Audrey McCrimon, assistant to the secretary of the Illinois Department of Human Services and former director of the Illinois Department of Rehabilitation Services.

Dempsey has been responsible for upgrading Chicago's library services and helping residents of some of the city's poor neighborhoods gain access to the Internet at modernized facilities. I asked her last month what she's most proud of, and she responded clearly: providing access to information in multiple languages. Though summarized in a few words, that is no small task.

Hanging on McCrimon's office wall is a large collage with the acronym "DO IT," which stands for Director's Opportunity for Input Task Force. At DORS, McCrimon gathered employees at all levels once a month to talk about

ways to improve the agency. The collage consists of dozens of small note cards praising and thanking McCrimon for responding to her co-workers' experiences on the front lines.

McCrimon and Dempsey will be honored at a luncheon October 19 at the Four Seasons Hotel in Chicago.

C hicago really started something with its Cows on Parade celebration last summer. The successful project to place hundreds of painted fiberglass cows on city sidewalks drew acclaim from city businesses, artists and a countless number of people who enjoyed the unexpected encounter with strange, large-as-life creatures.

Spin-offs of the project spread to other cities. Cincinnati has pigs on parade. Peoria does, too. New Orleans has fish, Buffalo has buffaloes and Orlando will have large lizards.

What tickles me is the local reaction to New York's Cow Parade, which has drawn mixed reviews. Some New Yorkers must think if it's not Monet, it can't be art. They must be too snobby to think anything cultural could be fun.

The New York Times ran a headline in July that said, "Isn't It Time To Put Those Fiberglass Visitors Out to Pasture?" A Washington Post reporter conducted some person-on-the-street interviews and concluded: "The reviews are not good."

Humbug on New York! □

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The story about the fight against polio is instructive

by Peggy Boyer Long

ifty summers ago, the poliomyelitis rivirus was scaring the dickens out of every parent in the country.

The disease, which spreads through contact with contaminated feces, can cripple and kill adults and children alike. But it brought special terrors to mothers and fathers. The public swimming pool was out of the question. As for inoculations, however limited the protection, there was no question. Life in an iron lung seemed an all-tooreal alternative.

Later reports put the panic in perspective. "How many cases make an epidemic?" Wilfrid Sheed asked in his profile of Dr. Jonas Salk for *Time* magazine in March of 1999. "Survivors of the great polio plagues of the 1940s and '50s will never believe that in the U.S. the average toll in those years was 'only' 1 victim out of every 5,000 people."

For parents, though, that was one too many. But then, remember, this was the World War II generation, already accustomed to mobilizing against any enemy. And winning. Even the name given to the fundraising effort for vaccine research had a military ring: The March of Dimes. And Americans turned, perhaps instinctively, to Salk, the virologist who had beaten back the flu for the army during the overseas engagement.

This isn't mere musty history, though. The battle against polio is still instructive, especially now, as state officials decide whether Illinois children must get the shot that wards off chickenpox. The move would add one more to the 18 required inoculations against nine diseases, Kristy Kennedy notes in "Vaccination vacillation," beginning on page 24.

This issue has become controversial.



In the summer of 1953, Gary Smith, 4, was one of 21,000 Macon County children who got a gamma globulin shot. At the time, it was the only known, though limited, protection against severe polio. A year later, Dr. Jonas Salk field-tested his vaccine on children. In 1961, the American Medical Association endorsed Dr. Albert Sabine's oral vaccine.

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But in the summer of 1953, Macon County parents were grateful for any chance at preventing a dread disease. Fourteen cases of polio had been reported in the county, three of them resulting in death, three in paralysis. Local officials, with federal help, organized inoculation centers and 21,000 children got the gamma globulin shot, at the time the only known, though limited, protection against severe polio.

> That was the year before Salk began field trials with nearly two million schoolchildren. His vaccine was declared 90 percent safe, but, in 1955, a bad batch infected 250 children with polio. Eleven died.

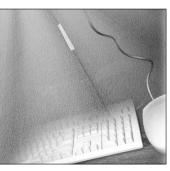
Still Americans pressed on. And in 1961, the American Medical Association endorsed Dr. Albert Sabin's oral vaccine. Today, both vaccines are given in alternating cycles. Though the polio virus is still a killer elsewhere on the globe, it's no longer a worry in this country. There hasn't been a case of paralytic polio in Illinois since 1983.

The story of the search for a polio vaccine says much about politics, of course, as well as the clash of scientific egos. What is more compelling, though, is what it says about us. It's hard not to be struck by the public's will to mobilize, by the willingness to take risks. We really did believe the only thing we had to fear was fear itself. □

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A publication of the University of Illinois at Springfield

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The long-distance flutter

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Credits: Diana Nelson was the photographer and designer of this month's cover.

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Despite concerns and complaints the 1970 Illinois Constitution works

by Burney Simpson

It was shortly after the Summer of Love. The Vietnam War was at its height. A Daley was the Boss of Chicago. Men had stepped onto the Moon and the Cubs had handed a 9 1/2-game lead to the hated Mets. And then convention delegates from across Illinois finished remaking the state's 100-year-old constitution.

That was 30 years ago this month.

The gathering that came to be called ConCon may not have had the made-for-TV glamour of a moon walk. Nevertheless, it managed to redraw the constellation of Illinois government, changing, for instance, the relationship of the executive and legislative branches, and the relative powers of local and state officials. It strengthened oversight of state finances. And it created limited citizen initiative powers.

Some of these changes are now taken for granted — "home rule" powers for larger municipalities, for example, and the establishment of a state auditor general. Others are still debated, such as the extra veto powers granted the governor. Meanwhile, proposals that didn't make it into the document, particularly merit selection of judges, continue to stir controversy.

Still, those who participated in the Illinois Constitutional Convention 30 years ago have reason to celebrate the document's anniversary.

Thirty years ago this month, delegates from across Illinois finished remaking the state's 100-year-old state Constitution.

The Constitution of 1970 codified what had become obvious: Illinois had outgrown its rural roots, and most Illinoisans were living in cities. All cities, but especially the city of Chicago, were winners by the time the delegates disbursed. Increased municipal powers constituted a major victory for Mayor Richard J. Daley. He also retained authority to handpick candidates for local judicial races, a great reward for the party faithful. As a result, Daley's Democratic political machine helped assure that the Constitution was approved by voters.

There were new players in the political game, too. Among the delegates were Dawn Clark Netsch, soon to be a Democratic state senator from Chicago, and later state comptroller and gubernatorial candidate. Richard M. Daley, son of the Chicago mayor, cut his teeth at ConCon. Speaker of the Illinois House Michael Madigan won his first election as a delegate. And there was

Jeffrey Ladd, a Republican, who is now chairman of the suburban Metra train system.

There were community activists who sat on opposite sides of the ideological fence, too, including Al Raby, who had marched with the Rev.

Martin Luther King Jr., and Father Francis Lawlor, a neighborhood organizer who worked to keep blacks from moving into parts of Chicago's South Side.

Delegates were elected on a non-partisan basis. And, though it was often clear where a delegate's political sympathies lay, removing party labels did seem to free up the debate. "It brought people together who would never talk to each other. The nonpartisan election brought new players and new voices. People went on to make their mark," says Ladd, who represented the northwest suburban district and has headed Metra since 1984.

Delegate Cliff Kelley concurs. "For some this was a one time thing, and we had to do something about a 100-year-old Constitution. Folks were willing to talk." Kelley became a Chicago alderman for 16 years, and now hosts a leading radio talk show.

What do these delegates consider their greatest accomplishments? Madigan, who represented a South Side district, says home rule powers. Under that change, municipalities were freed from many constraints. They won greater authority over their own purse strings and the ability to license professionals.

Prior to ConCon, "local governments couldn't sneeze without going to state government," says Netsch, who represented the district on Chicago's Near North Side. Netsch now teaches law at Northwestern University. She recalls that the first Mayor Daley, in the midst of reforming the police department in the early 1960s, needed the legislature's approval just to change the color of the flashing lights on squad cars.

And before the new constitution, a single taxing body could not issue bonds greater than 5 percent of the value of the city's property. To get around the rule, cities created special taxing districts for their services and construction projects — from schools and libraries, to roads and bridges. This cumbersome system bred thousands of taxing districts across that state.

The home rule provision gave municipalities with populations of more than 25,000 the ability to issue their own debt without this limitation. Cities could also regulate public health and safety. "Home rule changed the dynamics of the legislative process and state government," says Madigan. "Prior to the adoption of the Constitution, mayors of large cities like Chicago had to get approval from state government to address problems and to change their taxing authority."

The Constitution also altered the relative powers of the executive and legislative branches. The amendatory veto, a Netsch proposal, gave the governor the authority to make changes in legislation approved by the General Assembly. Netsch argues a final review by the governor is necessary due to the sheer number of proposals legislators must consider. "Often legislation catches no one's eye until everyone has gone home," she says.

Madigan disagrees, saying it puts too much power in the governor's hands. "The governor has the authority to rewrite [a proposal] without talking to the legislature. That gives the executive [branch] the power of being its own legislature."

But Netsch thinks there were other provisions added to the document that leaned to the legislature's advantage. The lieutenant governor no longer presides over the Senate, the legislature meets on a yearly basis and the auditor general, chosen by the General Assembly, has been given authority to review the financial practices of state agencies that report to the governor.

The 1970 Constitution also enhanced the rights of Illinois citizens. It banned discrimination in housing and employment based on race, color, creed, ancestry and — forward thinking for the time — gender and physical or mental disability.

But one seemingly innocuous change worked to the detriment of Illinois Democrats. The election cycle for state offices was changed so it would not coincide with presidential elections. While, in theory, that change would minimize the coattails of a popular national leader, it has meant GOP domination in the governor's office, according to Madigan. He recalls meeting with Daley at the time. "This item slipped past the mayor. He found out after the fact and he was livid. I know, I was there. He said, 'You're not going to get poor people out [to vote] in a nonpresidential election. You need the excitement of a presidential election.' And we haven't elected a Democratic governor since [this took effect]."

The man who came to be known as "the father of the Constitution," Samuel Witwer, had been campaigning for a convention for more than 20 years. Witwer, a Republican from Chicago's North Shore, became the chairman. He's credited with encouraging bipartisan compromise and herding the delegates to finish the document.

"He kept us working. He threatened, cajoled and emotionally bribed us. This was his life," says David Kenney, a delegate from Carbondale. Kenney later served in Gov. James Thompson's Cabinet and wrote *Making a Modern Constitution* about the convention.

Voters had approved a convention in 1968 when the state was facing a financial crisis because of limitations imposed by a century-old revenue article. (The need for a new constitution, however, was somewhat undercut when the state Supreme Court upheld the income tax instituted under Gov. Richard Ogilvie.)

Deliberations were held in Springfield in the Old State Capitol. The delegates were paid \$625 per month. And those delegates, 116 of them, were more reflective of the state's population than the General Assembly of the day: There were 13 women, 15 blacks and 34 under the age of 40. Ninety-six delegates were college graduates, 56 were lawyers and 11 were educators. Only five delegates were farmers. But the single most powerful group was the Democratic organization from Chicago.

The delegates organized themselves into 12 committees, including educa-

tion, local government, revenue and judiciary.

The difficult debate over abortion foreshadowed the controversy that remains today. At the time, abortion was illegal. But Father Lawlor, a vehement opponent, says he could see the mood of the country turning. Lawlor pushed unsuccessfully to include the unborn in the Bill of Rights. He caused a stir when he brought several fetuses to a committee meeting. "I thought if they saw it, how could you vote not to protect it," he says. "But the whole nation was falling apart at the time. I have no regrets. It was the truth."

Soon after the convention, the U.S. Supreme Court effectively legalized abortion in *Roe v. Wade*. Lawlor continued to work against abortion.

The occasional fireworks kept Witwer focused on ensuring that the final document was palatable to the majority of the state's voters, who would have to approve the Constitution. Four divisive issues were presented separately on the ballot. Voters dealt with five questions: whether to approve the Constitution itself; whether judges should be appointed by a Judicial Nominating Commission; whether to lower the voting age to 18; whether to retain the cumulative vote for multimember districts in the House or switch to single-member districts; and whether to abolish the death penalty.

Witwer's instincts paid off. The Constitution was approved, but the four other items were defeated.

Still, the flexibility built into the Constitution bore the seeds of later change. A provision allowed citizens to petition for changes in the structure and procedures of the General Assembly. A 1980 initiative ended cumulative voting and established single-member House districts, simultaneously cutting the size of that chamber. Recently, though, academics and activists have called for a return to cumulative voting.

Despite some concerns and complaints, the 1970 Constitution works. "It is broad enough to encompass wide viewpoints," says Ladd. "The proof is in the pudding."

BRIEFLY

Edited by Rodd Whelpley

AGRICULTURE SHOW

Illinois farmers brace for presidential politicking

t's been called the World's Fair of agriculture," boasts organizer Mark Randal. But this election season, some participants hope it doesn't become a political sideshow.

The hosts for this year's annual Farm Progress Show, September 26-28, expect more than 250 exhibitors, 250,000 farmers — and maybe a couple of presidential candidates — to converge on two farms in Cantrall near Springfield.

With its ability to attract crowds, much like state and county fairs, this ag extravaganza draws candidates as well as farmers. Democratic presidential nominee Al Gore and Republican nominee George W. Bush have visited previous Farm Progress Shows and are likely to make the trip again.

"I suspect both will come," says Randal. "The ag world is still important when it comes to a campaign. In 1996, both [Al] Gore and [Bob] Dole came to the Amana show in Iowa. We welcomed them. We welcome the national media attention.'

Dennis Vercler, a spokesman for the Illinois Farm Bureau, is equally enthusiastic. "It's important to farmers that the candidates recognize the importance of the farm vote. It's a small portion of the total pie, but it is crucial, especially in the Midwestern states where it's critical that candidates show concern about the farm economy."

Still, some exhibitors aren't thrilled by the idea of visits from presidential candidates because they cut into the time farmers have to view new technology and equipment.

Randal is aware of the potential logistical problems. "There is the aura that you always have to do what the White House says. As a business, we have to protect our clients first. In 1988, when [George] Bush [Sr.] came to the Farm Progress Show, he appeared at the John Deere exhibit. It shut down half the show for half a day. We're going to avoid that happening," he says. "We'll do our best to get them in and out quickly."

In the meantime, there's still some sprucing up to do. At presstime, alfalfa was growing on the acreage. Before the show, it will have to be harvested as a cash crop. But by Labor Day, Kent Weatherby and Wayne Heissinger, who work the host farms, probably won't recognize their own fields. The 1,300 acres they rent from a trust held by Bank One will have been transformed into a tent city to accommodate displays from seed dealers and implement salespeople, all aiming to showcase the latest in farm equipment, including global positioning systems.

The Farm Progress Show, established in 1953, changes its farmbelt venue each year. It's been 30 years since the Springfield area has played host. That one was held in Buffalo. Organizers have already announced next year's show will be held on 2,500 acres in Indiana.

> Charlyn Fargo agribusiness editor The State Journal-Register, Springfield



CONTROVERSY AT ALLERTON **Locals question** the sale of gift land

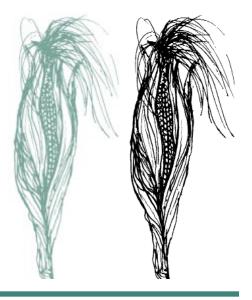
A controversial effort to transform 1,800 acres of east central Illinois farmland into the prairie found by colonial settlers has been delayed, says Carl Becker, an assistant planning director with the natural resources department.

A proposal to allow the University of Illinois to sell farmland to the agency was put on hold for the rest of this fiscal year after it met with opposition from local taxing authorities and the the Piatt County Farm Bureau this summer.

Becker believes the size of the plot and the resources already at the site 20 miles southwest of Champaign mean the land could be developed into a combination of prairie, savannah, bottomland forest and floodplain river. "This allows us to restore an entire ecosystem," he says. "This will benefit wildlife. And we can see what Illinois looked like in the early 1800s."

Becker argues the open space would also attract migratory birds that have disappeared or are rarely seen in the state. The project would be used by bird-watchers, hikers and hunters.

But the end of ag production would mean an annual loss of \$40,000 to local taxing bodies, according to Jim Reed, past president of the Piatt County Farm Bureau. The group also



estimates that tenant farmers contribute more than \$250,000 annually to the local economy.

Ag interests argue that, by considering the sale, the state is sending mixed messages on the use of the land. Terry Lourash has been farming about 600 of the acres with his father for 15 years. The family earned state grants to rebuild slopes to reduce erosion. "Tax dollars paid to put this together. Now tax dollars will be used to take it apart," says Lourash. "Why take this land out of production?"

The land was part of a massive 1946 gift to the university from Robert Allerton, heir to a banking and livestock fortune. Along with the adjacent tillable acres, Allerton gave the university his Georgian-style mansion, a series of elaborate sculpture gardens and surrounding woods to use as parkland. In his bequest, Allerton wrote that income from the farms should pay for upkeep of the park. Grateful university officials arranged for tenant farmers to work the land and split their profits with the school.

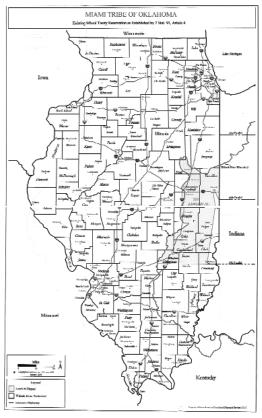
Allerton Park has become a popular gathering spot and conference venue. But in a letter to the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, Reed claims park overseers want the funds from the sale of the land to perform deferred maintenance projects at the park.

Meanwhile, members of the Piatt County Emergency Services and Disaster Agency say a tallgrass prairie would present a fire danger. In a written statement they argue that "the cost of firefighting equipment and personnel to adequately protect ... persons and property against this hazard is far beyond the means of the fire protection districts involved." A resolution by the Mid-Piatt Fire Protection District claims that the loss of property taxes associated with the land's transfer to the Department of Natural Resources would place a greater tax burden on neighboring property owners.

Assuming concerns of the local infrastructure and taxing authorities can be assuaged, the land alone could cost the Illinois Department of Natural Resources an estimated \$5.4 million. According to Becker, turning it into prairie could cost \$14,000 per 100 acres. To pay for it, the agency would have to apply to the state's \$160 million Open Lands Trust Fund.

Burney Simpson

Map courtesy of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma



The Oklahoma-based Miami Tribe filed suit claiming land in 15 east central Illinois counties

MIAMI TRIBE SUES

The state seeks to help Illinoisans win the case

Attorney General Jim Ryan moved to help defend 15 Illinoisans sued by the Miami Tribe over land rights.

After four years of negotiations with the administrations of former Gov. Jim Edgar and current Gov. George Ryan, the tribe filed suit last summer claiming that a good chunk of eastern Illinois — 2.6 million acres covering all or parts of 15 counties — belongs to them. The suit names individual landowners, one from each county, as defendants.

Tribes have the right to conduct business on land they own. And the Miami Tribe's ultimate goal may be the right to set up the state's first landbased casino. "The tribe has been very straightforward about wanting a casino," says Tony Leone, a Springfield lobbyist for the Oklahoma-based

However, the Miami's attorney, Thomas E. Osterholt Jr., says the tribe is seeking to recover or be paid for the land, which it claims under the Treaty of Grouseland, signed in 1805 during President Thomas Jefferson's administration. The federal government forced the Miami Tribe out of Illinois at gunpoint and eventually located it on a reservation in northeastern Oklahoma.

"In essence, the landowners are trespassers. They do not have valid title, and the tribe wants the land granted in the treaty," says Osterholt of the law firm Dankenbring, Greiman & Osterholt of St. Louis. However, he says, the tribe has always been willing to "sit down at the table."

Though the state is not named in the suit, Attorney General Ryan, after

BRIEFLY

continued from previous page

consultation with Gov. Ryan, decided in July to help private landowners indirectly by intervening "in the best interests of the state." Attorney General Ryan also retained the firm of Mayer, Brown & Platt because the Chicago law firm has experience with similar cases involving Indian claims in other parts of the country.

Indian tribes have had some success in negotiating settlements on past land deals after a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1985 sided with the Oneida Tribe against the state of New York in a case stemming from an unlawful land transfer.

The Miami argue their claim to Illinois land is valid. "Just because we're talking about a document from 1805 doesn't mean we don't honor it," says Osterholt. "After all, we still honor and abide by the [U.S.] Constitution, and it is older than this treaty."

Beverlev Scobell

WEBSOURCE

Get an information booster

on kids' inoculations

Need a shot of information on the vaccinations kids must have before they head back to school?

It's all on the Web.

A good place to start is the state Department of Public Health's site at www.idph.state.il.us/a-zlist.htm. Check out the vaccination listings. Some infectious diseases, such as measles, are listed separately. Go to www.idph.state.il.us/local/home.htm for a list of the addresses of local health departments, which can be located through a regional map or alphabetically.

Further, the state site has a list of links to other government sites, including the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention at www.cdc.gov. Click on "Health Topics A-Z" for more information on specific diseases.

Parents who are nervous about shots can go to "Vaccines for Children," part of the National Immunization Program, at www.cdc.gov/nip/vfc. Under "Information and Resources" is a page titled "Six Common Misconceptions about Vaccination" that answers some of the questions parents frequently

Additional information is available by going to www.healthfinder.gov/hottopics.htm and clicking on "immunizations and infectious diseases." Or type "immunizations" in the search window on the home page.

Beverley Scobell

...regionalism, transportation, education, energy, housing, health, lobbying, the legislature, state agencies...

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www.uis.edu/~ilissues

New Books

Ban on state employees may hit Ryan's campaign pocketbook

Gov. George Ryan's self-imposed ban on accepting contributions from state employees may reveal the extent to which they have kicked into his campaign account in past years.

In his forthcoming book, *Money* Counts, University of Illinois at Springfield professor Kent Redfield analyzes contributions to Ryan's campaign that fall under \$150. These are labeled as "not-itemized" in campaign finance reports and their sources are not recorded.

For the two reporting periods in calendar year 1997, then-Secretary of State Ryan reported \$629,656 worth of small contributions. For the two reporting periods in calendar year 1999, with the ban in effect, Gov. Ryan's not-itemized contributions

amounted to only \$2,085.

"It is often assumed that a large percentage of the not-itemized contributions reported by statewide officials, particularly the governor and the secretary of state, represent contributions from state employees who have purchased tickets to fundraising events," writes Redfield. Tickets for most events sell for less than \$150.

Shortly after becoming governor, Ryan forbade state employees from soliciting one another for contributions to his campaign fund "in order to avoid the appearance of conflict of interest or undue influence."

Redfield compares 1997 to 1999 figures because both were nonelection years. However, since 1997 preceded rather than succeeded an election year, timing may explain some, though not all, of the \$625,000 difference. "If you look at the off-year following the election, you expect some drop off ... but not that kind of falloff.'

Redfield believes his analysis indicates that most of Ryan's 1997 small contributions came from his employees. He adds that in 1995, the year after Ryan was first elected secretary of state, his campaign fund showed small contributions of \$414,374. And the latest post-ban figures indicate Ryan took in only \$900 worth of small contributions during the first half of this year.

"But, because they're not itemized, you don't know."

Though it's impossible to determine for sure how much of Ryan's past contributions came from state employees, the concern with avoiding the appearance of undue influence may be well-founded. Guilty pleas in the Operation Safe Road investigation reveal that some former secretary of state employees funneled \$170,000 in bribe money to then-Secretary of State Ryan's campaign fund, much of it through the purchase of fundraising tickets. Ryan has subsequently given that amount to charity.

Rodd Whelpley

State abortion foes unsure how to answer court ruling

Abortion opponents in Illinois, dealt a setback by a recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling, are mulling how — and whether — to try to preserve a state law banning the controversial late-term procedure sometimes called "partial-birth abortion."

The U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision handed down June 28, invalidated a Nebraska law that prohibited the procedure. The Nebraska statute made it a crime to perform an abortion by "partially [delivering] vaginally a living unborn child before killing the unborn child and completing the delivery."

The high court's ruling in *Stenberg v. Carhart* prompted state Attorney

General Jim Ryan to curtail his defense of a similar law in Illinois. Ryan said in July that he was "regrettably" making that decision because he believed the Illinois law couldn't be upheld in the wake of the Supreme Court decision. Ryan personally supports banning partial-birth abortions.

Under the Illinois law, enacted in 1998, doctors who perform partial-birth abortions could be charged with a Class 4 criminal felony. Because of ongoing legal battles, however, that law never has been enforced.

Officials from anti-abortion groups in Illinois say they would face a difficult task in continuing to pursue a legal ban on the partial-birth procedure. But they haven't yet decided how to proceed. An outright prohibition that would pass muster in the courtroom doesn't look feasible at the present time, says Ralph

Rivera, legislative chairman for the Downers Grove-based Illinois Citizens for Life.

The Supreme Court found that one of the flaws in the Nebraska law was its failure to include an exemption allowing doctors to perform the procedure if it is the best way to preserve a woman's health. The health exemption can be broadly interpreted, says Rivera, referring to it as "one of those Mack truck loopholes."

Opponents of the procedure came up with the term "partial-birth abortion." Doctors call it dilation and extraction, or D&X. It generally is performed in the 20th to 24th week of pregnancy. It refers to a manner of abortion in which a fetus is extracted part of the way through the birth canal. The fetus' skull is then cut and its contents drained.

Adriana Colindres Statehouse reporter, Copley Illinois Newspapers

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UPDATES

- University of Illinois entomologists found pollen from one type of Bt corn was not harmful to butterflies, a conclusion that differs from a 1999 Cornell study (see *Illinois Issues*, July/August 1999, page 8; September 1999, page 12; and October 1999, page 12).
- The EPA in July required states to make plans to bring waterway pollutant runoff up to federal standards within 15 to 25 years (see *Illinois Issues*, July/August, page 24).
- Vandalia Work Camp inmates were pressed into service this summer to clean a neglected cemetery near Sandoval in Marion County, one of many rundown cemeteries throughout the state (see *Illinois Issues*, April, page 36).
- The National Conference of State Legislatures found that, nation-wide, half of the money states have received from the tobacco settlement is going toward health-care services, but that Illinois used \$315 million of its \$437 million for property tax relief and an earned income tax credit (see *Illinois Issues*, October 1999, page 30, and May 2000, page 10).
- Will County circuit court judge Thomas Ewert ruled that the 1998 gift ban act that limits lobbyists' gifts to public officials is unconstitutional because the restrictions are too vague (see *Illinois Issues*, June 1998, page 38; July/August 1998, page 6; and May 1999, page 9).

GOVERNOR'S ACTION

By early July, Gov. George Ryan had acted on all 247 proposals sent to him by lawmakers during the spring legislative session, as well as one other approved during a special session last summer. He signed 239 and vetoed three, including a measure that would have denied state funding for an abortion when the health of the mother is endangered. The governor also used his amendatory veto on six proposals. Here are some of the measures Illinois Issues has been following.

Gas tax

Spiraling prices at the pump drove Ryan and lawmakers last June to cut the state's motor fuel sales tax, at least temporarily.

The legislature quickly approved the plan and Ryan signed it immediately. House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat, one of only five no votes, argued the bill was a gift to gas station owners because there was no guarantee they would pass the 5 percent savings on to consumers. But gas prices were down about 30 percent in mid-July.

Republican Senate President James "Pate" Philip of Wood Dale says he will push to make the cut permanent.

Juvenile defendants

Juveniles aged 12 and under accused of murder or sexual assault must have a lawyer present when they are detained and questioned by the police. In signing the bill, Ryan urged the General Assembly to clarify how an attorney representing an indigent juvenile would be compensated.

Clear-cutting

An anti-erosion measure that would prohibit clear-cutting trees within 15 yards of the state's navigable waters won the governor's signature. It would still be OK to cut trees on farmland, in drainage systems and near utility lines. The measure takes effect next January.

School expulsion

Ryan vetoed a proposal that would require students who are expelled or suspended for committing a violent crime in school to serve the full term of their punishment. The governor argued he supports the idea but the measure should also have required school districts to place suspended or expelled students into an alternative education program.

Burney Simpson

Sky-high plans for Illinois high-speed rail

Prospects of high-speed rail service accelerated over the summer with the announcement of plans for a satellite system that could control trains from afar and the release of a draft environmental impact study.

The \$60 million satellite system would monitor trains as they travel between Chicago and St. Louis. A command center in Omaha, Neb., will communicate with an on-board computer and have the ability, in the event of an emergency, to stop a train. By federal rule, trains traveling faster than 79 miles per hour need advanced signal systems. Plans call for the trains to go 110 miles an hour in Illinois

The environmental study outlines changes that may be necessary at 300 rail crossings. The completed study may be released by early next year.

Still, those hoping to ride one of these trains in Illinois may have to be patient. A high-speed service between Washington, D.C., and Boston that was to get underway by the end of 1999 still has not begun operating (see *Illinois Issues*, March 1999, page 16).

Burney Simpson

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BRIEFLY

EXPIRATION DATE Ed panel faces funding controversy

In preparation for what could become a divisive battle over school funding between metropolitan Chicago and downstate interests, Gov. George Ryan expanded the five-member advisory board reviewing how Illinois pays to educate its children. Ryan added 13 ex officio, nonvoting members to the **Education Funding Advisory Board** saying he wants more diverse viewpoints. Named were several school administrators, including Paul Vallas, chief of the Chicago school system, business representatives and a bipartisan quartet of lawmakers. Ryan also appointed Doug Delaney, executive director of the Catholic Conference of Illinois, though parochial schools receive no direct state aid.

C. Robert Leininger, former superintendent of the State Board of Education, is heading the group.

Due to expire next year is the boost in state funding for poorer school districts hammered out in 1997. It guaranteed a minimum spending level for each schoolchild of \$4,225, with an annual increase of \$100 through the 2000-2001 school year. The measure produced \$500 million over three years for districts with high concentrations of poverty.

But the advisory panel also is expected to tackle a more politically controversial subject: how the state pays for education. More than half of Illinois school funding is generated through local property taxes. State and federal sources make up the rest. Proposals to reduce the burden on local taxes have been resisted in Springfield for years, most recently during the tail end of former Gov. Jim Edgar's term. Lawmakers and Edgar agreed, instead, to the three-year guaranteed per-pupil spending rate.

Critics say the current school funding formula favors wealthy districts with high property values and growing student populations. More than 75 percent of Illinois' property value is in the Chicago metropolitan area, notes William Hinrichs, senior policy adviser at the State Board of Education. Some districts in that region of the state spend as much as \$8,000 per student. But for many property-poor urban areas, just meeting this year's \$4,425 per pupil minimum is difficult. Meanwhile, in rural areas of the state, declining student population means those schools are getting less state aid, which is calculated partly on average weighted daily attendance.

Still, the panel's first order of business will be to revisit the guaranteed spending level. For instance, former state Sen. Arthur Berman, a Democrat from Chicago who is one of the panel's members, questions whether the \$100 annual increase is adequate.

The General Assembly will have to decide next spring whether to make changes in the annual increase and to continue the poverty funding. The panel will hold public hearings across the state and is scheduled to send its recommendations to Ryan in January.

The curious case of Dallas City

Dallas City, a northwestern Illinois town of 1,200, illustrates a contradiction occurring in many small communities. On one hand, Dallas City is celebrating its elementary school, which is home to the state trophy winning junior high scholastic bowl team and the state's first pre-kindergarten virtual classroom.

But Dallas City is discovering that, while pride and technology are fine, neither will solve the problem of shrinking student enrollments, which is forcing the district to close the high school. In the fall, voters in this town, which sits on the Mississippi River across from Fort Madison, Iowa, will decide which nearby community will educate its 90 students.

"Losing the high school impacts a community," says Charles Langley, superintendent of the Dallas City Unit School District. "We're hoping that the loss may be lessened by our outstanding elementary school, that that may still draw people to move

The pre-K program was developed by the Illinois State Board of **Education and Western Illinois** University in Macomb. The state board will use the virtual classroom for employee training seminars and in-house workshops. And the virtual classroom, says Langley, gives the university's teacher education students the opportunity to interact with 3- and 4-year-olds, to "learn by doing." The program will also afford Langley's staff online opportunities for professional growth. "Real-time classroom-to-classroom connections allow us to open up the world to our students," he says.

The district will be able to use the technology to offer classes that are beyond the ability of a rural school to supply to its elementary and, for a while longer, its high school students. Beverley Scobell

Burney Simpson

Medicine

Suffer for the arts?

Working in the arts can be hazardous to your health. So say the developers of a new health-care project at the University of Illinois at Chicago that aims to help artists.

Right on time for Labor Day, a summer open house was held for the one-of-a-kind UIC Arts-Medicine Project, which opened in March at the university's Great Lakes Center for Occupational and Environmental Safety and Health.

Existing arts medicine programs focus on specific areas of the arts, such as dance. However, the new UIC program opens its doors to all workers in the arts, including stagehands, carpenters and lighting technicians.

The arts present special healthcare challenges. People employed in the arts, for instance, often work without insurance. So the UIC center aims to serve artists who lack means to pay.

Further, artists have been known to ignore health problems as an opening night approaches. "I know artists are not going to just stop doing their art. The challenge is to work with them to modify what they are doing, rather than stop it," says Dr. Katherine Duvall, a co-director and founder of the project who is a university physician and artist. "We also have to be willing to explore with them their use of alternative medicine.'

Arts-related work injuries include such repetitive motion conditions as carpal tunnel syndrome and respiratory and neurological problems caused by exposure to toxic chemicals used in painting or film development and exposure to second-hand smoke.

Maureen Foertsch McKinney

QUOTABLE

66 Gov. Kerner was subject to some injustice, and that deserves to be addressed. And a presidential pardon would be a good way to do it. "

Former Illinois Senate President Phil Rock, a Democrat, reacting to the new Otto Kerner biography. He made the comment during Illinois Issues' 25th Anniversary observance last spring.

66 He was one of the fairest and most caring individuals of all the relationships that I have had in state government. ""

Former Senate President William Harris, a Republican, adding his thoughts on the Kerner biography during the same event.

If these former state lawmakers from two political parties have their way, outgoing President Bill Clinton will pardon Otto Kerner, the late Democratic governor and judge who was convicted of mail fraud and tax evasion in 1973. Rock and Harris announced last month they are forming a committee to explore the possibilities. Both men say they were influenced by *Kerner: The Conflict of* Intangible Rights, a biography written by Chicago Tribune reporter Bill Barnhart and former state Rep. Gene Schlickman (see *Illinois Issues*, July/August 1998, page 32). Kerner was convicted on charges stemming from an investigation into stock holdings he had in an Illinois race track corporation. He was released from prison in 1975 and died of lung cancer the following year.

Legislative targets

Partisan control of the next General Assembly rests on the outcome in a handful of key races

by Dave McKinney

Rep. Jack R. Franks got less than a week to savor his stunning arrival in the Illinois House last year before learning what it's like to wear a permanent Republican bulls-eye.

Four days after being sworn in to a post neither party thought he could win, the first McHenry County Democratic state representative in 15 years heard his name mentioned by Republicans not once but three times from the floor as the chamber went about the mundane chore of adopting its rules. First came House Minority Leader Lee Daniels of Elmhurst, then Rep. Tom Cross of Oswego and, finally, Rep. David Winters of Shirland. It was a pile-on scripted to send a welcoming shot to the political gut. Would Franks turn out to be the independent he had promised voters back home, his Republican colleagues challenged, or would he be a pawn of House Speaker Michael Madigan in bedrock Republican territory?

"These guys thought then they'd rattle my cage, but it's never going to happen. I love it. I just love being on the floor. I love the give and take. I don't care if they come after me. I think it's funny," the youthful freshman says with a swagger that might seem more fitting if he weren't in the race of his short political life.

The question posed early last year by Republican lawmakers has set the theme for that race in Chicago's far northwest suburbs. But the campaign



in Franks' district isn't so much about him or his opponent Tom Salvi as about Daniels and Madigan. And on that score, it's the marquee matchup among more than half a dozen key House battles that will decide whether Madigan can maintain his 62-56 majority or whether Daniels will be speaker when the 92nd General Assembly opens for business next January.

Over in the Senate, where only a third of the chamber faces re-election this fall, at least five districts are in play as Democrats hope to overtake the GOP's 32-27 majority and return to power for the first time in eight years.

As always, most legislative seats up for election on November 7 are virtual locks for one party or the other. Less than 30 percent of the races are competitive, and an even lower percentage will figure in when legislative leaders and special interests decide where to invest millions of campaign dollars. Typically, those so-called "target" districts have open seats, meaning there is no returning incumbent with a proven vote-getting record, or they are in areas that can swing toward either party.

While the races in this handful of districts will draw only a fraction of the attention given to the presidential campaign, the stakes are enormous. Voters may not realize the implications, but, rest assured, politicians do. The prize will be a say in redrawing legislative districts after the decennial census. Ultimately, the outcome of that process has the potential to give the party in charge an important leg up for control of each legislative chamber for at least the next decade.

With so much on the line, the four legislative leaders will do battle with war chests holding a combined \$10 million at midyear, with much more expected as Election Day draws near. In fact, these figures reflect the relative importance of this year's races. The leaders have more money than at this point two years ago, when their collective campaign funds held \$1.5 million less. That raises the likelihood of a more expensive campaign season this time out, particularly in tight House races. The price for the most expensive seat in 1998 reached a record \$850,000.

The potential for that kind of spending exists in targeted House races sprinkled throughout Chicago's northern and northwestern suburbs and in central and far-southern Illinois. The highest-profile House races are those of Franks and his first-term Democratic colleague, Rep. Susan Garrett of Lake Forest. They occupy seats that two years ago belonged to Republicans and they've been subjected to a nearly constant GOP barrage since arriving in Springfield on the wave of surprise victories.

In recent election cycles, the southern and southwest suburbs were ground zero for political gamesmanship. But the GOP's strength in the region has declined, and that party has all but ceded most areas now represented by Democratic incumbents. Increasingly, African-American voters hold more clout there, and the locale remains a strong enclave for labor. Both factors favor Democrats.

But Franks, whose district covers the northern half of McHenry County along the Wisconsin border, doesn't have those demographic advantages in his 63rd District race against a Republican with a well-known last name. Tom Salvi, a 36-year-old physician and president of the McHenry County Medical Society, is the brother of Al Salvi, a former candidate for U.S. Senate and secretary of state who once represented the Lake County House district due east. Franks, also 36, is an

attorney at his father's law firm. He had volunteered in a congressional race in Wisconsin where a college buddy ran successfully as a Democrat, but that represented the extent of his political experience before his 1998 upset of appointed Rep. Michael Brown, a Crystal Lake Republican.

So far, Franks' campaign against Salvi has been financed partly through labor unions and trial lawyers, while Salvi has gotten much of his money from the Illinois State Medical Society and pro-business groups. With nearly \$86,000 in his campaign fund, Franks holds a fundraising advantage over Salvi, who reported having roughly \$53,000 in his fund at midyear. Assuming later polls show a close race between Franks and Salvi, those figures are expected to skyrocket this fall, as the leadership-controlled campaign funds begin rolling in. Beyond money, each candidate is getting a full coterie of campaign staff assigned by Madigan and Daniels. Franks has three full-time staffers at his beck and call — triple what he got two years ago.

On the North Shore near Fort Sheridan and rows of lakefront mansions, the dynamics are virtually identical in the 59th District contest between Garrett and GOP challenger Cesilie Price of Lake Forest. Price is a breast cancer survivor with no prior political experience. Garrett, a marketing consultant, won the post two years ago when Republican Corinne Wood left the House to become Gov. George Ryan's running mate. The seat, which also represents Lake Bluff, had been in Republican hands since 1979. At midyear, Garrett held a decided fundraising advantage over Price. Like Franks, she has been relying on union donations. But that financial advantage could change as the leaders' campaign funds come into play this fall.

Beyond those two races, seats in the suburbs and downstate are in play because incumbents are leaving. In the 60th District, due south of Garrett's, Republicans are greedily eyeing the seat being vacated by Rep. Lauren Beth Gash, a Highland Park Democrat running for Congress. Democrat Karen May of Highland Park and Republican Nancy Flouret of Deerfield



are vying for that post. In east central Illinois, Republicans are losing incumbent Rep. Tim Johnson of Sidney, who is running for Congress. The race to succeed him in the GOP-leaning 104th District is between former Douglas County Sheriff Charles "Chub" Connor, a Tuscola Democrat, and engineering consultant Tom Berns, an Urbana Republican. And at the state's far southern tip, in the 117th District, Republican Jack Woolard and Democrat Gary F. Forby are squaring off to succeed Rep. Larry Woolard, a Carterville Democrat who is running for the state Senate. Jack Woolard, no relation to the departing incumbent, is the West Frankfort mayor, while Forby hails from Benton.

Downstate districts also have been targeted where incumbents have been judged vulnerable because their races were tight in the past. Rep. James D. "Jim" Fowler, a Harrisburg Democrat who pushed legislation that could have allowed the posting of the Ten Commandments in classrooms, is running in the 118th District against Republican Eric E. Gregg, also of Harrisburg. Gregg is the president of a local AFSCME chapter representing prison employees. Two years ago, Fowler beat Republican Jack Hill by a narrow 51-49 percent margin in a year that gubernatorial candidate Glenn Poshard brought southern Illinois Democrats out en masse.

Facing a similar challenge is threeterm 103rd District Rep. Richard J. (Rick) Winkel Jr., a Champaign Republican. Two years ago, he breezed past Democrat Kathleen Ennen. But in 1996, he was involved in a hard-fought race with Democrat Naomi Jakobsson that swung his way by a 52-48 percent margin. Winkel's challenger this time is Urbana Mayor Tod F. Satterthwaite, a Democrat with a well-known last name. His mother is former state

"I really think the path to the speakership comes through the 63rd House District if you're Lee Daniels. I know he knows that. That's why he's spending time and effort campaigning for my opponent, doing fundraisers and making phone calls to key individuals," says Rep. Jack Franks, a Woodstock Democrat, reflecting the significance of targeted legislative races.

Rep. Helen Satterthwaite.

For Daniels, the math is simple. He must retake the Franks and Garrett seats, which had been Republican until two years ago, and wrest two others from Madigan to regain the speakership, which some longtime observers say is a tall order. "Madigan has an advantage. You've got incumbents who are defending seats. There certainly are a lot of opportunities out there. But if you were betting today on the House, you'd bet status quo," says Kent Redfield, a political science professor and associate director of the Illinois Legislative Studies Center at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

Democrats hope their party's presidential candidate Al Gore, through appearances and coordinated advertising efforts, will help lift legislative candidates in some of the suburban swing districts. For their part, Republicans are hoping for a bounce from GOP presidential nominee George W. Bush, whose conservatism will likely make him popular in the state's southern third. His presence on the ballot, GOP strategists hope, could benefit Republican candidates who were all but shut down two years ago by the Democratic gubernatorial candidacy of Poshard.

But one potential advantage for the GOP — the presence of a sitting Republican governor on the campaign trail — has been neutralized because Gov. George Ryan is facing an ongoing federal corruption probe of campaign fundraising activities during his tenure as secretary of state. Few legislative incumbents or challengers welcome being seen on the stump with a governor whose approval ratings are below 30 percent, which is a record low

standing for a sitting statewide officer.

"It's a resource you should have: an incumbent Republican governor who can raise money for you, campaign on your behalf, cut commercials, all of those things," Redfield says. "But it's a resource the Republicans are not going to have."

GOP strategists in both legislative chambers are jittery over the prospect of more indictments from federal prosecutors around election time. After all, U.S. Attorney Scott Lassar first announced indictments in the licensesfor-campaign-cash investigation a month before the November gubernatorial election. More were announced shortly before a major Ryan address to the General Assembly last February and while Texas Gov. George W. Bush was in Chicago last summer for a presidential campaign fundraiser. Lassar's office has said the timing was coincidental. Ryan has not been identified as a target, but more bad news concerning his stewardship of the secretary of state's office could hurt Republican turnout and his party's chances in the legislature.

During Franks' 1998 race, Ryan produced radio commercials for Brown. But this time, Ryan won't likely have much presence as Franks attempts to build on the 138-vote margin

of victory he scored two years ago.

Since that razor-thin win, Franks has grabbed attention for himself by sponsoring bills to create a discount drug program for seniors, impose a sales tax holiday and abolish the Illinois State Toll Highway Authority. Republicans relished roasting his proposals, which largely remained bottled up in the House. The only plan to emerge from the chamber was his drug-buying program, which was passed when busloads of senior citizens were in the Capitol. It hit an immediate stone wall in the GOP-led Senate.

Franks, who said all of those ideas were his and not handed off by Madigan's staff, realizes the charges from Republicans come with holding a seat the GOP must regain to win the House. "I really think the path to the speakership comes through the 63rd House District if you're Lee Daniels. I know he knows that. That's why he's spending time and effort campaigning for my opponent, doing fundraisers and making phone calls to key individuals," Franks says.

Daniels' aides scoff at the notion of a higher premium on Franks' seat. They argue some of their greatest potential gains could be downstate in what once was Poshard country. "If arrogance ever hits \$40 a barrel, I'd like to have the drilling rights to Jack Franks' head," Daniels spokesman Gregg Durham says. "Lee Daniels gets involved in all races, and he's very involved with his members. We think that district is not being well-represented, and you'll find Lee Daniels everywhere that is underrepresented."

Meanwhile, Madigan has taken care of Franks by pushing public works dollars his way, including \$500,000 for a water tower in McHenry and

"If arrogance ever hits \$40 a barrel, I'd like to have the drilling rights to Jack Franks' head. Lee Daniels gets involved in all races, and he's very involved with his members. We think that district is not being well-represented, and you'll find Lee Daniels everywhere that is underrepresented," says House Republican Leader Lee Daniels' spokesman, Gregg Durham, reflecting some of the heat of this year's election.

\$250,000 for a new Harvard library. The list totals close to \$5.5 million over two years. In fact, Franks has put up a billboard near his law office advertising how much he has brought home to his district. He says he's unclear whether any of the largesse is the result of Illinois First, Gov. Ryan's \$12 billion

public works program. Franks opposed the increases in license fees and liquor taxes used to fund that program, saying building projects should have been paid for, in part, with surplus state dollars. Still, Franks says he would not bat an eyelash about accepting projects funded by the program. "Once the die is

cast, I think people should go for it, and I did," he says.

Salvi, who has no previous political experience, counters that Franks has tried to fool McHenry County voters. Salvi also says the type of poll-driven legislative initiatives Franks has sponsored and the state money coming into

Calculating the presidential campaign coattails

When Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore storm through Illinois looking for votes this fall, their presence could help shape the 92nd General Assembly. History has shown that presidential campaign coattails are not always easy to predict in Illinois politics. But, like big Midwestern thunderheads that can show up out of nowhere, national politics can play a role in determining which party will rain on the other's parade in the state Capitol.

With polls showing a tight race between Bush and Gore, it's less likely this election year will bring wholesale change to the state legislature as previous presidential elections have. But it is nonetheless a variable facing political strategists as they map out battle plans this fall for control of the Statehouse. "That's sort of a big piece of the puzzle," says Steve Brown, a spokesman for Illinois House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat who doubles as that party's state chairman. "You have to get someone to the polls before they'll decide how to vote in a state representative race."

Illinois is one of the Midwestern battle states for the two major national parties, and both candidates have visited here often. Following the GOP convention, Bush did a whistle-stop train tour of Illinois. Gore, meanwhile, boarded a riverboat and sailed the Mississippi River after his party's convention, making stops in Moline and Quincy.

The Democratic National Committee expects to pour \$1.5 million into Illinois for get-out-the-vote efforts throughout the state, while the Republicans reportedly are prepared to invest \$1.8 million for similar purposes. The dividends for legislative candidates hinge on the degree to which the nationally funded advertising blitzes turn out

Despite the potential mobilization of the national parties, Brown argues that the demise of straight-party balloting in this state — a move orchestrated by the GOP — has meant candidates on the lower part of the ticket more often have to fend for themselves rather than count on being swept into office by the candidates on top.

But in broader terms, presidential coattails have had a measurable effect on legislative races during the past 40 years, particularly when one candidate for the White House has blown out the other in Illinois by double digits. In 10 presidential campaigns fought in Illinois since 1960,

half of those races have been won by margins greater than 10 percentage points. In three of those double-digit victory years, control of one chamber of the legislature swung to the party whose presidential candidate won Illinois.

The most recent instance occurred in 1996, when Republican Bob Dole lost to Democrat Bill Clinton in Illinois by nearly 18 points, the state's most decisive presidential knockout in 24 years. The vote coincided with Democrats reclaiming control of the Illinois House and coming within 200 votes of ending the GOP's six-year hold on the Senate.

Clinton's easy win that year no doubt was partly influenced by Dole's decision to pull out of Illinois early in a bid to conserve resources on his sinking presidential ship. Bush's camp has assured the Illinois GOP that won't happen this time. And the promise is believable, given that polling shows Gore and Bush neck and neck in Illinois. A *Chicago Tribune* poll of 900 likely registered voters taken in late July showed Gore with 42 percent and Bush with 40 percent.

But if those numbers hold and the race is decided by single digits in Illinois, the presidential politicking will likely be a wash for both parties fighting for the Statehouse.

"If Bush stays in Illinois, runs a legitimate campaign and it's a 3- to 4-point spread with Gore either way, I don't think there are coattails for anyone. But if one side wins by 18 points, then funny things can begin to happen," says one high-ranking GOP strategist who is helping coordinate this year's legislative races and prefers to remain unnamed.

In 1964, for example, Democrat Lyndon Johnson beat Republican Barry Goldwater by nearly 19 percentage points in Illinois. That victory coincided with a staggering shift in the Illinois House, where Democrats picked up 31 seats from Republicans and gained control of the chamber.

In 1972. Richard Nixon went on to a second term after beating George McGovern in Illinois by almost 18 percentage points. Nixon's vote total that year, which still stands as the largest by any presidential candidate in Illinois in 40 years, corresponded with Republicans taking control of the state Senate. Of course, not all was rosy for the GOP that year as Democrat Dan Walker laid claim to the Executive Mansion and Richard Ogilvie became a Republican governor unable to ride Nixon's coattails.

Dave McKinney

Key legislative matchups

Senate

- 18th District: Incumbent Patrick J. O'Malley (R-Palos Park) vs. Rick Ryan (D-Evergreen Park). O'Malley's present vote on felony gun possession legislation and his poor labor record will be issues.
- 24th District: Incumbent Christine Radogno (R-LaGrange) vs. Mary Jane O'Shea Mannella (D-Willow Springs). Radogno won her seat by only a few dozen votes four years ago. Democrats hope changing demographics will make the difference this time.
- 27th District: Incumbent Wendell E. Jones (R-Palatine) vs. Sue A. Walton (D-Rolling Meadows). Jones was appointed to fill a vacancy left by U.S. Sen. Peter Fitzgerald's ascension from the Statehouse. Jones will be questioned on his inability to work the switch when it came time to vote for re-enactment of the Safe Neighborhoods Act.
- **28th** District: Incumbent **Dave Sullivan** (R-Park Ridge) vs. **Phil Pritzker** (D-Arlington Heights). Sullivan is a 1999 appointee and former aide to Gov. George Ryan. Democrats will question that association.
- 30th District: Incumbent Terry Link (D-Vernon Hills) vs. Greg **Kazarian** (R-Lake Forest). The GOP is gunning for this longtime Republican seat held by first-termer Link, who engineered a '96 upset win.

House

- 59th District: Incumbent Susan Garrett (D-Lake Forest) vs. Cesilie Price (R-Lake Forest). A top House matchup. First-termer Garrett won a longtime Republican seat once held by Lt. Gov. Corinne Wood.
- 60th District: Karen May (D-Highland Park) vs. Nancy Flouret (R-Deerfield). This is a fight in a swing district to succeed Rep. Lauren Beth Gash (D-Highland Park), who is running for Congress.
- 63rd District: Incumbent Jack D. Franks (D-Woodstock) vs. Tom Salvi (R-Crystal Lake). Another top House matchup. Franks is the first Democratic rep in McHenry County in 15 years. Salvi is backed by the medical establishment. His brother is former state Rep. Al Salvi.
- 103rd District: Incumbent Richard J. (Rick) Winkel Jr. (R-Champaign) vs. Tod F. Satterthwaite (D-Urbana). Satterthwaite is Urbana's mayor and the son of former Rep. Helen Satterthwaite. This GOP-leaning district voted Democratic for president and U.S. senator in '96.
- 104th District: Tom Berns (R-Champaign) vs. Charles "Chub" Conner (D-Tuscola). Rep. Tim Johnson's bid for Congress opens this GOPleaning district to a race between businessman Berns and former Douglas County Sheriff Conner.
- 117th District: Jack Woolard (R-West Frankfort) vs. Gary F. Forby (D-Benton). Rep. Larry Woolard's seat is open because he's running for state Senate. Jack Woolard is mayor of West Frankfort. Forby is a contractor.
- 118th District: Incumbent James D. "Jim" Fowler (D-Harrisburg) vs. Eric **E. Gregg** (R-Harrisburg). Fowler beat his GOP opponent in '98 by only 529 votes and drew criticism for introducing a measure to authorize schools to post the Ten Commandments in classrooms. Gregg heads the local AFSCME chapter and will draw union votes.

Dave McKinney

the district undercut any claims that he has acted independently of Madigan. "It's offensive to many voters in the district that he's taken credit for delivering money from Springfield that he either voted against or the appropriation occurred prior to him being a state legislator," Salvi says. "I think anyone in the know recognizes that's a political ploy of the Democratic Party to position him and make it appear he's a very effective state legislator, when in fact it's Democratic political posturing. No reasonable political mind would think anything other than that."

Salvi, who would be the only physician in the House if elected, wants to make health care one of his main issues.

Another big suburban House matchup lies about 30 miles to the east, where Garrett surprised Republicans in 1998. Garrett has developed a reputation as aggressive and outspoken in the Statehouse, and, like Franks, has endured Republican jabs the past two years, including during that same floor debate over House rules. "I've had to fight for this job from day one, and I believe strongly in what I'm doing, so maybe I'm cut out to do this," she says.

The GOP has dubbed Garrett "Special Interest Sue," criticizing her high ratings from the AFL/CIO and her acceptance of contributions from the Chicago Teachers Union in what traditionally is a pro-business district. Garrett also has come under fire from Republicans for supporting a bill that would undo some of the landmark 1995 Chicago school reforms, specifically collective bargaining restrictions affecting the CTU, though Garrett argues she cast a vote to get the bill out of committee but opposed it on the floor.

Over in the Senate, Republicans have their eye on first-termers, too. In particular, they hope to pad their majority by unseating Terry Link, a Vernon Hills Democrat who represents the 30th District. Meanwhile, Democrats have set their sights on suburban Republican incumbents Patrick J. O'Malley of Palos Park, Christine Radogno of LaGrange, Wendell E. Jones of Palatine and Dave Sullivan of Park Ridge. But to overtake the GOP in that chamber, they must overcome long odds by winning at least three Republican districts while holding on to Link's seat.

In the battle for the seat held by Jones, an appointee running in the 27th District against retired high school teacher Sue A. Walton of Rolling Meadows, the Democrats intend to exploit the incumbent's alleged inability last December to vote on Gov. Ryan's initial proposal to re-enact the Safe Neighborhoods Act. The legislation, which was nearly identical to a law struck down by the state Supreme Court, would have made illegal gun possession and transportation a felony in most cases and was viewed by law enforcement as an important tool in getting illegal guns off the streets and out of the hands of young gang members. Ryan's proposal, which unraveled amid intense lobbying from the Illinois State Rifle Association and opposition from Senate President James "Pate" Philip, contained fewer exceptions than the version that finally passed. Jones, who filled the unexpired term of Peter Fitzgerald when he left to become a U.S. senator, says he supported the governor's initial concept but wound up failing to be counted when it counted. He says his electronic voting switch did not work, which partly caused the governor's plan to fall five votes shy of passage.

The same gun vote also figures to surface in O'Malley's 18th District race against Rick Ryan, an Evergreen Park Democrat and attorney who has not held previous elected office. O'Malley voted present on Gov. Ryan's failed December initiative. Democrats also intend to attack O'Malley's low labor ratings in a district heavily populated by union members, as well as his staunch conservatism. They'll cite his support of legislation to let parents decide whether to have their children vaccinated, an idea that is supported by socially conservative home schoolers but is widely panned by the public health community.

Sullivan, who, like Jones, is another GOP appointee from the northwest suburbs, is being challenged in the 28th District by Arlington Heights Demo-

crat Phil Pritzker, a former elementary school board president. Democrats hope to exploit Sullivan's close ties to the scandal-plagued governor. He was a high-level aide to Ryan before becoming a senator and received the governor's help in getting appointed to fill the seat of the late Sen. Marty Butler, a Park Ridge Republican. But the strategy of linking Sullivan to Ryan failed its first test last spring when GOP primary candidate Arlen Gould used it in his losing bid to unseat the freshman senator.

In the 24th District, which was decided by only 82 votes four years ago, Radogno is running for re-election against Mary Jane O'Shea Mannella, a Willow Springs Democrat and village trustee. Radogno has a solid legislative record, having sponsored the state's .08 anti-drunk-driving law. Democrats hope changing demographics more favorable to their party — the same trend that has put most of the southern and southwestern suburbs into Democratic hands — will help do in Radogno this time.

And in Lake County's 30th District, Link is attempting re-election after his surprise victory in 1996 that took a seat Republicans had held continuously since 1983. Link's opponent four years ago, former Rep. Thomas Lachner, accused Link of failing to make child support payments. But in one of the biggest political gaffes in recent memory, the political stunt backfired when Link's ex-wife vouched for her former husband's financial commitment to their children.

This time around, the GOP is pinning its hopes on Greg Kazarian, a 38-year-old Lake Forest attorney and campaign aide to former Comptroller Loleta Didrickson. He says Link has lost touch with voters in this swing region. He also criticizes Link for being disingenuous in voting to allow borrowing for the Illinois First public works program but voting against hiking license fees and liquor taxes to pay the debt. Link is quick to point out the projects he has brought home, but even the GOP has employed that strategy in this race. Senate Republicans took the unusual step of going around Link and providing the Vernon Hills YMCA



on Link's home turf with a \$150,000 state grant they didn't even ask for, courtesy of Senate President Philip. "They called me up and asked if they should take it, and I said, 'Take the money and run," Link says.

That maneuver speaks to what life can be like living in a target district. Often, it doesn't matter how original or how passionate or how devoted a targeted lawmaker is toward advancing public policy. Getting handed polldriven bills to carry, having building projects thrust into one's lap as thinly veneered, election-year tokens and being second-guessed on roll calls are all part of the guerrilla warfare being waged for control of the legislature. And, as Franks and Link can attest, it all begins the moment these politicians first set foot in the Statehouse.

While Franks' initiation to the process began on the floor of the Illinois House, Link's came during a chance encounter with the politically shrewd Senate GOP leader not long after the surprise win against Lachner in late 1996. "I was down in Springfield for an orientation," Link says. "It was the first week of December right after I was elected. Pate Philip was there, and I went up and introduced myself. He looked at me and he said, 'You're the kid who got lucky.' I turned to him and I said, 'No, I won.' Then he said, 'We'll see about next time."

For Link and other targets, the only way to get the bulls-eye off their backs is to string together a few winning campaigns. "I don't care if he is a Marine," Link says of Philip and the face-to-face encounter four years ago that has set the tone this fall. "I'm not going to back down."

Dave McKinney is Statehouse bureau chief for the Chicago Sun-Times.

POLITICAL HITS

Throughout much of the last century, murder lent a special meaning to the term "running for office"

by James L. Merriner

Illinois politics may be a sorry affair these days, but at least it's relatively safe. No office-seeker has been gunned down in this state in recent decades. No official mired in public scandal has gotten buried in cement.

Who says we ain't got reform? As they face the indignities of the campaign trail this fall, candidates might consider this: Throughout much of the previous century, murder was an occupational hazard for Chicago-area pols who stepped too close, however innocently, to criminality. As recent as 1963, a Chicago alderman seeking re-election took four bullets in the head, and in 1992 a candidate for Congress alleges he was shot at — though that charge went unproven.

Everyone remembers the rat-a-tat-tat rubouts of rival gangsters during the Al Capone era, which has entered national mythology. Forgotten is that at least 12 political figures also were slain in a 40-year period.

And not a single one of those killers was convicted.

The relative quietude with which political scandals break nowadays can be seen as a product of the eternal Chicago dynamic of corruption and reform. Assassinations roused reformers, who pushed public officials to convene grand juries, which accomplished little and disbanded while officials carried on business as usual and reformers, growing weary, stepped offstage.

In time, though, reform crackdowns on organized crime halted at least its most lurid kinds of street-corner violence. In terms of preventing gangland gunshots at politicians, reformers have won. Corruption, of course, persists.

Perhaps candidates in the November 7 elections should express silent thanks to Charles Gross, the politician who unwittingly provoked the most reform by getting himself killed. His death was exactly the kind of publicity Chicago hated because it followed the September 1950 murders of a former acting police chief and of a reformist lawyer just before a U.S. Senate committee on organized crime opened hearings in the city.

Gross, acting Republican committeeman of the 31st Ward on Chicago's West Side, was walking to a political meeting on February 6, 1952, when two men fired seven shotgun blasts. It happened outside a church, a scene familiar enough in a Chicago that has inspired scenes in Hollywood gangster movies.

Expressions of outrage ensued from the Chicago Crime Commission and Mayor Martin Kennelly, followed by an anti-crime rally of 600 business and civic leaders. The case was puzzling because Gross, a reformist businessman, did not seem important enough to kill. He was supposedly independent of the "West Side Bloc," organized crime's delegation in Springfield. Indeed, family members and friends had warned Gross to keep out of politics, and he had taken to carrying a handgun. Civic leaders, historically given to forming enumerated reform committees, organized a Committee of 19. Kennelly named the "Big Nine," a city council panel, to investigate crime.

Just a year later, 21st Ward GOP committeeman candidate Celinus "Clem" Graver, a West Side Bloc member and state representative, waved to his wife as he nosed his car into the home garage. Three men emerged from a car and exchanged words with Graver, then all four drove off. He was never seen again.

The cases of Gross and Graver shamed even the Big Nine into doing something. Thirty-six "undesirable," meaning mob-tied, Republican Cook County workers were fired. Eventually, the West Side Bloc faded away as different ethnic groups successively populated the West Side. Reformers often find that their efforts are secondary to societal trends.

In fact, the next political murder, in 1963, is remarkable in that it did not provoke reformist exertions. That the victim was an African American is perhaps not beside the point. Benjamin F. Lewis, alderman and committeeman of the West Side's 24th Ward, was discovered, on the night he had won a primary election, murdered under the desk in his ward office. He had been handcuffed and shot. A cigarette had burned down to his ring finger.

There were no suspects, arrests or even much public uproar, but as with similar cases, plenty of grist for conspiracy theorists. Lewis was among the first blacks to move into Douglas Park, once a Jewish neighborhood that had hosted two Cook County Democratic chairmen. Further, Lewis opposed both Mayor Richard J. Daley and black U.S. Rep. William Dawson. Dawson's control of the black numbers

racket had been taken over by Italian Americans in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Of course, no evidence links Lewis' death to any of this. But who knows what forays Lewis might have tried into the numbers racket or the Democratic Machine? In any event, this was the last high-profile Chicago political killing.

The first major political assassination in Chicago set the reformist hounds to baying. It happened in 1926 and was second only to the Gross murder in triggering reform results.

William H. McSwiggin was a 26-year-old star prosecutor in the state's attorney's office, having sent seven criminals to Death Row in eight months. Leaving his mother's dinner table, saying he was going to play cards with friends, McSwiggin instead joined underworld pals at a saloon in Cicero during Prohibition. Twenty bullets hit him as he walked out that night. Two other men were killed and two were shot but lived. The evidence suggests the leading gunman was Capone, though as always he had arranged a reliable alibi. Six grand juries were empaneled but no indictments were issued.

Chicago was inured to gangsters killing gangsters, perhaps even gratified by the idea, but the murder of an assistant state's attorney in the illegal drinking company of hoodlums was something else.

Apparently, Capone had mistaken McSwiggin for his gangland competitor Earl "Hymie" Weiss. Later, the Capone mob, having improved in identifying targets, managed to kill Weiss. He died on the steps of Holy Name Cathedral, part of the cornerstone of which was defaced by bullets in the Hollywood scenario.

Two years later came a Chicago election so violent, with so many bombs (61) thrown, that it became known as the "Pineapple Primary." On March 21, 1928, 19th Ward

Republican committeeman Guiseppe "Diamond Joe" Esposito, boulevardier and bootlegger, was shot down on the sidewalk between two bodyguards in view of his wife and daughter. Esposito was a lieutenant of U.S. Sen. Charles S. Deneen, whose home was bombed the morning after Esposito's funeral. State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe said the explosion was staged by Deneen forces as a sympathy ploy. This sophistry turned the Chicago Crime Commission against Crowe.

Received to the Miles Connection by Miles Conn

It hardly mattered. After he voted on primary election day, April 10, black candidate Octavius C. Grandy, who was challenging the mob's candidate for Republican committeeman of the "Bloody 20th" Ward, was chased in his car, curbed and shot. Four policemen and three mobsters were acquitted of the crime.

The McSwiggin killing and the "Pineapple Primary," followed by Capone's "St. Valentine's Day Massacre" of 1929, so inflamed the nation that reformers were even able to enlist President Herbert Hoover in trying to clean up Chicago.

But after Hoover was turned out by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mayor Anton Cermak was fatally shot in the president-elect's company in Miami in 1933. Supposedly, the gunman aimed for FDR, but the rumor that his real target was Cermak, on orders of the mob, has never died. Cermak took two slugs in the chest, while Roosevelt was unharmed, indicating that the assassin's marksmanship was either very bad or very good.

A long string of politically inspired murders followed. On election eve, November 6, 1934, shotgun fire blasted the chandelier off the dining room ceiling of Republican candidate for Cook County assessor Alderman James C. Moreland while he was

eating dinner at home. Late the next year, alderman, Republican committeeman and state Rep. Albert J. Prignano was shot to death in front of his wife, mother and 8-year-old son on his doorstep. The year after that, state Rep. John Bolton of the West Side Bloc was shotgunned while driving his car. In 1949, Cicero township assessor and former assistant state's attorney Frank J. Christensen was shot to death outside his home. He was helping former village president John C. Stoffel try to stamp out the gambling racket. A short time later mobsters blocked Stoffel's car, but he managed to get away.

In light of this history, per-

haps it is notable after all that no politician has recently taken a bullet. Or maybe not. Times change and the forms of public corruption change. It has grown upscale, of late, white-collar and sophisticated. And it has lost much of its drama. In Chicago, the U.S. attorney has concentrated on small-fry miscreants, not more prominent figures, in various investigations of City Hall and Cook County scams.

For a mere hoodlum to shoot a mere Chicago politician now would be considered *so* low-class. □

James L. Merriner, former political editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, is the author of Mr. Chairman: Power in Dan Rostenkowski's America, which was published last year by Southern Illinois University Press. He is writing Grafters and Goo Goos, a history of corruption and reform in Chicago, for SIU press.

Vaccination vacillation

Should parents or public officials have responsibility for deciding which shots kids must get?

A state health panel's deliberations on the chickenpox vaccine renews that debate

by Kristy Kennedy

F or many parents and children, vaccines are a routine part of visits to the doctor. The alcohol swab. The shot. The tears. The bandage.

But there are stories about childhood vaccines that are anything but routine. A state legislator and a doctor both have such stories to tell. Each of these stories is about a child who suffered a severe illness, and each illustrates the complexity of an issue now before state health officials: whether to require all Illinois schoolchildren to get the varicella vaccination to ward off chickenpox. Yet this question is just the latest in a much larger debate: whether parents or public officials should have ultimate responsibility for deciding which immunizations children must get.

Dr. N. Akhtar's story speaks to the suffering vaccinations are designed to prevent. It's about a 4-year-old boy who visited her Downers Grove practice a few years ago with a case of chickenpox. The boy had not gotten the varicella vaccination and he had the itchy lumps and fever that mark the disease. But instead of getting better in about a week as most children with chickenpox do, the boy contracted a skin infection, which led in turn to a severe bone infection. The boy had to be hospitalized for two weeks and endure six weeks of intravenous antibiotics at home.

"It was very traumatic for the child," Akhtar says, adding that the

resultant scarring likely will be permanent. "You see one of those cases and you feel one is enough. There is no reason for children to go through this. And you never know which child will be the unlucky one who will get sick with horrible complications."

Akhtar has had a private practice for 11 years and is not involved in the public debate over the vaccine. In fact, she says she was skeptical in 1995 when the drug first came out in the United States. "I have the same issues with any new vaccine," she says. "I was a little concerned about how safe it would be, how long the immunity would last and how it would help children. Now it is routine."

Patrick O'Malley, a Republican state senator from Palos Park, has a compelling story, too. It's about his daughter. At six months of age, Brigid received the standard DTP vaccine for diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis (whooping cough). But O'Malley says he and his wife wish the doctor had told them about potential side effects before administering the shot. Brigid later suffered an episode, that O'Malley describes this way: "She stopped breathing and had to be brought back to life." She also suffered violent seizures for the next six years. These complications led to cerebral palsy. And today, Brigid can't speak or care for herself. O'Malley says doctors linked the vaccine to his daughter's illness.

He's a little reluctant to share his story because he doesn't want his daughter, who is now 24, to be pitied, but O'Malley says it's the foundation of his belief that parents should decide whether and when their children are vaccinated. "I'm sorry this happened for Brigid's sake," he says. "She's nothing but goodness and kindness. She gives us so much. She's my inspiration. I know the current system isn't working. I'm for parents making the decisions. I trust loving parents to make responsible decisions about the health of their children."

These two scenarios illustrate the seriousness of the questions Illinois public health officials face this fall as they consider whether to send law-makers a panel's recommendation to add chickenpox to the list of required childhood vaccinations. If approved, the chickenpox vaccine could be required by the 2001-2002 school year.

Illinois children already are required to get 18 vaccinations against nine diseases: diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, measles, mumps, German measles, the *haemophilus influenzae* type B infections and hepatitis B. Without vaccinations — or religious or medical exemptions — children can't enroll in school. And their parents can face neglect charges.

The debate during the mid-'90s over the hepatitis B shot, the last vaccine put on Illinois' mandatory list,

Photograph courtesy of Gary Smith and Peggy Boyer Long, who is holding the lollipops for her little brother

In the summer of 1953, Gary Smith, 4, was one of 21,000 Macon County children who got a gamma globulin shot, at the time the only known, though limited, protection against severe polio. County officials, with federal help, mobilized for the effort after 14 polio cases were reported early in the season, three of them resulting in death, three in spinal paralysis. Nurses and doctors volunteered at makeshift centers set up in schools in Decatur and surrounding communities. This photograph was taken for The Staley Journal, a publication for the Decatur-based soybean processor's employees, many of whose families also volunteered. A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. donated enough lollipops to help each child recover from the indignity.

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was so heated state officials created an advisory committee to review any additional vaccines considered for the list. The move came in response to a proposal by some lawmakers, including O'Malley, to give parents exemptions to vaccines on philosophical grounds. They argued the hepatitis B shot was unnecessary for infants because the disease is sexually transmitted. O'Malley's legislation was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, deliberations on adding to the mandatory list were opened to public input. State health officials are required to hold hearings.

The chickenpox vaccine is the first the panel has had to consider. In April, it recommended that the drug be required for school-age children. This month, the Illinois Department of Public Health's Board of Health is expected to discuss the vaccine and information gathered during the hearings. Director John Lumpkin will then review the recommendation and decide whether to send it to a joint committee of the legislature. Lumpkin, who has said he favors the vaccine, says he's remaining openminded on new information. The nod from the legislature would be the final step before the vaccine could be placed on the mandated list.

Proponents argue such a decision would arm public health with a crucial weapon against what can be a deadly disease. "We believe if there is a vaccine that can prevent disease and death among children, it should be a requirement for children to enter school," says state public health spokesman Tom Schafer. "Death and suffering has been tremendously impacted by the immunization program and vaccines have proven to be safe.

The case of polio is a dramatic illustration of his point. Prior to Dr. Jonas Salk's 1954 development of a vaccine, children were struck in epidemic porportions by the crippling and potentially deadly disease. There were 4,000 cases of polio in Illinois in 1952 before the vaccine was distributed. Since 1983, Illinois hasn't had a single case.

As for chickenpox, the number

of Illinois cases has dropped dramatically since that vaccine became available. State health department figures show there were 24,798 cases of the disease reported in 1995. The number dropped to 13,843 in 1999.

Proponents argue, too, that the risk associated with the chickenpox vaccine is low. In uncontrolled clinical trials of 8,900 healthy children ages 1 to 12 years, 14.7 percent developed a fever. Another 19.3 percent had complaints about the injection site. "As public officials, we have to look at the overall good the vaccines do," says department spokesman Schafer.

That theory doesn't wash with O'Malley, whose experience provides another view of vaccinations. "I don't think a compelling argument has been made that some greater social good will happen by forcing every child to get this vaccination," he says. "The idea that this is a lottery game should be repugnant to anyone.'

If Illinois makes the chickenpox vaccine a requirement, it will become the 24th state to do so, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures, which tracks state laws and regulations. Among the 23 states, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota and Texas require the vaccine for entry to school this year. Washington, D.C., also has such a regulation. Overseas, the chickenpox vaccine has been in use for more than 20 years in Japan, where it was developed in 1974, and it is widely used in Europe.

The debate over vaccines in the states most often has centered on finances, says Lisa Speissegger, public health analyst for the policy tracking group. "Once a vaccine is required, you have to provide funding for those who can't pay for it," she says. "Because it is so expensive, we are talking about a significant budget item."

Vaccines are expensive because they must be stored at specific temperatures and kept away from light. Doctors in private practice are likely to pay more for the drugs because they don't buy them in bulk. But the

price for public agencies can be steep, too. Government contract prices for vaccines vary from \$9 a shot for the hepatitis B vaccine to \$37.14 for the chickenpox vaccine, according the Illinois health department.

While federal programs would provide immunizations for the uninsured, the state would have to spend \$1.5 million to \$2 million to cover the cost of vaccines for underinsured children.

Chickenpox is highly contagious with 95 percent of Americans getting the disease by adulthood. There are about four million cases in the United States each year, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, a federal agency. The group reports there are 4,000 to 9,000 hospitalizations each year and 100 deaths. Symptoms appear about two weeks after exposure. Because it is contagious two days before the rash appears, children expose each other to the disease before they know they

Symptoms include 300 to 400 itchy lesions, a fever of up to 104 degrees and fatigue. The vaccine, which can be administered after a child turns 1, is 85 percent effective in preventing the disease. Children who do get chickenpox after being inoculated suffer a very light case of it. And those vaccinated shortly after being exposed reduce their risk of contracting the disease or suffer a much milder case.

It is not yet known whether a booster is required — something that also worries critics because adults who contract chickenpox suffer from more complications than children do. Dr. Mark Rosenberg, a Barringtonbased pediatrician for 22 years who sits on the state's advisory committee, says that should not be a reason for people to skip the vaccine. If people need a booster later, they can simply get another shot. The benefits of the vaccine are overwhelming, he says.

"The shots are protecting children from a number of horrible diseases at a time when their immune system is underdeveloped," he says, adding that he believes there would be less debate about the good of vaccines if more

people saw how terrible some of the diseases are. Because vaccines keep illnesses in check, Rosenberg says, the public doesn't have firsthand knowledge of them.

He also argues the benefits of the chickenpox vaccine for parents and schools. "In this society, roughly two-thirds of families have two working parents," he says. "It is a great benefit to those families to keep from missing a week of work and school."

But Dr. Linda Shelton sees the issue another way. The Evergreen Park pediatrician says that convenience isn't enough reason to force children to have the vaccine. To her, requiring the inoculation tramples on parents' rights to decide what medical care is best. "I don't believe we should suspend our civil rights when chickenpox is a common childhood illness that generally is only an inconvenience to parents. The chance of severe illness doesn't warrant suspending civil rights. This is not a great epidemic," says Shelton, who has been a doctor since 1987.

Although she is opposed to making the vaccine mandatory, she does recommend it to teens who haven't contracted chickenpox and to children, such as those with cancer, who may be more susceptible to complications.

Meanwhile, Barbara Alexander Mullarkey, spokeswoman for the Oak Park-based Illinois Vaccine Awareness Coalition, says doctors should be required to better educate their patients about the side effects of vaccines.

Mullarkey, like Shelton, is critical of the new advisory committee. Both think more public comment should have been allowed at meetings, where speakers were limited to three minutes. And they believe the group, the makeup of which is determined by state statute, should include more people from outside the medical profession. They would also stipulate that panel members should not be able to profit from their recommendations. They worry, for example, that some committee members could have

stock in a drug company that makes the vaccine.

The health department's Schafer responds that, as an advisory committee, the group's recommendation is not the final word. "There is the check and balance of the legislature," he says.

It appears likely the joint legislative group will take up the chickenpox vaccine issue later this year. Once it weighs the financial impact, suggests Speissegger of the National Conference of State Legislatures, Illinois lawmakers are likely to debate what has been the crux of the argument in other states: weighing parents' rights against the need to reduce the disease. It won't be an easy question. "Something like the chickenpox, people see as benign," she says. "On the other hand, kids die of it every year."

Kristy Kennedy is a free-lance writer who previously covered DuPage County for the Daily Herald, a suburban metro newspaper. Her most recent piece for Illinois Issues, "Corporate migration," appeared in April.

The neverending school year

Some Illinois kids were back in class long before Labor Day. And they seemed happy about it

by Burney Simpson

🖰 arol Slough has a problem. Her two daughters are so eager to attend school they even enjoy going in the middle of summer when many kids are sitting around the pool. "They are ready to go back to school

at the end of July. They don't miss the summer break," says Slough. And her children don't get bored or exhausted from too much class time. "I never get the sense they can't go another day."

This may not sound like much of a problem. But it's her children's happi-

ness with Kenwood Elementary School in Champaign that may lead to difficulties this fall.

That school's unusual approach to scheduling, called year-round education, is the reason Slough's daughters are in classes in July and don't suffer from end-of-year burnout. Under the year-round system, students attend class in blocks of nine-week stretches. After each block, they get a threeweek break. Slough and her girls like it. But this month, the oldest is

moving up to middle school, which operates under the traditional threemonth summer vacation schedule.

With the girls on two schedules, and a kindergartner too, Slough and her husband will have to scramble to keep up with them. But she's hopeful. Parents are talking about pushing the middle school to shift to the yearround system.

That would follow a small, but growing trend in Illinois and across the nation.

The term year-round schooling scares some people because it conjures up images of students and teachers — sitting in classrooms 365 days a year.

Last year, 36 Illinois public schools used a year-round system, up from 11 in 1993. And when districts try it, they like it. Champaign School District 4 also converted Barkstall Elementary School to a year-round schedule. Springfield School District 186, meanwhile, is adding the fifthgrade to its year-round school, Southern View Elementary, and converted another elementary school to year-round this summer.

Advocates of the trend argue schools need to take fresh approaches to scheduling, in much the same way they've appropriated new technologies into teaching. "You can do a lot of creative things when you are talking about time," says Molly Carroll, a former Chicago public schoolteacher and a board member of the National Association for Year-Round Education. Carroll contends that changing the calendar can enable educators to devote valuable time to slower students, while still encouraging those children who are doing well.

This new approach to the academic calendar may not work for all schools. Proponents admit it takes preparation and requires the strong support of parents, teachers and administrators. Cost can be a factor, too, because summer classes would require schools in older buildings to invest in air conditioning.

Nevertheless, according to the yearround education association, the number of schools nationwide that have changed their academic calen-

dars has grown by 600 percent since 1985. In the 1999 school year, 2,880 schools with a little more than two million students had reconfigured their school year calendars.

Part of the reason for this has to do with an increase in the number of students some schools are required to serve. In California, with 1,542 yearround schools, educators must rotate students in the same grade in and out of classrooms in older buildings throughout the year. So one group of fourth-graders may be on vacation while another group is in class.

But in Illinois, more often parents and teachers are weighing the educational benefits of year-round schooling.

The term year-round schooling scares some people because it conjures up images of students and teachers — sitting in classrooms 365 days a year. But the phrase is a misnomer, say proponents, who prefer the term "balanced calendar." In fact, students in schools like Champaign's Kenwood attend classes for the standard 180 days a year. They also have extended breaks in the summer and around the winter holidays.

But the short-session, short-break program addresses two longstanding problems in the traditional schedule, says Carroll. Less time is wasted every September teaching students what they have forgotten over the summer. And students who start falling behind early in the school year won't have to wait until the following summer to take a makeup class. Instead, the mini-breaks allow those students to take half-day remediation classes. Further, the three-week breaks can be useful for students who are already on top of the material. They can study advanced courses or a subject outside the core curriculum.

Kenwood switched to the balanced calendar in the 1995-1996 school year. Les Huddle, principal of the kindergarten through fifth-grade school, says teachers and administrative staff researched the concept and then sold it to parents and the district superintendent.

Huddle says he sees improvements

in test scores, discipline and the general mood at school. Students, he says, are enthusiastic about being there, even in the spring months when children usually are getting antsy to be outside. "The atmosphere is positive. I roam the halls in May and there's lots of energy, which can be unusual" under a traditional schedule, says Huddle.

He says teachers prefer the program, too. "For teachers, this is much less stress and burnout. They work hard for nine weeks, then relax for three. There is less review and more new instruction."

The balanced-calendar program has its critics, though. Many parents second Carol Slough's concern about conflicting schedules. And Slough has been disappointed with the enrichment courses. She says the choices were few, and not many parents were sending their kids to those extra classes that were offered.

Advocates acknowledge the balanced-calendar programs lean toward remediation, and the discovery programs for advanced students aren't given as much focus. "More work is needed to determine how this will benefit those students who go into enrichment," says Delwyn Harnisch, a former professor of educational psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Harnisch has worked with schools throughout the state that have shifted to a balanced calendar. He has also conducted studies of the Champaign and Springfield programs. His threeyear evaluation of Kenwood, running through the 1998 school year, did not find significant improvements in test scores, but teachers, parents and staff were positive. The mood in the school was upbeat, children liked going to school and communication between parents and teachers improved, according to his evaluation.

Harnisch sees another reason to consider revising the academic calendar. "The [traditional] calendar was designed for the Agriculture Age so children could work on the farm. Now we are in the Information Age. The child must learn how to synthesize and use information," he says.

Of course, there are costs. And Harnisch has made some calculations there, too. He reports that the Kenwood school board decided to invest \$420,000 in central air conditioning. And the utility bills climbed from \$27,580 the year prior to the schedule change to \$41,537 in the 1996-1997 school year. Huddle argues the money was well-invested because the building can now be used all year by the community.

Harnisch conducted a similar evaluation at Springfield's Southern View school, with similar results.

Jeanette Krofchick has taught at that "small, close-knit" school for 15 years. "I recommend [a balanced calendar]. I don't want to go back to the traditional," she says. She cites another efficiency of the mini-breaks: It's easier to schedule doctor and dentist visits, which cuts time off from school.

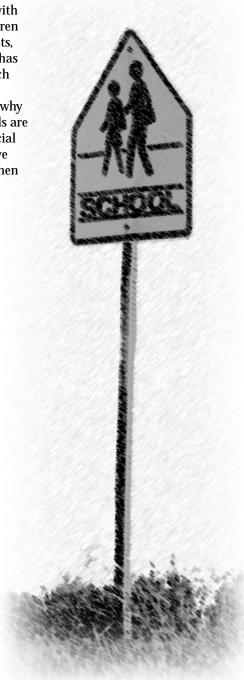
Though the year-round program is growing in Illinois, nearly half the schools using a modified academic calendar — 16 to be exact — are located in Chicago. But that district's chief executive officer, Paul Vallas, is a critic of the year-round concept because he believes it merely rearranges the standard number of in-school days. He supports extending the school year by another 30 to 40 days. In order to reach his goal, he's been expanding and extending summer school. Chicago's Summer Bridge program sends about 25,000 students to school, while another 170,000 are given take-home lessons through the Step Ahead program. Vallas contends he's not using a balanced calendar, except in some crowded schools. He credits the five-year rise in test scores in Chicago to all the programs offered in its schools, including day care and after-school tutoring.

But advocate Molly Carroll believes Vallas is merely concerned about the connotations of the term "yearround." Meanwhile, she argues, he's actually building a year-round program with periods of recovery and discovery. Chicago may call its program a bridge, she says, but so

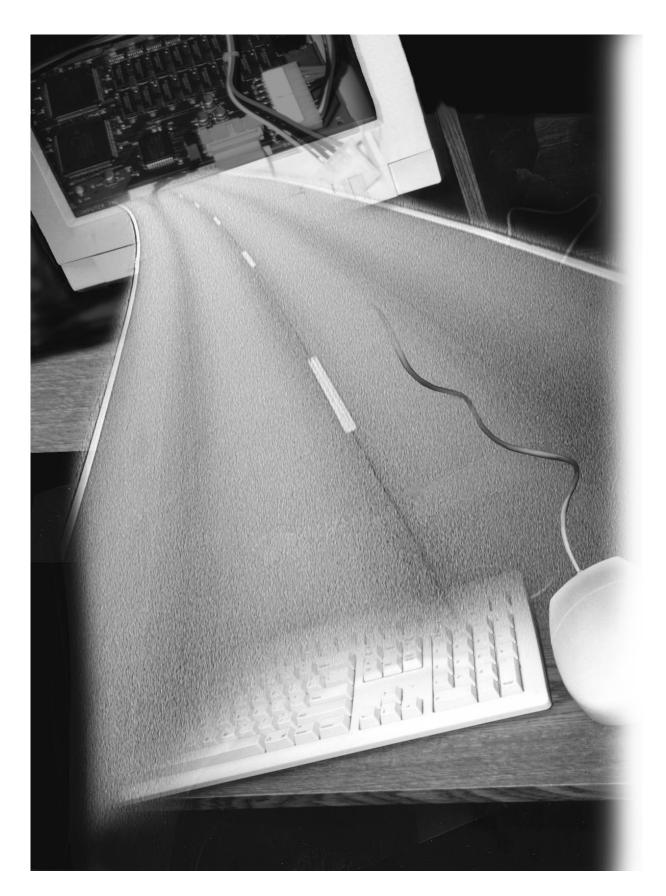
many kids are going to school in the summer that the schedule resembles a year-round system. "I'm sure [Vallas] doesn't want to see that phrase in a headline. It can upset people. But I think that's what they're doing without labeling it."

Carroll and Vallas could both be right, in that Chicago is developing a new way to use the school calendar for today's urban children. And, after all, labels and perceptions are critical in selling something new.

Springfield teaching veteran Krofchick puts her own spin on negative perceptions associated with year-round schooling. With children on different schedules, she suggests, a Champaign parent like Slough has the chance to spend time with each child individually. And when Krofchick's first-graders wonder why they are in class when their friends are playing, she emphasizes how special they are. "We promote the positive aspects. I say, 'We go to school when no one else does.'" □



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Home work

After decades of futuristic predictions about work-at-home technology, telecommuting is finally becoming a reality

by Stephanie Zimmermann

Four days a week, Gary Ronnie makes the short morning commute from his breakfast table to his home office, where he develops training materials for his company's computer software products.

Ronnie's job, which would involve spending most of his time in front of a computer screen even if he were at his company's Arlington Heights headquarters, lends itself easily to telecommuting. Once a week, he makes the traditional in-person trip to the office, where he attends meetings and talks face-to-face with the one employee he supervises. His employer, Denniston & Denniston Inc., a 75-employee business that provides time/attendance and labor management software to companies nationwide, saw the value in allowing Ronnie to work partially from home. Ronnie, 52, who was diagnosed about two years ago with multiple sclerosis, was getting worn down by the 65-mile round-trip commute from his home in southwest suburban Riverside to Arlington Heights. But by telecommuting, he's able to continue working for a company where his veteran skills are needed. "It has made my life much more doable." he says.

And, as a side benefit for his fellow suburbanites, Ronnie's arrangement keeps one more car off Chicago's increasingly clogged expressway system.

After decades of futuristic predic-

tions about work-at-home technology that never quite came true, telecommuting — or "telework," as some people prefer to call it — is finally becoming a reality, thanks in part to an odd convergence of business and environmental interests. Environmentalists like getting cars off the roads. And businesses like happy workers who are less likely to leave their jobs. "Different reasons, but you get the same result," says Roger Kanerva, environmental policy adviser at the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency. After years of pushing by environmental groups, "telecommuting is starting to be popular as an employee benefit. This thing has come full circle.'

Indeed, telework has exploded in popularity. Surveys by Cyber Dialogue, a New York-based research and consulting firm, its predecessor FIND/SVP and the International Telework Association & Council show that the number of teleworkers nationwide — defined as an employee or subcontractor who works at least one day a month from home, but averages one and a half to two days a week — increased from just 4 million in 1990 to 19.6 million in August of last year.

The number of teleworkers is expected to rise to as many as 23.8 million by the end of this year, meaning about 18.7 percent of the American workforce will be working

at least some of the time from home, according to projections by Jack Nilles, an Evanston native and author of *Managing Telework*, which was published in 1998. Nilles, who coined the term "telecommuting" in the 1970s, sees a point in the year 2030 when perhaps 51 million Americans will do at least some of their work from home.

There are several reasons for the trend. Just as the automobile forced the development of highways and a different way of working than existed in agrarian societies, "now the technology is driving how and where we're going to live and work," says Gail Martin, executive director of the Washington, D.C.-based International Telework Association & Council. Steamrolling technological advances eventually will give wide segments of the populace access to faster Internet connections and wireless communications. Further, the growing traffic congestion — and attendant pollution — in many U.S. cities, including Chicago, is making the drive from home to work increasingly unpleasant. Finally, the healthy economy and its low unemployment is making employers more sensitive to the issues of recruitment and retention, which can mean helping workers balance careers and family.

"We do not have enough workers in this country," Martin says. "We

really need to maximize everybody with skills."

Telecommuting isn't a new concept. Nilles, a former aerospace engineer and academic at the University of Southern California, got onto the idea almost 30 years ago when he began exploring ways to use the technological improvements that could put a man on the moon to help solve the southern California travel crunch. Those were the pre-personal computer days, when the solution seemed to be to set up satellite centers near concentrations of employees where people could use terminals connected to large main-frame computers. A pilot program with a Los Angeles-based insurance company found that turnover dropped from about one-third of employees each year to zero and productivity rose 18 percent, Nilles says.

Then PCs came on the scene, making telecommuting even easier. Now, telecommuting is a more widely accepted part of corporate culture.

New Jersey-based AT&T has run a telecommuting program since 1989 that currently includes a couple of thousand Illinois employees. Of the company's 80,000 managers, salespersons and technical professionals, about 10 percent telecommute exclusively, 25 percent telecommute once a week or more and half telecommute about once a month. The numbers likely will rise as highspeed, high-capacity communications systems become more available.

The program began as a response to employees' desires for a better balance between work and home life, says Burke Stinson, an AT&T spokesman. "Working at home seems like an obvious solution."

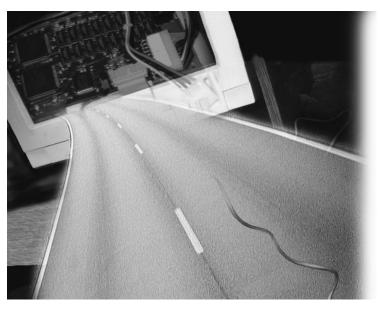
The story is much the same at PricewaterhouseCoopers, a global management consulting firm based in New York that has about 3,500 employees in Illinois. The company has had a formal telecommuting program for about three years as part of a larger flexible work policy. Employees who choose this option sign a contract spelling out their duties, then the company sets up a home office with compatible equip-

ment. The company has about 420 teleworkers, most of whom work from home exclusively or nearly so. The program appeals to workers of both sexes: 40 percent are men and 60 percent are women. More than 15 full partners in the company are telecommuters, proving that working from home doesn't have to hold employees down on the corporate ladder.

The company has found that the changing realities of the workforce demand such programs. "People coming out of college today really are demanding much more sensitivity to be able to choose and control their work schedule," says Ray Lewis, spokesman for PricewaterhouseCoopers. That's fine with his company, as long as customers are happy. "There's a great business case for this. And beyond that, it's the right thing to do."

So why isn't every Illinois company with a white-collar staff running a telecommuting program? Old-school management techniques are the single largest barrier to the spread of telework, advocates say. "From the beginning, the problem was not the technology," says Nilles, who runs his own telecommuting consulting company, JALA International Inc. in Los Angeles. "The primary problem was between the ears of the middle-level managers. That's still the problem."

That was the biggest barrier for AT&T, which faced "traditionalist managers who feel insecure if not petulant when their employees are not in their offices," Stinson says. To counter such concerns, the company studied the productivity of the telecommuting members of the company's sales force. Interestingly, they found productivity rose 20 percent to 30 percent among those who worked at least part time from home, Stinson says.



To raise the profile of its program, the company also held a special work-

at-home day in 1994, in which managers from the chairman of the board on down did their jobs from home. Today, thousands of AT&T managers work at least one day a week from home. Some do it because of personal or family needs, but some find it's a

better fit with their personal style. "They're kind of cowgirls and cowboys. They like to get out and sell. They don't like the confinement of the office," Stinson says.

Nor do they sit on their couches watching Jerry Springer. Studies have shown that at-home workers often are more productive, Martin says. "Number one, they're more focused and number two, there are less meetings and interruptions." They also tend to want to prove themselves. One study the Telework Council cites shows that between reduced absenteeism (teleworkers don't have to take a whole day off to deal with a sick child or wait for the cable guy), increased productivity and reduced costs for recruitment and retention, companies can save \$10,000 a year on an employee who telecommutes one day a week.

Telecommuting employees don't

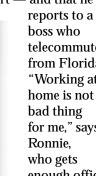
seem to feel left out of the office goings-on, either, provided they are self-motivated people who take the initiative to communicate with others. "We found that they not only don't feel left out, quite often, they feel more connected with people," Nilles says.

Gary Ronnie, the instructional designer who telecommutes to his Arlington Heights employer four days a week, says he hasn't had trouble staying focused on his job. "I'm not really distracted by things around the house. I just shut the door and the five cats stay on the other side of the door," he says. "There are times when you get into the whole flow state and time passes very quickly and you get a lot done without interruptions."

It also helps that he's a selfdescribed introvert — and that he

> boss who telecommutes from Florida. "Working at home is not a bad thing for me," says Ronnie, who gets enough office camaraderie

over the phone and computer. "If I'm missing something and I need to chat,



employers when an advisory letter from the U.S. Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration to a Texas business made it look as though the government was planning to extend strict workplace safety rules to home offices. After a firestorm of protests from U.S. businesses, Labor Secretary Alexis Herman withdrew the letter and officials said there was no plan to conduct government inspections of home offices. Still, Martin suggests companies spell out what an appropriate workplace is, what training will be given to employees, what measures

will be taken to prevent carpal tunnel

syndrome and other ergonomic prob-

lems and what hours the employees

are to work so that those companies

will avoid becoming electronic

I have the phone. I have the whole

Earlier this year, there was a

scare among teleworkers and their

sweatshops. Chicago is vying to be one of a handful of cities in a pilot program administered by the Washington, D.C.-based National Environmental Policy Institute, a nonpartisan organization funded by government and industry. That city, with help from the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency, is putting together a proposal

> for a market-based approach to encouraging telecommuting.

As envisioned, companies that have telework programs could get "pollution credits" and make money on the already existing volatile organic trading market, in which companies in the six-county highozone area around Chicago already trade other types of environmental credits. "[The credits] would become basically a trading commodity," says Rita Athas, director of regional programs in the mayor's office. "It's encouraging people to basically do the right thing."

Chicago doesn't keep statistics on how many of that city's companies have telecommuting programs, but anecdotal evidence suggests they're catching on, Athas says.

Those working on the proposal hope to get federal Environmental Protection Agency funding this fall. Sometime in the future, organizers hope to get federal tax deductions for companies that encourage teleworking. "It's a three-time win, not only for the employees and the environment, but for the employer as well," says Mary Beatty, executive director of the National Environmental Policy Institute.

The trend to telework is

beginning to get Congress' attention, too. One proposal by U.S. Rep. Frank R. Wolf, a Virginia Republican, would give a tax credit to an employer or employee for equipment that promotes teleworking in high-ozone areas such as Chicago. Another, introduced by U.S. Sen. Paul Wellstone, a Minnesota Democrat, would establish rural telework centers, especially in such underserved areas as Indian reservations and Appalachia, to train people to work by computer without having to move to an urban area. If it were successful, such a program also could help retirees and single moms in the inner cities become more active members of the workforce, Martin says. "There are job potentials for every type of population."

It appears that whether old-line managers like it or not, telecommuting is here to stay. "The population is growing. The number of roads isn't," Nilles says. "The old guys who didn't know from computers, who thought they need to look you in the eye to know what you're doing, they will all be retired pretty soon."

Stephanie Zimmermann is a reporter at the Chicago Sun-Times. Her most recent piece for Illinois Issues, "Chain reaction," which assessed the status of the state's nuclear power industry, appeared in May.





THE LONG-DISTANCE FLUTTER

Each fall, Illinois' monarch butterflies join an amazing migration that stretches some two thousand miles from Canada to Mexico. We're still learning how and why

CHASING MONARCHS: MIGRATING WITH THE BUTTERFLIES OF PASSAGE

Robert Michael Pyle, 1999 Houghton Mifflin

Tt's easy to start seeing things after **▲** reading Robert Michael Pyle. A spot of color at the side of the road can suddenly morph from leaf fall to willful flight. Or the other way around.

Pyle experiences the same problem. But for him it's an occupational hazard. He watches butterflies for a living.

That's tougher than it sounds, it seems. Pyle, the author of *The* Audubon Society Field Guide to North American Butterflies, spent 57 days in 1996 trekking 9,462 miles in an effort to track and tag monarchs on their south-moving fall migration, the most amazing of all lepidopteran journeys. He chased now-you-see-it, now-youdon't blurs of orange and black down back roads, across Pacific Northwest rivers, over Western mountains and through Southwestern deserts to prove there isn't a hard-and-fast continental divide between the migratory routes of this bicoastal tribe.

It's generally believed that all Western monarchs overwinter on the tall eucalypts along the California coast, while all Eastern monarchs, including those that pollinate the gardens and prairies of the Great Lakes region, overwinter on ancient firs in the

Mexican highlands.

This is a relatively recent observation because the roosts in the Oyamel, also called the "sacred firs," weren't discovered by the scientific community until 1975. And Pyle is not attempting to destroy altogether this map of the monarchs' parallel drive southward in the fall and northward in the spring. But in his latest book, Chasing Monarchs: Migrating with the Butterflies of Passage, published last year, Pyle does set out to shake prevailing wisdom. He decides he can accomplish this by following each monarch he sees wherever it goes, from western Canada south.

This is hardly a fool's errand. Pyle, a noted entomologist and naturalist, had some prior evidence. He cites instances of tagged monarchs that have crossed the divide. And he satisfies himself that some Western monarchs fly south into Mexico. Pyle's account, he might be the first to admit, manages to add detail to the known biological story, while simultaneously enhancing its mystery.

And what a mystery.

Wherever the West Coast monarchs are going, there's good reason for Mid-

western pride. Illinois lies in the flight path of one of nature's most incredible feats, the Canada-to-Mexico migration of the Eastern monarch. Each fall, say Missouri conservation officials, some 100 million creatures, each weighing about half a gram, fly to a forest 75 miles west of Mexico City, though none of them has been there before. To make it, many will have had to traverse some 2,000 miles of rigorous terrain, all the while sidestepping mantises, birds and automobile windshields. They will have had to brave pesticides and herbicides sprayed over much of the country's remaining open places to find the nectar that fuels their flight.

Still, they come. And, while we know where they're going, we're still learning how and why.

It's been a long wait this year, though. Through much of the summer, the Springfield area was strangely bereft of most butterflies, including the monarch. It seemed they had ceded the turf in this central Illinois neighborhood to the everywhere-you-look cabbage whites.

Then, on the last day of July, there they were. The bold-as-can-be blueblack pipevine swallowtail, nectaring



on Verbena bonariensis, a tall annual that doubles as a lavender butterfly beacon, an aloof tiger swallowtail, the diminutive eastern tailed blue. And the monarch, big enough and bright enough to be seen from yards away, nectaring on a Buddleia davidii, the aptly named butterfly bush.

It allowed closer inpection, just enough to see it wasn't the mimic viceroy, a smaller version of the monarch distinguished by black lines across its hind wings, yet too skittish to allow itself to be identified by gender — the males have black patches at the center of their hindwings. Male or female, this specimen was but a harbinger of the mass migration to come. And there was surely time to propogate one last generation. That generation, unlike the others, will not breed for months, not until the trip back from its winter roost.

If this was a female, she surely saw the orange milkweed, the host plant for her offspring, though hiding nearby were the still-tiny descendents of last summer's garden resident, the swift and magnificent mantis. Insect carnivores are not the monarch's only worry. Birds, too, can and will take a monarch, though the juice of the milkweed provides a mild toxic protection. Most birds soon learn orange and black is distasteful. So the look-alike viceroys get a free ride of sorts.

But people are the monarchs' most serious threat. Dangerous because they are so indifferent. Pyle is struck by how Question & Answer

Michael Jeffords

An entomologist at the Illinois Natural History Survey, a division of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, he wrote about the monarchs' northward spring migration in the June 1996 edition of Illinois Issues. This is an edited version of a recent conversation with Peggy Boyer Long.

Q. Illinois' migrants are coming from states to the north?

Right, the populations are concentrated along the northeast coast and in the Great Lakes region.

Q. When will they pass through this state?

They begin amassing in northern Illinois in September. I've seen masses on single trees in Lee County in early to mid-September. In October in Champaign, and a little later in southern Illinois.

Q. Where should we look?

Anywhere there are resting points. In the evenings they like to come together and roost in trees and shrubs.

Q. Has there been a rise or decline in the population?

According to my map of the North American Butterfly Association's 4th of July butterfly counts, monarchs are doing very well. In 1991, '92 and '93, there were less. But from '94 through '97, they look pretty good. Although, overall, butterflies seem to be down this year, with the exception of the monarch. The population of all butterflies seems to be down and nobody really knows why.

Q. You wrote for us a few years back and there was some concern then about the monarchs' winter habitat in Mexico. What's the status of that?

It's a mountaintop. And, I have not been there, but I know there was logging going on. They have to spend time in these forests, so if the forests aren't there, the population is going to suffer. Now ecotourism is the big thing, and that helps preserve the forests. But the tourists are disturbing the butterflies. Monarchs don't feed there. The less active they are, the more likely they are to make it back. They're living off fat reserves. So with too many tourists disturbing them, they end up flying around too much. They use up their reserves and then they can't make it back. They don't survive the winter there. It's a Catch-22.

Q. What about the ecology for butterflies in the Midwest?

There's not much habitat for anything. The food plant of the monarch is OK. Fortunately, milkweed is a weedy plant that ends up growing along roadsides and railroads and in ditches. One of their favorite food plants is the climbing milkweed that grows on fences and so forth.

Q. Is there anything individuals can do?

Plant a milkweed. Well, you really don't have to plant them. They just show up. So if they show up, leave them alone. Along the edges of cornfields, along roadsides, leave them alone. Let them grow.

Q. Anything you want to add?

The monarch is our state butterfly. And probably the national butterfly. Not officially, but certainly it's the one everyone knows about. It's an indicator of an ecostystem's health.

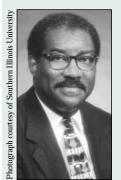
Q. When can we look for them to come back?

Oh, I've seen them as early as late April, early May.

few people really see butterflies, even in mass aggregation. Though he doesn't actually say it. if butterflies remain invisible on the human-defined landscape, they could disappear altogether. Fortunately, it's easy to start seeing things after reading this book.

PeggyBoyer Long

BIG PEOPLE ON CAMPUS



James E. Walker, who began his career in higher education as an assistant professor at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, is set to become president of SIU October 1. Walker has been

James E. Walker president of Middle Tennessee State University since 1991.

George T. Wilkins left his seat on the SIU Board of Trustees. Wilkins was appointed to the board as a Democrat, but this spring drew criticism from some student protesters who contended that his recent primary voting record was Republican, violating the requirement that the board have balanced party representation.

Wilkins, who has a home in Indiana, resigned shortly after a law took effect that requires trustees to live in the state. He had been on the board since 1979.

The former chancellor of SIU-Carbondale wants her old job back. Jo Ann Argersinger filed a federal suit last month against current and former SIU administrators. She is seeking reinstatement and damages, claiming that her free speech rights were violated because she was dismissed for pointing out improprieties in insurance billings and contract awards at the school. Argersinger was removed from the chancellor's position in 1999 and returned to her tenured teaching position in the history department. She also maintains that she was dismissed without due process and that her recent pay cut is discriminatory because other administrators have returned to the faculty at their administrative salaries.

PPOINTMENT

Gov. George Ryan appointed former state Rep. Pete Peters

of Chicago to chair the Illinois Clean Energy Community Trust. The panel oversees a more than \$200 million trust created in 1999 as a condition of Commonwealth Edison's sale of its coal-fired plants to a California company.

The trust is designed to help fund clean coal and renewable energy initiatives. Some of the dollars will be designated for the Illinois Citizens Utility Board.

Peters' appointment does not require Senate confirmation. He will receive an annual salary of \$25,000 for the position.

U of I prof pioneers home-grown soy snacks

If **Richard Bernard** has his way, snack food addicts may soon have a new alternative to beer nuts. That's because the Japanese snack of cooked soybeans is catching on in this country and this University of Illinois professor emeritus has made it easier for backyard gardeners to grow the nutritional food.

Bernard, a plant breeder at the university's National Soybean Research Lab, has developed six varieties of garden soybeans for harvesting as a table vegetable. "We had over 1,200 requests for the seeds. We ran out and had to take names," he says.

Asians have been eating soybeans as vegetables for more than 2,000 years, says Bernard, but Americans think of them more as an industrial product. The Asian soybean, which tends to be bigger and tastier, does not produce well in the Illinois climate, nor does it have resistance to Illinois insects and diseases. Through crossbreeding with local beans, Bernard developed varieties that are at least 50 percent larger and, in some cases, twice as large as Illinois beans. Shiny green with a nutty taste, the soybeans are cooked in the pod, then shelled like peanuts and eaten cold or hot.

"They are easier to cook, easier to digest and have the highest amount of protein of any bean," says Bernard, who hopes some private seed company might take over marketing and distribution.

Scandal by the number

Dean Bauer, the former inspector general under Secretary of State George Ryan, pleaded not guilty last month to new federal charges that he failed to investigate allegations of corruption in that office. Bauer's case is expected to go to trial in early December.

Federal authorities also charged five more driving school instructors with paying bribes to state employees. The two-year-old Operation Safe Road bribes-for-licenses investigation is ongoing.

Number of people charged in Operation Safe Road:	37*
Number of people who have pleaded guilty:	
Number of people convicted in contested cases:	1
Number of people sentenced:	17
*All figures as of mid-August	

Another bribes-for-licenses investigation heated up this summer, this time at the Waterloo and Jerseyville licensing facilities in southern Illinois. Federal investigators there have charged Gay Lynn Wielgus of Belleville and Michael A. Fahey Sr. of Bunker Hill with taking bribes for improperly passing applicants for truck driver's licenses. Former secretary of state employee Wielgus transferred to the Illinois Department of Transportation in May. Fahey is on unpaid leave. The Wielgus indictment charges that she granted licenses to some applicants after they made political contributions.

Question & Answer

Lucia Perillo

The 41-year-old Southern Illinois University associate English professor recently received the illustrious John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's genius grant, which awards a \$500,000 no-strings-attached prize. Perillo's poetry has been published in magazines, such as The Atlantic Monthly, and in books. Random House published her latest: The Oldest Map with the Name America. The assistance comes at a fortuitous time for Perillo, who is facing an intensified struggle with multiple sclerosis, a disease that has often been the subject of her poetry.

from The Body Mutinies

When the doctor runs out of words and still I won't leave, he latches my shoulders and steers me out doors! Where I see his blurred hand, through the nilk glass, flapping goodbye like a sail

Perillo has taken a leave from Southern Illinois and is living in Olympia, Wash., where she taught prior coming to the Carbondale campus in 1991.

Q. Before you taught English you worked as a naturalist. How did you come to make the transition?

I worked for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service after I graduated. I was working in the San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuge, and when I was there I started to take poetry classes [at San Jose State] with Robert Hass, who would subsequently be [the U.S.] poet laureate. I went back to school and was exposed to a number of poets. After graduate school, I kept doing that [writing] and ended up in a teaching job.

Q. Is there a connection between poetry and the wild? Does nature figure prominently in your work?

It didn't in the old days. It does more and more now. In the beginning I was interested in social concerns. I'm always interested in nature in poetry as it relates to the human

condition. The core of my second book [The Body Mutinies] has to do with the body. I've always written with the body in mind. That's where my naturalist background comes into play.

Q. Do you think of yourself as a writer or a teacher?

I think of myself as more of a writer. I think most writers want to be writing. I know I've learned so much from teaching. My knowledge of poetry has been enhanced. I guess I never thought writing would be my profession. I feel very lucky I've been able to have the amount of time I've had to write. I know there are many writers who can't get that.

Q. What is in your future? What will the award allow you to do?

I was planning to take some time to address my health concerns. The award will let me do that. [With the job at SIU], my husband and I have lived

Photograph courtesy of Southern Illinois University



apart for the last decade. Domestically, there will be more harmony and commuting won't eat up all my time.

Q. What goals do you hope to achieve?

I hope to get settled back into writing soon. I have tons of stuff I've tucked in boxes. I want to work on my short stories and nonfiction.

Q. Aren't you young to have accomplished so much?

My sense of it is they used to give these awards to people who were more at the peak of their professions, people who were older. I noticed with this year's awards there were a lot of younger people. I think it is a good thing they are looking to younger people, people who have not yet reached the pinnacle of their careers and could really use financial assistance.

Maureen Foertsch McKinney

BIT

William Maxwell

Celebrated native Illinois writer William Maxwell died July 31 at the age of 91.

"We tend to talk about him as an Illinois writer. He is one of the finest writers Illinois has ever produced, but his body of work is important on a national and international level," says Barbara Burkhardt, who turned her critical biography of Maxwell over to an agent just two weeks before the writer's death.

Illinois, primarily downstate Lincoln, often served as the backdrop for Maxwell's books, including the American Book Award-winning So Long, See You Tomorrow, a 1980 novel set in 1920 that explores a scandalous murder and its effects on the friendship of two boys.

"He has called Illinois 'his imagination's home,'" Burkhardt says. "Maxwell captured both the provincial nature of the small town in Illinois as well as the beauty of his life there."

Lincoln also played a role when Maxwell chronicled his mother's death during the 1918 influenza epidemic in his 1937 novel They Came Like Swallows. Maxwell's family moved to Chicago after his mother's death, which is mirrored in the action of his 1945 tale of youthful friendship, *The* Folded Leaf.

Though Illinois figured prominently in Maxwell's fiction, work drew him to the East Coast, where he served as a fiction editor for The New Yorker magazine for 40 years and worked with writers John Cheever, John Updike and Vladimir Nabokov.

"I think with his death, his fiction will come to be known as his greatest contribution to American letters," says Burkhardt, who hopes her biography will advance Maxwell's stature as a fiction writer. "His fiction has been unrecognized in his lifetime, I believe.' Maxwell's death came eight days after the death of Emily, his wife of 55

Photograph courtesy of IMSA



School projects

Claiborne Skinner, social science teacher at the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy in Aurora, supervised the construction of this diorama of Fort St. Louis des Illinois, France's westernmost outpost from 1682 to 1691. For more than three years, his students researched and built the fort. the site of a 10-day battle between the Iroquois, French officers and Illiniwek that ended in the defeat of the Iroquois, a prelude to the French and Indian War. It marked a turning point in the history of colonial America. The fort is on permanent display at Starved Rock State Park in Utica.

Arlington track on the block

A \$100 million offer to buy the state's premier horse racing venue has a legislator calling for a second look at the controversial 1999 gambling law.

Richard Duchossois agreed to sell Arlington International Racecourse this summer to Louisville, Ky.-based Churchill Downs Inc., owner of the home turf of the prestigious Kentucky Derby race. After the announcement, Rep. Jeff Schoenberg questioned whether Duchossois had planned the deal as he lobbied for passage of the gambling measure. The measure, since signed into law, will cut the owners of horse racing tracks in on tax revenue expected from a new riverboat gambling venue lawmakers designated for Cook County. "This taxpayer subsidy significantly boosted the value of Arlington and gives [Duchossois] a considerable windfall," says Schoenberg. "No legislators were aware that the bill would boost profits from a subsequent sale." The Evanston Democrat is chair of the House Appropriations Committee. He says he may hold hearings to investigate the timing of the takeover. Duchossois had closed the track in 1997, saying competition from the burgeoning casino business made it unprofitable. News of its sale came after Arlington reopened on Mothers Day, when about 32,000 well-wishers, including Gov. George Ryan, showed up to try their luck at the ponies. An Arlington spokesman says the sale is part of an ongoing consolidation in the racing industry. Still, if approved by the Illinois Racing Board, this could be a gamble that goes sour for Duchossois. Some of his take depends on the opening of a casino in Cook County, and that remains in limbo due to two continuing lawsuits.

Edgar-era scandal still has legs

Two judicial rulings revived the ghost of Management Services of Illinois Inc.

• The five unindicted co-conspirators in the MSI Inc. contract scandal were named after a ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. They are **Michael Belletire**, former Gov. Jim Edgar's deputy chief of staff; **Janis Cellini**, who was Edgar's personnel director; Jim Owen, former assistant to Senate President James "Pate' Philip; and **Terry Bedgood** and **Terry Logsdon**, aides to former Gov. James Thompson. The Illinois Press Association, The Associated Press, the *Chicago Tribune* and Copley Press Inc. sued to make the names public because statements from some of them became evidence in the trial of **James Berger**, a Department of Public Aid administrator charged with helping to defraud the state. Berger was acquitted. The U.S. attorney's office had argued releasing the names could unfairly burden the five because they hadn't been charged with a crime and had no chance to clear their names legally.

• U.S. District Judge Richard Mills reduced the restitution **Michael Martin** and **Ronald Lowder** owe the state from \$12.3 million to \$172,000. Mills held prosecutors didn't prove Martin and Lowder's actions cost the state any more than that. The two were convicted in the 1997 investigation of a contract between the public aid department and MSI Inc., a Springfield-based data management company.

Know Your Legislators

This excellent resource will provide you with useful information about the members of the 91st General Assembly

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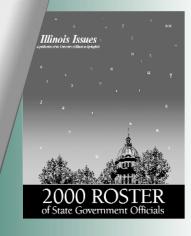
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LETTERS



How to write us

Your comments on articles and columns are welcome. Please keep letters brief (250 words). We reserve the right to excerpt them. Send letters to:

Letters to the Editor Illinois Issues University of Illinois at Springfield Springfield, IL 62794-9243 e-mail address on Internet: boyer-long.peggy@uis.edu



In the next two editions of the magazine, *Illinois Issues* will help you make sense of this election year.

- We'll assess the races for the courts and Congress.
- We'll explore the implications of political polling.
- We'll examine the growing influence of Hispanics.
- And we'll consider the role of churches and unions.

There will be plenty of information to help you make informed choices.

Don't miss out.

A VIEW FROM CHICAGO

It's campaign time

by James Ylisela Jr.

and the livin' is easy

It's election time, and you know what that means, kids. Tax cuts! Yippee!

One of the real treats of any campaign season is watching politicians trip over themselves in their zeal to give us a few bucks in exchange for our votes. In certain jurisdictions, stuffy legal types would refer to this practice as "bribery." But in the realm of politics, it comes under the heading "good public policy" or "long overdue relief for the struggling middle class."

As the presidential campaign heats up, Democrat Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush will debate the size and scope of a potential federal tax cut, now that the government sports a nifty surplus and the money seems to be burning a hole in every congressional pocket.

But in Illinois, we're way ahead of the game. In April, the Illinois General Assembly ended its pre-election festivities by passing a one-time, 5 percent rebate on 1999 property taxes. Checks averaging \$100 or so will show up in homeowners' mailboxes sometime this fall, just in time for Election Day. The extra pocket money — not quite enough for dinner and a movie — comes to us courtesy of a \$280 million installment on Illinois' share in the national tobacco settlement.

I can use an extra hundred bucks as much as the next guy, but is this really the best use of tobacco money? Is \$100 going to convince anyone to stop smoking, or warn my son of the dan-

When politicians are running for re-election, they cut your taxes; when they're not running for re-election, they raise your taxes.

You could look it up.

gers of tobacco? Probably not, but that's missing the point. Sending people checks at election time, however meaningless, ranks right up there with kissing babies and accusing your opponent of being a card-carrying member of (a) the American Civil Liberties Union, or (b) the National Rifle Association. It's what politicians do.

Besides, everybody loves a windfall, and that's what a tax cut feels like. It's mad money, to spend as we please. And it gives our elected officials a campaign theme: "Hey, I gave you \$100. Shouldn't you vote for me?"

Taxes are confusing and complicated, especially property taxes, which these days seem to finance everything local governments want to do. So you don't miss out on the fun, here's a handy guide to help you keep track of whether your tax dollars are coming or going: When politicians are running for re-election, they *cut* your taxes; when they're not running for re-election, they *raise* your taxes. You could look it up.

Mayor Richard M. Daley has really got this down. When the mayor runs for re-election, the city budget is bursting with pork, with a little goodie bag for every alderman and city neighborhood. In November 1998, for example, Daley and his aldermanic buddies were thinking ahead to their next election, in the spring of 1999. So they passed a budget loaded with millions of dollars in neighborhood improvements and, most important, a \$20 million property tax cut.

The astute Richard Mell, alderman of the city's 33rd Ward, could barely contain himself. Mell advised his colleagues to use the budget "as a cornerstone of your re-election bid." And that's just what they did.

Daley and his minions won another blowout that spring, then hunkered down to work on the city's spending plan for 2000. And lo and behold, Daley proposed four straight years of up-to-the-hilt property tax hikes — more than \$13 million a year — to pay for new libraries and police and fire stations. The aldermen, still flush from their own election victories, showed their usual courage and independence, approving the increases without a peep.

Nevertheless, last month, city officials announced a preliminary 2001 budget deficit of \$115 million. But with property taxes no longer a viable political option, the Daley Administration is expected to use fee increases and cost savings to balance the books by the end of the year.

Meanwhile, some city residents already have received their new property assessments, with increases of up to 53 percent, which will be reflected in next year's tax bills.

But Chicagoans needn't worry. They've still got that \$100 coming courtesy of state lawmakers, who have their own campaign timetables. Don't spend it all in one place.

James Ylisela Jr. teaches urban reporting at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism. He's the acting editor of The Chicago Reporter.



A judge's ruling left ethics and campaign finance reforms in limbo

by Charles N. Wheeler III

Two years ago, the Illinois General Assembly approved and then-Gov. Jim Edgar signed into law an ethics and campaign finance reform package that observers termed the most significant of the last quarter century.

While that appraisal should be tempered somewhat by knowledge that the 1998 package was the only one of its kind enacted over that span, the legislation nevertheless embodied important changes in the way lawmakers and lobbyists do business.

The carefully crafted measure restricted gift giving to public officials by lobbyists and others doing business with the state, limited some unseemly fundraising practices and imposed new campaign finance disclosure requirements on candidates.

The legislation, Edgar said, "represents an important step forward in the reform of the campaign finance and ethics laws to improve accountability and help Illinoisans better understand the political process in our state."

With the November election now just two months away, however, a local judge's ruling has left the reforms wrapped in a cloud of uncertainty. Will County Circuit Judge Thomas Ewert held the law was unconstitutionally vague because its gift ban provisions did not spell out clearly enough what was prohibited. Although the measure included a severability

Will County Circuit Judge
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clause — a legislative statement that if a portion of the law were struck down, other parts could stand independently — the judge invalidated the entire act, including the new campaign finance provisions.

At presstime, Attorney General Jim Ryan, who defended the law, was awaiting a final written opinion from Ewert to decide whether to ask the judge to reconsider the ruling or to appeal it directly to the Illinois Supreme Court. Whatever Ryan chooses to do, it's highly unlikely the issue will be settled before Election Day.

The ruling offers both a challenge and an opportunity to state and local candidates this fall.

Although the full impact of Ewert's decision won't be clear until a final

order is issued, the doubt it casts on the law's validity might tempt candidates to fudge on the disclosure requirements. Thus, the challenge for everyone running for state or local office is to follow the new mandates, however suspect the law.

Indeed, a citizens' group that helped win the measure's approval two years ago called soon after Ewert's decision for legislative candidates to honor its intent. In letters to the four legislative leaders, Illinois Common Cause asked that they urge their candidates, both incumbents and challengers, to abide by the law's provisions.

"With the election only weeks away, it is especially important that citizens have the confidence that those who are seeking public office will conduct themselves within the parameters of these important reforms," wrote Jim Howard, Common Cause executive director.

The request is right on target. The new mandates — particularly ones requiring candidates to list the occupations and employers of major donors and to report promptly large, last-minute contributions — are designed to identify more clearly the role special interests may have in funding a particular campaign, information that should be important to voters as they weigh their choices. Nor are the disclosure requirements onerous — after all, almost everyone on the November ballot already had to comply with them for the March primary, months before Ewert ruled.

At the same time, the law's current uncertain status affords legislative candidates an opportunity to commit themselves to re-enacting similar ethics and disclosure reforms in the next General Assembly, in case the existing law ultimately is struck down. In fact, concerned citizens might well want to press would-be lawmakers on the issue, to make sure reform is high on the legislative agenda for next spring.

Should Ewert's view prevail — that the law's gift ban provisions as written are too vague — lawmakers have a

simple way to avoid similar pitfalls in new legislation.

Rather than imposing a ban on gifts, then providing numerous exceptions, legislators should opt instead for unlimited largesse, but with full disclosure. Perhaps it's too difficult for public officials and would-be donors to figure out what "nominal value" means; maybe it's inconsistent to permit freebie golf and tennis outings, but not free tickets to a Kane County Cougars or Springfield Capitals game. So why not avoid such concerns altogether by letting officials accept whatever comes their way, as long as they promptly report every cup of coffee and each honorary plaque?

One of the main arguments for the intitial ban was to avoid the appearance of policy-makers being unduly influenced by those bearing gifts. The law's 23 exceptions prove, however, the difficulty of deciding statutorily exactly what is proper. Mandating full

Rather than imposing a ban on gifts, then providing numerous exceptions, legislators should opt instead for unlimited largesse, but with full disclosure.

disclosure of all gifts would let voters decide for themselves whether a particular item crossed the line of propriety.

Moreover, as a side effect, a full disclosure scheme would not require a plethora of ethics commissions to review allegations of improper gift giving. Instead, one statewide ethics commission could be established to

offer advice to officials on specific situations, playing much the same role as the old ethics commission supplanted under the new law.

Adopting full disclosure, rather than a partial ban, on gifts to public officials also would provide a nice symmetry with reporting requirements for the other major source of concern about influence-peddling, campaign finance. For years, those opposed to any limits on who can give or how much they can shell out to political war chests have argued that disclosure is the best policy.

If sunshine is the best disinfectant for campaign donations, it should be equally salutary for gift giving. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

Chancellor, University of Illinois at Springfield

Nominations and applications are invited for the position of Chancellor of the University of Illinois at Springfield (UIS).

The Chancellor is the chief executive officer of the campus and reports to the President of the University of Illinois. The University seeks a proven leader who will continue the successful development of the campus' academic programs and public service mission.

Founded in 1969 as Sangamon State University, UIS became the newest and smallest campus of the University of Illinois on July 1, 1995. Emphasis is placed on public affairs instruction and research and service carried out through community partnerships.

The campus offers bachelor's and master's degrees and a Doctor of Public Administration. UIS currently enrolls students at the second-semester sophomore level and continues their education through junior, senior and graduate levels. Last fall the State approved the Capital Scholars Program that will result in the admission of first year students in the fall of 2001. Current student enrollment is 4,100 with 188 faculty and 199 professional and 265 support staff

The Chancellor must have either an earned doctorate, university level teaching experience, and a substantial record of scholarly achievement or comparable professional achievement and distinction.

The Chancellor must have significant experience in:

- senior level leadership at an institution of higher learning or of comparable scope and complexity with proven strengths in strategic planning, budgeting and management; and
- fundraising and the ability to manage the complexities of public funding.

The Chancellor must have a record of:

- consultative leadership style;
- inclusiveness, diversity and sensitivity relative to a multicultural organization;
- exemplary personal character and integrity; and
- commitment to teaching and learning, scholarship and public affairs.

The Chancellor must be able to:

- define and defend academic values, traditions and procedures;
- represent the campus to diverse external constituencies including alumni, community, the legislature and other governmental bodies; and
- enhance the quality of student life.

The Chancellor Search Committee will begin reviewing nominations and applications immediately and will continue to accept applications until a new Chancellor is selected. To assure full consideration, however, candidate materials should be submitted by **October 15, 2000**, to:

Dr. Patricia A. Langley, UIS Chancellor Search Committee University of Illinois Office of the President 364 Henry Administration Building, m/c 346 Urbana. Illinois 61801

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Published continuously since then, by Sangamon State University and since 1995 by the University of Illinois at Springfield, the magazine has gained a reputation as the state's leading public affairs magazine. It has a small staff and uses freelance writers extensively every month.

Money raised through the Founders Circle will be used for the magazine's Writers Fund — 100% of which is used to pay writers and artists for the editorial content of the magazine. The minimum contribution for joining the Founders Circle is \$500. Contributions are tax-deductible as a charitable contribution to the extent allowed by individuals situations.

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