MARVIN KALB: Hello and welcome to the National Press Club and to another edition of The Kalb Report. I’m Marvin Kalb. My subject today is “Journalism, Commentary and the ‘O’Reilly Factor.’” And my guest is Bill O’Reilly. I’ll bet you never thought that Bill and I sort of were on the same page but we are, sort of. Fourteen years ago Bill was my student at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. And when I tell friends that I gave him an A- for a grade, they express some amazement. “You? Bill O’Reilly? Harvard? A-?” Some of them even say, “Why didn’t you flunk him?”

Bill O’Reilly is a modern phenomenon, a multi-million dollar media corporation unto himself. He hosts a nightly, one-hour cable television talk show on FOX called “The O’Reilly Factor.” He also hosts a two hours a day radio talk show called, “The Radio Factor.” He writes a column that appears in more than 300 newspapers. He manages a busy, businesslike Web site, billoreilly.com, which tells you about Bill’s favorite movies, Bill’s favorite books, Bill’s favorite music, and Bill’s favorite charities. He also writes a newsletter. And in his spare time, because I think he’s given up sleeping, he writes books, eight of them so far, the most recent, a memoir, with the characteristically modest title of, A Bold, Fresh Piece of Humanity. [Laughter]

Bill O’Reilly, student, friend, pro, welcome.

BILL O’REILLY: Thank you, Professor, I appreciate it.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. But let me warn you, Bill, as we start, this is the Kalb Factor and you’re in my no-spin zone. [Laughter] And there are no pin heads out here at the National Press Club. Is that understood?

BILL O’REILLY: Should I be fearful?

MARVIN KALB: I don’t know. Should you?

BILL O’REILLY: I don't know. We’ll see.

MARVIN KALB: By the way, the title, A Bold Piece of Humanity, were you talking about yourself?

BILL O’REILLY: My third grade teacher, Sister Mary Laranna in St. Bridget’s School on Long Island called me that and traumatized me for my whole life.

MARVIN KALB: [Laughter] Why did she call you that?

BILL O’REILLY: Why not? I was a little thug. You know, I was bothering her one day and she ran down with a little ruler and said, “William, you bold, fresh, piece of humanity,” and whacked me with a ruler. And that was the end of me. I was then turned into a monster that you see now. It’s all her fault.

MARVIN KALB: I will not blame her, though. You once said, and I think it was in that book, quote, “I have to deal with some very bad people in TV land. Most of the time I defeat them.” So who are these very bad people in TV land?

BILL O’REILLY: Well, you know, it’s divided into two groups. You have the unscrupulous managers and the moneymakers who corrupt the process in order to try to get ratings or to promote an ideology or whatever it may be. And then you have people who are backstabbers and, you know, you worked for CBS all those years. You are familiar with them.

MARVIN KALB: Actually, I never met a backstacher.

BILL O’REILLY: Oh, baloney. You know, this is what I mean. If you never met them, then you weren’t looking for them because that’s a rough—Because I worked at CBS News, too. That’s a rough landscape because it is very competitive and people want air time and people want adulation and they want attention. So it’s a rough, tough industry, television news, getting rougher as it shrinks. As the fewer jobs there are, more competition for them. And as the profit motive—when you first started, there wasn’t a profit motive in news. It was a break-even proposition. Now you are expected to deliver enormous ratings. And my program makes an enormous amount of money.
So that changes everything and makes it harder to basically do straight news or straight reporting because I’ve got to deliver ratings and I’ve got to deliver money to my corporation.

MARVIN KALB: Well, be specific. Who are the very bad people?

BILL O’REILLY: Well, I write about Jeffrey Immelt, the CEO of General Electric. And this is a guy who I don’t believe is an honest individual. I think he’s a guy who allows stuff that is smear stuff on his cable sites. He doesn’t level with the folks. There is a name. I write extensively about it. I can give you some more but does that really serve any purpose here? Do you want me to hatchet these guys?

MARVIN KALB: I don’t want you to hatchet them. I just—you used the term so I just wanted you to--

BILL O’REILLY: Well, he’s the big cohune that I have a problem with him, big problem with him.

MARVIN KALB: Big problem.

BILL O’REILLY: Hm-hmmm. I think he’s ruining [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: Do you have a big problem with anyone at FOX?

BILL O’REILLY: You know, they don’t bother me very much [Laughter] and it’s because of the profit.

MARVIN KALB: Is that the way you defeat them--

BILL O’REILLY: I defeat them by winning my time slot and by attracting more of an audience than anyone else. That’s how I defeat them. And I expose people who I believe are not being honest with the folks, whether they are on the right or the left. I mean, go after them.

MARVIN KALB: The phrase jumped out at me when I was doing a great deal of reading in preparation for this interview. And it sort of raised in my mind an image of you for a long time now as sort of having a you against them, “Me against the world. I have to prove myself. There was workplace injustice. I had to slug it out.” And you seemed to see life as a battleground, a war zone.

BILL O’REILLY: Oh, my job? What I do? A populist commentator, are you kidding me? I get it from both sides. So if you are going to put yourself off as somebody who challenges authority, challenges the press, challenges big business, challenges politicians, if you are going to take them on, they are going to come back at you. So it’s a war. You know, my book before Bold, Fresh was Culture Warrior. So I’m a traditionalist person.

People make a mistake of branding me a conservative. I’m not. But I’m a traditionalist and I believe the country is strong and the country has dominated the world in a good way because of its traditional core, Judeo-Christian philosophy, which the other side, secular progressives want to get away from. They don’t like it. They think it’s too judgmental. There is too much spirituality involved with it. And when you get into those precincts it’s a raging war.

And it’s a thousand times worse than it used to be because of the Internet. See there are no standards on the Internet at all. There used to be standards in newspapers, on television, things that you do and you don’t do. I still have my old Associated Press handbook when I started. I still have it. And when I worked for CBS I have a big, CBS handbook, “This is what you do. This is what you can’t do.” Forget it on the Internet. There are no rules. People do whatever they want to do. If they don’t like you, they will try to hurt you.

So that’s why you don’t have a lot of people like me, because they come after you. I have to have security everywhere I go. I have to have bodyguards. I have to, you know, people attack my Web site. They attack my staff. They threaten us. I mean it’s unbelievable. So, you don’t think there is a war out there, then you are not looking.
MARVIN KALB: You were saying a couple of minutes ago that one of the reasons that you see the world in this way is that there are people out there in television land who are interested in ratings, and sort of jumping in front of the public. Aren’t you doing that?

BILL O’REILLY: Sure. Absolutely.

MARVIN KALB: So, are you complaining about yourself?

BILL O’REILLY: I’m not hurting anybody in the process. There’s a difference.

MARVIN KALB: But aren’t you hurting those people whom you criticize?

BILL O’REILLY: No. If I criticize those people unwarranted, I would be hurting them. But if they are hurting the folks, what am I supposed to do?

MARVIN KALB: The folks being--

BILL O’REILLY: --Regular American people, working people who are honest. Well, here is a good example. We have been let down twice in the last decade to the extent that it’s staggering. The first was 9/11 when the Clinton administration didn’t tell anybody on a mass level that you had guys in Afghanistan gunning for us. And they knew. And then Bush took over. He didn’t tell us either. And then, all of a sudden, there are 3,000 people dead in the street. Did you know the name al Qaeda when they hit? Did you know?

MARVIN KALB: Yes.

BILL O’REILLY: I had vaguely heard about it. Did you know who they were, where they were, what they were doing?

MARVIN KALB: Bill Clinton actually shot rockets into the al Qaeda base in Afghanistan. And that was done in 1998. So that as a good reporter, you should have known that.

BILL O’REILLY: I should have. Probably my fault. But I’ll submit to you, I knew a little bit about al Qaeda. I had no idea what the threat level was. And if you did, you are much more perspicacious than I am. But am I [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: I’ll accept that, Bill. [Laughter]

BILL O’REILLY: All right. I’ll submit to you that 95% of the American people had no idea who al Qaeda was, where they were and what they were up to.

MARVIN KALB: Do you think it would have been the responsibility of the president of the United States in August of 2001, when he got a message, a note, a memo from the head of the CIA saying that al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden are planning attacks on the homeland of the United States, that he should have done something about that?

BILL O’REILLY: Absolutely. He should have had a press conference that day and told everybody in the country what it was. All right? So that is number one. And the other thing was the economic meltdown, okay, where good people were buying stocks like Merrill Lynch, like Lehman Brothers. They had no idea this bad paper was floating around? Barney Frank, he knew, Democrat from Massachusetts. Senator Dodd from Connecticut, he knew. Chris Cox, the head of the SEC, he knew. And Bush knew. They all knew.

Did they tell the folks? Bad paper had seeped into the absolute structure of our economy. Nobody said. So, my job is to try and get this stuff. And I failed both times because I didn’t recognize the al Qaeda danger. And I had no idea about the bad paper seeping into the structure of the economy because I had Merrill Lynch and Lehman stock. And my broker, who worked for Merrill Lynch didn’t know. I’m blaming Barney Frank. I’m blaming Dodd. I’m blaming Cox and I’m blaming Bush. Okay? Now, when I do that, what do you think their reaction is going to be? Get O’Reilly. So that’s who I’m looking out for and that’s what I do.
MARVIN KALB: Okay. Your sister Jan has said, and I hope I’m not miss quoting her misquoting you now, that when you were a very little boy (She didn’t give an exact age.) but a very little boy, you told her, quote, “I’m going to go on TV and tell people what to think, what’s right and what’s wrong.” So in a way you have succeeded. Ever since you were a kid you have been wanting to do this.

BILL O’REILLY: See, but I don’t remember that. Maybe I did. Maybe I was drunk. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: As a kid? As a very little boy?

BILL O’REILLY: It was a rough neighborhood, Professor. [Laughter] I don’t remember that. But I was certainly a flamboyant kid.

MARVIN KALB: What about this idea of using television to tell people what is right and what is wrong? Who are you to decide what is right and what is wrong?

BILL O’REILLY: Everybody has to decide that.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. So you are using the power of television to sort of convey your own point of view on everybody.

BILL O’REILLY: It’s every human being’s responsibility to decide what’s right and what’s wrong for them.

MARVIN KALB: Absolutely.

BILL O’REILLY: And also, to try to defeat what’s wrong and try to improve what’s wrong and promote what’s right. So what’s the better—what’s the best way to do that, and that’s to use the power of television to get your point across.

MARVIN KALB: But have you really—have you really been thinking about this for such a long time?

BILL O’REILLY: No. I was a high school teacher. I wasn’t even convinced that media was for me until maybe I was 24 years old. And then I went back to school, Boston University, and got a masters in broadcast journalism. But I always had a sense of what was right and what was wrong. There is no doubt. And I think that is my Catholic school upbringing. And I always didn’t like the bullies. And I didn’t like—I read about—You know, in my neighborhood in Levittown there was a prejudice against blacks. And we didn’t have any blacks. There were no blacks. So I couldn’t figure out what they were, why they didn’t like blacks.

And I like Willie Mays. I thought Willie was great. All right. He was my boyhood idol. And I’m going(?) “Willie(?)”. And everybody would cheer for Willie Mays. And I said, “Wait a minute. Willie is black.” Well, I never got it. I never got this. So when I heard that kind of stuff, I would say to my friends, “Knock it off. I don’t want to hear that. That’s ridiculous. All right. We don’t know any blacks. No blacks have ever done anything to me.” And I tell the famous story and I actually got—the far left distorted the story to attack me.

Well, my grandmother was fearful of blacks. And I said, “Grandma, you never met a black person. You’ve never talked to a black person.” But she was fearful because on television she would see them in cuffs, coming out on the local news, “Eyewitness News,” and she would go, “Well, they are going to hurt me.” And I would try to—I said, “Look. That is a very small percentage and you are Catholic. And our philosophy in Catholicism is that we treat everyone the same and there is no difference. And God created everybody. And so what are you doing, grandma?” And I would have conversations with my 90-year old grandmother about stuff like this.

MARVIN KALB: That’s wonderful.

BILL O’REILLY: Now, when I gave that soliloquy on the Radio Factor, the despicable far left, who I can’t tell you how bad they are—you know—all right—they took little dribs and drabs out of that and then they put it out on the Internet that I was denigrating black people. This happens all the time. Now, they are evil. And I go after them. And I did and I won, as I usually do. I expose them. We name the names, “Here are the people. Here’s what they do.” So the mass of people who are fair in America, most of America is fair minded, say, “Oh. Here is what O’Reilly said. Here is the excerpts they took. Look at this.” I win again.
But if I didn’t have a radio show and a television show and a newspaper column, I wouldn’t have won. So that’s why this is power that I need to get my points across.

MARVIN KALB: Bill, what is your definition of a good journalist?

BILL O’REILLY: Somebody who is honest. So if you learn something you don’t try to spin it a different way or ignore it. And somebody who is diligent so that they get two or three people to confirm what it is they are looking for. Journalism is not a very complicated world. It’s not. You need to be smart enough to know when somebody is trying to play you. And then you need to be hard working enough to get the facts nailed down, so that if they come back at you, you can say, “Here it is.” I’ve been doing this bloviating for 13 years.

MARVIN KALB: It’s a very negative word.

BILL O’REILLY: No. I’ve made it a positive.

MARVIN KALB: You have. [Laughter] Check the dictionary.

BILL O’REILLY: I’ve been doing it for 13 years. We haven’t had to retract one story, not one. Now, have we made mistakes? Absolutely. I make a lot of mistakes. I’m on three hours a day. You are going to make mistakes. We make them. We correct them. Wrong. Lawsuit, nothing.

MARVIN KALB: You’ve never had a lawsuit.

BILL O’REILLY: Never. Not in this [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: In the last 13 years.

BILL O’REILLY: Not in this area. We have been—let me correct that. We have been sued a couple of times. It has never gotten by summary. It has always been thrown out. Never lost a lawsuit, ever. And never had to retract a story, ever. Because my staff, they are like the Navy Seals. It’s, how do you know it? Where did you get it? And very rarely do we use anonymous sources, very rarely. And you see that all the time in the Washington Post, the New York Times and all these guys. We don’t do that. There’s got to be a name attached to it or we are not going to do it.

MARVIN KALB: Do you agree with your CNN colleague Lou Dobbs that there are now what he calls advocacy journalists?

BILL O’REILLY: Sure. MSNBC is a left wing network. They don’t make any bones about it. They said, “Okay. FOX is a right wing network. FOX is making all this money and we are not making any. So we will go left.” You know—listen, you guys should know this. In 2008 the total revenue for the three news operations in cable is more than $100 billion, with a “B”, dollars. FOX has 47% of that revenue. MSNBC has 13%.

So in order to jack up their revenue they said, “We will be the Obama network. We will be the far left network because there isn’t one of those and that is where we will go.” [Simultaneous conversation] Now, do you want to watch them, you watch them. I don’t care.

MARVIN KALB: Do you think it is good journalism for one network like FOX to be regarded as the right wing network and MSNBC to be seen as the left wing? Starting with that, do you think that is good journalism?

BILL O’REILLY: That’s a loaded question.

MARVIN KALB: Of course it is.

BILL O’REILLY: I don’t—listen, if you watch FOX news coverage, hard news coverage, it’s not conservative, it’s down the line. I mean you look at our hard news people, not the commentaries but Shepherd Smith, that kind of a situation, they just report
the news the same way they report it on CBS. And there has never been any kind of beef with that. It’s beef with me, Sean Hannity, that kind of stuff. So, do I have a problem with FOX news and their reportage? I have no problem.

MARVIN KALB: Do you have a problem with the reportage, then, of MSNBC?

BILL O'REILLY: They don’t do any reporting. [Laughter] They don’t have any newscasts.

MARVIN KALB: What about CNN? Do you place them right in the middle?

BILL O'REILLY: I have no beef with them. I think they lean left. There is a culture like they have at CBS and ABC. But I don’t have any real beef with them.

MARVIN KALB: There is a culture at CBS and NBC to lean left?

BILL O'REILLY: Leans left. You know that. You worked there for a while.

MARVIN KALB: No. No, I don’t know that.

BILL O'REILLY: Oh, stop.

MARVIN KALB: And that is a wonderful thing that you’ve just done.

BILL O'REILLY: Ridiculous.

MARVIN KALB: You’ve just done, “Everybody knows that.” Taking a look at your scripts, every single night, what I’ve come upon are these great phrases that you have, “Everybody knows that.” And you sort of overwhelm—[simultaneous conversation] you overwhelm the environment.

BILL O'REILLY: I want to get you on a record, Professor. You are going to sit here and tell--

MARVIN KALB: No, I’m going to get you on the record—

BILL O'REILLY: All right. You are going to get me on the record. You are going to sit here and tell me that you do not believe that there is a culture of liberalism at CBS news?

MARVIN KALB: You have used different words now. Liberalism, before you were saying left.

BILL O'REILLY: You are parsing.

MARVIN KALB: No, I’m not parsing, sir.

BILL O'REILLY: You explain it then.

MARVIN KALB: I will. Liberal is a broad, philosophical approach to life. Left refers to a specific political point of view. You are using both in the exact same way.

BILL O'REILLY: I’m saying they are--

MARVIN KALB: And you are saying that “Everybody knows that.” But everybody doesn’t know that.

BILL O'REILLY: But they should because it’s there. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: That’s in your opinion.
BILL O'REILLY: No.

MARVIN KALB: What is right and what is wrong.

BILL O'REILLY: I'll ask again. Are you going to deny--

MARVIN KALB: Yes.

BILL O'REILLY: --There is a liberal culture at CBS news?

MARVIN KALB: There is a liberal—I hope there is a liberal culture in America.

BILL O'REILLY: Well, you are crazy. [Laughter] [Applause] I’ll prove my case right here.

MARVIN KALB: Go ahead.

BILL O'REILLY: All right. Walter Cronkite. All right? Walter Cronkite--

MARVIN KALB: Liberal culture.

BILL O'REILLY: Is there a more, far left guy in the country right now than Walter Cronkite?

MARVIN KALB: Right now is different. He is not on the air now. No. No, Bill. This is important.

BILL O'REILLY: I just said culture, all right? Walter Cronkite [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: Walter Cronkite was, in the fifties and sixties and the seventies--

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah.

MARVIN KALB: --By 83% the most trusted man in America.

BILL O'REILLY: Just saying [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: That is what he did in front of a camera.

BILL O'REILLY: What you do in front of the camera doesn’t have anything to do with the culture.

MARVIN KALB: He can do what he likes, he is now retired.

BILL O'REILLY: Walter Cronkite, a far left guy. Okay? Dan Rather—[Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: You didn’t get an answer from me.

BILL O'REILLY: I mean—Look, I’m just put thing my case out there. Walter Cronkite, far left guy. Dan Rather, Dan Rather. [Laughter] If you go down the list, my good friend Mike Wallace, who I think is the best, he’ll tell you he is a left wing guy. Andy Rooney, he is a left wing guy. In fact Andy Rooney went on “60 Minutes,” and said, “Everybody on CBS is left wing.” Did you miss that? So don’t give me any of this, Professor, with all due respect. Don’t give me any of this it isn’t a left wing, liberal culture at CBS. It is.

And it’s a left wing, liberal culture at ABC. I worked there. My friend Peter Jennings, the late Peter Jennings was a very liberal man but he was furious about it. He didn’t want that. But it was all over the place. NBC is off the chart. And Andrea Mitchell, do you know Andrea Mitchell? She is a good friend, right, of yours.
MARVIN KALB: Yes.

BILL O'REILLY: Okay. I had her on my program. Did you see that interview?

MARVIN KALB: No.

BILL O'REILLY: I said, “Andrea, name one conservative who works for NBC News, one name.” Couldn’t do it.

MARVIN KALB: Hm-hmmm.

BILL O'REILLY: Not one name.

MARVIN KALB: Give me one liberal who works at FOX. One liberal.

BILL O'REILLY: Alan(?) [Simultaneous conversation] [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: We got one.

BILL O'REILLY: [simultaneous conversation] so far.

MARVIN KALB: You got one.

BILL O'REILLY: No, I can give you five.

MARVIN KALB: Hang on a second. Do you remember the movie Network?

BILL O'REILLY: I do.

MARVIN KALB: The TV anchor Howard Beales who resurrected his career by suddenly shouting, “I’m mad as hell and I’m not going to take it any more.”

BILL O'REILLY: Right.

MARVIN KALB: Right. Are you mad as hell?

BILL O'REILLY: I am. I am.

MARVIN KALB: You like being mad as hell.

BILL O'REILLY: I don’t think I like it but I think the folks are getting the shaft a lot of the time.

MARVIN KALB: Is it possible with justification for people to believe that you are simply participating in an act, that you are not really as mad as you present yourself, but you want the ratings and you are doing what you think is successful in the modern world of television [simultaneous conversation]

BILL O'REILLY: I would have to be Lawrence Olivier to do it for 13 years, wouldn’t I? You know, if I’m going to act every night for 13 years and convince millions of people who believe what I say, I’d have to be the best actor. I make Marlon Brando look like Luke Perry. [Laughter] So if you want to think that, Professor, you Walter and Dan go out for dinner and chuckle about it.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. [Applause] Good line. Good line. Do you ever relax?
BILL O’REILLY: Yeah, I relax. [Laughter] I’m a big reader. I read a lot and go to the games, big sports guy. I’m a diver. I go under water. I have a historical collection that I mess around with. So, you’ve got to get away from it, that’s for sure. But I work 60 hours a week.

MARVIN KALB: I’m wondering. You spoke before about your time at CBS and at ABC. During your time at both of those networks, you didn’t quite make it there. And--

BILL O’REILLY: ABC I did. CBS wasn’t a pleasant experience. But ABC I was on the air and I was there two years. I was on the evening news more than 100 times. I mean that’s pretty big. You know, how that is.

MARVIN KALB: And ABC colleague of yours says, “He wreaked of local. He was rough and unvarnished.” In response to that you said, “I refuse to be big footed and patronized.”

BILL O’REILLY: Right.

MARVIN KALB: Give me an illustration of a time when you were big footed and patronized.”

BILL O’REILLY: Well, I was down in Argentina for the Falklands War.

MARVIN KALB: That was CBS, wasn’t it?

BILL O’REILLY: Yeah. Do you want me to do ABC?

MARVIN KALB: Do CBS.

BILL O’REILLY: I tell you, it never happened at ABC because I looked at Roone Arledge in the eye and said, “Don’t hire me if you are going to do that to me.” And he said, “Okay. I won’t do it to you.”

MARVIN KALB: Do what?

BILL O’REILLY: Big footing. All right. Big footing is when you do the story and some pin head, bigger correspondent who is lazy or drunk takes the story away from you and he appears or she appears on the evening news. Professor Kalb is well acquainted with it, not that he did it but it’s been around for a long time.

I was down in Argentina, Falklands War. Very dangerous. Argentines are losing. Galtieri is the dictator. He goes out on TV and says, “We are losing the war.” Now, he had told them—this guy is like a General Electric CEO. He had told everybody up until that time they were winning. They were kicking Britain’s butt. He goes on and he says, “We are losing.” The place erupts, goes crazy, all right? People in the street. They try to storm the Casa Rosada, which is the pink palace where Galtieri lived, like the, you know, the head of the government.

So they are in there. I was down there and I get a call from CBS bureau chief to say, “O’Reilly, get down there.” Great! I’m down there. I’ve got my two crews. So I’m looking around. Where are the other CBS correspondents? I don’t see anybody. Okay. Maybe they are busy. Maybe they are on the other side of the Casa Rosada. I don’t know where they are.

So, anyway, all hell breaks lose. The people start to storm the Casa Rosada. The Argentine troops shoot people down in the street. They shoot them down. It’s not like rubber bullets or gas. It’s people are dying. All right? So, anyway, I get my crew and I grab my crew away and we are down a side street. We’re shooting all this stuff. It’s unbelievable. I mean people falling, like bing, bing, bing, bing, bing. Soldier runs down the street. I’m there. The photographer gets trampled. All right. So he is on the ground. I grab him and the camera and drag him into a doorway.

The soldier comes up and he is standing maybe ten feet away. He’s got the M-16 pointed at my head. I thought it was over. And I said, “Perio(?) dista(?) no(?) dispare(?)” That means, “Journalists, don’t shoot.” Por favor. The guy was about 18, 19 years old. He didn’t shoot. He went down the street. I mean I’m like this, sweat. So I get my guys. We go back to the car, jump in the car, go to the Sheraton Hotel. Feed the video back. Rather leads with it on the evening news. Okay.
There is a special at 11:30. So I said, “Man. This is going to be great. This is my big break. I’m going to get on. I’m going to be Dan, no Bill. It’s going to be Dan, Bill, you know.” [Laughter] I never got on the air. They took all my tape, everything like that, gave it to somebody else. I’m not going to mentioned who it is.

MARVIN KALB: Bob Schieffer.

BILL O'REILLY: No. I’m not going to mention it. You know, that was CBS News.

MARVIN KALB: Do you think that Bob Schieffer deliberately took the story away from you?

BILL O'REILLY: I don't know. I don’t care. All I know was he wasn’t there. So let me ask you a question.

MARVIN KALB: No. No. No.

BILL O'REILLY: Oh. [simultaneous conversation] Professor, come on, let me ask you a question.

MARVIN KALB: Put your finger down.

BILL O'REILLY: Would you have done that?

MARVIN KALB: Put your finger down.

BILL O'REILLY: Would you have done that?

MARVIN KALB: Put your finger down.

BILL O'REILLY: Would you have done that?

MARVIN KALB: I want to take a moment, at this time--

BILL O'REILLY: I wouldn’t do that.

MARVIN KALB: --To remind our radio and television audiences that this is The Kalb Report. I’m Marvin Kalb. And as you might have guessed, this is Bill O'Reilly. [Laughter]

BILL O'REILLY: You are not going to answer my question, are you?

MARVIN KALB: Of course, I’ll answer your question.

BILL O'REILLY: Would you have done that?

MARVIN KALB: No.

BILL O'REILLY: You weren’t there. You didn’t go there. You didn’t see the story. You didn’t cover the story. Would you have taken somebody, who almost got killed, all their tape—And he actually took, the chief(?) took my notes. He took my notebook.

MARVIN KALB: Didn’t CBS pay you?

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah, they paid me.

MARVIN KALB: Just a minute. You were paid to be a reporter.

BILL O'REILLY: Right.
MARVIN KALB: Okay. You covered the story.

BILL O'REILLY: Correct.

MARVIN KALB: You were paid to cover the story.

BILL O'REILLY: Correct.

MARVIN KALB: What the producer does with it in New York is not your business.

BILL O'REILLY: Well, I’m not working for that kind of an outfit.

MARVIN KALB: No. And you didn’t.

BILL O'REILLY: That’s right. Bye. Sayonara.

MARVIN KALB: Bill, let’s talk current history for a while. The Iraq War. When that war started you were very much for it. But then, afterward you began to call it a big mistake.

BILL O'REILLY: Right.

MARVIN KALB: Why were you for it?

BILL O'REILLY: Because I believed the intelligence that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction.

MARVIN KALB: You believed what you were told was the intelligence.

BILL O'REILLY: No. I--

MARVIN KALB: Did you see the intelligence?

BILL O'REILLY: Well, let’s put it this way. We talked to people in British intelligence, Egyptian intelligence, we, the Factor staff, and Jordanian Intelligence to confirm what the United States Intelligence was putting out. All right? So I’m going, “If Blair, Mubarek, and the Jordanian guy are saying the same thing, who am I to say it’s bull?"

MARVIN KALB: Bill O'Reilly. You do that every night.

BILL O'REILLY: No. I mean I’m a logical thinker. No, I don’t. I don’t every go against basis of belief when it’s from a credible source. So I’ve got four Intelligence outfits saying the same thing. I’ve also got Abu Nadal and Abu Abbas inside Iraq, notorious terrorists, notorious. I’ve also got Salman Pac. Do you know what that is? That’s the park where they train the terrorists to go out to Hezbollah.

MARVIN KALB: That was supposedly in Baghdad.

BILL O'REILLY: No supposedly. It is there. So now I’m saying, “They are training terrorists. They’ve go two of the biggest guys living there. And they got all of this stuff confirmed by four other Intelligence agencies. I’ve go Tony Blair out there telling me the same thing. I got Bush and I got Bill Clinton saying the same thing. I’ve got Clinton. I’ve got Bush. I got Blair. Okay.

MARVIN KALB: So on the basis of that, you decided—

BILL O'REILLY: I say--

MARVIN KALB: --That you would go with it.
BILL O'REILLY: No, and it was more. Saddam had violated 17 cease fire regulations.

MARVIN KALB: Now you sound like the Bush White House.

BILL O'REILLY: No, I don’t sound like that.

MARVIN KALB: You are ticking everything off.

BILL O'REILLY: Because that’s why I made my decision that way.

MARVIN KALB: Do you feel now that you were lied to then?

BILL O'REILLY: No.

MARVIN KALB: You don’t feel you were misled?

BILL O'REILLY: No. I think they made a mistake. I think that these Intelligence agencies, what they uncovered was wrong. It wasn’t a lie. It was a mistake.

MARVIN KALB: And you believe all of these governments, all were mistaken for the exact same reason. They were all taken in.

BILL O'REILLY: I believe that they all made the mistake because Saddam’s general, after Saddam fell said publicly, “We thought he had weapons of mass destruction because he was telling us that.” So if Saddam’s own generals thought he had WMDs, you could see why that would get out to other Intelligence agencies.

MARVIN KALB: And when did you decide it was all a mistake?

BILL O'REILLY: I decided very early on when there was massive looting in Baghdad and all the armaments were looted and no American forces stopped it. And I said it on the air.

MARVIN KALB: That was in the first two months.

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah. I said it on the air. I said--

MARVIN KALB: I know what you said on the air. I heard that. But at the same time where you saying, “The reason that we went into Iraq was wrong?”

BILL O'REILLY: No.

MARVIN KALB: You were just criticizing the looting.

BILL O'REILLY: The reason I turned against the war, in the sense that it wasn’t been waged appropriately, was because they had no strategy, what happens after Saddam? Chaos. Now, in any war planning you, you have worst case scenario. Tommy Franks did not have worst case scenarios, we know now.

MARVIN KALB: When you were telling the American people that the war was such a great idea, were you also telling them that you ought to be a bit skeptical about war planning—because every now and then as you look through history, you find example of a mistake after another. Were you telling this to your people, too?

BILL O'REILLY: Number one, I wasn’t telling anybody that the war was a great idea. I said it was justifiable based upon what we know. That’s number one. I must correct you because I know you want to be accurate. Number two, I can only, from my perch in New York, all right, I can only assess the situation based upon the dispatches that I get. And we were in touch with our FARC correspondents. And basically, the guy that turned it for me was Harrigan, Steve Harrigan, one of our bravest correspondents.
MARVIN KALB: He is very good.

BILL O'REILLY: Who said to me—I said, “Look Steve, what the hell is going on there? You know, we knocked guys out and now there doesn’t seem to be any control.” He goes, “I can’t go out for a cup of coffee.” And I said, “Why not?” He says, “Because we don’t have enough guys to control these crazies and the crazies know it.” Then I reported to the American people accurately, “Look, this is not the way to do it.” So I had no trouble removing Saddam Hussein. None, to this day. The guy had to go. He violated 17 Gulf Wars, the first time he violated we should have removed him. Okay.

MARVIN KALB: When you say, “He had to go,” why does that automatically make it our responsibility to make sure that he goes? Why isn’t it the responsibility of the Iraqi people?

BILL O'REILLY: Because we’re the leader of the world.

MARVIN KALB: We are the leader of the world.

BILL O'REILLY: The Iraqi people, they don’t have any power. We are the leader of the world.

MARVIN KALB: Are we still the leader of the world?

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah. I believe we are.

MARVIN KALB: Even after Iraq.

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah. We will get over Iraq and we actually turned it into a victory. It’s a peric victory in my opinion not worth the blood and treasure. But it’s a victory.

MARVIN KALB: Let’s talk about patriotism, definitions of patriotism through American history. One of those that jumps out is, my country, right or wrong. Do you accept that?

BILL O'REILLY: No.

MARVIN KALB: How would you define patriotism?

BILL O'REILLY: Patriotism is love of country and trying to improve it.

MARVIN KALB: So you would agree with Senator Kerry of Massachusetts, whom you would define as a well-known liberal--

BILL O'REILLY: And you said--

MARVIN KALB: --Who said--

BILL O'REILLY: Now, wait a minute. And you wouldn’t define him as a well-known liberal.

MARVIN KALB: No. No. Let me finish my sentence. Let me finish the sentence.

BILL O'REILLY: When you throw stuff out here, what do you think I’m going to do, sit here and let it go?

MARVIN KALB: Let me finish the sentence.

BILL O'REILLY: I mean you’re my teacher. You know I’m not going to let that go.

MARVIN KALB: Let me finish the sentence.
BILL O’REILLY: Who I would define as?

MARVIN KALB: Whom you would define as.

BILL O’REILLY: That’s like saying, I would say there is snow in Alaska. It’s ridiculous.

MARVIN KALB: Would you let me finish my sentence.

BILL O’REILLY: No. All right. Go ahead. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: Senator Kerry said--

BILL O’REILLY: Yes.

MARVIN KALB: --In the 2004 election, when his patriotism was questioned--

BILL O’REILLY: I stuck up for him, by the way.

MARVIN KALB: I’m glad to hear that. What he said was that, that definition of patriotism, “My country, right or wrong. Yes. My country when right, praise it. When wrong try to fix it.” No problem with that.

BILL O’REILLY: I’m glad you approve of that.

MARVIN KALB: Thanks. No, I gave you an A-.

BILL O’REILLY: And he only gave me the minus for spite. I deserved an A.

MARVIN KALB: [Laughter] Military service. You look like a big, strong, strapping kid. Have you ever served in the military?

BILL O’REILLY: No. I never served in the US military.

MARVIN KALB: Why?

BILL O’REILLY: It was basically the end of the Vietnam War when I was out of college and the draft was being abolished and I had a decision. I could have enlisted, of course. But I had a teaching opportunity and I thought that would be a better way to go since the military is winding down a war and that was a decision I made. My father was a Naval officer. My grandfather served in World War I, was a New York City PD. So we had that tradition.

I talked it over with my dad. And I said, “You know, I’m interested in maybe going into the MPs, military police,” you know. And he goes, “Well, you know, look. Let’s see how it shakes down. You know, this is winding down. See what they do. You’ve got a teaching opportunity to help some kids down there in Florida. That’s what I decided to do.

MARVIN KALB: During the 2004 presidential election, as you look back upon the swift boats veterans for truth, what do you make of them?

BILL O’REILLY: Well, it’s on the record. I mean I didn’t like that whole campaign. I thought it was ridiculous. My basic tenet was this. What you do when you are 21 and 22, you got to cut somebody slack. So Kerry made mistakes and this and that. I mean, come on. Look at you when you were 21 and 22, Professor. You were in prison I believe, weren’t you? [Laughter] You got to cut people some slack. [Laughter]

So from the jump I said on my show, this is ridiculous. You don’t like Kerry, fine but this? This is what you are going to do? Here is a guy who was on a PT boat on the Mekong. I mean how many people were on a PT boat in the Mekong? So Kerry appreciated it. He called me up. I took some heat from the far right on it. I don’t care. I did what was right.
MARVIN KALB: Do you believe that a president who avoided military service himself should be sending young men and women to fight in what are called wars of choice?

BILL O'REILLY: Are you talking about Bill Clinton? [Laughter] Is that who we are talking about?

MARVIN KALB: No. [Laughter]

BILL O'REILLY: No? Who are you talking about?

MARVIN KALB: I’m talking about George W. Bush.

BILL O'REILLY: He was in the National Guard.

MARVIN KALB: Hm-hmmm.

BILL O'REILLY: So you are not talking about Clinton who wasn’t in the military at all.

MARVIN KALB: That’s a different issue. [Simultaneous conversation] No, we can talk about both.

BILL O'REILLY: No. You posed a question. The president—[simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: Bill Clinton did not start a war such as the Iraq War.

BILL O'REILLY: Bosnia and Kosovo, what was that?

MARVIN KALB: Well, hardly that.

BILL O'REILLY: That was an intervention by the United States over in the Balkans.

MARVIN KALB: Do you know what the casualty rate was?

BILL O'REILLY: How did we know what would happen?

MARVIN KALB: Did you know what the casualty rate was?

BILL O'REILLY: A couple of hundred.

MARVIN KALB: Less than that.

BILL O'REILLY: No. The casualty rate was a couple of hundred.

MARVIN KALB: Much less than that.

BILL O'REILLY: It was a couple of hundred.

MARVIN KALB: The point that I’m trying to get at--

BILL O'REILLY: If I’m right do I get money or a prize? [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: Bill, you’re doing very well but you are not answering the question. And you know darn well you are not.

BILL O'REILLY: It was another left wing question.

MARVIN KALB: I want you to know--
BILL O'REILLY: You wanted to hit Bush and then I hit you with Clinton and you were going, “Uh-oh. I forgot about him.” [Laughter] [Applause] Come on. Now I’ll answer the question. [Applause] That the American people lacked the commander-in-chief--

MARVIN KALB: What you have just done—what you have just done is a classic O'Reilly.

BILL O'REILLY: Of course, I’m right.

MARVIN KALB: Right. What you have just done--

BILL O'REILLY: The classic O'Reilly is that I’m right.

MARVIN KALB: Not that you are right--

BILL O'REILLY: Of course I’m right.

MARVIN KALB: No, you’re not.

BILL O'REILLY: You loaded it up with president. I hit you with Clinton. He dodged the draft and you didn’t know what to say. Come on.

MARVIN KALB: I know that he dodged the draft.

BILL O'REILLY: These are smart kids out here.

MARVIN KALB: If you want to deal--

BILL O'REILLY: No, you wanted to get Bush and I hit you with the Clinton. All right. Do you want me to answer the question? That the American people--

MARVIN KALB: You don’t know the question yet.

BILL O'REILLY: Yes I do. You just said it.

MARVIN KALB: No, you don’t. No you don’t.

BILL O'REILLY: If the president didn’t serve, should he be able to send people into battle. That’s a question, correct?

MARVIN KALB: It’s a war of choice.

BILL O'REILLY: Oh, it’s a war of choice, like the Balkans.

MARVIN KALB: No.

BILL O'REILLY: That wasn’t a war of choice?

MARVIN KALB: No.

BILL O'REILLY: No? We had Balosovich(?) invading Virginia?

MARVIN KALB: Go ahead. I’m sorry.

BILL O'REILLY: You see what you made—It’s all you.
MARVIN KALB: I should have flunked you.

BILL O'REILLY: You should have. [Laughter] [Applause]

MARVIN KALB: Continuing with my line of questioning, I am talking about President Bush.

BILL O'REILLY: Hm-hmm.

MARVIN KALB: I am talking about the Iraq War. And I am talking about what you think of a president who avoids service in Vietnam, criticizing the patriotism of someone who volunteered, as you didn’t do when you had a chance to, volunteered to serve in Vietnam, had three purple hearts, three medals for courage(?) [simultaneous conversation] and(?) honor(?).

BILL O'REILLY: I didn’t see Bush criticizing Kerry for that.

MARVIN KALB: Yes, he did.

BILL O'REILLY: When?

MARVIN KALB: He criticized his patriotism.

BILL O'REILLY: Kerry’s patriotism?.

MARVIN KALB: Yes. I will be happy to give you the quotes.

BILL O'REILLY: I didn’t see that. But look--

MARVIN KALB: No. I want you to answer the question.

BILL O'REILLY: Just as I said you have to Kerry some slack, when he was 21, 22--

MARVIN KALB: Why do I have to cut him some slack? He didn’t do anything wrong.

BILL O'REILLY: Anybody back then—

MARVIN KALB: What did he do that was wrong?

BILL O'REILLY: Well, some people who would say throwing your medals in the garbage—

MARVIN KALB: Who are “some people?”

BILL O'REILLY: Me.

MARVIN KALB: Oh.

BILL O'REILLY: Some people might say throwing your medals in the garbage was [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: It was not a garbage dump. It was a heap of other medals.

BILL O'REILLY: I’m saying that was not a good decision.

MARVIN KALB: That might be not a good decision but he was there [simultaneous conversation] Vietnam.
BILL O'REILLY: I’m cutting Bush and I’m cutting Kerry slack when they did stuff in their twenties. You don’t want to cut them slack, don’t.

MARVIN KALB: You said before that you are not a Republican, that you are a traditionalist.

BILL O'REILLY: Not a conservative.

MARVIN KALB: Right. But you are a Republican.

BILL O'REILLY: No. I’m an Independent.

MARVIN KALB: You’re an Independent.

BILL O'REILLY: I’m registered Independent.

MARVIN KALB: Have you ever voted Republican?

BILL O'REILLY: Have I ever voted Republican? I don’t tell people who I vote for.

MARVIN KALB: Do you ever vote Democratic?

BILL O'REILLY: Same question. Same answer. I don’t tell people what I vote for.

MARVIN KALB: Do you--

BILL O'REILLY: Don’t endorse. Don’t tell.

MARVIN KALB: Do you believe that when the British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* ran a list of 100 American conservatives, you were listed as number 82.

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah.

MARVIN KALB: And I wondered if you regarded that as a compliment or an insult.

BILL O'REILLY: Number one, *The Daily Telegraph* means nothing to me. They’ve got to fill their space, so they filled it. Look, I don’t care what they think. Why do I care? I’m a registered Independent. I take a traditional view of the country. I think that it is a noble country. I’ve always felt that way. I think the traditional values of Judeo-Christian philosophy have made us very strong. And I think we have a society that needs to be improved on a number of different levels.

But it is basically a good venture. It provides more opportunities, the United States does, than any other country—

MARVIN KALB: Absolutely [simultaneous conversation]

BILL O'REILLY: --In the history of civilization. So, that’s where I am. Now if the dopey *Daily Telegraph* wants to put me on some ridiculous list, go right ahead. I don’t care.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. Run through a couple of items with me and then explain your position. On abortion, what is your position on that?

BILL O'REILLY: Abortion, I believe is a private decision that the public square, public square is probably ...(inaudible). The government has to decide what the human rights element of abortion is. The government never has decided that. So we know DNA is present at conception. So that takes away any kind of, “Well, it’s a—a fetus is just something you can throw in the garbage,” or something like that. It elevates it up. There is DNA present at conception. Okay. So start there. So then I say to myself, it’s not the
government’s job to basically tell people what to do. But there’s another potential person involved here, the fetus. So I use potential person because you can’t argue with that.

So I say, okay, let’s get a sane—let’s get a sane policy on this. We don’t have a sane policy now. We have a lot of emotion. We have a lot of political stuff. And I think that most Americans say, “If we could eliminate all abortions, that would be the best.” But I also think most Americans don’t want a law against it because that is not going to eliminate the abortions. You see? You see how complicated it is? If we could eliminate abortions, I think 90% of Americans would say, “That’s good. Let’s do that.” All right? “It’s not a good thing.”

But you can’t eliminate it by outlawing it. It doesn’t work. And then you create unintended consequences and more problems, all kinds of stuff. So the government, I think should basically take this much more seriously than it does. It is really a human rights issue. When you have more than a million babies, potential human beings terminated, I think you’ve got to think about that.

MARVIN KALB: It’s pro choice.

BILL O’REILLY: You know, I wouldn’t encourage anyone to have an abortion. I’ll tell you a story and I wrote about this in Culture Warrior. A girl came to me, a friend of mine, and said, “Look, I’m pregnant and can’t have the baby and I have to have an abortion. I don’t have any money. Will you help me? Will you lend me money?” And I really liked this person and I knew that she was in a real jam. And I said, “No. I’m not going to do it. I can’t have that on my sheet, my conscience. But what I will do is, I’ll support you monetarily. I’ll find a place for you to live and give you money until you have the baby and then I’ll arrange for Catholic Charities to put it up for adoption. I’ll do it all. That’s what I’ll do for you.”

MARVIN KALB: Okay. Gay rights. Where do you stand or sit on that?

BILL O’REILLY: Gay rights. I mean—

MARVIN KALB: Should gays have rights?

BILL O’REILLY: Sure. They are Americans.

MARVIN KALB: Right, including the right to marriage, any time, any place?

BILL O’REILLY: No. Here is my problem with gay marriage deal. If you let the gays marry, then the polygamists have to marry, too. Then the commune people marry. The triads marry. And then you marry your cousin. Then you marry a duck, right? I mean, you get into that thing like, okay, you want the gays to—and, by the way, do I care about this? Not really. I don’t care what Lenny and Squiggy do. I don’t care. They want to get married, let them get married.

MARVIN KALB: Oh, so you don’t have--

BILL O’REILLY: But if you are going to do equal justice--

MARVIN KALB: Right.

BILL O’REILLY: Then if you open it up for one group, you’ve got to open it up for all the groups. And they have done that in Holland, by the way.

MARVIN KALB: In terms of gays, you would have no problem with marriage.

BILL O’REILLY: Personally?

MARVIN KALB: Yeah.

BILL O’REILLY: I don’t care.
MARVIN KALB: Okay.

BILL O'REILLY: For the society, it’s a complicated issue.

MARVIN KALB: Right. Now, I’ve read that you, yourself, though support gays having the right to adopt children.

BILL O'REILLY: Yes.

MARVIN KALB: Now, explain that.

BILL O'REILLY: Why not? I mean if there is a kid in the system that nobody wants, you are going to keep the kid in the system and not give them to two guys or two girls who really want to take care of the kid? I mean that’s pretty rough on the kid, is it not?

MARVIN KALB: Right.

BILL O'REILLY: So you are agreeing with all this liberal stuff.

MARVIN KALB: I agree with parts of the O'Reilly philosophy.

BILL O'REILLY: Hm-hmmm. As long as they are liberal.

MARVIN KALB: No. So long as they are consistent with my image of the goodness of America.

BILL O'REILLY: Okay. Do you agree with any of my conservative positions?

MARVIN KALB: Yes. [Laughter]

BILL O'REILLY: Inquiry minds?

MARVIN KALB: I do.

BILL O'REILLY: Inquiring minds.

MARVIN KALB: I do.

BILL O'REILLY: Like what?

MARVIN KALB: Is this the Kalb Report or the O'Reilly Factor? [Laughter]

BILL O'REILLY: Well, you and Walter and Dan talk about it over dinner.

MARVIN KALB: Will you pay?

BILL O'REILLY: You know, I will pay for that. If you get a tape recorder and you, Cronkite and Rather at dinner talking about me--

MARVIN KALB: Oh, no, no, no.

BILL O'REILLY: Anywhere you want.

MARVIN KALB: Believe me, they are not talking about you.

BILL O'REILLY: Oh, they are.
MARVIN KALB: No, they are not. I don’t want to hurt your feelings but they are not.

BILL O’REILLY: For a free meal?

MARVIN KALB: I don’t want to hurt your feelings. The United Nations. You once said, dismissively, “All those people do is go out to lunch.” [Laughter] But that is not all the United Nations does--

BILL O’REILLY: No, they go to dinner, too.

MARVIN KALB: --And I think you know that. You know that. [Applause] Don’t you? Don’t you know that it’s more, that the UN does a lot more than go out for lunch and dinner?

BILL O’REILLY: I know that they steal oil money and they run away in Africa when there’s a mass slaughter. I know they do all those other things as well. But I was(?) going to be easy on them and just make fun of them about the lunch.

MARVIN KALB: I see. What I would like to know is why do you say that?

BILL O’REILLY: Because they are pin heads.

MARVIN KALB: Because they are pin heads.

BILL O’REILLY: Yeah. The whole place is corrupt. Didn’t you get the oil for food scandal? Didn’t you get the Rwanda slaughter? You didn’t get all of that? You missed all of that? Come on. The United Nations, you asked a good question--

MARVIN KALB: What would you do--

BILL O’REILLY: --Why does America always have to do this? Why does America always have to go to the Balkans. The UN wouldn’t go to the Balkans would they? No. They wouldn’t stop ethnic cleansing.

MARVIN KALB: NATO went.

BILL O’REILLY: NATO is not the UN. I’m down with NATO. They are great.

MARVIN KALB: Oh, you like NATO.


MARVIN KALB: Let me keep going.

BILL O’REILLY: You better--

MARVIN KALB: Let me keep going.

BILL O’REILLY: --Because don’t get me going on the UN here. You better keep going. Go ahead.

MARVIN KALB: I’d like to know why, as a matter of fact, you pander to people who know so little about major issues.

BILL O’REILLY: I pander to people--

MARVIN KALB: Yes.

BILL O’REILLY: --Who know little about major issues.

MARVIN KALB: So little about major issues--
BILL O’REILLY: I’m a nice guy, that’s all. That’s why I do it. Don’t want to hurt their feelings. If I feel someone doesn’t know anything, I’m charitable towards that person. I don’t want to hurt their feelings. You got some names there that I pander to?

MARVIN KALB: Yes. Evan Thomas at Newsweek--

BILL O’REILLY: Who am I pandering to?

MARVIN KALB: --Described you as, “Every man on a barstool, mad as hell, but with a wink.” And I’m trying to discern in the last hour, the wink. [Simultaneous conversation]

BILL O’REILLY: I’ve been making fun of you for the last hour, Professor.

MARVIN KALB: You haven’t been making fun of me. You’ve been making fun of yourself.

BILL O’REILLY: Okay. Well. And that’s a good thing, self-deprecating you have to be.

MARVIN KALB: Excellent. And you should really keep that up.

BILL O’REILLY: Thank you.

MARVIN KALB: I would like to know how you would like to be remembered after you kick the bucket.

BILL O’REILLY: On my tombstone I’ve already ordered this inscription--

MARVIN KALB: Oh, good.

BILL O’REILLY: “He finally stopped talking.”

MARVIN KALB: [Laughter] That’s very good. [Laughter]

BILL O’REILLY: You like that one. That’s a self-deprecating thing.

MARVIN KALB: That’s very good, Bill. I appreciate that. I think that I would like to find out a little bit more about what makes you tick. Because I find you a most remarkable phenomenon, as I said at the very beginning. In the book Culture Warrior, you wrote a great deal about slights and wounds that you have suffered at the hands of people. And, once again, I’m sorry, but I get back to this image of a guy on a battlefield who doesn’t have terribly much fun but is constantly at war, at war with his surroundings--

BILL O’REILLY: The book is Culture Warrior, Professor.

MARVIN KALB: Yeah.

BILL O’REILLY: I’m writing about the culture war.

MARVIN KALB: Right.

BILL O’REILLY: I could write about O’Reilly goes to the beach.

MARVIN KALB: Why don’t you? It doesn’t sell.

BILL O’REILLY: Number one, it wouldn’t sell.

MARVIN KALB: It wouldn’t sell.
BILL O’REILLY: But then I could say, “Well, I had fun here and I had fun there. And then I had lobster. And then we did the cha, cha, cha.”

MARVIN KALB: I think [simultaneous conversation]

BILL O’REILLY: Well, *Culture Warrior* is about the conflict.

MARVIN KALB: The conflict you perceive as going on--

BILL O’REILLY: That I perceive?

MARVIN KALB: Yes.

BILL O’REILLY: No the conflict that is going on in the country.

MARVIN KALB: --That you perceive is going on in the country.

BILL O’REILLY: That I perceive.

MARVIN KALB: Is it going on all over the world?

BILL O’REILLY: I don’t know. I don’t live in Uruguay. It’s going on here.

MARVIN KALB: You do read--

BILL O’REILLY: Yeah.

MARVIN KALB: --And watch television.

BILL O’REILLY: You know, is it going on all over the world? No. Is there a culture--

MARVIN KALB: Just in the United States.

BILL O’REILLY: Is there a culture war in Iran? No.

MARVIN KALB: Just in the United States.

BILL O’REILLY: Because [simultaneous conversation] head off, that’s why.

MARVIN KALB: Just in the United States.

BILL O’REILLY: No. Other countries, too. Is there a culture war in Iran? No. Because if you are a secular person--

MARVIN KALB: I’m not talking Iran. I’m talking about--

BILL O’REILLY: That’s other parts of the world.

MARVIN KALB: Western Europe?

BILL O’REILLY: Some nations--

MARVIN KALB: Japan? India?
BILL O'REILLY: [simultaneous conversation] culture war.

MARVIN KALB: Brazil? I mean is it all going on all over the world?

BILL O'REILLY: There’s a culture war in some nations. In other nations there isn’t. Not a culture war in Japan. I mean, it’s a homogenous society. It’s a traditional society. They do what they’ve always done. You seem to not want to engage this but in the Muslim world there are no secular progressives. You would have been beheaded, Rather, me, we would have all be beheaded a long time ago there. So there is no culture war there. But in free societies, vibrant societies, Great Britain, Canada, the United States, certainly there is a culture war.

MARVIN KALB: But you know what’s interesting, though, is that in a place like Egypt and a place like Iran, according to fairly good intelligence, which you seem to put a great deal of weight on, there are culture wars going on there.

BILL O'REILLY: Very little.

MARVIN KALB: Very little, yes, but--

BILL O'REILLY: Very little.

MARVIN KALB: --But there are culture wars going on.

BILL O'REILLY: Very dangerous. Very dangerous in those places.

MARVIN KALB: It’s at the university. It’s among writers. It’s among many of the people that I would like to believe that you would actually, if you were in the position to, support.

BILL O'REILLY: I would support them.

MARVIN KALB: You would.

BILL O'REILLY: Sure. [Simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: You would support people who would object to the position of the government in power.

BILL O'REILLY: It depends what the government is.

MARVIN KALB: If the government in power were--

BILL O'REILLY: If the government is tyrannical, absolutely.

MARVIN KALB: --Tyrannical, you would support these people.

BILL O'REILLY: I mean these poor people in Burma and all of that. I mean you’ve got to support those people.

MARVIN KALB: So that in the old days in the Soviet Union, when somebody would come along like that, you would support them.

BILL O'REILLY: Absolutely.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. That is a very good thing. And that is a good thing to know that Bill O'Reilly on 9/11 went down to a lower Manhattan restaurant and served meals to people. And you didn’t do it with a camera. You did it because you thought it was the right thing to do.

BILL O'REILLY: You know, but I didn’t do nearly enough. Yeah, I did that.
MARVIN KALB: But you did do that.

BILL O’REILLY: But that’s not big deal. You know, what I did for 9/11. Here’s what I did--

MARVIN KALB: No. No. But you can’t because our time is up.

BILL O’REILLY: Okay.

MARVIN KALB: And you’ve used that phrase in the past before. And I’m really sorry that it is up because first of all, I would thank our wonderful audience, who have really been in it. And most especially I want to thank Bill O’Reilly for spending an hour with one of his former professors, with full respect. And most of all, I want to thank all of you out there in radio and television land who continue to cherish the idea of a free press in a free society.

I’m Marvin Kalb. Good bye and good luck.

[Applause]

END OF PART 1
BEGIN PART 2

MARVIN KALB: Ten minutes of just private chat between me and Bill.

BILL O’REILLY: It’s recorded.

MARVIN KALB: Yes, it’s recorded. Would you say something different if it weren’t recorded?

BILL O’REILLY: No. I just want to always know.

MARVIN KALB: All right. That’s fair enough. Did you see the debate last night?

BILL O’REILLY: I did.

MARVIN KALB: What did you think?

BILL O’REILLY: I thought McCain won but not by much. He brought an authority to the foreign affairs arena that would have been impossible for Obama to match. But I thought Obama was good, quick. There was a pretty good definition of both of them so that the voter gets a good—you know, there was a big difference on a couple of issues. And I thought it was good. I thought anybody who watched that, it wasn’t a waste of their time.

MARVIN KALB: No, not at all. Let me ask you, see if you agree with me on this point. And if you do, I will be quite amazed. When I was watching that, and we were both watching it, I’m sure, very closely, we see what the television provides us. It’s a pooled shot. Not once did I see McCain even look at Obama, even acknowledge his presence. And I was wondering, why do you think that was the case? I mean Obama sort of—if the two of us are sitting or standing now, you’re having a discussion or a debate, you would naturally look at the other person. Why do you think McCain didn’t even look at Obama?

BILL O’REILLY: No idea. I can’t answer the question. I just don’t know.

MARVIN KALB: But do you find it surprising?

BILL O’REILLY: Not really.

MARVIN KALB: Really!? 
BILL O'REILLY: I think McCain was very intense and trying to remember a lot of things that he had been coached to say. And when you are intense and trying to remember, you lose site of the fact that there is somebody there. But I can’t say for certainty that’s the reason he didn’t look at him. But I knew, being a professional, that both McCain and Obama had talking points. They were rehearsed. And they wanted to get those things precisely stated. When you are trying to remember things like that, you just forget about the environment. You forget about how you are presenting yourself because you are so intent on remembering. I think that was what McCain was doing there.

MARVIN KALB: What about chewing gum and walking at the same time, as they used to say about President Ford in a derogatory way. My own feeling about that was that there was something in McCain’s attitude that struck me as ever so slightly contemptuous--

BILL O'REILLY: Maybe.

MARVIN KALB: --Of Obama.

BILL O'REILLY: But you had the other side, too, where Obama was smiling when, you know, not is a smiling nice way but in a dismissive, “Oh, here he goes again, way.” So both of them did that. And then the voters see it and you make your own mind up whether that is condescending or whether it’s something else. To me, I don’t care.

MARVIN KALB: Okay. You spoke earlier about your views in general about the economic meltdown and I certainly share those views.

BILL O'REILLY: Awful.

MARVIN KALB: I think a lot of this information--

BILL O'REILLY: Awful. Awful.

MARVIN KALB: --Could easily have been shared with--

BILL O'REILLY: And should have.

MARVIN KALB: And should have.

BILL O'REILLY: It’s the responsibility of those people to level with the folks, something that wrong was under the surface.

MARVIN KALB: Right. Have you found, Bill, in your book, your work as journalist, observer, historian to a degree—do you think that presidents lie routinely? I hear this a lot.

BILL O'REILLY: You know, I’m not going to tell. I don’t make those assertions unless I’m 100% sure that there is a lie. I think that the people that say Bush lied about Iraq are irresponsible. Most of them are gutter snipes. There is no evidence that I’ve seen that he lied about Iraq, not one shred of evidence. And I know these people. Look. I had George Tenet on my program. I looked him in the eye. Now, is Tenet lying to me? Maybe. But if you look me in the eye and tell me something, Professor, I’m going to believe you. I’m going to believe Tenet. I’ve got no reason not to believe Tenet.

BILL O'REILLY: You know, I’m not going to tell. I don’t make those assertions unless I’m 100% sure that there is a lie. I think that the people that say Bush lied about Iraq are irresponsible. Most of them are gutter snipes. There is no evidence that I’ve seen that he lied about Iraq, not one shred of evidence. And I know these people. Look. I had George Tenet on my program. I looked him in the eye. Now, is Tenet lying to me? Maybe. But if you look me in the eye and tell me something, Professor, I’m going to believe you. I’m going to believe Tenet. I’ve got no reason not to believe Tenet.

Tenet walked up to me and he said, “I told Bush X, Y, and Z. That’s why Bush did what he did.” So I’m going to believe him. Okay? You show me evidence Bush lied, fine. I’ll look at the evidence. You say he lied without that evidence, I’m not going to have respect for you. Lie is a pretty serious word. You could get just shot in the old west. Now we throw it around like, “Oh, yeah. You(?) look at this. Look at that.” You better have that evidence before you make that accusation in my world.

MARVIN KALB: And you have had no evidence of a Bush lie.

BILL O'REILLY: None.
MARVIN KALB: Nothing that has come up in the course of explaining the war.

BILL O'REILLY: Not that I can see.

MARVIN KALB: And in the latest Bob Woodward book, when he gives you documented evidence--

BILL O'REILLY: I read Woodward’s book. There is no outright lie assertion there.

MARVIN KALB: There are three or four areas, though, if you read the book carefully, where he quotes what it is that Bush said to him, to others internally, and what he then said to the American people. He said that in the book.

BILL O'REILLY: Did Woodward say in the book, and if he did I missed it, “Bush lied?”

MARVIN KALB: No. Woodward has a different way of doing it.

BILL O'REILLY: Fine. Okay. Now, let me explain why I’m not going to use the word lie there.

MARVIN KALB: You’ve already explained that.

BILL O'REILLY: I say a lot of things, all right? And so does Bush and so do you.

MARVIN KALB: Oh, I say much less.

BILL O'REILLY: I may say one thing to this audience and then three weeks later talk about something else. And it might not match. Is that a lie?

MARVIN KALB: No.

BILL O'REILLY: You can’t possibly--

MARVIN KALB: --Remember everything.

BILL O'REILLY: Right. And sometimes [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: Because you are not president.

BILL O'REILLY: Sometimes you phrase things one way. Sometimes you phrase things the other way. Now, if I had Bush on videotape saying X and then totally contradicting himself--

MARVIN KALB: Would you say he lied?

BILL O'REILLY: I would say, “What the hell is this?”

MARVIN KALB: And what would you conclude from, “What the hell is this?”

BILL O'REILLY: Well, I’d call him up and say--

MARVIN KALB: Can you get through to the President?

BILL O'REILLY: I can.

MARVIN KALB: You can?

MARVIN KALB: No. I’m filled with admiration.

BILL O’REILLY: I can get through to anybody in this country.

MARVIN KALB: Anybody.

BILL O’REILLY: Anybody. And I would say, “I need a clarification on this.” Or, if I don’t get it, I got to go on the air and say, “Looks like a lie.” Fair?

MARVIN KALB: Yes. Would you say that on air?

BILL O’REILLY: Absolutely. I’ve said it many times about all of these pin heads. I mean, you know, I have been--

MARVIN KALB: Are you calling Bush a pin head?

BILL O’REILLY: I said all of these pin heads. That’s the political—[simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: We were talking about Bush.

BILL O’REILLY: Political pin head umbrella. Okay? I have been, in 13 years on the air, very tough on all people in power and everybody knows that. You saw my interview with McCain. You saw my interview with Bush. You saw my interview with Obama. There is not a tougher interviewer in the country. You know that. There is not one. I’m the toughest. This is it. Why? Because my responsibility isn’t to them, it’s to you. I got as get as much information out of these guys as I can get.

Now, when you interview a president, you only go up to a certain line. You can go up to a certain line. You can’t cross it. Everybody else, you can go in. You can’t be disrespectful because if you do that then you are never going to get another interview. But you can push. But with the president, it is a little bit different. But if Bush lied about anything, I would say it if I had the proof.

MARVIN KALB: Okay.

BILL O’REILLY: But I’m not going to say it lightly.

MARVIN KALB: Bill, have you ever had moments of humility? [Laughter] Just moments.

BILL O’REILLY: Private moments.

MARVIN KALB: You know, flashing.

BILL O’REILLY: Private moments.

MARVIN KALB: Private moments. Does your wife ever tell you, “You’re dead wrong, Bill?”

BILL O’REILLY: Sure. Everybody does. Look, I like robust debate. I want my program—the reason we are successful is because we have people who disagree with me and we go back and forth. And then everybody says who won. It was like doing the show with you.

MARVIN KALB: Do you ever feel that you have balanced the ticket between those who agree and disagree with you?

BILL O’REILLY: What do you mean by that, “balance the ticket?”

MARVIN KALB: In other words, if you’re on the air five nights a week--

BILL O’REILLY: Right.
MARVIN KALB: --And you are there for five hours that you have ten people who would be defined as conservatives agreeing with you basically as opposed to liberals on the far left who would disagree with you.

BILL O'REILLY: You know, they tried to calibrate the audience along those lines and Pew had done it. Look. I think that I have a bit of the Howard Cosell thing going on where you, some people watch me because they don’t like me. They just want to be outraged.

MARVIN KALB: Oh, I see.

BILL O'REILLY: But I do have a core of people who respect what I do and agree with [simultaneous conversation]

MARVIN KALB: No question about it. No question about it. Tell me about your attitudes to the degree that you wish to, about Senator’s McCain’s selection of Sarah Palin as a prospective vice president.

BILL O'REILLY: I don't know her yet. All right.

MARVIN KALB: Have you interviewed her yet?

BILL O'REILLY: No.

MARVIN KALB: Did you watch the interview of your colleague Sean Hannity?

BILL O'REILLY: Yeah. I watched it.

MARVIN KALB: What did I think of it?

BILL O'REILLY: You know, that was more of a travelogue, traveling through Sarah’s life. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: Was there a single, a single--

BILL O'REILLY: But that is not what he does, though. Hannity is an advocate for the Republican conservative position. So why would he not do that? That’s what he says he is. That’s what he does. You know, it’s like if you go to the Marriott Hotel on the soap will say, “Marriott Hotel.” Right? So, what are you giving me here? He is a Republican conservative. Palin comes in and they walk through Palin’s life. That’s what they did.

MARVIN KALB: Okay.

BILL O'REILLY: All right. Now, if Palin comes in here to the Factor, it will be different.

MARVIN KALB: Hm-hmmm. Are you going to get her?

BILL O'REILLY: It might not be better. It might be worse. I don't know.

MARVIN KALB: Are you going to get her?

BILL O'REILLY: I hope so. Why wouldn’t I?

MARVIN KALB: No. No. Have you tried?

BILL O'REILLY: Of course I’ve tried. What do you think, I’m sitting around--

MARVIN KALB: No. No. They said, “No?”
BILL O’REILLY: They said, “We will try to work it out.” That’s what they said. And I hope they try, hard, to work it out. If she doesn’t come in I will be disappointed. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: Have you had Biden on as yet?

BILL O’REILLY: Biden won’t come in. Now Biden and I have a telephone relationship.

MARVIN KALB: I(?) see(?).

BILL O’REILLY: Right. So far Biden hasn’t come in. I don't know why.

MARVIN KALB: Why is it a telephone relationship?

BILL O’REILLY: He kind of likes me, I think. He calls me up and yells at me once in a while. [Laughter] You know. I like him. I think he is very interesting(?).

MARVIN KALB: But have you invited him to come on?

BILL O’REILLY: Of course I’ve invited him on.

MARVIN KALB: And he has said, “No?”

BILL O’REILLY: He’ll try to work it out. [Laughter] You know how these weasels are. I’m not calling him a weasel but, you know, how people are, “Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. Augh!” One of these.

MARVIN KALB: Who is your most difficult interview?

BILL O’REILLY: You know, I don’t really have interviews and I’ll tell you why--

MARVIN KALB: People who are interviewed have difficult interviews.

BILL O’REILLY: Yeah. Because look, to me, if I interview somebody and they are stupid, then I’ll just take it over and say, “You’re stupid.” So the interview will be fine because I will make fun of them. [Laughter] If they are good, then the interview is good because then they are giving me information. So I never have a bad interview because you are either a good subject and you give us information that folks will like or I will make fun of you, which I like. I like making fun of you. I like doing that. So I can’t lose. And that is absolutely true. I can’t lose on an interview, even if the interview person is very good. Then I’ll kind of bore in and give you a little of this and, “What’s the matter with you,” and that kind of thing.

MARVIN KALB: When you talk about the folks, you really fascinate me.

BILL O’REILLY: Really what?

MARVIN KALB: Fascinate me.

BILL O’REILLY: Fascinate you? Because you don’t know any folks. [Laughter] You live in Washington. You go to the Kennedy School. You don’t know any folks. You know, if you go out to Long Island, where I live, if you go up to Buffalo, if you go out to Pomona, California, that’s where the folks are. And the folks are, all they want is to be protected and to be dealt with honestly. Just tell the folks. And these Washington people just don’t get it. They don’t get it. And I just can’t imagine. Just tell them what’s going on, right? Just tell them.

They may not like you. They will like you, but they will respect you if you do it. And that’s what that—Look, that’s why I’m successful. I just tell them. You don’t have to agree with me. But they know when they turn me on it is not a bunch of BS. I’m going to tell you, look, this is what I think. This is what it is. Here is who is helping you. Here is who is hurting you. That’s it. No agenda. I’m not trying to get me elected, none of that, you know.
And that’s what drives my critics crazy because they want me—they want to put it in the ideological thing. They want to do this. They want to—They can’t do it. They can’t do it. I got one constituency. I’m trying to get information to the people so their lives can be better. That’s it.

MARVIN KALB: I hope that you will go to your sister and ask her about the quote because obviously she said it, it hasn’t been denied either by you or by her.

BILL O'REILLY: Why is that so important to you?

MARVIN KALB: It’s not that it’s important. I could live easily without it. [Laughter]

BILL O'REILLY: Good.

MARVIN KALB: But I’m curious and I think the good journalist is curious about his subject. You are, at this point, in my no spin zone, a subject. And I’m kind of curious because if somebody says early on, “I’m going to go on television and tell people what’s right and what’s wrong”--

BILL O'REILLY: I think I was talking--

MARVIN KALB: What incredible chutzpah.

BILL O'REILLY: Now I’m remembering. I think I was talking about “American Bandstand.” I think that I was talking about, “I want to tell them which record I like.” Because I can’t ever remember watching much news. I mean I didn’t. I was playing ball(?) all the time.

BILL O'REILLY: I think I was talking--

MARVIN KALB: What kind of a youth did you have?

BILL O'REILLY: A Bold, Fresh Piece of Humanity will spell that out to you, my book. I was just a little thug. When I go back—my mother still lives in a Levittown neighbor I was brought up in. People go, “How come you are not in jail? What happened there” because I--

MARVIN KALB: That’s where we met, right.

BILL O'REILLY: I was just a little ruffian. No. You were much older than I was. You were down with Al Capone, I believe.

MARVIN KALB: [Laughter] [simultaneous conversation] solitary confinement.

BILL O'REILLY: I was. The best place for me. I was a little ruffian a little, but not a bad kid. You know, when the drugs came into my neighborhood in the sixties and they were bad, I could have gone that way because a lot of my friends did. Three of them are dead. And if I had been a bad or really rebellious kid, I would have gone there. But I said, “Nah, you know, I’m not going to do that. That’s not what I want to do.” I was playing sports, this, that and the other things. But, you know, I was a spirited lad. And the nuns, you know, they had a handful. And I write about all of that stuff because it shaped the person I am today. And that’s what A Bold, Fresh Piece of Humanity is about.

MARVIN KALB: Are you a religious person?
BILL O’REILLY: I go to church. Am I religious? I don’t try to convert people. I go church. I go to Mass every Sunday because I need that time to get out of myself and I like that—I think that spiritual thing is a good thing.

MARVIN KALB: Hm-hmmm. And you said that, was it the nun who slapped you across the wrist?

BILL O’REILLY: Yes.

MARVIN KALB: I don’t remember her name. I’m not saying that disrespectfully.

BILL O’REILLY: You got to read the book, Professor. Sister Mary Laranna.

MARVIN KALB: Laranna.

BILL O’REILLY: Right.

MARVIN KALB: And what did—Because I’ve never been slapped across the wrist by a nun.

BILL O’REILLY: And you should have been.

MARVIN KALB: I should have been. [Laughter] Probably or possibly anyway.

BILL O’REILLY: I can arrange that, by the way. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: How does that get the religion into you? What was in her mind and what was in yours at the time?

BILL O’REILLY: You know, I never really bought into, “You’re going to hell if you check-to-check dance with the girl. I never really bought into that kind of thing. I(?) said(?), “It must be awful crowded down there, you know.” But I respected the fact that there—the keystones of Judeo-Christian philosophy, not religion, is that there is an active good and evil in the world. And you, every person, has to decide, using free will, which crew to join. And I got that real early.

And that’s shaped me and that—look, you are put here on earth. You have a short lifetime and you are going to be confronted with a bunch of different stuff. You have to decide which way you are going. And if you look throughout history, all of the people—I admired all the people who stood up for good. I admired George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt and George Patton and all of these people. I admired them. So that’s how that religion played out into where I am today as an adult.

MARVIN KALB: Can’t you see that you can be both bad and good?

BILL O’REILLY: Oh, absolutely. But you have to decide, ultimately, which way you are going to go or move to San Francisco. [Laughter]

MARVIN KALB: I tell you Bill, I can’t do better on an out line than that and you are much more experienced at than I. But I want, once again, truly to express my appreciation to you for taking the time to be here, for flashing your insights before us. I hope that you have enjoyed the time as well and do come back.

BILL O’REILLY: All right, Professor, thanks very much. Good to see you.

[Applause]

END OF INTERVIEW