

December 18, 1987

Name
Newspaper
Street Address
City, State, Zip

Dear:

This New Year's Day, C-SPAN's "American Profile" series features hour-long interviews with retiring Senators Robert Stafford (R-VT) and William Proxmire (D-WI).

Throughout the year, C-SPAN conducts interviews with prominent Americans for telecasts on national holidays. Our "American Profile" interview series is an opportunity for C-SPAN viewers to see an in-depth, personal portrait of public figures.

Sen. Stafford was selected this holiday because of his years of public service. During the 60-minute interview, Sen. Stafford offers personal reflections on his life and career, as well as insights into the American political process.

*from Congress
or
the Senate*

forthcoming retirement

For your review, I have excerpted Sen. Stafford's comments on three topics from the discussion: 1) his ~~rapid~~ rise through Vermont politics, 2) Vermont's changing political climate and 3) his future plans. The following excerpts may be used for publication; however, they should be held for release until December 31.

Enclosed is a list of Vermont cable systems which carry C-SPAN. I think you and your readers will be interested in tuning-in to the interview with Sen. Robert Stafford which airs at 9:00am, 7:00pm, and 2:00am (overnight) ET on Friday, January 1.

Sincerely,

Nan Gibson
Press Liaison



Suite 412
444 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
202/737-3220

EXCERPTED QUOTES FROM A C-SPAN INTERVIEW WITH SEN. ROBERT STAFFORD (R-VT)

On his greatest accomplishment:

"I'd rather have other people decide that. I guess I would say, collectively, the environmental legislation we passed over the six years I was chairman of that committee, and the fact that we were able to sustain the educational programs of this country that the federal government participates in."

On his reputation as an 'old-fashioned' Senator:

"That's probably because I have not pressed for as much publicity as some of the people who grew up in the television age do."

On TV in the Senate:

"I think the television age has changed the Senate somewhat. There is a phrase in skiing called 'hotdogging' and I suspect that could be applied in a way to some of my colleagues who now seize the opportunity -- and this is only human nature -- to use television here more than they would have before. That somewhat prolongs some of the debates and I think it often results in endless amendments which might not have occurred without it. I think television has had an impact on the Senate -- not all good, but not all bad. The people of America have a chance to see their Senators in operation -- their Senate in operation -- and I think they're entitled to that."

On true Vermonters:

"I think the true Vermonter, the classic backwoods Vermonter, is pretty well gone. The electronic news media and TV entertainment have begun to homogenize the people of Vermont the way they have the whole nation. You have to look around quite a while to find a native-born Vermonter who's speaking through his nose. Those people are usually pretty smart, they just sound rustic to those people from the city -- who probably sound peculiar to him."

On the character of people from Vermont:

"You have to realize that the character of Vermont has changed a lot in the last thirty years. So many people from less rigorous climates have moved into Vermont from Connecticut, New Jersey and so on, that I suppose it does affect people somewhat. The

Vermont climate from October to April is not conducive to standing around in the sun -- you have to move around to keep warm.

"I think the recreational activities are part of what's attracting people to Vermont and they've initiated the splurge in Vermont's growth from about 1960 to the present time. The opportunity for winter sports, the opportunity for hunting and fishing in the spring and fall and camping through the summer and the very attractive geography of the state -- with all its green mountains and so on -- has attracted a lot of people. Another attraction that sort of goes with it is the opportunity that some of the large businesses, like IBM, have afforded their executives and employees to come to Vermont and raise children away from all of the problems you have in large metro areas like New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut. That's where probably a couple of hundred thousand people -- in round terms -- have come from in the last thirty years."

On Vermont's economy:

"It's still a dairy state and there's still the struggle to try to keep the family farm together which was going on back when I was Governor in the late 1950's. The change is that, again, manufacturing has become the pre-eminent occupation in Vermont and it's the high-tech manufacturing -- IBM, GE, Digital -- and numerous small plants that produce an expensive product in terms of high-tech plastics or wire or something like that, that make manufacturing the basis of Vermont's economy. Tourism and agriculture, I would venture a wild guess, are about equal as the other legs in the tripod, but neither of them is nearly as big as manufacturing actually is in our state."

On his rise through Vermont politics:

"When I came home [from WW II], I was immediately appointed Vermont's Deputy Attorney General by the Governor -- that's what got me into statewide politics. Every two years for awhile somebody ahead of me got out of the way, and I either had to run for their job or get out -- I never intended to do statewide politics until this got started. First thing I knew I was Attorney General, which was elected, and I really wanted to stay there four years -- it was fun. But, before I hardly got started, the Lt. Governor told me she would not run for another term and I had a month's notice to get started before anyone else got started -- I got elected Lt. Governor. Then the Governor wasn't going to run again -- so he got out of the way, and I went through these jobs faster than I intended to."

On his first run for Congress:

During that two years [as Governor], I was in a standing quarrel with our Congressman -- the first Democrat ever elected from

here -- a fellow ahead of his time with his viewpoints. Today, he would be considered, probably, a conventional liberal democrat. In any event, we had a two-year quarrel and it was natural to run against him. I unseated him and that began the 28 years down here [in D.C.]."

On taking the 'traditional' route to Congress:

"I think that's beginning to be less and less the rule. Actually, I broke normal procedure in Vermont when I got to be Lt. Governor. Customarily in Vermont you went from Speaker of the Vermont House to either a member of the Vermont Senate and then Lt. Governor, or directly to Lt. Governor. I got to be Lt. Governor by defeating the Speaker of the Vermont House for that job. I never served in the Legislature -- I served as its advisor -- but not a member."

On his many campaigns:

"That meant six campaigns for the House and three here in the Senate. The last House campaign and the first Senate campaign were virtually all within one twelve month period because I had been elected for a sixth term in the House and my predecessor died before he really got well-embarked on his term as a Senator. He was just elected for his term also so I had to, starting in the fall of 1971, run for his seat after I had been elected only eight or nine months earlier to another term in the House."

On Northeastern Republicans:

"When I first got here they were probably reasonably conservative people. As the years have rolled on, the Northeastern republicans, who have survived, generally have become -- whether you're talking about the House or the Senate -- moderates, I would use that description today.

"I think it's the change in population, in part, and that's produced more moderately inclined people on both sides of the political aisle. That was the case, say, thirty years ago. The influx of people in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont in particular, where so many people have come from somewhere else has made a different outlook."

On strong working relationships developed over the years:

"I helped start an organization in the House called the 'Wednesday Group.' We wanted some moderate republicans to get together, even then, and I think it's flourishing today. The House 'Wednesday Group' came up with, for awhile, alternate proposals to those coming from Lyndon Johnson. We didn't want to be just negative -- we wanted to be positive. One of the more amusing things that came out of all that was one night after a late discussion of what might be alternatives to Johnson, somebody started talking about what we should call the group. Knowing acronyms are so popular down here, but forgetting it for

a moment, we proposed to call the group 'Constructive Republican Alternate Programs', until somebody realized what the acronym would be: CRAP. We hurriedly started looking for another title. Quite a few proposals came out of that group -- we jointly wrote a book on the all-volunteer army, the case for abolishing the draft. We got a copy of it to President Nixon, when he was President, and he was polite enough to say that it had a major influence on him going for an all-volunteer army. I believe it did because since then we have had the all-volunteer army. That's one thing I'll remember -- that and the book which we sold out."

On working for environmental issues instead of focusing on the Senate Armed Services Committee:

"When I came to the Senate, I think I made a conscious decision at that time that I had enough of the Armed Services Committee [in the House] and wanted to focus on something else. Probably it was by accident, or by the fact that, probably, as I recall, I had been on the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Labor Committee -- I went to those two committees as soon as I got here. My perception was that highways and environmental issues -- clean water, clean air, and so on -- were important to Vermont. So, instead of starting to switch around to more glamorous committees -- like Foreign Relations -- I opted to stay with Environment and Public Works to look after the highways and air and water, and so on. I also got on the Labor and Human Resources Committee. It was my perception that education was important to the nation and Vermont -- those were the two interests that I really developed."

On patience being the secret to his success:

"My way of doing things is not confrontational. I never believe that you get very far by getting people mad. So, I've tried to be patient even when I haven't felt like it. Throughout the six years I was chairman [of Environment and Public Works] we had some really splendid help from some very able people. I knew I always had a nucleus of like-minded people to work with and it was a matter of not getting discouraged and the result was -- in the last two-year period as chairman -- we were able to pass most all of the major legislation we wanted in the environmental field, including clean water and safe drinking water, water projects with canals and harbors, and also projects involving wetlands. ... Anyway, we got through them all except acid rain-- that's the frustrating one that's escaped me all the years I've been on the committee since 1977."

On flying airplanes:

"I've still got the license, but to fly anymore I would have to pass another physical, which I may be very well able to do, but I don't think you'd want to fly with me right now. It's been about

three years since I've actually done any flying. I used to fly quite a lot. The principle use we made of the airplane was for flying between here and Vermont from about the early 60's until maybe six or seven years ago when USAir began to have pretty frequent service between here and Burlington. The better their service got, the less inclined I was to do our own flying."

On his future plans:

"There seems to be a couple of opportunities back in Vermont-- just to keep busy. I don't think I want to work very hard anymore at 75 years of age. Two or three of the colleges up there have inquired if I would be interested in what I suppose would be an adjunct professorship, for the purpose of maybe a few lectures over a year. One law firm has already indicated, if I were interested, that they'd like me to join them. I think I'll find plenty to do in terms of a little lecturing on the college circuit in Vermont and to whatever degree I want to practice law -- I'm not sure about that right now."

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Was it a tough decision?

"Not really. I love this job. It's the best job on the face of the earth. I would rather be a United States Senator than president or billionaire or whatever. Absolutely a super job in every respect, but 30 years is a long, long time and I'm 72 years-old and a little long in the tooth for the job and I think that I've seen too many members of the Senate -- and the House too, for that matter -- who have stayed too long. You lose some of your intellectual powers, some of your energy and I think that's not fair to your state or to the country."

Do you still run everyday?

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enough and wanted somebody else. But we had a primary and I won the primary easily and just felt, after all, Democrats had lost and lost in Wisconsin between 1896 and 1957. When I ran, there had been some 30 elections for governor, we had one every two years. The Democrats had won one in 1932. They lost everything else. So, losing wasn't anything that turned people off. They didn't say, 'Well, he's a loser,' because I had come so close. That really excited people a lot. And I felt, like anything else, that if you keep at it, if you roll those dice enough, seven will come up and they came up."

Did you plan hearings over a weekend so that when there was a slow news period, papers would run stories on Mondays?

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Did you find over the years that you got better known by using this technique?

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You can't pick up an article about you and your life without seeing the word loner or eccentric. What is your reaction when you see that?

"Well, of course words can mean almost anything. I feel that independence is something to treasure and to be your own man and to make up your mind yourself and not compromise. You have to compromise in politics to get things done and I've compromised often and I think I've achieved some things, but I think it's a great joy to be an independent. If you want to call that maverick or if you want to call it erratic or call it something else, that's fine, but that's the only kind of person that I'd want to be. Of course, one of the great things that I've been able to do is to get elected in the last two campaigns, 1976 and 1982, without accepting any contributions at all and spending less than two hundred dollars in each campaign. One campaign I

spent \$177 dollars, that was in 1976, and in 1982, I spent, let's see what was it, \$145.10. In 1976, spending no money, I got more votes than anybody had ever gotten in the history of Wisconsin, running for any office -- President, governor, whatever."

Have you ever paid a price in the Senate for thirty years of being independent?

"I don't think so. No price that I wouldn't be perfectly willing to pay at least. One thing about the Senate, about most legislative bodies, is that you secure your position of authority not based on whether or not other people-- particularly people who have more authority -- want to give it to you, but on the basis of your seniority. And just by being here, I've been successful in getting the chairmanship of the committee that I wanted to chair and the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee I wanted to chair. If I stayed, I would probably be chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee because I am next in line on the seniority basis.

"I'm looking forward enthusiastically to the opportunity to write and to teach. I sure don't want to travel. I've had enough of that, I'll tell you, especially these days where they lose your luggage, planes are late and so forth. But I intend to work hard. I'm the kind of person who loves a schedule and one drawback of the Senate, one of the very few drawbacks, is that you can't really plan anything, you can't. You never knew when you're going to be home. You never know when you have to get into work. Now I've got to get up at five o'clock in order to do my exercises and get into work on time, so I can be on the Senate floor right away at the beginning of the day -- willing to pay that price, but it's going to be nice to sleep until five-thirty or maybe six o'clock."

What's your voting record these days?

"I haven't missed a vote since 1966. The longest previous record was 13 years. So, my record is going to be, in April, is going to be 22 years. The longest previous number of consecutive votes not missed was 3,000 and I have close to 10,000. In April, it will be well over 10,000 votes without missing any. Some people in Wisconsin say we'd have a better country if I'd missed them all."

How did the Golden Fleece Award come about?

"The Golden Fleece Awards, we can see because I made a speech to a Chamber of Commerce group back in Wisconsin in Appleton and somebody said, 'Well, why don't you do something about this -- these crazy expenditures you talk about.' So I decided that we'd think about that. Golden Fleece had a lot of appeal because 'gold' stands for the money rip-off and 'fleece' stands for the fact that it is a rip-off -- and established that in March 1975. The first Golden Fleece was an agency that spent \$78,000 dollars

to try to find out why people fall in love, \$78,000 bucks. Now if there's anything written in college bull sessions and everywhere else, it's love. Everybody talks about it, thinks about it and there's no reason why the government should poke its nose into it. If the scientists could weigh it, measure it, you can kiss it goodbye because one of the great things about love is it's a mystery. But that was just one. Let me tell you about one other Golden Fleece. This was a fleece that we gave to an agency that spent \$103,000 dollars to try to find out whether sunfish that drink tequila are more aggressive than sunfish that drink gin -- sunfish. You know there's all kinds of places in Wisconsin you can go to get volunteers for that kind of program."

What would you change in the Senate?

"Well right now, I'd change the rules. The rules are terrible -- terrible, ridiculous. The rules were made when we had thirteen states and 26 Senators, when the country was far, far less complex, when no Senator had a staff. Now, you have a situation where you have a hundred Senators. You have a staff of probably four or five thousand people, not counting committee staffs -- committee staffs are another four or five thousand. The result is that you have an overwhelming amount of legislation. And there are no rules in the Senate. They have rules in the House and people complain about these rules because they limit the length of speeches and so forth. We have to do the same thing in the Senate. I would do that. I would have the rules similar to the rules you have in the House, but they wouldn't have to be quite as extreme as that. That way, you could have an orderly procedure and take things up in orderly, in a far more efficient way, and have adequate discussion, but not have a situation where you had to push through, the way we do now, and fail to get a lot of our business done because there's such a traffic jam on the floor."

Is it likely to happen?

"Oh I think it'll happen. I mean it's just a matter of how long it will take. But we have, I think, a situation now that, that just is wrong from every standpoint."

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Are Wisconsinites different?

"I think we're different. We're different primarily because we have a newspaper influence...Newspapers throughout the country have gotten a lot more fair now than they were a few years ago,

but ours have had a consistent record in that [being fair] and they're very proud of that and they've maintained that record well. We have a University of Wisconsin which has a, just a great reputation as an excellent university. It is the number one university in the country in terms of the dollars that it gets in research allocations from the federal government. They're that good. Number one state university and I think that's had a profound influence. So, it's a matter of pride, a matter of education."

What would you like to accomplish in the time you have left?

"Well, there's several things I'd like to accomplish on the Banking Committee. We have a banking bill that would provide new powers for banks, powers to underwrite securities. I think that's very important if banking is going to remain profitable as it should be. I also have an anti-hostile take-over bill. One of the great economic problems we have now is the 'merger mania' -- which I think has had a very adverse effect on our corporations and communities and so forth. It's diminished, I think, the kind of competition we should have. There's been a concentration, a growing concentration -- the third and fourth biggest firms in Wisconsin were both taken over in the first nine months of 1987. I think that's a terrible trend and my bill will help stop that. I'm also very anxious to do what I can -- there's not much any one Senator can do -- to do what I can to advance at least the understanding and ideas for arms control. We live in a nuclear world, the most dangerous period in history. We're rushing ahead with what I think is a terrible mistake in the Strategic Defense Initiative."

Where will you live when you retire?

"I'm going to live in Washington. I love Wisconsin. I'd like to live in Wisconsin, but I owe a lot to my wife. She's a wonderful woman and she -- wives of Members of Congress make a sacrifice when their husbands come here... she wants to stay here and I certainly want to -- it's the least I can do for her."

What do you want to be remembered for?

"Well, I suppose I'd want people to remember that I worked hard, that I did what I thought was right, that I followed my own conscience and that I helped some, I hope, to prevent the terrible perspective holocaust of a nuclear war."

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"I think we're different. We're different primarily because we have a newspaper influence...Newspapers throughout the country have gotten a lot more fair now than they were a few years ago, but ours have had a consistent record in that [being fair] and they're very proud of that and they've maintained that record well. We have a University of Wisconsin which has a, just a great reputation as an excellent university. It is the number one university in the country in terms of the dollars that it gets in research allocations from the federal government. They're that good. Number one state university and I think that's had a profound influence. So, it's a matter of pride, a matter of

education."

What would you like to accomplish in the time you have left?

"Well, there's several things I'd like to accomplish on the Banking Committee. We have a banking bill that would provide new powers for banks, powers to underwrite securities. I think that's very important if banking is going to remain profitable as it should be. I also have an anti-hostile take-over bill. One of the great economic problems we have now is the 'merger mania' -- which I think has had a very adverse effect on our corporations and communities and so forth. It's diminished, I think, the kind of competition we should have. There's been a concentration, a growing concentration -- the third and fourth biggest firms in Wisconsin were both taken over in the first nine months of 1987. I think that's a terrible trend and my bill will help stop that. I'm also very anxious to do what I can -- there's not much any one Senator can do -- to do what I can to advance at least the understanding and ideas for arms control. We live in a nuclear world, the most dangerous period in history. We're rushing ahead with what I think is a terrible mistake in the Strategic Defense Initiative."

Where will you live when you retire?

"I'm going to live in Washington. I love Wisconsin. I'd like to live in Wisconsin, but I owe a lot to my wife. She's a wonderful woman and she -- wives of Members of Congress make a sacrifice when their husbands come here... she wants to stay here and I certainly want to -- it's the least I can do for her."

What do you want to be remembered for?

"Well, I suppose I'd want people to remember that I worked hard, that I did what I thought was right, that I followed my own conscience and that I helped some, I hope, to prevent the terrible perspective holocaust of a nuclear war."

#

San William Proxmire (S.W.)

[When was it that you knew you were going to retire?]

Well, I didn't know I was going to retire until I actually announced it on August 27th. I had thought about it long and hard. But I decided then.

[TOUGH DECISION?]

Not really. I love this job. It's the best job on the face of the Earth. I would rather be a United States Senator than ~~the~~ President or ~~the~~ a billionaire or whatever. Absolutely a super job in every respect. But 30 years is a long, long time and I'm 72 years old and a little long in the tooth for the job and I think that I've seen too many members of the Senate -- & the House, ^{too} for that matter -- who have stayed too long. You lose some of your intellectual powers, some of your energy and ^{I think} that's not fair to your state or to the country.

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[Do you still run every day?]

I run to work every day. But it's downhill with a tailwind. It's five miles.

[When did you start that?]

I started that in 1964, when I was about 49 years old. And I've been running steadily since.

[Do you ever miss a day?]

I miss a day when I have a very bad knee or something ~~like that~~ of that kind. A bad cold, maybe. But very few.

Sometimes I go 30 days, 31 days a month. I run whether I'm in Wisconsin or here or in Florida, or New York, or California -- wherever I am. Get up earlier to do it. Anybody can do it. And you feel so much better... you sleep better... you can eat more & lose weight at the same time. It's great.

[Anything unusual happen^{in Washington} while you were running through the downtown streets?]

Yes. I was held up once and mugged by a couple of kids. One of them had a fishing rod -- kept beating me with it. It was about 7 o'clock at night. --

Broad daylight. Crazy kids. I grabbed the fishing rod and pulled the kid out ~~in~~ the middle of the road & the cars had to stop, of course, & gathered around. The kids ran. And I walked up a few blocks and spotted a police car & told them what had happened. # Boy, they had 15 squad cars down there & in no time at all. Picked the kids up. They turned out to be not bad kids, but just a little irresponsible. So I gave them a job in the mail room here.

One of them didn't turn out very well -- ended up in reform school. But the other turned out very well.

[How did you do it? When you're defeated 3 times, don't you just want to call it quits & say ...?]

well, I didn't. a lot of people in the state thought ~~that~~ I'd had enough, and wanted somebody else. But we had a primary -- & I won the primary easily. And I just felt -- ~~well~~, after all, Democrats had lost and lost and lost in Wisconsin. Between 1896 and 1957, when I ran, there had been some 30 elections for Governor. We had one every 2 years. The Democrats had won one in 1932. They lost everything else. So losing wasn't anything that turned ^{people} ~~anybody~~ off. They didn't say, "well, he's a loser." ~~And~~ because I had come so close, that really excited people a lot. And I felt -- like anything else -- that if you keep at it, if you roll those dice enough, ~~something will~~ ^{it} will come up -- & they came up.

[Did you plan releases, even when you've been United States Senator, over a weekend so that ~~when~~^{there was} a dry period & people would run it on a Monday?]

Yeah. We did that. And we also found that there are lots of times when -- (I'm sure ~~that~~ ~~that~~ ~~are~~ people in the media & ^{alot of candidates of} Senators & Congressman don't appreciate it -- are just looking for news. They want to fill that whole paper up. So on holidays, I'd have hearings -- nobody had had hearings before -- we had -- I had hearings on Sundays & Saturdays and so forth. And of course it was the only game in town. We didn't get much of a turnout -- we ~~had~~ got a much better turnout ^{than} if we ~~had had~~ would have had on an ordinary day. And I remember one day we had a hearing on credit cards. And I took a pair of scissors & said the trouble is that people (hold out?) their credit cards or discard them or carelessly ^{they've} thrown out & that's one of the reasons they're abused because people steal credit cards. And so I just used the scissors to cut it up -- well, that was the front page picture in the New York Times. You ^{know, you} can wait many years before you get a front page story in that great newspaper.

~~guess~~ they had nothing else to do ~~request~~,
that day) ^{I guess} - nothing else to print.

[Did you find over the years that you
got better known through this technique?]

Yeah. I think ~~maybe~~ ^{maybe} I overdid it.
I haven't done it ^{that} much since I've
been in the Senate, really. I've
done some of it, but, I'd ~~over~~ say in
the last 20 or 25 years -- I've been in
the Senate now for 30 years -- I did
that ~~in~~ in the first 4 or 5 or 6 years,
but since then I've done ~~it~~ a lot less.

[You can't pick up an article about you &
your life without seeing the word either
loner or eccentric. What is your reaction
when you see that? I'm sure you've seen
it yourself. What do you think it means?]

Well, of course, words can mean almost
anything. I feel that independence
is something to treasure. And to
be your own man and to make up
your mind yourself & not to comp --
you have to compromise in politics
to get things done & I've compromised
often & I think I've achieved some
things -- but I think it's a great
joy to be an independent -- if you want
to call that maverick or if you want
to call it erratic ^{SPU} or call
it something else -- that's fine. --

But. That's the only kind of person that I'd want to be.

And, of course, one of the great things that I've been able to do is to get elected in the last 2 campaigns, 1976 and 1982; without accepting any contributions at all and spending less than 200 dollars in each campaign. One campaign I spent \$177 ~~00~~ dollars ^{that was} in 1976 - and in 1982, I spent ^{it's see, what was it?} \$145.10. And in 1976 ~~where~~ ^{by} spending no money, I got more votes than anybody had ever gotten in the history of Wisconsin running for ANY office. President, governor, whatever.

[HAVE YOU EVER PAID ~~THE~~ ^A PRICE IN THE SENATE FOR 30 YEARS, FOR BEING INDEPENDENT?]

I don't think so. No price that I wouldn't be perfectly willing to pay at least. One thing about the Senate, & about most legislative bodies, is that you secure your position of authority, not based on whether or not other people - particularly ~~that~~ ^{who have} more authority - want to give it to you; but on the basis of your seniority. & Just by being here, I've been successful in getting chairmanship of ~~an~~ the Cmte that I wanted to ~~be~~ Chair. & of the subcmte of The Appropriations Cmte ~~that~~ I wanted to Chair.

And if I stayed, I ^{would} probably be chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee because I am next in line on the seniority basis.

[YOU MEAN THE APPROPRIATIONS FULL CMTE ...]

FULL COMMITTEE, THAT'S RIGHT.

20:23 ... I'm looking forward enthusiastically to the opportunity to write and to teach. I sure don't want to travel. I've had enough of that, ^{I'll tell you} especially these days where they lose your luggage, planes are late and so forth. But I intend to work hard. And I'm the kind of person who loves a schedule. And one drawback of the Senate, one of the very few drawbacks, is that you can't really plan anything. You can't — you never know when you're going to be home. You never know when you have to get into work. Now, I've got to get up at five o'clock in order to do my exercises and get into work on time, so I can be on the Senate floor right away at the beginning of the day. — Willing to pay that price but it's going to be nice to sleep, until 5:30 or ~~6~~ maybe 6:00.

Brian: Genocide Treaty Speech — why? - - -

~~Well, I wanted to keep a~~

21:24 ... every speech tends to advance the genocide Treaty. And since the genocide

treaty has been adopted, I've continued to speak, but on other subjects.

Brian. Why did you do that?

21:34 Well, I wanted to keep it alive. I felt that here was a treaty that the United States itself, the United States, had pushed to the United Nations. We'd persuaded the United Nations to accept it — overwhelmingly accept it. What is genocide? ^{What} Genocide ^{is} is an agreement that we would have a law that would stop the planned pre-meditated extinction of an entire ethnic, racial or religious group. What Hitler did to the Jews in Europe — the most heinous crime in, in — possible. They weren't killing people because they did anything wrong; nor because they were even a threat. They killed them because they were Jews, or ~~gypsies~~ gypsies. That's what Hitler did. Terrible crime. Every other developed nation in the world ratified that treaty promptly — not the United States. It was opposed by people who had the isolationist notion, in my view, that we didn't have any responsibility for what was going on in the rest of the world. And I think there was some Anti-Semitism involved in it, too. So, I decided I'd pound away at that. And I did. And I spoke every day for almost thirty years — 29 years. And I think it was

hammering away, day after day^{after days}, that helped keep that ratification alive. And finally, Ronald Reagan, who was - had absolutely perfect, lionafide credentials as a conservative, came out in support of the treaty and that made it - then, of course, the opposition collapsed. And we got it to - I think there were ten or twelve people that voted against it. But it was overwhelmingly ratified. And it should have been ratified long before. And we still have not gotten the implementing legislation on that treaty. But we're going to hope we can get it this year.

Brian: What's your voting record these days?
24:16 I haven't missed a vote since 1966. The longest previous record was 13 years. And so my record is going to be, in April, is going to be 22 years. The longest previous ~~was~~ number of consecutive votes not missed was 3,000. And I have close to 10,000. ^{In April,} It will be well over 10,000 votes, without missing any. Some people in Wisconsin say we'd have a better country if I'd missed them all.

Brian: Why did you do it?

24:51 Well, I just think that we're elected to be here and to vote and to do your job. And I just think it is ridiculous

when people are paid what we're paid, Members of Congress are now paid \$89,000 a year, plus their expenses, about a million dollars, for a staff, opportunities to have access to the public in all kinds of way, and we're elected for one principle reason, and that's to vote. If we miss a vote, we're not doing our job. ^{Just} Like - it's like somebody not going to work when they're paid.

34:44

The Golden Fleece Award, we can see because I made a speech to a Chamber of Commerce group, back in Wisconsin, in Appleton. And somebody in the audience said, "Well, why don't you do something about this - these crazy expenditures you talk about. So, I decided ^{that} we'd think about that. ~~The~~ Golden Fleece had a lot of appeal because 'gold' stands for the money ripoff and 'fleece' for the fact that it is a ripoff. - And established that in March of 1975. And the first ~~to~~ Golden Fleece was an agency that spent 78,000 dollars to try to find out why people fall in love, 78,000 bucks. ~~Now~~ Now if there's anything written about in college bull sessions and everywhere else, it's love. Everybody talks about it, thinks about it. And there's no reason why the government should poke its nose into it. And if the scientists could measure it and weigh it, you can kiss it 'goodbye' because one of the great things

about love is its mystery. But that was just one. ~~Let~~ Let me tell you about one other Golden Fleece. This was a fleece ^{that} we gave to an agency that spent 103,000 dollars to try to find out whether sunfish that drink tequilla are more aggressive than sunfish that drink gin - sunfish. You know there's all kinds of places in Wisconsin you can go to get volunteers for that kind of a program.

Brian: How has the Senate changed in 30 years?

39:05

Well, One great way it's changed - when I came to the Senate, it was run right out of Lyndon~~s~~ Johnson's hip pocket. Lyndon Johnson dominated the Senate in every way, shape and form. He decided what the Senate would do. He decided who'd serve on what committees. He made all the decisions for the Senate. It was terrible. I served in the Wisconsin legislature, one term - just long enough to get to understand how a legislative body operated. . . . You should have - ~~what~~ the leaders have to take their lead and their policies from the body - from the members. Lyndon Johnson didn't do that. He decided what would be done. He'd have one caucus a year. It was called Lyndon State of the Union message. He'd tell us what he thought should be done. And ~~that~~ we'd

adjourn. And we'd have another caucus a year later. So, I got up on the floor of the Senate and complained about that. That was 1959. I'd only been here a year and a half. And I did that on Washington's birthday. Usually on Wash. birthday, Wash.'s farewell address is read. Some guy in the press gallery said there were two farewell addresses read today - Washington's and Proxmire's. But, fortunately Lyndon was a very smart politician. And he recognized, as all of us should recognize, that even though you disagree w/ somebody and hate their guts, you're likely to need their support sometime in the future. So he never really tried to exclude me or punish me in any way. And I didn't really suffer from that, but we began to have caucuses. And I think that was one of the reasons why, since then, the Senate has changed to permit members of the Senate to make policy themselves. We do that. We have a caucus every single week, now, toward the end of session every day, and every time there's a very serious problem that's come up that the caucus hasn't had a chance to register their opinion on, we have a caucus. So, I think that that's borne fruit.

Brian: What would you change

41:07 Well, right now I'd change the rules. The rules are terrible - terrible, ridiculous. The

rules were made when we had thirteen states and 26 Senators, when the country was far, far less complex, when no Senator had any staff. And now the - you have a situation where you have a hundred Senators. You have a staff of probably four or five thousand people, not counting committee staffs - committee staff are another four or five thousand. And the result is that you have an overwhelming amount of legislation. And there are no rules in the Senate.

They have rules in the House and people complain about these rules because they limit length of speeches and so forth.

We have to do the same thing in the Senate.

I would do that. I would have rules similar to the rules you have in the House. But they would have to be quite as extreme as that. But that way you could have an orderly procedure and take things up, in an orderly - in a far more efficient way, and have adequate discussion. But not have a situation where you had to ~~push~~ push through, the way we do now. And fail to get a lot of your business done. Because there's such a traffic jam on the floor.

Brian: Is it likely to happen?

42:13 Oh I think it'll happen. I mean, it's just a matter of how long it will take. But we have, I think, a situation now that - that just is wrong from every standpoint.

Brian: What kind of influence does campaign money buy?

45:32

Very hard to say, and I think that most Senators would try very hard not to be influenced by it. But the fact is that you can't avoid it. A group comes in and, maybe they represent a particular institute—say the realtors, and they may have not one, they may have twenty political action committees. Each one of those can give you five thousand dollars. You could easily raise 100,000 dollars from the realtors if you were working on a committee or you were specializing ~~with~~ⁱⁿ something that had to do with the housing or with their interests. And there's no question that when you rely on that kind of contribution, you're going to at least give an ear, at least, and very possibly feel, "Well, things are fairly equal. And I'll go with them. I'll help them." This way and that.

And there's no question that money's corrupting—bound to have an influence. When people say the best Congress money can buy, ~~that's~~ it's not an exaggeration. It's too true.

Brian: Would you favor limits?

46:35 Oh, you bet your life I'd favor limits, absolutely. The ideal kind of a limit would be instead of saying, as some Senators have said, that

you shouldn't serve, if you're a Senator, more than two terms, that's twelve years. Or as a Congressperson, more than, more than ~~more~~ six terms, I guess, twelve years, just say that after that time you can't spend any money, at all. Now the Congress never can do that cause we're made up of incumbents. No ones gonna cut their own throats. But that would be the ideal kind of a situation. I'd like to see the sharpest limits that you could put on. And I think that the efforts that we've had to limit campaign contributions, I've supported all of them. And I think I'd like to see them go farther than they do. It's very, very hard to get it through. Because of course incumbents are the ones who benefit from campaign contributions and incumbents are the ones who make the rules. So, they're not going to do anything to hurt their own opportunity to get elected. But think of what has happened. In the last election in 1986, the last Congressional election, out of some 150 perhaps, Republicans running for re-election, only 6, ^{only 6} were defeated. Out of over 200 Democrats running for re-election, 1 was defeated. That's like having tenure as a professor. You just get in office and you stay in office now. You have ~~the~~ first crack at the money. People are always going to contribute more to incumbents. Political action cmtes.

are. And it's very, very hard under those circumstances to defeat an incumbent. That's not the way it ought to be. It's wrong.

Brian: Are Wisconsinites different?

52:28 I think~~ed~~ we're different, we're different primarily because we have a newspaper influence. . . . As I say, newspapers throughout the country have gotten a lot more fair, now, than they were a few years ago. But ours have been - had a ~~consistent~~ consistent record in that and they're very proud of that. And they've maintained that record well. And we have a University of Wisconsin which has a, just a great reputation ~~as an~~ excellent University. It is the number one university in the country in terms of the dollars that it gets in research allocations from the Federal government. They're that good. Number one state university. And I think that's had a profound influence. So it's a matter of pride, a matter of education. And our high school students, our high school graduates had the highest ACT scores last year of any in the country.

Brian: Haven't Wis. politicians been very independent?

53:19 Yes, I think that the La Folletts(?) established that, especially old Bob La Follett very independent and in a different way of

course, I supposed, Joe McCarthy, whom I succeeded. The seat I hold has been held by Old Bob La Follett, young Bob La Follett, Joe McCarthy and myself - that's it since 1905.

Bruan: What makes Wisc. politicians different?

53:45

One of the ~~big~~ things about Wisconsin is that we have a - it was a great state for Germans to immigrate to. I think we have one of the highest - maybe the highest German ethnic origin groups of any state. And it was the German socialists who came there.

People like - who acted in that tradition, I don't even know if their forebearers were German, people like Dan Home and Frank Zider, both whom were socialist mayors of Milwaukee. But they didn't socialize anything. The municipal operations were all privately owned. But they were thoroughly honest. 1936 Time Magazine had as the best mayor in the country, Dan Holmes^(?) of Milwaukee, best mayor at the time when mayors were corrupt and so forth. Wisconsin's taken great pride in the honesty of their officials. Republican, Democrat, Socialist doesn't matter. They all have that kind of reputation.

Brian: What do you want to accomplish w/ time left?

54:43 Well, there's several things I want to accomplish on the Banking Committee. We have a banking bill that would provide new powers for banks, powers to underwrite securities. And I think that's very, very important if banking is going to remain profitable as it should be. I also have an antihostile take-over bill. One of the great economic problems we have now is the merger-"mania", which I think has had a very adverse effect on our corporations and communities and so forth. And ~~it's diminished I think the kind of competition we should have. There's been a concentration, a growing concentration - the third and fourth biggest firms in Wisconsin were both taken over ~~by~~ in the first nine months of 1987. I think that's a terrible trend. And my bill will help stop that. I'm also very anxious to do what I can. There's not much anyone Senator can do. So do what I can at least to advance~~ the understanding and ideas for arms control. We live in a nuclear world, the most dangerous period in history. We're rushing ahead with what I think is a terrible mistake in the Strategic Defense Initiative. We should engage in research on that. But if we push ahead with the

kinds of weapons that we're talking about, the particle beams and the laser beams. If they improve the extent that they're - the aim and improvement we'd have a weapon that would be able to press a button and, in one twentieth of a second, wipe out the Kremlin. It travels at the speed of light - 186,000 miles a second. And those weapons would be hair-triggered, rapid fire, far more dangerous than what we have now. Which is a stand-off in nuclear capability that has kept the peace for a long long time. Once you get those instantaneous capabilities and on the base of all experience other countries will have them, too, we'll have them. Then, a few years later, the Soviet Union will have them and other countries will. And I want to do all I can to try to stop that kind of testing, testing of nuclear weapons, which makes it possible to advance in that direction. I think if we can stop the testing we can stop this terrible threat to human life.

Brian: Where will you live when you retire?

57:04 I'm going to live in Washington. I love Wisconsin. I'd like to live in Wisconsin, but I owe a lot to my wife. She's a wonderful woman and she-

wives of Members of Congress make a big sacrifice when their husbands come here. Eleanor was better, but I'm home a lot on recesses, it was better for her because she grew up in the District. All four of her grandparents were born in the District ^{of Columbia}. She went to high school here. Her buddies and friends are here. Her roots are here. So, she wants to stay here and I certainly want to - it's the least I can do for her.

Brian: What do you have planned for retirement?

57:37 I'd like to teach. I was a teaching fellow, and I loved that, when I was at Harvard. And I think I could that. And I love to write. And I intend to do that ~~as~~ as much as I can. But I think I'll work hard. I hope that I can work just as hard as I do now. And one of the great things is that I'll be able to schedule my work day and stick to it.

Brian: What do you want to be remembered for?

58:05 Well, I suppose I'd want people to remember that I worked hard, that I did what I thought was right, that I followed my own conscience and that I helped some, I hope, to prevent the terrible perspective ~~holocaust~~ of a nuclear war.