

01:00:30:09

17

17:02:23:05

17:04:21:27

17

favorite poems/quotes

(Do you have a favorite poem or quote?)

I have several favorite poems. Ummmm...Longfellow's Building of the ships; Henry Vandyke's America for me; Melton's Paradise Laws; Emerson's essays. These are not exact poems, but these are great reading materials. Great literature. Robinson Crusoe. He spent 28 years, 2 months and 19 days on that island by himself.

And, uh...favorite Biblical passages...well, there's several. One from Isaiah-, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord. Make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be laid low. The crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain. The glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together. " That is a piece of scripture that I've used many times in dedication of highways in West Virginia.

"Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set." That's in Proverbs. I use that at reunions, especially. Because we're talking about their fathers, their families, their ancestors and the values that they live by.

So these are very useful and meaningful tools-poetry, especially.

17:04:27:15

17:07:17:03

17

Touch of Master's Hand

(Are there any that you find strength in personally?)

Well, all of these I do. I select these because they are so meaningful. They have a particular point. The Touch of the Master's Hand is great. I think that's a great one.

"Twas battered and scarred, the auctioneer thought it scarcely worth his while to waste much time in the old violin, so he held it up with a smile. "What have I bid, good folks," said he. "Who'll start the bidding for me? A dollar, a dollar, then two on the two, two dollars, who'll make it three? Three dollars once, three dollars twice, going for three." But no. From the room far back the gray haired man came forward and picked up the bow. And wiping the dust from the old violin and tightening the loose string, he played a melody soft and sweet as a heavenly angel sings. The music ceased and the auctioneer in a voice soft and low said, "now what am I bid for the old violin," and he held it up with the bow. "A thousand dollars, then two, only two. Three, who'll make it three. Three thousand once, three thousand twice, going for three," said he. The people cheered, but some of them said, "We don't understand what changed its worth." Quick came the reply, " the touch of a master's hand." And many a man with life out of tune, battered and scarred with sin is auction chief... chief to the thoughtless crowd, much like the old violin. A ????, a glass of wine, a game and a travel zone. He's going once, he's going twice, he's going and almost gone. But the foolish crowd can never...let's see....let me start that again. He's going once;

he's going twice, he's going and almost gone. But the (pause) master comes and the foolish crowd can never understand the worth of a soul and a change that's wrought by touch of the Master's hand."

So I find that people like poetry and they'll sit on the...the edge of the chair listening to poetry. And once in a while over the years, I'll falter and miss a line or a word and I, I'm just quite natural with it and I start over. They almost grip their chair... uuhh..hoping I'll be able to come through without missing it.

17:07:21:15 17:07:37:03 17 enjoyed fiddle playing
(And what about playing your violin?)

Oh, that was something. It was such a release... from the day's toils and wearies. I enjoyed it tremendously. (pause) It kind of levels everything out.

17:07:41:15 17:07:49:21 17 enjoyed fiddle #2
(So, that was one of the things you did to relax?)

Exactly. Yea, I enjoyed it very, very much. And the people enjoyed it, too. It's a great hit with audiences.

17:08:02:11 17:08:24:08 17 Hee Haw show
(I saw the HeeHaw clip)

Well, I..I...I enjoyed that kind of music. And I had good company there; Roy A Cupp, Roy Clark, Grandpa Jones. He was sitting there with my wife on a, on a log, I guess it was. And then Grandpa Jones' wife played the violin also.

17:08:29:27 17:08:54:18 17 favorite songs (So what was your forte? What was your best song?)

Oh...I don't know. I liked Going Up Cripple Creek, Going in a Run (sings a line of this song).

And there's More Pretty Girls than One. I liked that. That was a hit with the crowd.

17:08:56:21 17:09:36:27 17 he sings one
(Diana says- I don't know that one)

Oh you don't? Well let's see now. (pause...He sings) Needs some accompaniment. (applause)

17:09:46:18 17:11:19:03 17 Wedding anniv/greenbrier
(There's only been one pretty girl for you for many, many years?)

Well, we just had our 66th wedding anniversary on May 29...this year. At the Greenbrier. My wife and I like to go to the Greenbrier on our wedding anniversaries. We've been there on most of the recent ones. This year we had five, or four of our five grandchildren with us and we had their spouses. It was particularly enjoyable time this year.

We always take a ride around the Greenbrier grounds in a carriage. We have a favorite driver and horses there. The driver's name is Charlie and the horses' names are Duke and Duchess.

And you see when I was married, when Erma and I were married, we (chuckling) never dreamed that we'd ever go to the Greenbrier, but the good Lord has favored us and pulled us through and, and I'm just so happy that I could have Erma there this year.

She's been through a particularly rough time the past 2 years. She's been in the hospital 6 times. Once for appendicitis. She had her appendix removed. And at our age that is something pretty rare.

17:11:24:19 17:13:54:13 17 Tribute to Erma
(what role has she played in your life?)

Oh, she has been a mainstay throughout my years. She's...she has been a real asset to me in my political career. She has been solid. She's there. She's understanding. She's ummm...just a very quiet, yet strong personality. And she's a coal miner's daughter. That means a lot.

She was a coal miner's daughter when I married her. I grew up in a coal miner's home. So, we never had much. We grew up during the Depression. But we didn't miss anything because we never had anything. We, we never had any refrigerator. mmm, of course, we married huh, we married soon after sliced bread. Mechanically sliced bread came along in 1930. Orange juice, frozen orange juice first came along in 1947. Our first refrigerator was half of an orange crate nailed up outside the window.

Huh, My mom, huh, had an old icebox when I was a boy growing up. And the iceman would know how much ice she needed by the corner of the square card that she had outside the screen door. We didn't have a refrigerator. We didn't have electric irons. I remember seeing my wife use the heating iron, put it on the stove. Then, when we'd wash clothes she'd hang it out on the line with clothespins. Umm... back in those days we didn't have tape recorders or electric toothbrushes or dishwashers or vacuum cleaners or anything like that. And I'm, I'm glad I lived in times like those.

17:13:58:19 17:15:51:05 17 Life during Depression/Erma
(How does it shape a person to live in times like those?)

Well one learns to be frugal because there's no other way to be. When one doesn't have much to spend, he has to be frugal.

My wife was a great housewife. She watched prices closely and she always handled our limited amounts of money. On the day after we married in 1937, Erma and I went walking down the railroad tracks in this coal camp. It was the only place we had to go. We had the Virginian Railroad on the one side of the creek and C&O on the other. There's always a creek, a creek that ran through those coal mining communities and a road beside the creek. So, the day after we married, the next day married was a Sunday and we walked down the railroad track and I had saved up three or four hundred dollars and I had it in a wad. And as we walked down the railroad track that Sunday, I took out the wad and handed it to Erma. I said here's my pocketbook. I've saved up, I believe, 4 hundred dollars. You keep the pocketbook. When I need a few dollars, I'll come to you and ask for it. And that's the way it's been now for 66 years. She keeps the pocket book. If I want to borrow money, if I need some money for a haircut, I go to Erma and she'll give me a few dollars for a haircut. If I want a few dollars to spend, I'll go to Erma and she'll give me the money to spend. I've never carried the wallet since we married in 60, 66 years. And I think it's a good thing because she's saved me money.

17:15:55:18 17:20:34:28 17 high school & Erma

(How did you win a woman like Erma?)

laughs...Well I wonder myself. I often tell this story; it's a true one. At my high school, at Mark Twain High School, that's Stotesbury. Stotesbury was a mining camp in southern Raleigh County. And Mark Twain was a fine high school. I think it was it equal to...pause...probably equal to a junior college in those days. It had excellent teachers. W. JB Comell was a great schoolman. A strong disciplinarian. His wife was a great music teacher. She organized the band and an orchestra at Mark Twain High School.

There was a boy in my class whose name was Julius Tacach, (spells it), I believe. It might have been "ash." Yea. I don't remember, but his name was Tachash. He was Hungarian. He has a sister still living down in the Huntington area. Irene.. Cremeans..I see her from time to time when I visit that part of the state and speak to an audience. She always shows up. She's in the audience.

Julius was in my class. His father had a little grocery store at Cooktown. Ury, u-r-y.. located between Stotesbury and Hillam. UH...Julius came to school every morning, came to school with his pockets full of candy and chewing gum from his father's little grocery store. And, well, I learned about this. And I always made it a point to greet Julius at the schoolhouse door upon his arrival. Where upon he would give me a handful of bubble gum, chewing gum, or candy. I'd make my way back down the hall. I never ate the candy or chewed the gum, but I'd make it a point when the classes changed to look my sweetheart up. And

she..I was...ummm.. I was one grade ahead of her. One year ahead of her. So, I'd make it a point to find Erma when the classes change. And very proudly, I'm sure I must have stuck out my chest and I gave her the candy and the chewing gum. And I tell this story to audiences and I always pick out one person in the audience-Joe, or John, Jim or George and I'll say, "John that's the way you court your girl with another guy's bubble gum." It gets a good laugh.

But I knew Erma 3 or 4 years. Her father played a fiddle. Her father's name was Fred James. He was a coal miner. And on Saturday evenings he would play the fiddle. And there was a neighbor named umm...Dana Blevins from Tenn. Most people from Stotesbury were general from Tenn., North Carolina, or Virginia, Kentucky.

So, Mr. James and Mr. Blevins would get together on Fridays after the days work and play some tunes. I liked to listen to them. I was a little 'ol boy and I liked to hear Mr. James play that fiddle. I didn't pay very much attention to his 2 girls or 2 daughters at that time. I'm sure they didn't pay any attention to me. But as time went on, I...I...I came to like both the 2 girls. And finally, I just, huh, I'm sure I liked Erma a good while before she came to think of me. In terms other than just, huh, an old awkward boy. We went to school together as I said. As time went on we married.

17:20:36:29 17:20:43:28 17 not much on sweets
(Do you still take her sweets?)

Mmmhh...She's not much on sweets anymore.

17:20:55:09 17:28:41:14 17 interest/jobs/politics
(Tell me when your interest in public service began.)

In my high school days I liked mathematics, algebra, geometry and my interests were in drawing, dressmanship, or music, or math. I had hoped when I graduated from high school to go on to college and become an engineer of some kind. Uhh. ..I had hoped to be in a career that used mathematics and used arithmetic. But by the time I graduated from high school, it was 1934 in the midst of the Great Depression. I couldn't go to college. So I, I was interested in getting a job. I graduated in May 19 hundred and 34 and it was January 19 hundred and 35 when I finally got a job working in a gas station. My job was at Helen, WV which was about 4 miles down the road from Stotesbury where I lived. So I walked 4 miles to work and 4 miles back home everyday and as I was able to catch a bread truck or a milk truck from time to time, which I was able to do much of the time. And huh I worked at Helen, WV for a little while as a gas station attendant. That was a cold winter 1934, 1935. Very cold winter. I remember. And, huh, in the early spring of 1935, Mr. WT Myers, who was the store manager at the copper store in Stotesbury, asked me how I liked the job at Helen. He had

gotten me the job, huh at Helen because he knew the store manager there. Both of these were copper stores. So Mr. Myers knew Mr. Sterling. So, Mr. Myers told me Mr. Sterling had a job at Helen if I'd liked to go talk to him about it. I did and so I landed that job in the gas station. It paid 50 dollars a month. As I say in the early spring then, Mr. Myers asked me how I liked the working at the store, the gas station. I said I liked it all right, but I wish I had a job closer home. 4 miles from home wasn't, didn't leave me any time for myself. So he said at the beginning of next month we'll have a job open at Stotesbury as produce boy. Will you be interested? And I said I'd love that. So I started working as a produce store in 1935. And worked there, the produce shop was in conjunction with the meat shop. Therefore I was able to learn the job of cutting meat by working in the shop there...selling produce, which I said was in conjunction with the meat shop. So, I learned to cut meat and I worked there until 1939 at which time I was transferred to Stanaford, another copper store. Stanford, in Raleigh County, and I worked there as head butcher. Then in 1941 I transferred to a ?? store in Montgomery, WV. I went there from Mount Hope where I had been working and then in 1941 I moved back to Crab Orchard and took a job at the Carolina supermarket.

In the meantime, my older daughter had been born at Stotesbury in 1938. Then 1941, July 1, which happens to be tomorrow. Tomorrow is Margery's birthday. Let me change that a little bit.

Then on, in July 1 1941 my younger, our younger daughter was born. July 1, 1941 my wife and I where we moved back to Crab Orchard where I worked at the supermarket. I later became a welder and welded in the shipyards in Baltimore, Maryland building Victory and there were the ships. I also welded in the McClosky shipyard at Tampa, FL in Jan. 1945. And I welded there until the war ended. Later in 1945, I went back to Crab Orchard at the supermarket. My old employer wanted me back so I went back and then I, Erma and I started a little grocery store of our own in Sophia in 1948. In the meantime in 1946, I had run for office for the house..House of Delegates for Raleigh Co. For Raleigh County I had 3 members for the House of Delegates. I ran and I got more votes than anyone else among the 13 who were running for the House of Delegates. So, having been elected for the House of Delegates in 1946 I served in 1947 in the 48th session, I believe it was, of the legislature. The House only met 2 months out of every 2 years. Our salary, I believe, was \$500 a year. I served in the House for 2 terms. 2 terms at 2 year each. Then in 1950 I ran for the WV Senate. Was elected. That was a 4-year term, but I only served 2 years, at which time a seat in the House of Rep. opened up. The congressman from the old 6th district decided to run for government and when he filed for government I filed for the U.S. House of Rep. Representing the 6th district, which was comprised of Kanawha, Boone, Logan, and Raleigh counties. I was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. I served there 3 terms- 2 years in each term. And then I ran for the U.S. Senate in 1958. Was elected. I've been re-elected every 6 years since.

17:28:46:21 17:29:20:15 17 war - interest in politics
(What was it that first interested you in public service?)

Well during the war, I became interested in world events. I watched ,imparticular, the Soviet Union and I grew concerned with the Soviet Union. It was, of course, a communist group of countries. And I thought the United States were a little too close to the Soviet Union at that time. Things like that.

17:29:26:18 17:29:30:27 17 no thought on soviet
(Did you ever think you'd do anything with that country at that time?)

No I never thought about that...at that time.

17:29:36:23 17:30:43:21 17 campaigning and fiddling
(What did you like best about campaigning?)

Playing the violin. Ah, I loved the fiddle. I loved to play the fiddle. And, huh, I just liked meeting people and campaigning. I huh..It was just second nature to me. I had grown up in the coal mining camps where people liked one another, they were neighbors to one another, and everybody knew everybody else. Working in the meat shops, I became familiar with a lot of faces throughout Raleigh County in southern WV. I enjoyed it. I just enjoyed meeting people.

So, it was fun and I wanted, I wanted to win. That coal, coal miner dad of mine had encouraged me to try and be somebody so I wouldn't have to work in the mine. He didn't want me to have to work in the mine. So, I liked politics, (slips) politics.

17:30:53:13 17:32:02:06 17 carrying counties/precincts
(You've never lost a race and you've carried every county in WV.)

Yes, and in the last election, umm, in the year 2000 I carried all but 7 of the 1970 precincts. Now that's something to brag about, I guess. Dizzy Dean said it's all right to brag if you've done it. So, carrying 1963 out of 1970 precincts is really something. Carrying 55 counties out of 55 is a pretty good...doing all right. But carrying all but 7 precincts is something else. So, the people of West Virginia have been good to me. They have put their faith and confidence in me and Erma and I have worked hard to try and justify their faith and confidence over the years. And the people of WV have always responded at election time. They've turned out well and supported me.

18:00:15:18 18:07:18:21 18 Mr. Titler /voting story
(Tell the story about decision-making ability.)

I had just won...I had just won the election to the House of Delegates...in Raleigh County. This was the 1946,1946 campaign. Early in 1947 the House of Delegates met. And, uh, just a few days before the House of Delegates met, Mr. George Titler, who is the president of UMW District 29 in Beckley, asked me to come to his office. I went to his office. George Titler sat at the desk. He was a huge man and he had in his office a Mr. James Leeber who was his, I guess, his assistant. Well, when I arrived at the office, Mr. Leeber, or Mr. Titler said, "I want you to vote for...." There were 2 men running for the Speaker of the House...of Delegates. I won't mention the name of the person, huh, named by Mr. Titler. But the person for whom I voted for was named John Amos of Charleston.

I had only met Mr. Amos a few wee...a few days before because I had heard about this race that was developing. I had also contacted several other House of Delegates members to inquire of them as to these 2 men. And Mr. Amos was high...was the more highly recommended to me than was the other gentleman. Whereupon Mr. Titler asked me to vote for the other man in the upcoming race for speaker. I said, "Mr. Titler, I can't do that. I'm going to vote for Mr. Amos." Mr. Titler didn't take that lightly and he...I, I...I explained my choice. I said, " I have talked with several other members of the House and they have by enlarge recommended Mr. Amos as being the better of the 2. So I have met with Mr. Amos and I told him I would vote for him. Therefore, I am committed to him. So, I'm committed to him and I've had him recommended as being the better of the two men. uh...If I were to change now you wouldn't have much confidence in me in the future if I retained after having told Mr. Amos that I would support him. So I'm going to vote for him." Mr. Titler was angry. When I said that, he said, "Well, we will remember you when you run for reelection. The coal miners will remember you."

I went on to Chas. and voted for Mr. Amos and when the time came for me to run for reelection 2 years later, Mr. Titler kept his word and I had kept mine. And that's the way it was. I won overwhelmingly. The miners supported me and I, uh, I went into some of the mine union meetings. Mr. Titler was at one in Stotesbury in particular, I remember. It was on a Sunday afternoon and he went down to that mine union at the mining hall and urged the miners to vote against me at the reelection. And then when I spoke I said to the miners, " I grew up here. My dad was a coal miner here. My wife's father was a coal miner and member of this union. And the reason Mr. Titler doesn't want you to vote for me is because he can't tell me how to vote. " And he was sitting there. Well the coal miners liked that kind of independence. They knew me, I'd grown up and they knew I didn't have anything, that I had worked in the company store there and so on. So I just said, "He doesn't want me to win reelection because he can't tell me how to vote. He tried to tell me to vote for a Mr. So and so for the House of Delegates and I had already committed myself to the other person on the recommendation of the other members who knew both of these men. And I took the recommendation. Therefore, I committed myself.

Therefore, I kept my promise. And he doesn't like it because I wouldn't do what he wanted me to." Well, that made quite a hit, of course, with the coal miners.

As time went on then...as time went on I ran for state Senate and Mr. Titler went into Wyoming County which was the adjoining county to Raleigh County, there were 2 counties in the 9th senatorial district. He went into Wyoming County to try and defeat me there and I told the same story over there. I was elected State Senator.

I went on later and ran for the U.S. House of Representatives. Became a, huh, member of the U.S. House of Representatives in due course. After which, Mr. Titler became one of my best supporters. It goes to show that in politics, the person who may not be with you today might be your friend tomorrow. So, uh, uh, Titler, Mr. Titler was one of my staunchest, staunchest friends as the years went by. He pass, He's dead now. But those experiences ripened me and the fact that it took some gall and some courage, some backbone was good for me. And the people liked it also. They followed me and they came to understand that I had strong beliefs and tried to stand up for them and they liked that.

18:07:25:26 18:13:39:13 18 why he ran for senate
(This is a relevant story to a recent experience)

Well, also, Mr. John L. Lewis also opposed me. When I was in the House of Rep. on my 3rd term and thinking about running for the US Senate against, uh, Mr. Revercomb...Chapman Revercomb. This was in 1958. I was in WV and ,uh, during the fall of that year, testing the waters in the northern part of that state when I got a phone call from the UMWA representative in Washington to the House of Representatives, saying to me that he would like to see me the next time I was in Washington. And I said I won't be back there for a while but I will be over in Hampshire County next week speaking at a civic club over there. If you want to come over and meet me, I'll be glad to visit with you. So he met me on that occasion when I went to Romney. His name was Bob Howe-Robert Howe. H-o-w-e. When we met, he told me his "boss." He used the word boss. He said, "the boss wants me, wanted me to come over and tell you not to run for the Senate because he is...he, Mr. Lewis, is going to support Government Marland for the Senate." And I said, "Well, you supported Government Marland last, last election and he lost. I think it's mine turn now." And he said, "You've got a fine labor record. And Mr. Lewis says you have a fine labor record but he's committed to Bill Marland and, um, even to the extent that he would come over- Mr. Lewis will come into to WV and campaign for Mr. Marland if needed, if need be. So he hopes you'll run for the House. You have a good record. He'll support you there, but if you run for the Senate he's going to have to oppose you." And I said, " Well, I'll be in touch with you."

So that night on my way down from Romney down to Beckley the snow was up to my ankles. I stopped at a phone booth at Petersburg, Grant County on my way south. I called my wife. She was back at Arlington at that time, back in Virginia where we lived. I said, "Well, Erma. I've made up my mind." She said, "You have. Well, what have you made up your mind about?" And I said, "I'm going to run for the Senate." She said, "Well, how'd you come to make your mind up?" I said, "Well, Mr. John L. Lewis made my mind up for me. He just sent Mr. Howe over to meet me in Romney to tell me to run for the House, not to run for the Senate. That he Mr. Lewis would vote, would support Mr. Marland even to the extent of coming over here and campaigning for him." And I said, "I'm going to run for the Senate."

I went on into Beck...She said, "Well, you be careful. You better think it over. And be careful driving." So I drove on into Beckley that night and the next morning I got in touch, I got in touch by telephone with, um, some strong politicals--R.D. Bailey, a former judge in Pineville, Wyoming County. I knew him because I had represented that county in the State Senate. I also got in touch with Sid Christie of McDowell County, the Christie brothers there. Uh...they pretty well controlled, in those days, it was pretty much a political machine in McDowell County and Wyoming County and the Christie's controlled the McDowell....they were in the machine. They controlled the votes in McDowell County. So I told Judge Bailey that I was going to run for the Senate. He said, "Fine, go to it. We're for you." And I said to Judge Christie, "I'm going to run for the Senate. "Fine, we'll be for you." Then I called Howard, My..Myers who was the clerk for the WV Senate at that time and I told him I was going to run for Congr...uh...for the Senate. I'm trying to remember now. These years go back pretty far. Anyhow, the very next day I announced. And then I went into Williamson and announced it at a rally that I was running for the Senate and that's the way it went. I got out there and pushed and worked hard.

As it turned out, Mr. Marland didn't run against me in the race--in the 6-year race. The late MM Neely died and that opened up another seat. Um...Government of the State appointed Mr. Hobbetstill from Jackson County, I think it was, to fill that 2 year position and senator Randolph got into that race and ran for the 2 year seat. Mr. Marland ran in that race and didn't run against me. So, Mr. Lewis was free to support both Mr. Marland and me. But, the coal miners were, they, they let Mr. Lewis know that they didn't like him to support Mr. Marland against me. I was 6th District Congressman and had a good labor record and the coal miners knew about it. So that's about the end of that story.

18:14:01:01 18:20:19:28 18 landed appropriations comm.

(How did a state Senator from W.V. end up on Appropriations?)

At the time I went to the US Senate in January 1959, all the southern states were represented by Democratic Senators. There were 2 Democrats Senators from each southern state. I believe there were 2 Democrats Sen. from each border ...state. Lyndon Johnson was the Majority Leader in the Senate and he, uh, he pretty much ran the Senate. He had a couple of other senators, among other senators, who worked closely with him and one of them was Carl Hayden, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, who had been there longer than anybody else and who even today is the longest serving member of either House of all time, since our Republic began. So there was Carl Hayden, chairman of the Appropriations Comm. and then there was Richard B. Russell, the senior Senator from the state of Georgia. Senator Russell was the titular (?) head, you might say, of the southern Senators. So here you had this huge number of southern Senators and this was in the day when the civil rights debates were really center stage. And Dick Russell was a very highly respected southern senator who had never married, whose love was the US Senate. He knew the rules and precedents better than any other senator. And he had just tremendous influence on and respect in the Senate. So whatever those 3 decided-Johnson, Hayden, and Russell, not necessarily in that order either. Whatever they decided was just about how it went. Before I went to the Senate and was sworn in, I was contacted by Bobby Baker who was Johnson's right-hand man around the Senate-managed his office. Things like that. Worked in his office. I guess was kind of a political troubleshooter for him. Bobby Baker got in touch with me and asked me what Committees I'd like to be on. And he indicated that the leader, Mr. Johnson, had asked him to call. I told him that I would like to be on Appropriations. I think that's the only committee I asked for. And he said not many senators get on Appropriations, but I'll tell the leader what you said.

In a few days I went to Washington to meet Mr. Johnson. Course, I was sworn in. Mr. Randolph, my coworker and colleague in the Senate when I was first sworn in, and I went to see Mr. Johnson in his office and tell him what committees we wanted to be on. Mr. Randolph told Mr. Johnson that he would like to be on the Public Works Comm. and on the, I believe at that time it was called, Labor and Public Welfare. I told Mr. Johnson I would like to be on Appropriations. "Well, why do you want to be on Appropriation?" I said, "Well, I want to be in position to help my state. My state is in...we only have...when I was in the House of Delegates I had a highway map. We didn't have, we didn't have a single mile of divided 4 lane highways in all of West Virginia. It was difficult terrain. The people had suffered decades and decades over these 2 lane roads and 1-lane roads and few airports and little passenger service. It was a coal mining state for the most part. It was a poverty stricken state." And I said, " I want to help these people."

As it turned out, Johnson named me to that committee. And after I'd been there about a month, he came to me and said, "I'm going to put you on the Appropriations Comm. That's what you asked for and I'm going to put you on there." So he and Dick

Russell and Hayden talked that over I'm sure. And decided I was going to go on that comm.

So, I have been (cough)...So, I've been on the Appropriations Committee since I was...since I first entered the Senate in Jan. 1959. I'm the longest serving...longest-serving member of the Appropriations Committee ever. And out of 11, 707 members of House and Senate-or the House "or" Senate, since the Republic began, only 2 have served longer than I...out of 11, 707. In 215 years.

18:21:49:20 18:22:25:06 18 why selected for comm.
(Why do you think you were selected for the committee?)

Well first of all, Dick Russell saw in me a southern senator. I came from a border state, but he saw a southern senator in me. And he saw a senator he would not likely vote for cloture-to shut off filibusters. Johnson...may have seen some of the same. Hayden was a conservative senator from the state of Arizona. One of the establishments. Quote end quote. There was truly an establishment in the Senate in those days. And that establishment was controlled by Johnson, and Russell and Hayden. And they both saw in me, I'm sure, somebody who would adhere to their beliefs, there dedication and loyalties to the US Senate as an institution because...I don't know how they came to see those things. I know from experience and talks with them from later years that these were things that struck their attention.

18:22:28:26 18:29:36:00 18 how senate has changed
(How has the Senate changed since then?)

The senate has changed in many, many ways. The senate is not quite what it was at that time. I was the 1579th, I was the 1579th senator. In other words, 300 senators have come and gone since I was sworn in. The senate has turned over 3 times. It's far, It's far different from what it was in those days. The ol, the ol type senator..now I speak of the senators who were there when I went as the old type senators because the senators hadn't changed much from the very beginning in those days. These were senators who loved the institution. These were senators who ran for the senate because they wanted to be senators and who never cared a great deal about anything else. The senate was, well, it was intended to be in those days, it was a..it was an institution in which honor was...probably first of all among the standards. It was an institution which was the mainstay of the Republic. Cloture had been in vote very, very few times. The filibuster was a very useful tool, especially from the senators in the south in the civil rights debates and the senators from the west in the debates concerning water resources projects and so on.

We didn't have television coverage in the senate. We didn't have radio coverage in the senate. There were only 96 senators when I went there. When I was sworn in there were 98. There were 2 new senators sworn in at the same time I was. Hawaii came into the Union later that first year of mine. So we went from 98 senators to 100. We didn't have...let me put it this way. Dollar was not king with respect to elections when I went to the Senate. My colleague at that time, Senator Randolph and I ran for the senate, the same year he ran for the 2 year term for the unexpired term of Matthew M. Neely. And I ran for the full 6-year term held by Senator Chapman Rev..Revercomb who ran for reelection. And we both ran, kind of teamed up together and won both the primary and general elections on a combined total of \$50 thousand.

So, we didn't have the high paid, highly paid consultants. We didn't have campaigns in which one had to run all over the country with his, with his hat in his hand asking for money for...elections. Uh, senators were senators and they worked in their committees. They spent more time in their committees and spent more time, uh, on the job in relation to time politicking and raising money. So, the election campaigns didn't cost much. So, the senate was, as I say, very, very different. When I campaigned, I took my violin around to the courthouse squares in various counties. Play a few tunes on the courthouse grounds. Loudspeaker there. Then I'd put the fiddle down and speak on the stump as it were. And huge crowds would assemble.

In the senate there weren't as many issues as there are now. We had fewer...departments and agencies then than we have now. We now have additional agencies. You see social, uh, social security came in 1935, but um, Medicare, Medicaid came along in 1965. about 38 years ago. Um,,highway system wasn't what it is now. There was no dept. of veteran's affairs. There was no dept. of HEW or Health Educated Welfare. No dept. of um....Urban Affairs. So there are more depts., more agencies, more programs, much more money being spent, much larger budgets than there are today. So the government has grown. The problems have grown. The population has grown.

See when I was born there were about 100 million people in this country. When I graduated from high school in 1934 there was about, about 120 million people, probably. Today we have 280 million people. With the growth of the population the problems are growing. We now receive a lot more correspondence. We have e..e-mails. E-mails weren't heard of back in those days. It's just much busier government than what it was. All of these things have compounded our services as members of the House and Senate. It made campaigns much more difficult. Now many senators run and spend millions upon millions of dollars-25 million dollars, 12 million dollars, 15 million dollars. Whereas, I say, the first time I ran for the Senate, James Randolph and I spent 50 thousand dollars. So, we live in a much more rough and tumble political life. And this mad rush of life, overall, is coming more and more...hungry for your time.

18:30:02:26 18:31:45:00 18 advice to a young man
(What would you say to someone wanting to run for public office?)

Well...I don't know what I would say to....it would depend upon what kind of an attitude he came to..he displayed when he asked me that question. (pause) If he came from my background...if he came from my background...I would think his probabilities would be limited. It would be awfully hard for anybody to run for the U.S. Senate in this day and time on a shoestring like I did. You see, I had no, um...my dad was a coal miner...a coal miner dad. He wasn't a man of great worth. He didn't..he wasn't a politician ahead of me. He didn't hold public office. He was not a man in ...one of the upstanding men in the community. By upstanding I mean, he was not a banker, a lawyer, a judge or somebody who had a name already for himself to whom I could look to for assistance and lifting me up. And times were very different. People who come to the senate this day and time usually are people of means. So many of them are millionaires when they come to the Senate.

20:00:33:10 20:02:35:11 19 polls
(How much of a factor have the polls been when making decisions?)

In some cases, um, it's like the Supreme Court-like Mr. Dooley said about the Supreme Court. It follows the, the election return. Every politician is going to pay some attention to the polls. And he certainly better pay attention to what his constituents are thinking. The constit...constituents send me to Washington. But most of my constituents, I believe, have always felt that I would do whatever I thought was best and I think that they felt that I would study the matter...matters. There were very controversial matters that came before the Senate. I think, I think my constituents by large believed that I would give careful study to the issues. And that I would be able to explain, ready to explain my vote on a controversial matter. And that while I might not always go with the...the drift of the political winds or the drift of the people, that I would do whatever I believed to be in the best interest, in the long run, of the people of WV. And that, that has been the case. And some of these things are very hard to explain. And there are people to whom one can never explain. They don't want to hear. They don't want to hear what you have to say by way of explanation. There's only one way and that's the way they see it. But I have to allow for that and I have to respect every other person's viewpoint. But in the final analysis, I have to do what I think is the best. (hear background voice) And it's not easy.

20:02:41:07 20:14:58:05 19 line item veto

(line item veto)

Well the line item veto is something people did not always, generally understand. It's not something that would grab their attention. It's not something, it's not a sports matter, something that they really get themselves into fast. But it is of vital importance that we keep it right. And the people who wrote the constitution knew what they were doing. These were not people who just knew politics from a local standpoint. They were classicists. They knew Greek and Roman history. They knew the history of England, their fore bearers. And they knew the power of the purse in England had been vested in the hands of the elected reps. of the people in the House of Commons. And they knew that the power of the purse was the, was the, was the real raw power in the government. They knew that their English fore bearers and, most of these people who wrote the Constitution were British subjects, uh...some had been born in England, and Ireland, and Scotland, and...and they were British subjects. They were British subjects at the time that they wrote the Constitution. They knew the history of England well. They knew that Englishman had struggled for centuries to arrest from powerful monarchs the control of the purse. Cicero said, "There is no fortress so strong that money cannot take it." There you have it. There is the real power in government- money. So the people who wrote the Constitution knew that going back to, for centuries that their fore bearers in England had to wrestle and struggle with Kings to keep this power, to get his power to place in the hands of the people. After all, it's the people who pay the taxes. So,...the Constitution was written in 1787, but it goes back, back, back, back all the way to the great Charter, the Magna Carter of 1215 and beyond. That is a great power. And the Constitution vested that power in section 9 article 1 of the Const. in the Legislative Branch. Sec. 1, Sec. 9 of the Const. That's where it is. This idea of having a line item veto so that the President could veto, could reach into bills and pick out this or that or something else or veto this or that or something else without vetoing the whole bill. The (stutter) the writers of the Const. did not intend for the President to be able to that because that's giving the President the power of the purse. And when the..In colonial days before there were states and even in the days where states after states had been created and prior to the Const., the people had the local levels had great confidence in the locally -elected rep. of the Legislative branch. They didn't trust these royal governors much. They didn't trust the executive branch much. That carried, that feeling carried over into the articles of confederation when there was only one, there was only a Congress of one house. There was no Chief Executive. There was no President. Congress was the Chief Executive. Congress was the Executive. Congress was the Leg. Branch. Congress was the Judicial Branch, in a large measure. They had seen, they had seen the weaknesses, the people through their experiences in the many decades during the colonial days prior to the Revolution. They had seen the weaknesses of the way government was run under

Continental Congress and the Congress of the Confederation. And so with all of this experience behind, knowing what was right. And these men who were in the Constitutional Convention, by enlarge, had served in the Cont. Congress or in the Congress under the Confederation or in the colonial legislatures or in the state legislatures. And they had all of this vast experience. They were governors. They were former members under the colonial legislatures. They were former members of the Cont. Congress and all that. They had all of this vast experience and they knew the weaknesses of not being able to tax to people and not being able, not having...several states had navies in those days. So they benefited from all this experience. And they met in the Constitutional Convention. Taught all of this monumental mass of experience and knowledge and classical history and...to bear. So, they never intended for any president to line out an item. But there's some members who just want to turn the power over to the Executive Branch. And all too often here we have half of the members, I use the word half a little loosely, it may be a little over half or little under half, but half of the members of leg. will want to turn over this power to their, quote, their, close quote, their President—the president of their party. If it's a Democrat that's in power then many members of the legislature are willing to turn over this power to the president of their party. And if the Republicans are in power, they're great at doing that. They want to turn over everything to the president. They follow him right over a cliff. You'll only find one or two who'll stand against him. Now that's wrong! No person ought to be reelected if he's going to put the Chief Executive first. No person ought to be reelected to the legislative branch if he's going to put the Chief Executive ahead of the Constitution, ahead of the legislat, legislative branch. Because he is not living up to his oath to protect the Constitution. He's being too much of a politician. He's being too partisan. If he lets his president...if you have a Democratic senator and he has a Democratic president and he goes with that Democrats president rather than stay with the Constitution and the institution, he should n' t be a senator. And if he's a republican the same thing. I'll say the same thing. And all too many people come to the senate anymore and they put...they look up to the President as king and we have no king in this country. No president sends me to the legislature. No president can send me home. We have 3 equal, coordinate branches of government in this country- the leg., the executive and the judicial. And we who are elected in the legislative branch should not look upon any president as a king. We ought to be willing to disagree with him. No matter if he's uh president of our own party. The people...we first should think about the people who send us here. We're sent here by Democrats, Democrats and Republicans. And we're not brought here by any president. I've served with 11 presidents. Not under any president. I don't say that with any disrespect for a president. I respect the president. He's the Chief Executor of the country, but he is the Chief Executive. He is not the Chief Legislator. He is not the Chief Judge. He's the Chief

Executive. And he, as I often say, he will come and he will go. Maybe I'll be here when he comes and here when he's gone. But, um, I can not look upon myself with respect if I think I'm here to follow the bid of any president. I don't. So we ought never to vote for a line item veto. I've fought it. I hate it and I won. I won by a virtue of the Supreme Court of the United States knocking that law down.

The late, uh, Senator Morningham. Pat Morningham and I and former Senator, uh, Hatfield of Oregon- a Republican Senator. And Senator Carl Evans of Michigan and 2 House members opened a suit against this line item veto and the Supreme Court said we didn't have standing. But along came 2 parties who did have standing to sue and the Court struck down that law. And I said it was a bad law and fought it tooth and nail. Well, we'll have other battles like that. I hope that Senators will come to the Senate however with a great love of the Institution and a love of the Constitution and be willing to stand up against a political party. If it's their own be willing to stand up to that political party, willing to stand against that president. After all, that president puts his trousers on just like I put mine on. the same way. As I say, I don't mean any disrespect. But there's no king in this country. And I feel just as free speaking my mind to a president as I do to, uh, one of my....fellow welders.

20:15:30:09 20:15:45:11 19 line item veto #2
(Some maybe thought you were disloyal to sue...)

No, I don't think they thought I was being disloyal. They respected that viewpoint. They didn't agree with, but history and time and the Constitution were on my side.

20:15:57:28 20:21:49:22 19 Supreme Court Nominee
(What can you tell us about nomination to Supreme Court?)

Ummm...President Nixon considered me. He invited me to go with him to Elkins to the Forest Festival. In his plane on the way over to Elkins, Mr. Nixon told me that he was considering me for a vacancy on the Supreme Court. He inquired as to what my legal experience was. I had had no legal experience. I had graduated from high, from law school just recently at that time, but I had,uh, several Senators and I also had the Sec. of Treasury at that time, Mr. Connally, I believe his name was who was very supportive of my being named to the Supreme Court.

The Senate had just rejected 2 nominees to the Supreme Court. Uh...Hanesworth, who was a federal judge at the time and um, I believe another federal judge named Carswell. Both of them had been rejected by the Senate. Consequently, several senators implored Mr. Nixon to name me to the Supreme Court. He wanted a, he wanted to name someone who is a, quote, "strict

constructionist." close quote. And by all, I would say that I met that, I met that definition.

I was conservative. I would, would've strictly construed the Constitution. I had the support and I was a member of the senate. Those senators who supported me were...Russel Long, the late Russell Long from Louisiana; Senator Russell long; the late Strom Thurman, um; there were others, other senators who advocated to the President that he named me. I'm trying to think of the names of others. But I had supporters among liberals as well as conservatives- the late Sen. John Pastore. He was a very liberal senator. The late Henry Scoop Jackson supported me. I could have...I could have gotten the support of the Senate. I would've had some opposition at that time George McGovern was opposed to me. I recently received a letter from George MCGovern saying, I'm not quoting exactly, but in essence saying that he wished I were on the court. Something to that effect. I'll put that letter on the record one of these days. So, George McGovern opposed me, Frank Church opposed me, I believe ?? opposed me. I believe Ted Kennedy would've opposed me. But I had overwhelming support of the Republicans at that time and more than a majority of the Democrats in the Senate.

But, um, after thinking about it 3 or 4 days, I decided I wouldn't like that clustered life. And I told John Pastorey I had come to a conclusion and I had talked to my wife about it. And decided I didn't want it. And John Pastorey said, "You'd better let the President know because..." I didn't claim that the President was going to nominate me. I did have good reason to claim that he was considering me. And I had thought about and decided that I didn't want it. I liked the Leg. Branch better. So, Pastorey said, "You better tell somebody. Whom do you know at the White House?" And I said, "Well, I know the Sec. of Treas. who is very much for me. I can tell him." And I did. I called him. He said, "I don't agree with you, but I'll let the President know." And that was the end of it. And almost immediately the President, President nominated, I believe it was Powell, ...and perhaps Rehnquist. (spelling) I don't recall exactly, but I believe they were the 2 that were nominated immediately and confirmed.

20:21:51:11 20:22:50:18 19 Leg. Branch v. Supreme Court

(What was it about the Leg. Branch you liked so well??

Oh, I like the Leg. Branch. It's the...it's the branch that's closest to the people. It's active. I had served in the State House of Delegates, State Senate, the US House of Reps., the US Senate there's just no livelier place. I like to debate and to speak and I just thought I would like it better.

The other seat had some attractions. Life...one is appointed for life. The salary is good. One doesn't have to wage campaigns and go out an raise money in elections. And...but I'm...there have been a few times that I would've

liked to have been a Supreme Court Justice since then. But I, overall, have not regretted it.

20:22:51:11 20:23:03:02 19 liked to be a judge
(When were the times you wanted to be a judge?)

Well on the line item veto I would've liked to have been a Supreme Court Justice. I think at that time especially.

20:23:13:28 20:26:47:03 19 Presidential Nominee
(Presidential Nominee)

I didn't have any visions of being, becoming president. I knew that I was going to be Majority Leader come the next year because Mr. Mansfield had told me he was not going to run...again. I knew I had necessary commitments lined up. Mr. Carter was running. It did look from time to time as though it might be a brokered convention. I thought that in the event that it's a brokered convention, then maybe that's where I'd like to be. Because, as President, you're one man, one man and you can do some things, get some things done that you can't do in any other position. So, I went around over the country. I received the necessary contributions in 20 states to entitle myself to Federal monies. So I qualified for Federal contributions, but I did not accept Federal contributions. The first place, I knew I wasn't going to run for President. By then, Mr. Carter had most of the states wrapped up. He had the nominations pretty much in hand. I don't believe he ran in WV. ummm.. I believe I had captured 32 of the 34 delegates and felt that I would get one of the remaining 2 or maybe both. In the event that there was a deadlock convention, but by the time the convention came there was no deadlock. And besides, I knew, I just knew if I lived I was going to be the Majority Leader. So that was within my grasp.

Running for president would've required me to go out and run the country more than what I wanted to do. I was a whip, the Democratic whip. I knew that my colleagues expected me to do the job they had elected me for and so I didn't want to leave the Senate and be absent a lot and go around the country campaigning and, therefore, not fulfill my responsibilities to the Senate. And...I knew that to run for president I'd have to give my whole self to it and go out and really put myself into full time. Whereas, here was a Majority leadership right here and all I needed to do was wait until a new congress met in Jan. and I'd be Maj. Leader. The other was something perhaps beyond my grasp. At least it would've required a lot more of my time and effort. I'm not at all sorry.

20:26:51:10 20:29:47:23 19 Majority Leader /travel
(Did you enjoy your time as Majority Leader?)

I enjoyed it...I did...enjoy being the Majority Leader. I was able to accomplish a great deal. In the 100th Congress the record that...the 100th Congress turned in in 1987 and 1988 was excellent record. As Majority Leader, I was pleased with what we were able to do. As Majority Leader I probably met with more Heads of State around the world than any other Majority Leader. I went to, had my, I believe I had air force 2 at my disposal, virtually at my disposal. Mr. Carter was President during the 4 years I was Leader the first time. I went to several countries as Majority Leader and going as Majority Leader I also went as an emissary of the President, Mr. Carter.

I met with some of the foremost leaders of the world and I had nobody with me except my wife and certain selected members, top members of my staff. The state dept. people and dept. of defense. I visited, visited ???, Chancellor Schmidt of German, Chancellor Cole of Germany, Mitterand of France, ?? of Soviet Union. I met with him down in ??? I met with Vice-president Dung of People's Republic of China. I met with Shah of Iran just a few days before he left Iran forever. I met with the king of Jordan and the royal family in Egypt. Umm. Pres. Asad of Syria. So I've met with these top people in the world-Pres. Sadot of Egypt; Prime Minister Bagen of Israel; Leaders of Turkey, Spain, Portugal, England; met with Mrs. Thatcher. So, I enjoyed it. Yes, I enjoyed it. My wife always accompanied me. So Erma was good at meeting people, too.

20:29:56:01 20:31:30:06 19 Maj. Leader v. Chairman of
App. Committee
(Why didn't you run again?)

Senator ??? , the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee had indicated that he would not run again. I had been on the Senate Appropriations Committee for a great many years by then and I knew by, by seniority that it would be mine...the chairmanship was mine for the asking. I contacted, uh, politicals, county chairmans, state functionaries, editors, other media reps. around the state and put the question to them- how could I best serve WV in your opinion? Should I run again for Maj. Leader or should I take the Chairmanship on the App. Committee by virtue of seniority at the beginning of next year. And, uh, I believe 75% or more of all those I contacted, responded that they thought I should take the Senate of App. Committee. They felt that I could no more for WV there than as Sen. Maj. Leader. And,uh, that's what I do. And I found that to be the case. I've been able to do a lot for WV as chairman, and as ranking member of the App. Committee.

19:00:26:22 19:08:09:08 20 The senate today

(Is it a bad thing to have so many people of wealth in the senate?)

I have nothing...(pause)...uh, of adverse criticism...with respect to people of wealth. The senate should be made up of people of all walks of life. And, uh, there are people of wealth in the senate who make great contributions to the work of the senate. And they bring a perspective to the senate that is needed.

My concern is-not enough people from the other side of the tracks are likely to be in the senate. I'm talking now about the people who have had to struggle-struggle for a living. Who know what it is to be hungry. Who knows what it is to get one's fingers dirty working on a machine or in a coalmine or in a butcher shop or in a produce market or in a shipyard And they're not likely to be, likely to get to the senate, I'm afraid. The important thing, whatever, from whatever walk of life one may come, it is whether or not one is imbued with a sense of perspective that takes, takes in the whole. Does one know what it is to have been hungry? Does one know what it is to have been laughed at and scorned or made fun of or called a hillbilly? Does one know what it is to have sat down on a railroad rail with a sardine can and a stick of pepperoni, a loaf of bread and a piece of longhorn cheese? And on his way to find a job, does one know what it is to fail in a welding test? Does one know what it is to be away from home, away from loved ones and looking for work? Does one know what it is to have to struggle to get an education-to have to work hard to get an education? And perhaps have huge gaps in his, in his quest for an education. Does one know what it is to understand patriotism? Is one really imbued with the history of this country and where it has been and where it is going? Is one really imbued with the love of the institution of the US senate? Or is one only imbued with the desire to get on with something else and run for, what some people think, might be a higher office-namely the presidency. Or does one run for the senate because he feels there's work to do for this country and he wants, he wants to give of his best. And...is he interested in the great problems of today-the health problems, the death suits, uh, peace & war. Is one, is one...is politics, a political party the main, the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end? Is that what he is coming out the senate for? Does he see the senate as a massive crucible in which the fortunes of a particular political party will be hammered out? Or is coming to serve his country for whom politics is important, mh, but somewhere down the line?

So, it seems to me that all too many people who come to the senate today are all too partisan. They come as very partisan democrats or very partisan republicans, very far to the right republicans or very far to the left democrats, or whatever it might be. (pause) And I'm sorry to say this, but I think there's more political partisanship in the senate now than I have ever seen before. And I don't think it's good for the

country. I don't think this republic was created by men and women who saw politics as the main thing in life. As a matter of fact, there were no political parties in this country when the constitution was written in 1787. At the early Senate, during the early days, political parties developed. And over the years political parties have been important. They've...had a place. They're the conduits. They're the electrical wire through which, through which flow the political streams of thought. They are important and one has to be a politician before he can be a statesmen. One has to get elected. But, uh, the American people see too much politics being played. They want candidates who'll tell the truth as they see it and who'll face up to the questions and who will not be wishy-washy and who'll come down one way or the other.

And having been in the senate now these 45 years, I...I see a didn't type of senator. Senators today are smart, very intelligent, highly educated for the most part. They're excellent on their feet, they can..they can say a 10 sec. sound bite. They can say in 10 sec. what I can say in 3,4,5 or 6 minutes. But that's not what...that's alright...but the country needs some...they need people who will think first of patriotism and secondly of politics. Too much bitter partisanship. Too much of one, of...too much trying to keep score. Look up on the scoreboard and we won this and we won that and we won this and we won that. It has become a game and people are tired of it. People are losing faith in politicians because, in many ways, because the people who are in office don't tell the people what they really believe. They won't always agree with you, but if you say what you think and tell them what you believe, they'll at least have confidence in you and that's something. People are looking for someone who'll tell them the, what the truth is.

19:08:12:02 19:16:38:00 20 patriots
(How do you define patriot?)

Well it is now for me to define a patriot. There are many people who are patriots. Patriots work in every profession. There are patriots down there in those coalmines. Patriots on the farms...in Iowa, Kansas. There are patriots on the storm deep-out there in the storms, fishing. There are patriots up there in the air flying planes, and behind desks and in the stores. A patriot loves his country.

Where at a...we've been thinking a lot about the signers of the Dec. of Independence. The signers of the Dec. of Ind. committed treason because they were signing a declaration of independence. They were wanting to be independent of King George the iii of England. And by signing that Dec. of Ind. in 1776, any one of those signers could've been arrested and put in chains and thrown in a ship and sent to England and tried and convicted and hanged. They knew that. So they pledged their fortunes and their lives-their lives, their fortunes, and sacred honor. And they meant that. They were really pledging their lives and they were really pledging their fortunes and they were

really pledging their safe..the sacred honor. And they knew it. And Benjamin Franklin says,' we'll either all hang together or we'll hang separately." So, those were patriots. Nathan Hale was a patriot.

Now, I went to a little two-room school back in those rural areas of West Virginia. I was in a 2-room school until I finally landed in the 5th grade. When I was in the 2-room school, I studied Muzzy-David Saville Muzzy. The history of the American people. And the first line was this, "America is the child of Europe." Now today that would be politic...fall prey to political correctness. You know you're not supposed to say anything like that today in history books. (cough) But that's the kind of history book I studied. It wasn't full of pictures. It was full of narrative. And we had pages in the senate, republican pages and Democrats pages. Every year we bring in a new group. They're from the 11th grade from schools all over the country. They're fine young people and I always talk with them. And tell them about Nathan Hale...I say how many of you have heard of Nathan Hale? And a few hands will go up. Well, Nathan Hale was a.. a volunteer. One young man who was 21 years old who volunteered when George Washington asked for volunteers to go behind the British lines and bring back drawings of the gun emplacements of the British. And Nathan Hale volunteered to go. It was a very risky assignment, but death as a sure result if one was discovered. Nathan Hale volunteered and went behind the British lines and drew the gun emplacements and was ready to return to his own American lines when he was discovered. His drawings were on his clothing. So he was hauled up before a crude gallows the next morning. He asked for a Bible, but no Bible was given to him. The British commander whose name was Cunningham asked Nathan Hale if he had anything he wished to say. And Nathan Hale saw those crude gallows right before him. There before him was the wooden coffin in which he knew his body would soon lie. And he said, "I only regret that I have but one life to give..to loose for my country." That's patriotism! He was a patriot. He was willing to give his life. And he knew he was going to give his life soon.

Well, we've had patriots from the very beginning-men and women who've been willing to give of their lives. Many of them have given in different ways. A true, true patriot is out there working for his country everyday. He doesn't have to be in military uniform to be a patriot. He can be a patriot in any line of work. He believes in his country. He believes in the Const. He believes that this is the best govt. of all, all the time. And he, he's proud of his country. He realizes he has rights and opportunities and responsibilities here as a citizen. And he believes in going to vote-repub, Democrats, or independent. He goes and votes. Does his duty and pays his taxes, works everyday and does his job. Tries to improves himself everyday so he can be a better citizen, so he can be a better father, a better husband. So he can be a better, whatever line of work he's in. He respects the flag. He doesn't go around wearing it on his shoulder all the time.

Just like a, just like someone who is a true Christian. He doesn't belong to the Christian right or Christian left, he just does what he thinks God wants him to do. Tries to live right and knows he, he makes mistakes. And only one man was ever good. You do the best you can. You believe in God. You don't try to push your religion on somebody else. My mom and dad were great, great Christians. They didn't try and tell other people how to live. They didn't go around with wearing it on their sleeves. I grew up with them. I knew they were Christians. My dad never used God's name in vain in all the years I lived with him. He was an honest man, an ol coal miner. He worked hard. He didn't talk about his neighbor. He didn't run anybody down. He paid his debts. And my mom was the same way. I heard her praying in the other room at night. When I would lay down to sleep, I'd hear her praying in the other room. So, she lived it. She didn't go around trying to tell someone else how to be a Christian, complaining or criticizing anybody. She lived her life. T

That's the way the patriots...the patriots. They don't go around...when I hear people talk about what great patriots they are, I begin to wonder. uh, I'm aware of some of these people who talk about what great patriots there are these days. A lot of them, I find, are nothing but great red-hot republicans or great red-hot democrats. They don't put patriotism first, they put politics first. Well the Senate, in that way, is didn't from what it used to be when I went there. uh, I think of men like Lister Hill, Richard Russell, Everett Dirksen, Norris Cotton, George Aiken, Jack Javits, (pause) These are great senators. And they were great patriots.

19:16:54:00 19:22:17:01 20 voting "mistakes"

(Byrd holds many records...which votes are you most proud and which of those might change?)

It would take me a long time to really consider that question with respect to the votes in which I am most proud. Of those that I would change, it's easier because there aren't many of them I would change. There are only a few. I only know of a half dozen that I would change.

One would be my vote against Lewis Straw's for Sec. of Commerce. When I first went to the Senate, um, Lewis Straw's name was sent to the Senate as nominee for Sec. of Commerce. I had planned to vote for him. Jennings Randolph planned to vote for him. But I noted one morning in the column of Drew Pearson something to the effect that Randolph and I, Senator Randolph and I would vote for Mr. Straws because Mr. John L. Lewis had said he had our votes. He Mr. Lewis had our votes in his pocket. Now this was the columnist's way of saying it. I'm not saying Mr. Lewis actually said that, but that's the way the columnist wrote it to the effect that John L. Lewis, who was the coal mine UMW leader and I unioned with the big union in those days. There were 25,000 coal miners in WV at that time. Whereas today there are probably less than 18 or 19, 000. Well, when I

saw that in the paper that John L. Lewis had said that he had my vote and Randolph's vote in his pocket and we would vote for Mr. Straws, I called Jennings Randolph on the phone and said, "Jennings, I see in the paper where Drew Pearson says that John L. Lewis has your vote and mine in his pocket. I'm going to vote against him. I'm going to vote against Mr. Straws because I don't want anybody to think that anybody's got my vote in the pocket. And Jennings said, "Well, that's the way I feel, too." So, we voted against him. Now that was a pretty thin read upon which to lean and I have afterwards regretted that. Mr. Straws would have been a Sec. of Commerce who would've thought carefully about the importance of the residual fuel law in those days. He, his thinking was more in thinking with mine and with the coal miners of WV when were importing into this country huge tonnage of residual fuel-oil. And that was, displacing coal in a, the energy markets. And actually we, Mr. Randolph and I should've voted for Mr. Straws. But, um, a little straw like that made a big difference. That's one thing I, I would've, one thing I would've changed my mind on. Should've...to put it the other way.

I would've, today I would vote for the 1964 Civil Rights Act if I had it to do over. And that time, the time we voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, I had just graduated from uh, law school in 1963, the year before. And I was, uh, I was very interested in Constitutional Law. The, the, the Senate had Senators who were good constitutional scholars in those days. There was Sam Irven, Dick Russell, there was Everett Dirksen, there was Lister Hill, and, um, most of whom ended up voting against the Civil Rights Act. And so, I listened to them. I believed them. Looking at the Const. closely, especially Const. Rights to own and dispose of property, umm, persuaded me to vote against that act. Uh, I have since decided that if it were to do over again, I would vote for the act.

I don't think of anything else right at the moment, right off hand that I would change my vote on. But there have been a few items.

19:22:25:18 19:28:37:24 20 Panama Canal Vote

(There have been other controversial issues...Panama Canal Treaty.)

I voted...right on the Panama Canal Treaty! I was very much opposed to a new treaty and so stated in WV that I would oppose the Panama-new Panama Canal Treaty. However, as time went on and there were more and more problems created for Americans who were in the Panama-in Panama. And our, our military people were down there. And many of them were killed due to the Panamanians' strong feelings against the US. And as I studied it more and more, I came to the conclusion that we ought to have new treaties.

I, uh, this was in 19 and 77 I believe it was...I decided to go to Panama. I was the Maj. Leader in the Senate and I took a few Senators with me. We didn't go where the State Dept.

would choose for us to go. We chose our own destinations and outlined the places we wanted to go and we went. We met ??? the Panamanian leader and members of the Legislative body in Panama. We visited the canal. We talked with people in the military. We talked with people at the State Dept. We talked to ordinary citizens, the business people. The Johnny? on the street. And then I returned home.

And I read a book A Path Between The Seas...by,uh,, (turns to ask author's name) I read A Path Between The Seas by David McCulloch. David McCulloch, uh, came down to the Senate and talked with some of us. I remember he talked with me out in the reception room on the senate floor. So, I convinced myself after reading and studying and going to Panama, I convinced myself that it was in the best interest of United States that we have new,new Panama Canal Treaties. That the 1903 treaty had outlived its purpose and so, I changed my viewpoint. The polls showed that the American people, in great majorities, were against new treaties. The polls showed that the people of WV were very much against new treaties.

And I had...I had..it was...especially difficult for me because I had already stated that I would not be for a new treaty. And I write a little Byrd's Eye column...I call it Byrd's Eye View. And I've been writing that column now for 44 years. Almost from the very beginning of my service in the Senate. And in that Byrd's Eye View column I wrote my opposition to new treaties. It was tough. We were swimming uphill as I say in the polls. But I decided after very careful thought, that it was in the best interest of the country and I knew that it was bad politically for me and I knew that the people back home, without fully understanding what I knew about the the situation-the circumstances and so on.

Also, I had the guidance of the military. The generals, the people of the various military, said that new treaties...we should have new treaties. That the Panama Canal was of no benefit to us if it couldn't be used. And it was there opinion that it could not be protected to the extent that it would be usable. So, with all of this info. um, I decided to support the Panama Canal treaties and I did, even when I run, when I run in elections yet. Now and then. there will be persons who will hold it against me that I voted against, I mean, I voted for the new, for new treaties. And they vote against me now.

So...And I know that Howard Baker, then the Republican Leader, the minority leader of the Senate. He came to support the treaties. He, he demonstrated real statesmanship because he was in the minority. I don't know that the minority today or anytime since that time would have supported the Panama Canal treaties with the polls running the way they were. But Howard Baker showed really statesmanship. He showed himself to be a real patriot, you mention the word patriot. He was a real patriot. And, but for Howard Baker joining with me upon that occasion, we would never have carried those 2 treaties in the Senate. Howard Baker and I offered amendments ourselves to the treaties that provided the US would always be at the head of the line and the, and the crisis in getting through the canal that

the US ships would always be at the head of the line. And also provided that, that um, the US would, um, at anytime after the old treaties had expired, would be, uh, (end tape)

21:00:28:08 21:15:31:24 21 work in WV
(You must be very proud about what you've been able to send back to WV.)

I would begin by saying that I've known West Virginia when it was still in the ? horse and buggy days. I remember the 2 lane roads. I can remember when we went around a curve and we blew the horn for going around the curve. I can remember when WV didn't have a single mile of divided 4 lane highways. WV was poor...though rich in natural resources. It was owned in large part by outside interests.

Take for example, coal. I remember as a boy when the coal co. was an autonomous system. It employed the doctor who brought the babies into the world. It owned the mines where the men worked out their lives. It owned the little church where the sermons were preached. And it owned,uh,uh, the little cemetery where their bodies were laid to rest. And on to many instances these were outside interests who didn't know about the living conditions in the communities. WV was exploited. And men worked hard in the bowels of the earth to eak out a living. My dad...worked with a pick and shovel, bought his own dynamite, worked until the place was cleaned up-"place" quote-unquote...was cleaned up. He shot down the coal and the slate and then shoveled it up into the coal mining cars. And many times worked on his knees in the water holes. the law was kept by the mine constable-the conservator of the peace.

Safety was not much thought about. I remember a coal-mining explosion that took place at McAlpine, a community just adjoining Stotesbury there. The explosion took place in OCT. 1928. I remember it so well because one of the young men in my class had a brother who was killed in that explosion. You could see it out the high school windows. We could look across the C&O and Va. railroads and see the mine opening on the other side of the mountain. When the explosion took place, we knew something had happened because we saw men running to and fro. \

Those were the, the days when, um...in almost every operation was the same. We had a little creek running through the mine operation, a country doctor. The man was paid, I believe I had statements that show that I paid I believe 85c every 2 weeks for a doctor-a hospital. I paid into a burial fund. (pause) Times were hard. Not many people had any hopes of ever getting out of those kind of places. They went from one to another. Life was the same. My dad worked from daylight to dark many, many, many times. He was over drafted and in debt to the coal co. on payday. We used a metal token called script for money and...that script was issued down at the store or down at the store. That script would count for money and on payday a coal miner would have what was left. And if the mines didn't work, the miners didn't draw any money. Times were hard. But

somebody made a lot of money somewhere. Most of these ownerships of the mines were living in Pittsburgh or somewhere else, somewhere outside of WV.

So I knew what WV was. I grew up in that country. And so, long ago, I decided anything I could do for WV, if I had an opportunity, I was going to do it. And that's one of the things that got me interested in politics. I wanted to get, I wanted to get.. I wanted to be able to help WV.

My first year in the WV Leg. 1947. If we'd get a roadmap of WV and I have one from 1947, a 1947 highway map. There's not a single 4-lane highway shown on that map. Actually there were about 4 miles--the blvd. at the state capital in Charleston-- a 4-lane section. So this is the, the country from which I came. The country in which coal was king. Miners just, uh, worked out a meager existence. Then the coal unions came, I remember...what that meant to the coal miners. WV was an isolated state. Isolated by rugged terrain and mountains. We didn't have access to health facilities, transportation, communication.

Pretty much we were left out of everything even when the interstate highway system that came along in the early days of the Eisenhower administration. I was in the House of Reps. The highways went north and south around WV and didn't include that rough, mountainous terrain. In which it cost so much, building roads cost a lot of money on that kind of terrain. So I decided I was going to do whatever I could to help my people. I had the opportunity, they elected me and I was elected to serve. And I was a coal miner's son. Married a coal miner's daughter. Used to hard times. Used to poverty. I didn't look down on anybody and I didn't look up to anybody. So, when I went on the App. comm of the Senate along came the Appalachian Corridors, the Appalachian Highway system. I was a part of bringing it there along with Sen. Randolph. And...when I became...had attained some seniority on the comm. I put that seniority to work. And where there was a need I tried to meet it.

There was a government need for health facilities, for research facilities, for federal highway systems that cut across north and south lines. And so, I was successful..helping to lift WV up. It's the only one of the 13 states in the Appalachian highway systems that is fully in Appalachia. I was successful in putting over 1 billion dollars in WV highways when I was chairman of the App. Committee. I was the bunt of many jokes which was all right. I did what I knew was right. I served the people and the people needed help. The country needed a highway system that didn't just run north and south, but also ran across those Appalachian mountain ranges, connected cities, made it possible for people to take their family to the hospital, to school, go to church, earn employment, become better tax payers. And so I was able to, I was able to lift that state out of a situation of which it didn't have a single mile of divided 4 lane highways to today when it has over 1,000 miles of divided 4 lane highways. These have brought material prosperity, stimulated the economy and brought tourists to a state that is unmatched by any in many ways. Brought them into the state and

provided jobs to our citizens and made it possible for our young people , in many instances, to find work where, whereas in other instances that would not have been able, able to be employed.

So, it isn't a matter of being able to lay out a litany of items that I've been able to get for WV. I take the position that ..uh...charity begins at home, as the scriptures say. This money is spent in the US as chairman of the App. Comm it was up to me to allocate the various sub-comm the amount of money they would have out of the whole figure, the whole cloth. And so I allocated monies for highways, for education and so on. There were committees that served every state in the union of 53. I just..I didn't just help WV, I helped all the states. That was my job as chairman. It made for a better state., a bigger, a stronger state...a more...a state that was capable of contributing more to the nation. So I was able to bring research programs, highways, improvements to airports, access to health facilities.

I've helped our national guards. We have an excellent national guard in the state of WV. It has no superior guard in the nation. And those guardsmen are, many of them are in the hot sands of Iraq serving the country. I've been able to improve their, their reserve centers, there guard centers. I've lifted education up. I've 41 million dollars in the App. Comm. that's coming along for the Robert C. Byrd honors system that ,um, provides scholarships to students who excel in their scholastic studies. I've put money in the study of history that goes all over the country. And so I've lifted, tried to lift all the various sectors of the economy. We have improved our river systems. We've improved the safety on the highways that saves lives. And we've, um, filled a vital link in the national highway system, national defense system. And...that's what I think I'm good for.

21:15:40:17 21:23:45:08 21 WV #2-passionate
(Passion for WV...what do you like best about WV and people?)

Well, I'm a part of the solid of WV. I was brought to WV an orphan. My mother died when I was less than 1 year old. She died on the night that the Armistice was signed-WWI. The two old people who brought to WV from NC...loved me! I doubt that either of them had ever had a year or 2 years in school. They could read a little bit, write a little bit. They could read enough to read the Bible. And it was from them that I acquired...a great desire to learn. They encouraged me to learn. They didn't have, weren't able, they had not acquired an education themselves. They were honest people. They feared God. There's where I saw the old time religion, the old time religion at work! They didn't wear on their sleeve. And I saw a dad, the only father I ever knew, and a mother, the only mother I ever knew who taught me to live right and made out of all of this stayed on the righteous path. Where one is taught the right thing, he will come back to it. So they, they taught me the

right thing. And my ol' dad wanted me to read and grow up to be somebody as he put it. And so I wanted to please them and started studying hard in school. And I always wanted to please my teachers and please my, the people who raised me. And so I wanted to excel. I was very competitive. Any class I tried to be the best in the class -in geometry, algebra, math, history, first violin in high school orchestra. Whatever it was, I tried to be the best.

I grew up in a state that was poor, but a state whose people were genuine. You talk about patriotism. WV has been at the top and in many instances, led the nation when it came to deaths in wars per capita-Vietnam, Korea, W.W.II and so on. So, I live in a state, a state of patriots, a state of God-fearing people. Oh, in every state there are people who stray away. There are criminals in every state, but these, by in large, WV has had a state founded hard. It was a state of pioneers and a state of God-fearing people. I can go to WV in the churches of WV find more religion than I can find anywhere else than I've ever been. These are God-fearing people. And they are law-abiding people, for the most part. They're hard working people. They know what it is to need a job, to want a job, get a job, and to keep a job.

And so, we've come out of that background where a lot of people look down and called us hillbillies and made fun of us because we were poor. That didn't stop us and it won't ever stop us. So, it's that kind of people and time and time again they've sent me to Washington. And it has always been a great comfort to me on the eve, on election night to go home after the polls have closed and know that I've done my best and know that I've given the people my best and to know that they're going to send me back to Wash.

And so it's that background. I grew up when our country was young and our state was young. And I've seen it grow. I've always been proud to be a part of that state. And so I've tried, tried to return the faith and the confidence that my people have repeatedly shown in me. I don't have to be a senator to live. I don't have to be a senator to put bread and butter on the table. I never had anything starting out in life, but I've tried to be honest. And I've been honest.

I don't believe in going into debt. If one can avoid it at all. I don't believe in paying someone else interest. And my wife has been the kind of wife who's been frugal. And she and I have tried to save. I've been in congress now for 50 over 54 years. I could retire. I'm doing this to boast. I'm not one of the world's richest men, by any measure. But I don't have to be a senator to live. My retirement would pay me as much- if I retired, my retirement would pay me as much as my senate salary.

So why am I working? Why am I staying in the senate? I could retire and get just as much money? It's because I love the Senate. And I love WV. That's why I'm here. And I want to keep on helping WV and I just turn my face, um, like flint against those who disparage WV or who would criticize me for doing what I do to help WV. They might as well talk to a tree out there or a stone! I know what I've lived in and the kind of background

I've come from and I know what the people in WV have done to try to get ahead, how hard they work, how they mine the coals that burn these lights in these beautiful buildings. And I owe it to them to do everything I can to do for them. That's my way of serving. .. That's...about it.

21:24:10:07 21:33:37:21 21 Iraq decision-Bush
(Let's talk about your speeches presented on the war in Iraq)

I feel that this administration, and it's not because it's republican. I think it's a different kind of republican that's running this administration. There not the same kind of republicans that were here when I came here. Not the Norris Cottons and the George Aiken and the Jack Javits and the ??? This crowd that's down at the White House now is a secretive group. They like to do everything in the White House. They don't like to tell Congress what they're doing. They look upon Congress with arrogance. This is the most arrogant administration I've ever seen. And I've been in Washington a long time. I've seen a lot of administrations.

I was here during the Nixon administration and we saw what happened there. This administration doesn't want limitations on its powers. It, it , it wants to cut limitations. It wants to get rid of congressional oversight. Here they were going to have a, a government in waiting here and didn't tell anybody about it-a secretive govt. And it's the same way with their politics. It' s not live and let live with this crowd that's in the White House.

The thing that alerted me was when I noted in the media of Jan. of last year. 2002. Carl Rowe, their political muckety-muck said to the National Republican Comm. meeting in California, in essence..."the American people trust us, trust the Republican. We can live on this homeland security subject manner. Make it our center piece of strategy." And in essence they're saying..."We'll ride that horse to victory." And when I saw that...that opened my eyes. And I've seen time and time and time again, when this admin. has used homeland security with a big backdrop, backdrop- homeland security and the military-national guard, military people in the background, using it to the utmost. And I have seen a great deal of manipulation going on. The admin., this admin. manipulated the country...into ...manipulating Congress...into having a vote on giving power to the President to declare war, having a vote on that subject matter before the election. So they, they're doing...they have done and are doing exactly what Carl Rowe, the political string puller, the mastermind, the political mastermind. I don't say that disrespectful of him...I admire him. He's got a lot of ability. I've seen that play after play.

They used the military, they used the war, they used homeland defense to press the po...political...that's their political strategy. I,uh, tried....I did everything I could to keep the senate from voting on the Iraq resolution before the election. I said to have a vote on the Iraq resolution before

the election would taint the vote whereby that resolution passed. That resolution passed the Senate on Oct. 11 last year. That was before the election. Obviously, it stood to reason with me, that if senators who were running for reelection voted on that resolution to shift the power to the President. They voted on that. If they voted on this Iraq resolution before the election, that vote would be to some degree effected by the fact that the election is just up ahead. But this President manipulated this thing. He and his admin., in my judgment, manipulated so that the vote on the matter would occur before the election. So that the House of Rep. would remain Republican and the Senate would go Republican. And that's what happened. Members of Congress were told that they needed a good vote, a big vote in order to impress the UN. And members of Congress were told that Saddam Hussein was a direct and immediate threat to the sec, security of this country. That wasn't so. I knew it wasn't so. And said it wasn't so. But a lot of the members of the Senate were persuaded that it was so. And they were, were intimidated. They were afraid, politically, to take a strong stand against the Pres. because he was so powerful in the polls. And a lot of the members, many members of the House and Senate I am constrained to believe, voted as they did because they were afraid of uh, being called unpatriotic if they didn't vote to support the Pres. on that resolution, the resolution for giving the Pres. the power to determine when and where and how to use the military forces in invading Iraq. I think, uh, many of our member were intimidated. I think they were afraid they'd be called unpatriotic.

And so, it's not, not easy to say these things, not easy at all. I was impressed by Mr. Bush when he was first elected. I liked his inaugural speech. I thought he referred to passages in the Bible. He didn't bow and scrape to any particular pressure group. And I was impressed favorably. And he invited me and Ted Stevens and our wives to come down to the White House for dinner one evening. And Mr. Bush said grace over the food. He didn't call on me to say grace. He didn't call on Mr. Stevens to say grace. He said it himself. That impressed me. Just as I was impressed Pres. Eisenhower. When Pres. Eisenhower gave his inaugural speech, he...Eisenhower (emphatically) said prayer. Well to one who's growing up like I grew up in WV, this impressed me. But I've been discouraged, since then, by what I see as Mr. Carl Rowe's fine political hand in the background saying this is the strategy by which we (tape ends)

22:00:20:16 22:09:43:17 22 Iraq war #2
(You were saying...concerned about what you've seen in the White House)

I have....I have never been so concerned about the way our government is going, our government is moving. Never seen so much about an admin.'s grasp for power as I've seen in this admin. More and more, for example, the Sec. of Defense wants less and less control by the Congress. More and more money he

wants for the military. Well, what is it they need money for? We're spending more money on the military now than all of the other countries, all of the other 18 countries of NATO, all of the rogue nations-China, Iran, Iraq- all of these combined. The US is spending more money on the military than all of these others combined. And we saw with Saddam Hussein he couldn't even get the plane off the ground. What is it we need more and more and more money for?

We need money to build our highways, to give the American people greater access to health facilities. We have a new, we have a new generation coming on just within the next 7 or 8 years...(turns to ask a question). We have the baby boomers coming along just in a very few years. We have, have people in this country who are growing older. They're staying healthier longer. They have a greater need for prescription drugs. We have classrooms that are more and more crowded. We have teachers who are more and more underpaid. We have need for more monies for education. And as a great statesman once said, I believe his name was Disraeli, he said, "upon the education of our people, the fate of our country depends."

We have all these great needs-growing highway systems. We need to better security for our nuclear plants, better security along our nations borders, better security on our nation's ports-airports, seaports. And yet, with all these needs, we're spending more and more money on the military. What are we going to do? The, the, the other peoples of the world look upon our country no longer as a country to respect, but as a country to fear. Even our own...even our own friends begin to fear us, we need to take notice. We're more and more projecting ourselves as the bully on the block. And being on the App. Comm., I see this. I'm up close to it.

Here we have social security, Medicare, these are in , these are programs in real trouble. I can remember Social Security when it was first enacted in 1935 and the first checks went out in 1940. I know, I know what it meant to my own ol coal miner dad and mom to have a little social security check coming in. And this country's bankrupt. And the money that we're paying out on this war we're borrowing and we're paying interest on that money. And this admin. has one theme it seems and that's cut taxes, cut taxes, cut taxes, and that's the easiest vote I ever...that's the easiest vote any politician could enter-the vote to cut taxes. But...here we are cutting taxes, cutting taxes for the wealthy and very little is going to go down...going to....go down to the small tax payers. And at the same time we're contributing to our mmmmm, colossal deficits. We have a national debt now that's into the trillions of dollars, between 5 and 6 trillion dollars. And that money is going to be paid by your children and my grandchildren... and my children. They're going to pay for the cut taxes that this admin. is advocating to cut today. Not much of that is going to trickle down to the common people in WV, not much of these tax cuts. They'll get very little. Very little.

So, I think it's an unwise...I think when this admin. finally goes out of power that the country is going to be

saddled with a mammoth national debt and that'll be paid by future generations of this country, massive deficits. And all of these chickens are going to come home to roost one day. I get, I get back to this admin. of secrecy. A good many of the people, top people in this admin. are carryovers from the Nixon admin. And we saw where there proclivity for secrecy, where it carried them.

I know that a lot of people, um, let's put it this way...We all are for the soldiers, the sailors, the airmen and the women who serve in the military. They fought bravely and beautifully. We have, we have uh,...our military we can be proud of. We have national guardsmen and guardswomen who have left WV and gone to the hot sands of the Middle East, but what why were they sent there? Why were they rooted up from their homes?

A lot of these people are policeman here at home or they're fireman or they're lawyers, ministers, or doctors. They're needed here. Why were they sent over there? Because the American people were told that Saddam Hussein and Iraq constituted an immediate threat to the security of the US. That was not so. We were told that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. And I mean to tell you we were told that they were, they had a huge, huge quantities to use against our own military people. Where are they? Where are those weapons?

So here our people have been uprooted, Taken away from their jobs here and sent over there and they're going to be over there longer. And the war isn't over yet. Everyday it's more and more American GIs dying over there. And I asked the question in the Senate many times, several times. What plans do we have to govern Iraq after we win the war? Do we have plans? What's it going to cost? How long will we be paying to keep our people over there? This admin. never answered those questions. Never answered those questions.

And so there was something else, in my viewpoint, something other than, than the truth that took our people...away from their citizen duties here at home, those people who were in the guard, the reserves and sent them over there. Where they are still put in harms way, this very uh, this very time...and summer.

22:09:46:29 22:11:12:19 22 wrong to question gov?

(Are you wrong to go against the admin. in a time like this?)

It's not unpatriotic to ask questions. And I guess I've got some of that WV..rock in me. I'm not afraid to ask questions. And I'm not afraid to ask them of any President. One might easily jump to the conclusion that I'm talking this way just because I'm a Democrat. But, this is a different kind of Republican admin. that's here now. They don't want any controls.

On Appropriations I can see it all the time. They want the Appropriation committees to back away, not exercise oversight,

which is a constitutional duty..of senators-to exercise oversight and to ask questions. And to ask where the money uh goes and where was it spent and how well was it spent? That's our duty, but too many senators are afraid of being called unpatriotic. And this admin., let me tell you this, they'll..they'll, let you...if you speak out too much, you'll learn...you'll find out that there's not, uh, that you're not going to be very popular...if you do too much of that.

22:11:13:21 22:13:12:06 22 popularity and responsibility

(Does popularity matter to you?)

Well I like to be popular, of course. But, that's not my first reason for being here. And there are a lot of people who are responding to what I'm saying. I know when I spoke out against the Oct. 11th resolution last year against shifting this power of to the President-the power to declare war, there was a response out there from the American people. They were listening. I received over 20 thousand telephone calls in my office, just over the course of 4 or 5 days and over 50 thousand e-mails. So there is a response out there. The American people are listening and they want someone who will ask questions. They want somebody who will not be led around...by a popular president.

I have a lot of Republican friends here. I probably get more Republican votes than any Democrat who runs statewide in WV because I try to serve both Republicans and Democrats I don't ask when a, a, letter comes to me asking for a service if this is a Republican or is this, or if it's a Democrats I don't ask that question.

And I've had Republicans to stop me on the streets and to stop in cor, corridors, and to stop me in motels or wherever I am, and say, "I agree with what you're saying." They want somebody who is not intimidated. They want somebody who will ask questions. After all, we're here to represent the people. We're not here to be jerked around by some arrogant high too,uh, high official. We're here to ask questions on behalf of our people and that's what I'm going to do. (rather emphatically)

22:13:17:18 22:16:15:00 22 equal branch/sunshine law

(separate but equal)

Well the branches are equal. There is a mistaken impression among a lot of people that the, that the chief executive is the..is almost royalty. But when our forefathers created this republic they didn't mean for there to be royalty. They meant for there to be a leg. branch. It was the people's branch. And we have a duty and we swear, we take an oath to support and

defend the constitution. What did we do? We shifted..the constitution says the congress shall have the power to declare war. We shifted that power over to a president.

The senate, in voting to shift that power over to the president of the US, gave it to one man to determine, to decide whether or not to send your boys, your girls to war in foreign land. Congress wouldn't have any more say but to appropriate the money. And when I offered an amendment to-I offered the sunshine amendment to terminate this power that Congress was willing to shift to a president...I didn't care if you were Republican or Democrats

Congress should determine when to send the people's sons and daughters to war. And I offered an amendment to say- okay, if you're going to do that let's terminate it after one year. Or if the President can certify for one year that there's particular needs for continuing. (stumbles) continuing another 12 months. Okay, but after that time, if you continue it, you have to come back and ask for it. That's what's called a sunshine, putting a sunshine amendment on it. And only 31 senators, including myself, voted for that amendment to at least put a termination on it. As a consequence, not only does this President have that power, but his successor will have that power. Whether his successor is Republican or Democrats that successor will have that same power. And it will continue to his successor or her successor until such time as Congress terminates it.

Now what's happened to the good sense, just plain common sense of legislators when they are unwilling to put, to sunshine the shifting of that constitutional power to a president of any party.

22:16:24:08 22:17:56:18 22 another Sup. Ct. issue?
(Will you continue efforts in this matter? Will this end up in the Supreme Court also?)

Well the courts generally, the Supreme Court generally likes to shift these political, so called political questions away from themselves and let the political branches decided this. But, in the case of the line item veto the Court did take it. And it may be, in some future time, that the Supreme Court would take a case of this kind. And I believe that if it does, we would find that we in the Leg. Branch have gone array of supporting and defending the constitution of the US. We've been hoodwinked and intimidated. And it all goes back, so that you'll understand what makes me so strong in my feeling, that this country has been manipulated politically. It all goes back to Carl Rowe's statement to the National Republican Committee in Jan. in California in Jan. of last year, saying in essence, "take this horse, Homeland Security, and ride it through to victory." And

of course after that, after that we've seen ourselves get involved in Iraq.

22:18:03:19 22:18:41:23 22 more work to do
(So why don't you throw up your hands and give up?)

Well I feel like it sometimes...I feel like it.I've got lots of work to do. The people of WV they deserve the best that I can give them. That's what they're going to get.

22:18:51:06 22:24:19:23 22 proud to be Senator

(What do you like best about being a Senator?)

Well...(pause)...it's an opportunity to serve that doesn't come to many people. And there, there's so much good work that one can do here. And I've been extremely proud to do what I've been able to do.

I'm proud...to have started an honored scholarship program that goes all over this country that provides 1500 dollar annual scholarships to students in 50 states. In my case, let's don't count sports because people in sports will get their attention, will get their attributes. They're proud to be with them. Let's, let's show that student who's working in the math classes, that student who's working in the science laboratories, that student who works by the light of the old oil lamp as I did to try strive to be a scientists, to strive to be a doctor, to strive to be teacher, to strive to be uh,uh, lawyer, to strive to be...somebody who can help the farmers or whatever. I want, I want, I want to reward those students that are best in the scholars, scholastic ratings. Let's reward them. The athletes will get theirs. Let's reward these people who's back there striving to develop themselves so that they can serve us. Let excellence be the key word. And so that's what this Robert C. Byrd national scholarship is. It pays \$1500. I don't select the person who receives it, but the school administrators in every state, they determine what students deserve to earn, to ,to, to get those scholarships. It doesn't matter if they're the son of a doctor or the son of a coal miner or the daughter of a farmer. It's by their excellence that they are chosen. So, I'm trying to develop our future senators, our future mathematicians, our future physicians. And so, there's 41 million dollars in this year's bill. Now that, only one person has been able to do that and that's Robert C. Byrd. And I've done it. (pause)

And only one person has been able to use his seniority. 45 years of seniority in this body. Kept monies to promote the Appalachian corridors in the 13 Appalachian states. That's the answer to your question.

I think it's....in the nature of human beings to want to help others, to want to improve mankind's way of life, wants to do things for our countries, our country, wants to try to do things for our state; wants to try to lift mankind up; wants to do something to promote God's design here on earth. And as the

scripture says, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." (emphatic) And I'm able to do this.

In some other area or profession in life, I couldn't leave this profession today and go into any other profession and do anything near what I'm able to do in this one. So I'm able to use my experience and seniority and know how here to improve the lives of other people. I've been here all these years and I want to stay as long as my health will let me stay and as long as my wife's health is good. And as long as the people of WV feel that I can be of service to them. As I say, I don't have to do this to live, but I want to do it. I don't retire. I could've retired a long time ago.

22:24:23:25 22:24:52:14 22 satisfaction
(brings you a lot of joy)

Well it's satisfaction. I know that I have accomplished a lot of things for WV. And I want the people of WV to know, I want them to know that I've done it for them because I owe it to them. I want them to know that I kept the faith and did everything I could do to-for my state and its people.

22:25:08:05 22:27:56:26 22 I want to inspire youth

Well. I would hope to,uh, inspire young people to excel. I get a great joy just in talking to the pages here in the Senate. These are people who in are in the 11th grade in their high schools back home. And their wholesome young people. And I, I hope to inspire them to go home and tell their people back home what a great institution the US Senate is. What a wonderful system of government we have, this constitution of ours. What an institution the Senate is that it allows the elected rep. of the people to stand on its feet as long as their legs will hold them and speak for the people in the Senate. It's an institution in which the poorest can come and the richest can come and they can share together. They can offer amendments.

I have, as the Bible says, I once was young and now I'm old, but yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread. I want the young people...I have 2 daughters. I have, my wife and I have 5 grandchildren. We have 3 great-grandchildren. I see young people everyday who are just fine young people. They're wholesome young people. They're interested in getting a better edu. They're interested in serving their country. They have ideals and it inspires me to be able to inspire them. And I do inspire them...when I talk to these young people.

So, I would hope, I just hope that our young people can, can see something in our lives that will inspire them to, to get the best out of themselves that they have to offer.

22:28:00:20 22:33:35:17 22 recipe for success-read
(What is the recipe for success?)

What recipe for success?...Learn everything that you can. Take every opportunity. that you can that you have to learn, to read, to read good books. Don't read just junk on the stands at the airport. Read great literature. Read Emerson's essays, Read Carlisle's' history of the French revolution. Read history. Read imparticular Greek, roman, Persian history. Read the history of the colonies, colonial life in America. Read the history of the states before the Revolution. Read the history of America during the Rev. period. Read about the const. about the const. roots that go back hundreds and hundreds and thousands of years. Read the history of England. Read. Read. Read.

Don't waste your time on television. uh...Today's popular television programming is corrosive. Televisions are great medium. Nothing like it. And it does a lot of good. I always enjoyed Alice ? Cooks', (stumbles) Alicery Cooks' pieces. They're great, some great movies on television. But for the most part it's a vast wasteland and it's benumbing. And too many people become couch potatoes and contribute nothing. It's corrosive. So stay away from television in the main. Read books, but read good books.

Read the Bible. And as I say...history. History does indeed repeat itself. Men have been slaying others since Cain slew Able. And just as water as H₂O it was H₂O in the beginning. 2 parts hydrogen and 2 parts oxygen. Same way with human nature it never changes since the beginning. And there is a God. And there is a Creator. Our young people should believe and they should know it. And they should read the Bible. They should also read Huxley. They should read Darwin.

Darwin had something to say. He said...(pause)... "What right do we have to assume that the Creator." spelled with a capital C. "To assume that the Creator operates by intellectual law like those of man." So, read Darwin. I think had something to say and I was interested in finding out what it was. I was amazed to see that that great English naturalist, Charles Robert Darwin said, "What right do we have to assume that the Creator operates by intellectual laws like those of man." So, you see it's the laws, the intellectual laws of man are pretty limited. And we try to standardize and judge everything by these limited intellectual laws that are ours. And by those intellectual laws we can imagine the creation of this universe and other universes, the speed of light. We can't imagine a future life. It's hard for us to believe a future life. And so we rather believe some crazy notion that we, that we developed from monkeys. Like Pope said, " A little learning is a dangerous thing."

So, I say to our young people-study. Study. And learn to say no because it doesn't help one to acquire a vocabulary of 10 thousand words if he can't say the word no.

You've got to learn to say no. And read what's good and don't always follow the crowd. That will get you into trouble. Stay away, stay away from booze. Stay away from bad company. Be your own man or woman.

23 ring explanation (talking & B-roll)

One link has worn apart, so there are only 3 left. 4 on this one and 4 on this one. This came from the great Bazaar in Turkey. This one came from Iran. My older daughter married a man from Iran and she went there on her honeymoon for 2 months and brought me this back. This is a silver half dollar made by a man in Raleigh Co. made into a ring and inside it says In God We Trust. And it has, um something else inside. And this is our wedding ring.

More B-roll

