ILOHI Interview with John Mutz
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Indianapolis, Indiana
Interview by Ben Baumann
Transcribed by https://otter.ai and Ben Baumann
MP3 File, Sony
John Mutz=JM
Ben Baumann=BB

BB:
All right, so just before I begin, I would like to state for the record that today is October 23, 2020. And my name is Ben Baumann, and I'm here in Indianapolis, Indiana, and I'm speaking via phone with John Mutz, who is in Indianapolis, Indiana as well.

Is that correct?

JM:
I confirm what you just said.

BB:
And we're doing an interview for the Indiana legislative oral history initiative. So just starting off, I'll ask a few basic questions about your background. When and where were you born?

JM:
I was born at November 5, 1935. Which makes me 84 at this moment, I was born here in Indianapolis in the Methodist Hospital.

BB:
And what were your parents names?

JM:
My father's name was John L. Mutz the "L" stood for Louthery, L-O-U-T-H-E-R-Y, [0:01:00] and my mother's name was Mary Helen Massie, M-A-S-S-I-E.

BB:
And how long had your family been in Indiana?

JM:
Well, the Buxus first came to Edinburgh, Indiana. I think around 1890.

BB:
Okay. Interesting. So family has been here for a while then.

JM:
Yes.

BB:
And what were your parents occupations?

JM:
Well, my mother was a school teacher. She taught. I think it's a third and fourth grade. And my father was a certified public accountant. At one time, the Vice President and Treasurer of [0:02:00] the Barbasol shaving cream company, here in Indianapolis later, and he became the chief financial officer for Warren Atkinson, who was a extremely well known land developer in Indianapolis. He's most famous for his developments around the reservoirs, which were developed by the Indianapolis water company at the time to provide potable drinking water for the city.

BB:
Oh, interesting. Okay. Now, do you have any siblings?

JM:
I have no siblings. I'm an only child.

BB:
Okay. So how would you describe your childhood growing up?

JM:
Well, my childhood growing up took place on the north side of Indianapolis. [0:03:00] I largely lived in two locations. And during my early school years, I attended Public School 84 At 57 and Central in Indianapolis. I lived at 5725 Winter up until I was in the third grade. And then my folks bought a new house on North Meridian Street and 5700. People today know it as a what looks like a large farm house. As a matter of fact, it was the original farmhouse in the area that was later developed and carved up into lots. It's across the street from the Meridian Restaurant, which is a well known landmark on the north side of Indianapolis.

BB:
Okay, that's neat. Who [0:04:00] were the most influential people in your childhood?

JM:
Well, with that doubt of my parents to begin with, right, I would have to say that both of them were extremely well read. They were voracious readers. My mother, particularly on fiction and my father on history. Our dinner table conversations were, in my mind, educational. My father had a rule that at 6pm that was dinner time in the Mutz household and everybody was expected to be there even though everybody was just three of us. And the dinner table conversations largely revolved around the things that my mother and father had read [0:05:00] during the week. And we discussed everything from religion to history, culture, race relations, you you name it. It may be one of the most important learning periods in my life. I'm sure I learned more at the dinner table than I did in Public School 84. That's the background of which I grew up now there were other people who became very important. I would say, at Public School 84, I would mention one teacher and two teachers in particular. One was Esther Coffing, C-O-F-F-I-N-G,

who was my teacher in the fourth grade. And she [0:06:00] was a, I think the classic example of a teacher at that time. She was well educated, articulate, she had the most beautiful handwriting you have ever seen. And she was a rigorous teacher. It was not unusual for her to say on my papers, Johnny, that's what they called me back then. J-OH-N-N-Y and why "Johnny, you can do better." She said that over and over again. Later on, I had a chance to visit with her when she was in her late 90s living in a teacher's retirement facility in Franklin, Indiana. And I told her the story about what she wrote on my papers. And she said, "Well, Johnny, now you have." And I guess it was a very emotional moment for me. I know it was an emotional moment for me. I had another [0:07:00] teacher at Public School 84 named Dorothea Galley, G-A-l-l-E-Y. She taught gym and a variety of other things on the curriculum for seventh and eighth grade. Miss Galley recognized my emotional desire to succeed at athletics, and she also realized my limitations. And back in those days, of course, everybody wanted to be a basketball player basketball star, if you will. And my father had been and when he was at Edinburgh High School. In fact, he was the leading scorer on the team, largely because in those days, they had a designated foul shot shooter. All the teams foul shots, and as a result, he was the leading scorer. [0:08:00] But that's beside the point. What I'd say is that Miss Galley talked to me one day when I was in the seventh grade. And she said, "Johnny, you're not very big. You have better than average athletic ability, but you may not be as good as you'd like to be. And I suggest you buy a tennis racket." And I already owned a tennis racket, but I haven't played with it much. But I did start playing tennis, partly in response to her suggestion. And I played at the Riviera Club, which was walking distance from our home, and never took any lessons there. But I watched the pro give lessons to other people, and then attempted to emulate what he had told them to do. And through a number [0:09:00] of unusual events, I became the the number one player on the Broad Ripple High School tennis team. And then I went to Northwestern University. And was encouraged I'd say although I was forced by my fraternity to play in the intramural tournament at Northwestern my freshman year, I won the intramural tournament, and the tennis coach invited me to come out for the team. And so I did and later I played tennis for Northwestern. So that was a kind of a positive statement, which reinforces what Miss Galley suggested that I do. Those are some of those historic things. The quality of teachers at Public School 84 and Broad Ripple High School was astounding at that time period. [0:10:00] I'm extremely well read, well educated and committed to their work. I have to say that the environment was very conducive to a, I think, quality liberal education.

BB:
Yeah, that makes sense. That's really cool. Now, you talked a lot about those sort of family dinners with your parents. Did you learn a fair amount about your family's political beliefs as a child from those dinners?

JM:
Oh, yes, yes, my father was a had a lot to say about political world. And he pointed out that he came from a family in Johnson County, Indiana, much family, which most of the men were democrats. They were the [0:11:00] brand of democrats, which people fondly called Southern Indiana, conservative democrats, but nevertheless, democrats, he admitted to voting for FDR, Franklin Delano Roosevelt twice. And then moving to the Republican Party, when Roosevelt ran for a third term. He, of course, at the time was advancing rapidly in the business community. And I suggest I suppose was that the colleagues that he ran to to talk to largely were Republicans

at that time, that may have influenced his ideas. But I think more than anything else, he recognized that the Roosevelt administration was the first administration to really produce examples of what we today call [0:12:00] big federal government. Major programs, social welfare programs. And he saw a danger in that, in that it drove up the federal deficit, and that it took more of the resources of society out of the private sector, and put those resources into the public sector. And he felt that the private sector was the best creator of jobs and wealth. And that part of the goal should be to maximize the amount of resources in that private sector. We had long, long conversations about the economics of government spending and the federal level did not say a whole lot at that time about the Indiana's spending as a [0:13:00] state. But at the federal level, we've talked a lot about other subjects that we've talked about, for example, included race relations. And, of course, at my that juncture in my life, that was not an issue that I had very much experience with, quite candidly, the only African American people I knew were domestic employees who worked at our home on the north side of Indianapolis. And of course, I got to know them well, I liked him. I liked them. They certainly were nice to me as I grew up, but nevertheless, the fact is that I didn't know very many African Americans. In fact, at Broad Ripple High School, there was only one in my graduating class that you have to realize that [0:14:00] we were coming off that moment of separate but equal in the education system. And we had all African American High School in Indianapolis called Crispus Attucks, named after one of the heroes of the Boston Tea Party, and it was, of course, well known at that time for its basketball teams, etc. But it was a segregated school system, and that the integration was just beginning at that time. It was after Brown vs Board of Education and important moment, we talked a lot about the African American community. And there were some remnants of bias in the minds of my mother and father at that time, although I never heard any derogatory words of about [0:15:00] the African American community. And I also saw them feeling like they had an obligation to help people who had less resources than they did. And so there are at least two African American families who worked at the Barbasol Company, who were the beneficiaries that you should call it of gifts from my mother and dad. And I remember spending time with my dad, we went down to the plant that is the factory at 10th and Senate Avenue. And he said, "You know, there are times when we need to share the resources we have with other people who have less than than we do." And he said, "That's what we're going to do today. And then we went and visited with one of the people that he worked with, that's [0:16:00] kind of the background. I, my dad, also, I remember one day at dinner, said, "You won't believe what I did today." And of course, he said, "What I did was I spent the entire day, volunteering for the United Way in Indianapolis. And what we were doing was evaluating requests for funding from from the United Way." And of course, I didn't know what the United Way was at that point. He described how it worked. And of course, his comment was, if there wasn't a United Way the business community would need to invent it. And so my introduction to philanthropy, if you want to call it that, or giving it came from him and from the dinner table. During that same time period, little later, I was working on the copy desk at the Indianapolis news in a [0:17:00] summer job. And it was the year inflicts Kinsey report was first released from Indiana University. And people at the news and star (Indy Star) couldn't wait to get to the wire machines to see what the latest installment was on the Kinsey report. As you might guess, it was a revolutionary concept and disclosed all kinds of information about American people, which nobody even talked about, let alone read about it in the paper. And so that particular event, evoked a number of conversations at the depth at the dinner table. As I said, it was a liberal education.

BB:
Yeah, definitely. Wow. So now, [0:18:00] growing up, you're obviously as a kid, World War Two was going on? What was it like?

JM:
Well, I lived in a family where my father, I guess, fortunately, was called for physicals and rejected a couple time. And so he was classified under the Selective Service Administration as 4-F, and 4-F, you were not eligible to serve and didn't have to serve. And so he did not serve during the Second World War. He did become an air raid warden, and was responsible for one half of the city of Indianapolis, he supervised the system that for the protection of the population against a potential raid. Of course, that never happened. But he had a white hat, [0:19:00] like adding war and a bunch of other stuff that was part of this. And during that time period, we had what were called blackouts and brownouts. And those were practice sessions for air raids. And for a certain period of time, everybody was to turn off all their lights so that the potential enemy couldn't see where to drop their bombs. And we were advised to hole up in our homes, in a room without windows. And the tradition in our house during those air raids, was for my father to go out and make his rounds to make sure all the lights were out, which he did. And then when he came home, we sat in a darkened room in the middle of the house we lived in on Winthrop and listened to FDR deliver [0:20:00] One of his fireside chats, he was famous for these, this method of communication with the population. And I will never forget the sound of his voice. He was a dominant political factor. And he obviously made a big impression on me. And on the population of America sense of course, he was elected to four terms.

BB:
Yeah. Yeah, absolutely. Well, what was it like for your parents to try to, you know, or I guess for you? What was it like, you know, hearing about the war? Did you talk about the war with your parents, they explain to you what was happening. And, you know, or talk to you about the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany, or?

JM:
yes. My father was the first person that explained to me that Adolf Hitler had come to office through an election, he was actually popularly elected to office. [0:21:00] And then, of course, he assumed his dominant role in the kind of philosophy that was anti Jewish, and, in many cases, anti Catholic, as well. The Holocaust was not well known at that time. So we didn't talk much about that. And I doubt if we ever talked about maybe what I know about what I've learned since then, but at any rate. The other thing, of course, that we talked about was the war itself. And we had rationing in effect. First of all, gasoline was rationed. And so you had a designation for your usage of gasoline. And it was A, B, C, and D, I think, and if you're "A" it had a lot more gasoline [0:22:00] than other people did, because you had some kind of a central role to play in society. In limited mobility of our family, our family vacations took place in the State of Indiana and state parks, rather than traveling around the country as we had done previously. My father was really big on travel to Canada traveled to national parks and all that sort of thing, which we didn't do during the war. Food was rationed during that time period. It was very clear that we were in a war society knew it. And I've never seen a time in my life when the country was more united around a goal. That goal, of course, was to defeat Adolf Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and the emperor in Japan, and [0:23:00] as a boy, I had a dartboard with pictures of these three

people on it. Periodically was supposed to throw darts. I'm not sure I did that much. But I remember dartboard. The government did a pretty good job of spreading the word and bringing the general population into the war effort. A number of members of my family who were in the war effort, had a cousin named Frank Mutz, who was also from Edinburgh, Indiana. He'd be a cousin of my father's and he was a nationally honored pilot of the P-38 fighter plane. And he shot down numerous enemy planes, notably in the Pacific Theater, where he was fighting the Japanese zero. [0:24:00] So it was the P 38 versus the zero. It was not on few occasions. I remember seeing stories in the paper about his success, and also about his bounty when he was shot down and later, was rescued. So he was a genuine hero in the Second World War. There were others that we knew about, but the actual danger of death really never quite touched our family. Like it did others.

BB:
Wow. Yeah. Definitely a really wild time to be alive. And then I guess shortly after World War Two, then the Cold War opens up and just yeah, you got to really see a lot, I guess.

JM:
Yeah, the Cold War did open up. I don't remember my father talking too much about the Cold War. [0:25:00] I do remember him talking about the fact that the Great Depression and the recession that occurred before the Second World War ended, he said, largely because of the war, the economy was accelerated. Many businesses operated 24 hours a day as did his, you may wonder why shaving cream would be so essential. But there was a small tube of Barbasol in every pack that was used by iur army in the field. The Barbasol was a name well known largely because it was the brand of choice at that moment. So I guess what I remember most about the post war era was the recovery of the US economy. The [0:26:00] increase in manufacturing, the movement of soldiers who came back under the GI Bill. And so what happened, of course, was the percent of the population that had college experience dramatically changed after the war. And the GI Bill, that turned out to be one of the great moments in education history. It was not unusual to go to Indiana University where my mother and father went and see quonset hut after quonset hut with they were built to house more students on the campuses. And even when I went to Northwestern University, I still had in my in the school, a handful, maybe more than a handful of veterans who were studying under the GI Bill. They were much more mature than the rest of us, many of them married. [0:27:00] And education was a serious matter. When it came time to study, you better be quiet, or one of them would box your ears. So it was a a moment in which the GI Bill became a big factor in American life, education became a bigger factor, and manufacturing accelerated now, with manufacturing, incomes of middle America grew. And this made it possible for people to buy houses and the starter house was a phenomena, by that I mean, of course, the first house that a family has became a big big deal. And I remember my father talking a lot about the housing developments near in New York City, where we're mass home construction was first taking place. [0:28:00]

BB:
Wow. Yeah. Interesting. Now, talking about your sort of education growing up. What schools did you attend?

JM:

Well, of course, I went to kindergarten but my grades one through eight were at Public School 84 in Indianapolis. And then I went to Broad Ripple High School.

BB:
Right. Okay. That's right.

JM:
And then I went to Northwestern University. I got both a bachelor's and a master's degree from the Dill School of Journalism at Northwestern.

BB:
Okay, interesting. Now, when you were in school, did you have any favorite subjects?

JM:
Well, I don't know. That's a good question. [0:29:00] Well, I enjoyed the writing courses that I took at Northwestern. But of course, they were mandatory at the journalism school. And enjoyed not the right word, I guess I'd have to say, It dominated that part of my education. The Dill School prided itself on turning out good writers. And the emphasis was on the quality of your writing the ability to explain a complicated matter in simple terms, a whole lot of things like that. So yeah, that was a dominant influence. The other thing I guess I would say about my experience at Northwestern, it began an involvement in in the political realm, and that I was involved in student government there, representative [0:30:00] of the student governing board from my class. At two of the four years I was in school. I was a candidate for president of the student body but lost that election by seven votes. And we had at Northwestern two political parties. They were not Democrats and Republicans. They were the Student Congress, which I was a member of, and maybe a little conservative, and Federation of Northwestern voters, which was the other party. All of this was set up in an effort to give students an idea about how political parties function, what they do, how they achieve success, and all that sort of thing.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. Interesting. Now, I another thing I was curious about, did you have any views about the state of Indiana or about being a [0:31:00] Hoosier growing up and, and also then going on to college?

JM:
Well, of course I had views, they're largely a result of my father and mother. Back in those days, basketball was king. And so everybody talked about it. And my father and I went to many basketball games, and baseball games, and we were fans of the Indianapolis Indians, who played out on 16th Street here in Indianapolis. And my father and I went to lots of Indians games. My mother was not much on baseball, so she didn't go with us. But the high school basketball tournament was a really big event in Indiana in those days. As you probably know, it was one class single class basketball. It's the era in which the little town of Milan [0:32:00] became famous later made the movie Hoosiers about it. Even though the name Milan doesn't appear in the Hoosiers movie, it was also the era of Crispus Attucks ascendancy in the high school basketball. And Crispus Attucks actually won two state championships during that time period, first time in Indianapolis school had ever won. And we saw the development of some of the men

that are Attucks who would become really icons in basketball, the most famous one being Oscar Robertson. Played here in Indianapolis. I actually knew Oscar. I haven't seen him for a long time. But I did some business with him after well, after this time period but at any rate. [0:33:00] The this was the era of the Jordan McGinnis who played for Washington High School. And of course, one of the big deals was just before I went Broad Ripple. Coach Frank Bear took the Rockets to the afternoon game of the state finals. And that was really a big deal. It was thought about the possibility that Broad Ripple might become the first school in Indianapolis to win the tournament. They didn't. And of course, Attucks came along later. But that that was all part of the environment to culture at that point.

BB:
Yeah, that's neat. Absolutely. So when you got to college now, did your understanding and or awareness of politics change at all or?

JM:
Well, yes, it did. One of the reasons for that was that (Unintelligible) Stephenson, [0:34:00] who was a US senator from Illinois, was a Northwestern graduate and was on campus to speak periodically. And so, of course, he's a Democrat. I'm a Republican, so I went to hear him speak. We had a student activity in which we recreated our version of a national political convention. And we nominated candidates and voted on them and all that sort of thing and the various housing units, fraternities, sororities and independent housing units had delegations to the convention, in essence, and so that that was an opportunity to learn about the national convention process and, of course, the role of political parties. Meanwhile, back at home when I was home, my parents were talking about Indiana politics and the ascendancy of certain [0:35:00] For people who might become quite successful, and my mother in particular was well aware of the fact that a president could in fact, do their best to eliminate an opponent by appointing that opponent to an ambassadorship. And that's exactly what what happened during that time period. Kind of an interesting story. But at any rate, the point I make is that what we see today on the part of Donald Trump to discredit his opponent, rather than to talk about what what he was going to do or how he was going to do it. That that was a subtle way of doing that back in those days.

BB:
Okay, interesting. So that's a kind of a, I guess, a typical political strategy historically. But

JM:
Yeah, that's right. [0:36:00] This is the era of Schricker as governor later Harold Handley as governor. The I guess I'd have to say, Indiana, at that time, bounced back and forth. It was not quote a "red state" all the time, you had democratic governors and republicans. And we also had a single term limit. So you couldn't succeed yourself now. Henry Schricker did succeed himself. What he did was he, he laid out for four years and then ran again, was elected the second time, so he did actually serve two terms.

BB:
Yeah, okay. Now, after college after you graduate from Northwestern, what was your first job?

JM:

Okay, well, I think I mentioned to you earlier that I had [0:37:00] been working summers on the copy desk with the Indianapolis News. On other summers, I worked in the public relations department at the Allison Division of General Motors here in Indianapolis. I also worked as the publicity director for the Indiana State Fair, and publicity director for Starlight Musicals, which will say, summer musical series of professional singers and dancers who perform on a stage built on the north end of the Butler Bowl, a place where Butler played football. So, those are jobs I had my first real job out of college was on the Alcoa, the Aluminum Company of America in Pittsburgh, where I worked in the public relations department. I wrote news releases and wrote speeches for executives and things of that kind of.

BB:
[0:38:00] Interesting. Now, what were your career aspirations?

JM:
Well, when I first got to college, I guess I showed myself as the man in the gray flannel suit, you know, the, the guy who entered employment at a large company succeeded and later became an officer of that company. Now, I would have to say that after my two and a half year stint at Alcoa, I then realized that life was not. For me, that was not something that turned me on, I decided that I needed to come back to Indianapolis. Part of that was due to the fact that my mother died at a young age. She was in her 50s, early 50s. And so I was back to see my father periodically. [0:39:00] And coming back to Indianapolis was a bigger deal than it is now in Pittsburgh. Usually had to drive because I couldn't afford the airplane fares. But the point I make is that the circumstances were that I had kind of decided that I wanted to run for office someday. And I felt that I could do a better job running for office in my hometown, Indianapolis than I couldn't do in Pittsburgh, even though I was active in the Young Republicans, in Pittsburgh, and actually, one time chairman of the Allegheny County Young Republicans, which is the county in which the city of Pittsburgh is located. And I was volunteering for a Republican congressman who represented part of the suburban Pittsburgh area named Bob Corbett. And he invited me to join his staff and [0:40:00] that would have involved moving, at least in part to Washington. Caroline, my wife and I were expecting our first child at that point. My mother had died. All those things happen. And so our final decision was that we moved back to Indianapolis and so that's what, what we did.

BB:
Okay, interesting. Now, when did you get married?

JM:
Well, we were married on June the 21st 1958.

BB:
Okay. And how many children do you have?

JM:
We have two children. Mark and Diane.

BB:

Okay. So how much influence did your wife and children have on the development of your career?

JM:
Well, they had a lot of influence. My wife in particular, is one of the greatest enablers that [0:41:00] I've seen over my lifetime. We've now been married as we speak here for 62 years. So wow, we've been together a long time. She not only was a good teacher, but she also was an enabler in a lot of ways. She edited my speeches, she edited things I wrote and so forth, with a lot of interplay, and the other thing of course, you may not know about, but during my childhood and period during high school, I had a severe stutter. It's, it's the same situation that Joe Biden has here right now. And I do remember having some speech therapy when I was in the third and fourth grade at Public School 84. [0:42:00] I remember kids laughing at me when I stuttered. And you may find it to be a pretty astounding decision for somebody who stuttered to try to become a politician where your major method of getting elected was your ability to to speak, to be heard, and to explain yourself and so but I did. My wife never corrected me never finished sentences for me. I think she was kind of surprised and amazed that I did. I did this. But I would have to say to you that I found the more I spoke, the better I got at it. The more I was able to deal with my stutter. I still stuttered today, on and off. Not much. But it was a real challenge.

BB:
Yeah. Well, yeah, definitely sounds like all the effort paid off quite a bit. [0:43:00] It's your you seem like a pretty crisp and clear speaker. So.

JM:
Well, I appreciate that. It was a big effort.

BB:
Yeah. Your voice actually kind of reminds me of like a sports broadcaster or something.

JM:
Well, I'm told I sound like James Stewart. Jimmy Stewart.

BB:
Okay. Yeah.

JM:
He's deceased now. I think. But I probably did.

BB:
Yeah. Cool. Okay. So when you first decided to get involved in like running for politics, what shaped your political outlook?

JM:
Well, I don't think I understand what you mean. What? You mean, how did I get involved or what?

BB:
No. So like, once you decide, okay, I'm gonna I'm gonna run. You know what, we're kind of the major ideas that we're shaping what type of politician you wanted to be.

JM:
[0:44:00] Okay. Well, let's, again, I think we have to go back historically. Look what was going on in Marion County. I was a volunteer, as I told you for the congressman in suburban Pittsburgh, and when I came to Indianapolis, I volunteered again, and I went in to see the then Republican County Chairman Dale Brown. And his major comment to me was "Have you got any money?" In other words, which I didn't, of course, but that was not what I was looking for. I was looking for a chance to participate. He was not encouraging. It was not a good scene. And so I decided to form my own little political party and I found, founded an organization called the North Side Political Action Club. And this was a group of contemporary couples primarily of Carolyn and mine. We met monthly [0:45:00] We had speakers who were all politicians. We were committed to the Republican side of the spectrum. And included in our group are a number of people who have gone on to be successful, including Bill Ruckelshaus, who was famous for the Saturday Night Massacre, it included Ned Lamkin, who was later Majority Leader of the Indianapolis, the Indiana General Assembly, and several others, but at any rate did. That was my start. Now, the idea was that if you had some people who volunteered and did things in politics that the county organization would take notice of and give you a chance. Well, that didn't happen. And so I became part of the Republican Action Committee. Republican Action Committee [0:46:00] was a group of idealistic young men and women, mostly in their late 20s and early 30s, and a small group of Republican officeholders in Marion County. And we basically said, We can do better. And it was our conviction that Dale Brown was more interested in maintaining control in his position. And this patronage that he had available to him through the license grant system and through the 2% Club, is more interested in keeping those sources of income that he wasn't in electing Republicans. And so we organized and created the Republican Action Committee. The Republican officeholders suggested and actually voted to get Keith Bulen to lead that effort, which he did. And there's an enormous amount of history that follows. Now, it's interesting, you're asking these questions, [0:47:00] because all that I've described to you, most of it anyway, is in my new book that came out two weeks ago. It was published by the Indiana Historical Society. And its its title is "An examined life, the John Mutz story." And of course, an examined life comes from that quotation about an examined life is worth living. An unexamined life is not worth living, etc, attributed to Socrates. So anyway, that's that whole story that I just described is in the book, as well as some of the childhood events that you asked about.

BB:
Yeah, that's cool. All right. Well, yeah, that's, uh, I'm sure that's a great resource for people that want to dive deeper than on some of these questions. That's great. [0:48:00] So, you mentioned that you sort of got involved in politics in Indiana as being part of that action committee. Were there any key issues or legislation that you really wanted to champion or fight against?

JM:
Yeah, what we were interested in, was making Indianapolis a more important city a better place to live. And we were tired of people calling Indianapolis a cornfield with lights and a place that people pass through on the way to somewhere else. The story was that Kurt Vonnegut, the author

said that "Indianapolis is a sleepy city. They watch a race one day a year and sleep the other 364." Not sure he actually said that but it certainly has appeared in a lot of places. So we wanted to see Indianapolis do better. Now, [0:49:00] what were the things we cared most about? Well, the number one one was a higher quality of secondary and college education, in Indianapolis. Up to that time, there were only extensions from Indiana and Purdue University. In downtown Indianapolis. There was of course, a campus that had the IU law school, medical school, and school of dentistry in the Indiana University corridor on the north west corner of the county. So our initial goal was to bring to Indianapolis, a four year independent university with its own board of trustees and own state budget. To serve the greater Indianapolis area, Dick Lugar had been elected mayor. The year before I was elected in the legislature and in an upset he had beaten [0:50:00] incumbent John Barton and exserted primary he defeated former mayor Alec Clark. And so what we did at this point was that we decided to create, quote, "The University of Indianapolis." And we introduced bills to that effect. I say we I mean, the 15 member, Republican delegation from Indianapolis, which included a bill that was all house members. And then there were four senate members. And the result of this was that if you read the book, you'll read the story of how we did this, how we got together and among other things, but we decided that you can't do this by yourself, you've had to have support from someplace else. So we delegated individuals in our delegation to go make friends with members of the legislature [0:51:00] in other parts of the state. And our approach there was to ask them, "Well, what do you want from the legislature?" And then we of course, had have an opportunity to tell them what we want. So that was our approach.

BB:
Right. Okay. And I guess before you really got involved as a politician, did you have any state or local political heroes or people you looked up to?

JM:
Well, I can mention a few. One would be Bulen himself, who was a dynamic guy. And a great leader. Another would probably be W.W. Dubb Hill. State senator, later head of the Public Service Commission, one of the brightest people I've ever met in the political realm. There were others, [0:52:00] of course. I guess the the ones I would think about were in the in the Marion County primary, what up, of course, was my mother in law.

BB:
Yeah. Wow. Okay.

JM:
My mother in law, Marshall Hawthorne, had been elected to the legislature for one term, and then decided to run for recorder of Marion County. And she had lost her husband, four or five years before. And this was a job that provided regular income to her and something that used her talents and skills. And so that's what she did. She served two terms as Marion County Recorder.

BB:
Interesting, okay.

JM:

Those would be examples of people. Dick Lugar, of course, was in the beginning of his career, and I would have to say that [0:53:00] he and Bill Ruckelshaus were people who I admired tremendously. They both had an intellectual capacity and ability to explain their ideas. That was pretty exceptional.

BB:
Yeah, absolutely. So did you have a particular campaign strategy when you were running?

JM:
Well, yeah, the strategy was to be part of their Republican Action Committee. And elect the entire slate. And that's what we did. We had in in the election of 1968, one of the most compelling victories, maybe in Indiana, election history. We elected a governor Ed Whitcomb from Seymour, Indiana, we elected a majority of the Indiana House, majority in the Indiana Senate. [0:54:00] We elected nearly all Marion County Republicans, including the city county, I'm sorry, the city council and the county council. That's before Unigov, which had both of those. So we had a lot of power. The lines of political influence kind of lined up in an unusual way. And so one of the questions of course, that we talked about, what do we do with all this power? How do we get it done? And that's what brought about the University of Indianapolis conversation. But I didn't finish that conversation was when we were meeting at John Burkhart's house on the west side of Indianapolis to talk about the University of Indianapolis legislation. That's when the idea of Unigov came out. And we decided at that meeting that we would talk about how to bring unified government to Marion County. And during that time period, [0:55:00] we also had time to study other consolidations of local government in the United States. And Dick Lugar, was extremely well read on that subject. And I became better read on it as a result. One of the things that people forget is the really early consolidation took place in New York City where the five boroughs were consolidated into New York City. That was a big deal. It was done legislatively much how we were going to do it in Indianapolis.

BB:
Sure, sure. Yeah. Can you talk a bit more about your role in the Unigov legislation then and and how...

JM:
I can tell you. I was one of eight people who were assembled at the Burkhart house. John Burkhart was the I call him the godfather [0:56:00] of the Action Committee. Finances stood behind us. Behind the scenes. He was a prominent local businessman. He built the pyramids on the northwest corner of Marion County. He started the Indianapolis Business Journal, and later started similar publications in other Midwestern cities. He was the founder and creator of the College Life Insurance Company. Quite successful. And so we met at the Burkhart house, and that there were really nine of us. And those people were I'll start with three legislators. Larry Borst who was in the house, then later elected to the Senate. Ned Lamkin in the house then and later, with the Majority Leader of the House, and me and I was in the house at that particular time. The others in the meeting were Dick Lugar. His [0:57:00] Deputy Mayor John Walls, the President of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, Carl Dortch. The President of the city council, Tom Hasbrouck, and the President of the County Council Burt (Unintelligible). We were later joined by two attorneys, Charles Whistler and Lou Bose B-O-S-E who did the bill

graphic for us as we created our University of Indianapolis legislation and also the Unigov legislation.

BB:
Yeah, okay.

JM:
And so, I guess I have to say, yes, I was involved in the development of the Unigov legislation and helped get it passed.

BB:
Yeah. And how hard was it to get that legislation passed?

JM:
Well, there's an entire chapter in my book devoted to that. And [0:58:00] I'm not I don't think I'm going to go into all the details except to say that we had to do a tremendous amount of compromising. The bill originally had schools in it, that clearly could not be passed. This was an era of white flight from the old Indianapolis Public School region, into the suburbs. The, that just wasn't going to happen. So we took the school's out. The township trustees turned out to be a real problem. So we took them out of the legislation. And we also took the cities of Speedway, Lawrence, and Beech Grove out of the legislation, who didn't want to be deprived of having their own mayor. But what we did, of course, was granted the right to vote for the mayor to everybody in Marion County, including the people that lived in those three, three cities. [0:59:00] So the problem with getting it passed, of course, was that in the legislature in Indiana, traditionally, it's always been the case where the out-of-state people always seem to be in competition within Indianapolis resources for influence. And so we made a big effort at recruiting Republicans and Democrats to this legislation. And, I mean, a good example of this might be when I visited with a Bloomington legislator, newly elected just like I had been, and I said, "Well, what are you looking for from the next session?" He said, "It's easy. I want a four lane road from Indianapolis to Bloomington. So people can easily get to football and basketball." And I said, "Well, you know, you'd have to have an increase in the gasoline tax to do that." He said, "Yes, I know. I'm [1:00:00] prepared to support that and work on it. So that was an example of a kind of, you could call it a deal. It was kind of how you build a coalition around your issue. And of course, I told him our goal was a University of Indianapolis and also the Unigov legislation.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. So what would you say now, looking back at how Unigov has affected things, what would you say are the major changes that have been made as a result of that legislation?

JM:
Well, of course, first of all, it really put Indianapolis on the map in a different way. We became one of the 11 largest cities in the United States overnight. It suddenly became a very desirable role to be Mayor of Indianapolis. Lugar, Lugar was the first of those, I think, really highly qualified [1:01:00] individuals who sought that job. He was followed by Hudnut, Goldsmith, I can't name them all at this minute, but anyway, very, very competent people on both sides of the aisle, who wanted to be mayor and who saw it as a great place to be of service but also a stepping

stone to something else. So it made a big difference in the development of Indianapolis at the same time, it also brought the Lilly Endowment into the equation. The last of the three Lily's who founded Lilly Endowment are still alive. And they actually he that's Mr. Eli Lilly, the third, I guess it is actually came to Dick Lugar and said, "We've been investing our money all over the world. And we'd like now to concentrate on our hometown. What would you [1:02:00] suggest we do?" And so Dick's first suggestion was to finance improvements to the city market in downtown. This follows the breaking of the circle, the renovation of the monument circle, which of course, was a state-owned property, but nevertheless, a clear part of the image of Indianapolis. This was followed by substantial appropriations to what had become then IUPUI. And so what I'd say is that the Unigov legislation, in my mind, was it was the turning point in the development of Indianapolis. Such Indianapolis was formed in 1860. I think it was then.

BB:
Wow. Okay. Now, were there any like, would you say, sort of negative impacts of the legislation that you didn't really, [1:03:00] you know, see until later, are there any things that you would have changed about the legislation based on?

JM:
Yeah, there are several things. I think the most important one I would change is that, in an effort to get votes from legislative districts outside of Marion County, we put a cap on the addition of territory to Indianapolis, it works we could not annex. And the result of that was we had done that, because we were told we thought that we couldn't get any votes from these legislators in the counties around Marion County. If we didn't do that. Well, what happened was none of them voted for it anyway, not a single vote came from those people. But that is still in the legislation. And I certainly wouldn't do it again, if, if we could avoid it. [1:04:00] It ended up being one of the reasons given by Judge Hugh Dillon for the school busing decision in Indianapolis when the 1000s of black students were bused to suburban school districts in an effort to fulfill an equitable and ease of equal education after Brown versus Board of Education. And I guess it also was a

you talked about negatives. You said when I leave out the first one is the anti annexation clause. The second thing that I think is clear here and this group of people who worked at the Burkhart house, we were all white males. There were no women at that meeting, although we had a number of women in our delegation. There were no African American Members, although [1:05:00] we had African Americans in our delegation, including Harriet Bailey Kahn served as the she's a lawyer, I can't remember her exact title and but anyway and coach Ray Crowe from the Crispus Attucks famous basketball team. Unigov at that time was actually endorsed by The Recorder, the black newspaper in Indianapolis. We saw it as granting the African American community, almost guaranteed districts in which the representatives would be African Americans. And that's what happened. There are those who criticize the legislation, because it moved the vote for mayor from the old city boundaries to the county boundaries. And they maintained that that made it impossible for a black man or woman to be elected mayor. [1:06:00] That may or may not be true. That was not our intention. It was not a quote, power grab on our part. But it's been interpreted that way by critics who have written about Unigov. So that's one of the issues that is still there. But now that you've got a dominant African American population in Indianapolis, we still haven't had a black mayor, we undoubtedly will have one one of these days. I think that be a great or great thing I don't see any problem with it, but I that was one of

the things that was was considered that you have to realize it back in those days, the African Americans didn't have many institutions that they ran. The major institution they ran was their church. And they particularly had strong emotional [1:07:00] feelings about that. They thought, ultimately, they ought to have a black school superintendent, which of course they've had now, if they could do to have a black mayor, which they haven't had. Those are criticisms that linger today. And since we're now as we talk in the 50th anniversary of Unigov will be debated and discussed in the next several months.

Yeah. Yeah, that's interesting. Yeah. Well, I want to go back in time a little bit to before, right before you were elected to the general assembly. A little bit more. Do you remember who your main opponent was at the time?

Well, you see, we were elected at large. And so it was 15 of us against 15 of them.

BB:
Got it. Okay. So yeah, it's kind of just two groups against each other not?

JM:
Yeah, one on one.

BB:
Okay. [1:08:00] So what was it like Your First Election Day? And how did you feel?

JM:
Well, I was responsible for organizing Lawrence Township, which is, you know, one of the nine townships in Marion County. And so my responsibility in the election was to get out the republican vote in that Township. And so I was busy, every minute of election day working with precinct committeeman and volunteers to get the vote out. Obviously, we were exhilarated at the end of the day, that we won a magnificent victory. There, as I recall, there wasn't any one of the legislative candidates who was less than 30,000, ahead of their closest opponent.

BB:
Wow. Yeah, that's impressive. So how did your feelings change with each election, if at all?

JM:
[1:09:00] Well, of course, if you're in the election yourself, it's great as the most important election in the history of your life every time you go through it. That's what everybody says. But I would have to say that, my feelings about this over the years. Each time election day comes around, I still have that feeling in my stomach of doubt about how it's going to come out. And of course, you don't win all the elections. I was elected twice as the Lieutenant Governor of Indiana, with Bob Orr who was the governor. And then of course, I lost an election to Evan Bayh in 1988 for Governor pretty close election but as they laughingly say that close doesn't doesn't count and so that kind of emotional roller coaster is always there on elections. [1:10:00] It'll be there this year, when I'm an outspoken opponent, opponent of Donald Trump, public and I've never voted for a Democrat for president until four years ago. I saw Donald Trump and still do as a disaster for the Republican Party and a disaster for the country. And so I have publicly made my support

player for Joe Biden, not because Joe Biden and I agree on lots of things. But rather, I think we need to rid the country of this threat to an authoritarian presidency. I, as I said, a long time ago, in this interview, my father was the first to point out to me that Adolf Hitler gotten elected to office and then became the authoritarian dictator that he later became. And we're on the brink of that happening, [1:11:00] in my opinion here in Indiana, not Indiana, United States. Of course, as we speak here, the polling results show that the likely winner is Biden. But, of course, I was told that four years ago, and it didn't turn out that way. So I have the same feeling of trepidation, even though I'm not on the ballot.

BB:
Yeah, yeah, that must be that's something also I did, you know, I see articles talking about you endorsing Biden about a month ago. And, yeah, I think it's interesting thing to talk about, because, you know, you obviously been a big figure in Indiana, Republican politics. You know, how has the party changed? Do you think over time from your period when you were, you know, very influential to today? [1:12:00]

JM:
Well, it's changed in a lot of ways. But I think I'm not leaving the Republican Party. I still supported Eric Holcomb for governor and the majority of the Republican candidates. But it's the presidency that worries me that she has become an imperial presidency, with enormous power center in that office. And I'm concerned about, and I think Republicans should be concerned about it. Now, how's the party change? Well, during this time period, we have seen through demographic changes and economic changes, a growing disaffection of what used to be middle America, who saw the American dream, in a sense, slipping away from and, and they reacted by becoming more conservative. [1:13:00] The Tea Party movement and others, like it grew out of this. Unfortunately, attached to that Tea Party movement is under lying racial prejudice. And it's it's a sad situation. But this country is a country of immigrants. My ancestors were all immigrants, as were most except those who have Native American ancestors. And the whole point I make is that the thing that makes this country unique among others, has always been its welcoming attitude about people coming from other parts of the world, to bring their talents here. So from my viewpoint, the party has changed that there's a meaningful portion of the party that opposes this idea of the great [1:14:00] melting pot, which we celebrated all the time I was in school, pictures of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty and all that sort of thing being part of the heritage of this country. And I think we're turning our back on that now. The growth of the Tea Party and this ultra conservative movement, which also had as its underbelly, a strong involvement in social issues. The abortion issue being the number one, the second one being same sex marriage, and then all the legislation and attitudes dealing dealing with LGBT people. And again, the the party has moved farther to the right at least in part, and of course, I've always considered myself kind of in the middle of the political spectrum. And, and now, I guess I may be on the left side of the [1:15:00] middle because of what occurred, but Republicans always had to serve determined that you don't win elections, by being a radical. You win elections by being in the middle, and being acceptable to both sides, and to employ a kind of careful reasoning about what to do. We're, we're talking here about a system, a system in which we have what's called a representative democracy. This means we don't put things up for a yes or no vote. We trust elected representatives to make decisions for us. And our goal ought to be to elect the most reasonable and thoughtful people possible to make those decisions. Now, that's the Mutz's

philosophy, clearly that the new Republican Party is trying to elect people who will make a higher commitment against abortion or in favor of certain kinds of [1:16:00] Supreme Court nominees and a whole variety of questions. And they also want to legislate a number of things that deal with the personal lives of individuals, which I disagree with. So that's, that's the parcel of changes within the party. If Trump loses, I think the battle for the soul of the Republican Party is going to be something to behold. I'm not sure I know how it's gonna roll out or how it's going to end up. But I think it's one of the important things that will come.

BB:
Yeah, that's, that's definitely another big question, what are the ramifications of that if he loses? And I know some people talk about like, okay, is there a possibility for a third party to develop as a result of that sort of infighting or not? I guess it'll be interesting to see.

JM:
Yeah, but [1:17:00] you're right. And we don't know how that's gonna work out. In a sense there is a third party already. He is the arch conservative wing of the Republican Party. It's what Donald Trump calls his base. But I do not believe that's a healthy thing for a two party system. I go back to those days at the dining room table with my father. He said "You know one of the checks and balances that we don't write about much, because it's not in the Constitution. But it is the two party system. The two party system essentially assures us that there's somebody with a vested interest watching the people in power. And he said, "That's a very healthy thing." And he said, "We need a viable two party system in America." And then he said, "This is something that distinguishes it from most of the rest [1:18:00] of the world, where it's not unusual for democracies to have multiple parties. And those multiple parties represent different viewpoints on a variety of questions. We have had for years an umbrella approach to party politics, where people are welcome under the umbrella. Yeah, I guess my view is that's important. But whether we can maintain that or not in the years ahead, I don't know.

BB:
Yeah, no, I see what you're saying. So I mean, really, when you're talking about this analyzing the situation, it sounds like you're saying that you know Trump, and you are both Republicans, but there's different types of Republicans within the Republican Party.

JM:
Well, that's right. Trump really isn't.

BB:
Okay. Okay, got it. So that's what I was trying to get at is like, whether you thought he is Republican, or?

JM:
Trump is, quote, an opportunist. And I'm not opposed to taking [1:19:00] advantage of opportunities, but he has mined effectively the emotions of this disaffected portion of the population, who have been joined by the Tea Party movement and a number of others who are in the social party movements and social question movements, and he's put them together. That's that's how he won the election. In 2016. It remains to be seen how that will play out in this

current election. We're, as I've talked to you, we're just a week away. Really a little over a week till the November 3 election. I have to believe that the long term interests of the country are better served by a more viable Republican Party, which emphasizes the quality of the candidates rather than the emotion [1:20:00] of the issues it supports.

BB:
Right. Yeah, absolutely. It's definitely another historic time to be alive. I mean, it's....

JM:
That's right. You and I were talking earlier about the moment in which the Unigov was passed and IUPUI was created. Well, that was also the moment in US history when Martin Luther King was assassinated, Robert Kennedy was assassinated, Lyndon Johnson decided not to run for another term as president because of his involvement in the Vietnam War. And it was the era also of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, which was marred by gigantic riots and violence. So there were a lot of things going on at that time. That was a turning point. And again, as I said, our version of the turning point in Indianapolis wasUnigov, which was a much different kind of [1:21:00] reaction. But I think we're on another one of those turning points now.

BB:
Yeah, I mean, it definitely must be, you know, really interesting, especially from your perspective, you know, having seen so many things unfold in American history to now see the next turning point. It's, I think that you would have a unique perspective on analyzing these things, because you've already seen so many major turning points before, it so.

JM:
Well, I don't know, I've been lucky to be alive 84 years, and hope I have a few more. And I guess I'd say that, yes, I have been fortunate that I saw the end of the Second World War, I saw the development of the Marshall Plan, which is an example of a victor, actually putting the people they had defeated back in business again, it's a remarkable story. We rebuilt Europe, and we will rebuilt Japan. [1:22:00] And the result of that was that we also built an important marketplace for our goods and services. So that's a historic moment as well. And of course, the GI Bill, which came along, I mentioned that earlier, in which we revolutionize the availability at college education, to 1000s. So that was a turning point. And there are some others. But I think, of course, the influence of the Supreme Court was another turning point that took place gradually over this period of time. And, you know, as I look back at these decisions, Brown versus Board of Education, that, of course involved the separate but equal doctrine. The other court cases that have come on since then dealing well, first of all with [1:23:00] abortion and a number of others, that those are turning points, at least in our society functions.

BB:
Yeah. Yeah, absolutely. So let's turning back to your political career. Now, you mentioned your first campaign was a group effort. Did you have any changes or to campaign strategies over your political career?

JM:

Well, I certainly had specific things I wanted to do all the way through my political career. Those varied of course as time went by, but early in my political career, the enactment of a major research university for Indianapolis was tops, followed by Unigov, which became [1:24:00] a major change. The development of venues for the arts and for athletics, and Indianapolis became important. And then after I became a state officer, I guess the biggest single thing I'll point out is the Japanese investment strategy. That, of course, occurred because I was lieutenant governor, and at that time, the Lieutenant Governor of Indiana was responsible for economic development. And so I had an extensive department of people who reported to me plus I had the Employment Security Division and the Division of Agriculture. So I had over 2,000 people who were involved in the parks of government that I supervised and this was due to the fact that the Governor Bob Orr wanted it that way. [1:25:00] And he was Pleased to include me as a partner in his approach. And there's never been a lieutenant governor any time in the history of America, who had a better relationship with his governor than I did. So that was a really big, big deal for me. And what happened was that we first took office, that is Bob and I, in 1980, Indiana and the country was in a really severe recession at that point. Unemployment was double-digit. The interest rates were double digit, and the growth rate that was declining, it was a tough time for Indiana because of our reliance on manufacturing. [1:26:00] Our employees saw the Japanese, as we said, in those days eating our lunch, that is they were invading the US auto market and doing it quite successfully. Because they were making an automobile that people want, it was a smaller car, use less gas, all that sort of thing, our auto manufacturers had had a monopoly for so long, it isn't really monopolies duopoly would be the right term. And what they did was, of course, for years just pass on price increases to consumers. And they pass along increased labor costs, which resulted from the dominant influence of the United Auto Workers in the auto. So you're coming to Japan without any union with a lot of good designs, and well, engineered engines, and they really became an important factor. [1:27:00] So when I first took office, I said to my people, "As you know, we can't produce jobs for people government can't do that. We can employ a few people, but generally, government does not create jobs." And so the question is, how do we give people hope. And so our first move was to encourage local communities to start what we call "CD", C-D community development corporations. And these are a cooperative effort at the local level, between the business community, the community, community, and the social service community, to reassess what was good and bad about their communities, try to improve it. And then when they had a chance for new jobs, market, the community. Now, this, of course, gave people something to do during this period of anxiety. And in the meantime, then we said, [1:28:00] "Well, where are we going to get prospects?" And our conclusion was after analyzing the international market, was that the best place was Japan because the Japanese industrial complex had accumulated huge amounts of cash, was interested in expanding its market. And the biggest market available for automobiles. At that time that they wanted was the US market. So we opened offices of Indiana. In Japan, we also opened offices in other parts of Europe, as well, back to the big effort was on Japan. And the history of that is now well known. When I first took office, we had six Japanese plants in Indiana, when I left office, we had over 60. And today we have over 130, Indiana is the leader among all the states on a per capita basis for Japanese investments, [1:29:00] and is in number two, behind only California in the actual number of investments. So our philosophy really worked. It was a was a gamble, to be sure. And it was a gamble for other reasons as well, and that is that we had just defeated Japan in a monumental war. There are a number of people still alive that point who remember that war and who hated the Japanese. And so the statement that was made was well, they couldn't defeat us in the war,

but they're going to take us over economically. Well, of course, that didn't happen because of the ingenuity and education system in the United States. But the point I make is that there are risks involved with that Japanese investment strategy. The report has been that it worked out extremely well. [1:30:00] Of course are our first that really big success was the digital disc company that Sony put in Terre Haute. The biggest plumb however, was the Subaru Zuzu plant in Lafayette, Indiana, which was the first of the automobile assembly plants. After that time period came the Toyota plant in Princeton, Indiana, north of Evansville, and the Honda plant in Greensburg, Indiana. But we're the only state in the union that has three Japanese assembly plants. So that was a governmental goal that we developed as we worked along for eight years.

BB:
Yeah, that's, that is really interesting. Now, were there any, like protests at all against that ever? You mentioned that some people anxieties about that?

JM:
[1:31:00] Yeah, well, there wasn't a lot of opposition. As a matter of fact, most Hoosier communities, whether Democratic or Republican, were so eager to have jobs. They were willing to go along. Now, it became an issue when I ran for governor in 1988. And Evan Bayh used it rather well in recognizing the xenophobia of the time and his campaign commercials, in a not so subtle way, condemned the Japanese involvement in Indiana cities, but I do it again, I think it was a factor in my loss of the governorship 1988. But I do it again, because I think we did the right thing. And history now is showing how much of the right thing we did there. [1:32:00] 64,000 people in Indiana, Hoosiers who worked in Japanese plants.

BB:
Yeah, yeah, definitely. That's a big statement. So that's obviously, that worked out.

JM:
Yes, it did.

BB:
So now, when you're in the Indiana General Assembly, what were you thinking as you walked into the state house your first day in office?

JM:
Well, I've been there before, because I've been down to watch my mother in law. I've been there before. It wasn't as like, having never been there before. Obviously, I was very excited because I knew it was going to be sworn in that day. And we had absolutely swept the election in the previous year. It was a moment of exultation, but also a moment of challenge, [1:33:00] because now we had to figure out what to do with the power we had.

BB:
Yeah, definitely. Now, did you feel pretty comfortable with the legislative process right after the bat? Or did you need some time to adjust?

JM:

Well, it did take some time to adjust. Because, of course, I had not served there before. But I have had a lot of experience in in similar kinds of situations with bills, going to committee hearings and so forth through my student government days at Northwestern. And that, that helped. I can't tell you that I was able to be a full time on the ground running legislator that first year, but I learned quickly.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. And what were some of the best methods for you in terms of learning the ins and outs of state politics?

JM:
[1:34:00] Well, first, the most important in and out was learning how to communicate with your fellow legislators. Both Republican and Democratic. And I had a reputation for reaching across the aisle in those days. One of the legislators I worked with often was Senator Louis Mahern from Indianapolis he was and is still a Democrat. And we collaborated on lots of things. I mean, an example would be we supported the legislation that created the White River State Park. That's example of collaborative work. We also collaborated on a bill to raise the stipend for aid dependent children AFDC. And, of course, my Republican friends, they were "How could you be for that?." And I said, well, the amount of money they're getting is paltry. It is absolutely a crock [1:35:00] to expect these people to live on that amount of money. And so I joined Louis on a bill to raise it. We didn't get it passed, but we finally got it passed a couple of years later.

BB:
Sure. Okay. And so you mentioned that you had kind of reputation for working across the aisle. You know, why was that? What made you feel that that was, you know, a way of doing business when, you know, I was going through some old newspapers about your time and the general assembly. And, and it was often they're talking about how you were kind of against the traditional strong armed political tactics that were sometimes used. You know, why were you so open to working with the other side?

JM:
Well, because I saw votes for what I wanted do. It, that's number one. But the second thing was that back in those days, [1:36:00] our Democratic colleagues, many of them became close friends, social friends, people, we had meals together, and we went out drinking beer together, all that sort of thing. And so you could argue vociferously on the floor of the senate or the h, over a specific bill, and then that night, go out, have a beer with the person with whom you were having a debate. So that was common practice at that point. There even were lobbyists who sponsored hotel rooms in other places in which they invited members of both parties to come and socialize. And that's largely largely gone.

BB:
When did you see that? Sort of, I guess it was, would you know, I guess the question I want to ask is, you know, you served until I guess, 1980, in the general assembly. [1:37:00] Did you see over time there start to be some breaks in the ability to work together? Did it seem like it was becoming more polarized over time? Or was that at all...

JM:
I think that was pretty much after, after the general assembly. To be sure. The early beginnings of the ultra conservative movement and the Tea Party and all that sort of thing was finding its way into the Republican Party. But I did not see the kind of animosity during my tenure in 13 years of the legislator, House, Senate. And even my eight years as presiding officer of the Senate. I mean, here I was every day with all these people. I knew every one of them pretty pretty well and knew their, their wives and so forth. [1:38:00] It was easy to talk to them about things you cared about.

BB:
Right. Yeah. And I guess that's just changed quite a bit now. Interesting. Do you remember the first bill that you sponsored?

JM:
First, Bill? Yes, I do. That's surprising. This bill, will not be long remembered by anybody. But it was a bill that updated the sections of the Indiana statute to conform with internal revenue changes. In other words, every two years back in those days, we only met every two years that update the Indiana code so that it corresponded to the Federal Code. The reason for this is, of course, that Indiana taxes, particularly the income tax, [1:39:00] were largely based on the federal law, and then we applied a Indiana rate to the income. And so the first bill I passed was the updating of the Indiana code. And there were five sections to it. I can't tell you what they were now, but nobody cares, I guess except it was done. That's the first bill.

BB:
Okay. And did you have any, like political mentors when you first got settled into the Indiana General Assembly?

JM:
Well, yes, I guess I did. Among them was W.W. Hill who I talked about earlier. Another would be my father in law. A third one would clearly be the student mentor, I have another one in mind. [1:40:00] Well, I can't think of whose the third one was, but there was one I was thinking about a minute ago. There were a few people in our delegation who had been in the legislature before. One of those was a senator from Hamilton County later named Leslie Duvall. Leslie Duvall was a conservative Republican. His father had been mayor of Indianapolis several decades before. And he was an example of somebody I relied on for questions concerning the criminal or civil code. I'm not a lawyer, and he was he was an expert. And so I was able to go to him and ask for advice on certain bills.

BB:
Yeah. That's useful. Okay. Now, you served in a house and the senate, what would you say are the differences between the members in the House and Senate? [1:41:00] Are there no differences?

JM:

Well, there certainly are differences. But the fact that one's a two year term and one's a four year term, just suggests that you have a little more time to get your feet on the ground in the Senate before you have to start worrying about a campaign for the next election.

BB:
Yeah. Did you find the process for creating a bill to be pretty straightforward?

JM:
Well, yes, I did. Of course, the old joke is that passing legislation is like making sausage. But the fact of the matter is that the process I understood, I knew how to work it, I think. And I found that in the legislature, the most important issue was always to tell the truth. [1:42:00] Tell people you were dealing with, what your motivation was, why you're doing it that several people eventually catch on. And so that was the thing that helped me the most. Now, of course, there were an occasional bill that became very emotional for one reason or another. But generally, the legislature does not act on a partisan basis on over 90% of the legislation. It's that top 10% where the caucuses get involved and take a position on certain questions, and so forth. Since my history in the legislature is one of budget making. I was authored on the Ways and Means Committee in the House, and the Senate Finance Committee in the Senate. In both houses, I participated in the details of the state budget. [1:43:00] And I became kind of the go to person in the caucus for questions about the budget. Everything from the school distribution formula to appropriations for building roads and highways.

BB:
Yeah, yeah. I remember hearing a lot about that, too. It sounds like you were pretty influential in that aspect. Did you have a sense of how people would vote prior to actually voting on legislation?

JM:
Well, I certainly did, because, you know, most legislators count before they take a vote. They want to know for sure what's going to happen. So. So yeah, I learned how to count. That was particularly true in the in the committee process, because you had to get the bill out on the floor before you could pass it.

BB:
Right. How influential was party leadership? During your time in the General Assembly? [1:44:00]

JM:
Well, it was extremely important, and the caucuses is a lot of ways ruled with pretty much an iron hand. The way to be successful was to be influential in your caucus. So that you could depend on your fellow party members to support your approach. And then you asked about party leaders of L. Keith Bulen, who was a dominant party leader during good deal of this time and he of course, behind the scenes supported Unigov, have supported the IUPUI University of Indianapolis idea. He seldom ever told me what to do. Only on occasion, will there be an issue that he thought affected election outcomes and he might fill you in on his viewpoint, but Yeah, [1:45:00] I've never had him pressure me or threaten me.

BB:
Okay, so you never really butted heads much with party leadership or anything?

JM:
No. Most of us generally didn't have to because you knew if you did things that they didn't like, they might not support you in the next primary. In general, Keith and I had a great relationship. And he respected my judgment, and I respected his.

BB:
Okay, sure. So here's kind of a different type of question for you. What would you say the public doesn't know about how the Indiana General Assembly operates?

JM:
Well, I think they lack information on how we make decisions. The fact that no legislator can be an expert on every issue, we asked to go to somebody whose opinion he trusts. That's number one. [1:46:00] Secondly, lobbyists perform a useful task in the legislature, not because they represent a specific viewpoint, but because they represent a competing viewpoint. Oh, for example, I often would get opinions from lobbyists on both sides of an issue and then take their viewpoints and compare them and decide, well, which one do I come down on?

BB:
Yeah. Okay. Sure. Yeah, that's that's a good point. Because I guess, you know, it's, it's pretty common for people to be, especially outside of politics for people to think about lobbyists as very dangerous to the country and state.

JM:
The third thing I'd add to that is they do not most of them, understand how important the caucuses are, to get bills passed. And, of course, the caucuses, if you get a caucus viewpoint can [1:47:00] tell you how many votes you've got in that caucus. Every once in a while, we would have a what they called a binding vote in a caucus in which we asked the members to decide what they wanted to do and then get every member to pledge to support that viewpoint. The image isn't this happens a lot. It may not happen more than two or three times in entire session.

BB:
Okay, yeah. What would you say were the most controversial legislative issues during your time in the assembly?

JM:
Well, you know, clearly the abortion issue is one of those, that's a no win issue. You either gotta be a for or against it. And you're better off to state your position early in the debate. So you don't get tagged as a big participant in that. Some people wanted to be a participant, [1:48:00] that was not my goal. So that had to be near the top. The another one, within my time was the Equal Rights Amendment, which was an amendment to the US Constitution, that would place in the equal rights section of the Constitution, females and few, we're in the process of amending the Constitution, which requires the three quarters of the states to pass a resolution in favor of it.

And then it goes up to a referendum. That was a highly controversial piece of legislation. On the surface, how can you be against women having an equal opportunity? But there are a whole lot of arguments from the conservative side of the spectrum in opposition. So that was a controversial one. Another controversy would be, [1:49:00] as you see, most of these are social issues. Where the controversy arose. Every once in a while there'd be controversy about the budget. And, you know, as a budget maker, I learned how to create the number of votes I needed to pass the voter, which was one more than half. And sometimes had to add things to the budget for a local legislator. That that's a give and take sort of thing.

BB:
Yeah, sure. Now, when it came to the Equal Rights Amendment, you know, I've talked to some other legislators and stuff. Who were also involved in that what was your role in that debate?

JM:
I had no, no role at all.

BB:
Okay, just kind of, yeah, you were there. That was about it. Okay. And, in terms of the abortion debate, I guess, you know, for people today who might listen to this interview, one thing that will be interesting is to think about, [1:50:00] has the debate changed today versus what it was when you were in office?

JM:
Well, I guess my my view of that hasn't changed much. It seems to me that we're still arguing about the same things. The people are against abortion or trying to make it more restrictive. And those who are for it or trying to eliminate the restrictions to a point. There's one area of almost total agreement now, and that is that it's okay in the case, we're at the life of the mother is at stake. But that's the only place where there's much agreement. As I said earlier, the abortion issue is a no win issue for a legislator. The polls show now, a majority of the population favoring abortion as a choice for women. [1:51:00] A personal choice. But in any given district, it could be much closer than that.

BB:
Yeah, sure. What piece of legislation would you say was the most sort of complex to deal with in the general assembly and took sort of the most time to figure out?

JM:
Well, I'd have to say that the Unigov legislation of Marion County Government, enormously complex. It involves so many things, including constitutional questions about taxation and things of that kind. You know, there are a lot of things there. Ya know, that the state budget was a major puzzle, every two years. So you just counted on that?

BB:
Yeah, that makes sense. What was your proudest moment as a legislator? [1:52:00]

JM:

My proudest moment? Well, that's a good question. I don't know if I can say proud moment. I obviously was elated when we got Unigov passed. I was. I kind of took some pride every session. In a budget year when we got the budget passed. That was under Indiana constitution, you're not supposed to run a deficit or a debt. And so getting those budget bills passed was a pretty big deal.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. What in your opinion, is the most important work of the Indiana General Assembly?

JM:
Well, it's changed. When I first took office in the legislature in 1967. [1:53:00] Nobody paid much attention to economic development. And it wasn't until later that suddenly economic development, even though it isn't contained in any of the burned statutes, became a responsibility for local government officials, local mayors and county commissioners now consider economic development is a big deal, even though they don't have any, in the statutes responsibility for that sort of thing. I guess that's one of the things that was was a dramatic change. The other dramatic change was the change in the influence of labor unions in Indiana. When I first took office, the UAW and the FCIO, were major factors in lobbying and opinion about what was going on. They no longer have that kind of prominence, the teachers union is still pretty important. [1:54:00] But it's important to strop to largely because of two things one, the right to work law in Indiana. And the second one is that the only way now that local school corporations deal with hands in terms of dues, is if they make it a part of the contract with the teachers. They agree to take so much out of each paycheck to support the union. And that's a big deal. But I guess the the influence of labor unions has changed dramatically. They the most important lobbies in the legislature are certainly education is at the top of the list. That includes the colleges and universities who are well represented have really bright people doing their their lobbying. And the second of course, are the two teacher unions. The AFT American Federation of Teachers. [1:55:00] IH, Indiana. I can't get it right. Anyway, the ISDA State Teachers Association and the other lobbyists who are fairly prominent are realtors, business communities through the State Chamber. And local chambers, that sort of thing.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. Interesting. So now moving on to I guess some more specific questions about legislation and stuff you were involved with. Now, you served in the House from 1967 to 69. Is that correct?

JM:
Well, I served for two terms. Participated in two legislative sessions 67' and 69'.

BB:
And then in the Senate. It was from what was it? 72 to 80?

JM:

[1:56:00] Yes, that'd be right. So I was elected to fill an unfilled seat when W. W. L. became a head of the Public Service Commission. So I was elected at the same time that Dick Lugar was elected mayor give his second term.

BB:
Okay. But during the 71' session, you just you weren't in the General Assembly?

JM:
That's right. I was I ran for state treasurer in 1970. And lost, and so I was out of the legislature for that time.

BB:
Got it. Okay. Cause I was going through the Senate and House journals, I was wondering, like, where did you go?

JM:
Yeah. That's where I went.

BB:
All right. So doing some research, I saw a few different pieces of legislation that you sponsored. Which, you know, probably are not well known. [1:57:00] I don't even know if you would even remember them. But I just thought they were kind of interesting. I would like to learn more about them. This bill actually passed. It was about establishing bilingual and bicultural programs in 1976.

JM:
Well, I don't remember much about this specific. I have always been a believer in international trade, and I guess globalism? And I saw that kind of instruction is getting Hoosiers acclimated and ready for the moment. And when we became a bigger participant in the international world.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. Yeah, I thought that was interesting. Because, you know, from my personal experience, I've traveled around quite a bit. And I think one thing a lot of foreigners are surprised by his is, you know, how many Americans don't speak a second language. [1:58:00] So I was interested to learn more about that. And yeah, but that's interesting.

JM:
I even wonder award for that bill. Yeah, from a Democratic US senator from Illinois. Yeah. It was for my support of intercultural understanding or something like that. Yeah, I do remember that.

BB:
Interesting. Okay. Now, you talked about the development of White River State Park as being, you know, something that you were big on. So were there any big pushback against developing that park or?

JM:
The only pushback would be the anti Marion County sentiment out of the state. And, of course, there was some pushback from a racial standpoint, because the park was located in part of Indianapolis, [1:59:00] where a number of homes and businesses had to be removed, etc. There were some of that. But of course, we and I saw it as an opportunity. We had the White River running through the middle of downtown Indianapolis and nobody paid any attention to it. So we decided we ought to have a park on the banks of the White River, and that's what we did.

BB:
Yeah. Okay, interesting. Another thing I saw was that you were a big proponent of state officials releasing full financial disclosures. Can you tell me a little bit about that?

JM:
Well, my that came from my early indoctrination in the legislature in which we tried very hard to know what the economic interests were of each other. So that when we heard something from an individual legislator, we could see if they had a self interest in law. [2:00:00] That's where it started. And then of course, when I ran for state office, I released financial statements and so forth. Nobody seemed to care much, because at that time, I didn't have much of a net worth and much of an income. So, you know.

BB:
Yeah, sure. Were there any other different types of sort of ethic based legislation that you remember passing?

JM:
Well, we did do some changes in what you could accept from lobbyists and all that sort of thing. And that was part of what I call the the revolution of 1969, 70' and 71'. When Otis Bowen was the Speaker of the House, he was very active. In the National Association of State legislators, they had an active view that legislatures could become [2:01:00] more influential and have more respect, if they were more transparent and responsible. And so out of that came the decision to move Indiana, to annual terms of the legislature. One of the biggest deals was opening up the committee process, when I first served a committee to hold a hearing on a bill. Listen to everybody on both sides, and then they could empty the room and in the executive session could vote on the bill. So the public didn't have any idea how you voted. And so you could vote for a bill or against the bill in committee and then vote the opposite way, when it came out on the floor. And I found that to be an appalling set of circumstances. So yeah, we supported those changes in the rules. Those changes were all in the rules of the body, rather than in legislation.

BB:
Okay. [2:02:00] So what was the reason why you left the General Assembly?

JM:
Well, because I left to begin with to run for state treasurer, and then I left another time in order to run for lieutenant governor.

BB:

Okay. And looking back now, overall, how would you summarize your time as a state legislator?

JM:
Oh, well, this was great. It was great fun. It was a challenge everyday because out to the State House and interact with your colleagues on both sides of the aisle. It was an intellectual challenge, and emotionally very satisfiying I'd say.

BB:
Okay. Do you have a favorite story or anecdote from your time as a legislator?

JM:
Oh, I could laughingly tell you. When I first got elected. One of the old wives tales that they told the new [2:03:00] legislators was that the lobbyists were always around, and that if you wanted a bottle of booze, just leave your locker unlocked, and the lobbyists would put a bottle in it. Well, I tried that one time. But what happened was, whoever opened my locker stole my hat that I never got a bottle of booze.

BB:
Did you ever get your hat back?

JM:
Nope. No, I never did. And it was an expensive hat back in those days.

BB:
Yikes. Okay. Wow. Geez. What lessons, if any, did you learn from your experiences and legislator?

JM:
Well, the biggest lesson is that the world is full of a variety and different kinds of people. And sometimes you'd ask yourself, how did that person ever get elected? And yet, [2:04:00] once you got into it, and began to analyze it and talk to them, you realized how they got elected. So it's a new appreciation for difference. I'd put it that way.

BB:
Yeah. Would you say that you know, generally speaking, most people in the General Assembly or are pretty much just normal people that you could meet off the street? Is there anything that separates them from the general public? Or?

JM:
Well, the main thing separates them is you kind of have drive and ambition or you don't get there. And so that separation. Intellectually, I found them to be the legislature a bit full of people from different levels of intelligence. You soon figured out who the really bright people were. And you learn to have a different kind of attitude about their opinions.

BB:
[2:05:00] Yeah.

JM:
You also found out that there were people there who were motivated to be there by some really important challenges that they faced in their day to day lives. And that was an important challenge as well. You know, there were farmers, doctors and lots of lawyers and so forth in the process. So you got to know these people. It is a very close relationship you have with legislators, you sit with them daily, you are in committee meetings with them, you attended social events with them. May not be that way today, but it sure was true when I was there. So some of the best friends I've ever had in this world were in the legislature don't know that I had vicious enemies of legislature, certainly varying degrees of respect. [2:06:00] But that's, that's the way it is in the real world.

BB:
Yeah. Okay. Did you have any regrets as a legislator?

JM:
Yes, I once gave a speech about that. There were three regrets that I can name. One is that I voted for the collective bargaining bill for teachers. That was a big, big mistake. And I did that, at the behest of Otis Bowen when he was elected governor, he asked me to support it, and I did. Before he died, he even admitted to me that it was a big, big mistake. The second area I would suggest is, you may find this to be funny or strange. But I voted to eliminate a number of patronage programs, the largest one being the license branch system, [2:07:00] and the so called 2% club where individuals who were employed by state or local government required to and got their jobs on the recommendation of the political party. They were required to spend, contribute 2% of their paycheck each pay period to the party. And now you're gonna say, well, those were evils. You may not say that, but I would suggest to you that that method of paying for and financing political parties was far less invasive and threatening to society than is the big money programs that we deal with now. That's Mutz's opinion. I wrote a column for the Indianapolis business journal about it, I wrote regular columns for about eight years. And I remember writing one about them. [2:08:00] So you asked about mistakes, that'd be the second mistake. The third mistake I made is this, and you may think this is strange, but during my tenure as a budget maker, when we first got there in 1967, the universities and colleges got just one line item appropriation. That was for Indiana, Purdue, Ball State, Indiana State, and later on Ivy Tech. That money was in one line item and the presidents of the two big campuses. Herman Wells in Bloomington and Fred Hubde in Lafayette got together and decided which university got how much. Now, I said that was not transparent enough. We ought to have individual line item appropriations. And I still say that's the way it ought to be. [2:09:00] However, I had anticipated what was going to happen in the legislature when each location got specific amounts of money. Suddenly the legislators from those parts of the state conditioned to their support of the state budget act on getting something for their district. That's a kind of log rolling. That had not occurred to me. One of the reasons we have a proliferation of Ivy Tech campuses is that you in essence, satisfied the local legislators need for a choice (Unintelligible) take home with him. And we ended up with too many campuses too much overhead. And while the log rolling program is common to the legislative process, I didn't anticipate what an evil it might be. [2:10:00] So those are the three things I'd left.

BB:
Okay. Now, you mentioned a little bit about sort of money in politics. How has the role of money in politics changed in your estimation?

JM:
Well, the old line is, money is the mother's milk of politics. And and I guess I have to agree with that it has a lot to do with your ability to get elected and to stay in office. Yes, the amounts of money in politics, they are obscene. That's my opinion. The important thing about like money, however, is that there be total transparency about where it came from, and who got it. And unfortunately, with a complex system of financing political activity today, there's a huge amount of money that you [2:11:00] can't trace back to where it came from. And I think that's very unfortunate, as I said that the essence of this is not to curtail contributions, but rather to make sure that you can say for sure where it came from, who got the benefit. Those are the kind of reforms that I'd like to see in that area.

BB:
What advice would you give to future legislators or even current legislators?

JM:
Learn to know your opponents, make friends with people on the other side of the aisle. And where possible, incorporate them into your decision making and preferences.

BB:
Okay. All right. So last few questions now. How has the state of Indiana changed over the course of your lifetime?

JM:
How's it changed well. [2:12:00]

When I first checked office, it would be described as a swing state. And as it went Democratic and Republican in different elections, for the last several decades, has become almost a universal, what we call red state, meaning it'll be Republican. And I wouldn't be at all surprised if we were the first state to announce a plurality for Donald Trump. That was I think he will win the delegates from Indiana as the electors. So that's change, become more conservative and more Republican. The other things didn't change is that the dominance of manufacturing, while we still are the most, [2:13:00] we have the state with the largest percent of our economy in manufacturing. It's now roughly only about 25% of our employment. It used to be close to half. The importance of farming, relatively speaking is about the same, except that what's happened is there are far fewer farms than there used to be. Consolidation is taking place there. The other major change is the importance of labor unions in Indiana has declined. And it appears will stay that way. Although there are some signs that the organizing by labor unions will once again take a bigger role. I guess another thing I'd say is that Indiana, had a absolute breakout period of time. During the moments in which the veterans came back from [2:14:00] Second World War, higher education became more important the general level of education improved. Today we are I wouldn't say we're a backwater, but we're not a leader. In terms of the percent of people who have college training and education, or even post high school training of one kind or another.

And I'm hopeful when I was president, the Chairman of the Board of Lumina Foundation, we adopted this goal of tremendously increasing the percent of the population that has post high school for veterans, and we're making some progress but we still got a long, long way to go.

BB:
Yeah. Okay.

JM:
Those are the changes I, I list. The what I've left out here. Well, the other thing of course is influence of [2:15:00] social issues in politics has comeback. That comeback become more dominant than it was in the past. But.

BB:
Yeah, I guess,

JM:
I guess those are the things I'd list I mentioned the labor union decline. I mentioned the decline in the number of people who work in manufacturing. Talked about the consolidation of the farming community. I don't know what else I think those are the change in the political parties. Yes.

BB:
Right. Right. Okay. What if any enduring qualities do Hoosiers still have or hold dear?

JM:
Well, the use of the word enduring, which suggests you're talking about positive sayings.

BB:
Well, you can say negative as well, if you want.

JM:
[2:16:00] Alright well, I'll put it this way. In Indiana, we still are reluctant to argue and debate in pushing. That's very common on the east coast, the west coast of people scream and yell at each other about differences of opinion. And Indiana, that's not considered good manners in lots of cases. I think it's unfortunate. We need to get our political differences out on the table more. And the funny thing about this is, it doesn't keep us from saying nasty things about other people behind their backs. It's unfortunate in my mind, that we can't have a genuine difference of opinion and still like each other. And I think that's a real problem. I'm encountering that now, you may guess as to my decision to support a democrat for president this year. [2:17:00] I have gotten some hate mail and things of that kind.

BB:
Yeah, yeah, I can imagine it's, it is pretty unfortunate. Just how, personally everyone has to take every difference. What do you want Hoosiers to know about their role in relation to the function of the Indiana General Assembly?

JM:

Well, there of course, is a remarkable deficit in public knowledge about the process, who the people are, what they stand for Saturday. There's a good deal of that at the federal level to is more pronounced at the state level. So I guess where I am on this is that it takes time and effort to know what's going on. Informed citizens were part of the basic [2:18:00] idea of the founding fathers. And, and yet, the number of citizens who are really informed is relatively small, as a percent of the population. So you know, anything can be done to increase the understanding of our system. I don't think Donald Trump understands checks and balances. If he did, he would have more respect for the legislative branch. That's part and parcel of what the Founding Fathers had in mind was co-equal branches of government. And he just doesn't seem to get it in that respect. And that is very important, in my opinion. If you read the Federalist Papers, which I have, there's a good deal of debate or discussion about the checks and balances. [2:19:00] The role of the maneuver in a in a population and legislative body. Those concepts are very important. In other words, the founding fathers did not believe in mob rule. The closest they came to it were in the early populations that settled on the East Coast. And they set up what were called town meetings. And these were not entities that were enshrined in legislation, but they were meetings that took place in these communities, where they actually made decisions about what they wanted to do. And when you think about it, it's kind of amazing that these people gathered together and voluntarily agreed to do but how the vote came out. That was a that's an amazing concept. And, and so what we got now is a situation where you [2:20:00] often we're not satisfied with the outcome of the vote and decide we're going to do everything we can in our power to change it at the next election. Now, I understand that motivation. But I think the process is one which compromise the checks and balances, it seems to me, give us an outcome. That's not not too bad over the history of the country. So and I say, it can't be a really good politician unless you know how to compromise. And and so, if I had to give advice, as you asked earlier, to the incoming legislator it be reach out to your opponents, but also learn that the way you get things done is to compromise. I mean, I, I remember our big my first big legislative defeat, you could have called it, [2:21:00] the fact we didn't get the new University created for the city of Indianapolis. But what we did do was we forced the leadership of IU, Purdue, to execute a merger. So that IUPUI developed. And of course, what happened was that they couldn't agree on what's called, they insisted that each of their names ought to be in the title, which became funny because it's Indiana, Indiana University and Purdue University, the at Indianapolis. The name was often jokingly referred to as a ooey pooey. I guess I'd have to say that, that disagreement is pretty typical. And of course, our goal was to call it the University of Indianapolis. And that was fine until Eugene sees the president of what is now the University of Indianapolis, which at that time was called the Indiana Central. [2:22:00] He changed the name and coopted or opted out of the possibilities. So now the University of Indianapolis is a private university on the southern side of Indianapolis. But I guess what I'm saying there is that compromise gets things done. Being willing to take path or part of a loaf, rather than no loaf. is a better way to go.

BB:
Yeah. So when it comes to like, you know, general Hoosiers of the public, would you say that there are too many of them are just kind of complacent to what's going on in government, and just for whatever reason, you know, don't want to be a part of it.

JM:

Well, people want to be a part of it, when it affects their daily lives. That's to be expected. If you're a business person, [2:23:00] you're aware of the fact that what the legislature does, and the federal government does affects your business, and you better watch it and be concerned about it. I'm always kind of amazed. If you looked at the history, first of all, you look at George Washington, and Washington said, "Every responsible citizen has a responsibility to be involved in government at one time or another." And Washington actually could have been elected as the emperor or whatever you want to call it of the United States had he wanted to be because he was so popular after the revolution. But what did he do? He said, "I've had enough." I'm going home to Mount Vernon and enjoy my state, my farm and my family. And that, of course, was a view of government that's far different we have today. Now, another good example of that was Booth Tarkington, [2:24:00]maybe the foremost man of letters to come out of the State of Indiana, won two Pulitzer Prizes. And he said, "Well, I'm an author. Yes. But I'm also a citizen." Cause he volunteered to run for the legislature and actually served one term in the house. Few people know that. But that's an example of being willing to step aside from your, your ongoing career and your biggest accomplishment to take part in government. There are other examples of this, but the those two are in my mind the classics.

BB:
Right. Yeah. Yeah, that definitely makes sense. Well, that's all the questions I have for you. Is there anything that you want to mention that I didn't ask about?

JM:
No. That every reporter who's ever interviewed me has always asked that question at the end of the interview. [2:25:00] You may commit yourself to something that he didn't know about. And I'm not worried about that with you. Because this is apiece of history for the, for the decades that follow. I guess what I'd say to you is I'm grateful you decided to interview me. And it's been a wonderful journey for me. I've enjoyed each and every moment of it. And even my wife will say today, she enjoyed each and every moment of it. So I don't have anything to ask.

BB:
All right, well, fantastic. Well, I mean, thank you so much for taking part in this project. It should be a useful tool for whoever wants to use in the future. And hopefully, it can also serve as a tool to help get people maybe more interested in state politics. That's another goal of the project is to try to find ways to utilize these interviews for maybe [2:26:00] implementing them into school curriculum to study. And it was a lot of ideas that we're thinking about to try to help make the public a little bit more interested in state politics. And so I really appreciate you taking the time to be a part of this. So.

JM:
Well, I appreciate that too. I'd have to say, my book. The Historical Society decided to publish it for which I'm grateful. And it is history from 1960, essentially, to the present as seen through my eyes. So there's, there's all the stuff I've told you. I have a lot more are in.

BB:
Yeah, that's fantastic. Yeah, definitely something I'll be interested in checking out to learn more. So.

JM:
Okay.

BB:
Great. All right. Well, okay. Perfect. I appreciate it. All right. Hope you have a good rest of your day and take care. So.

JM:
Very nice talking to you.

BB:
All right. Bye bye.

JM:
[2:27:00] Bye bye.