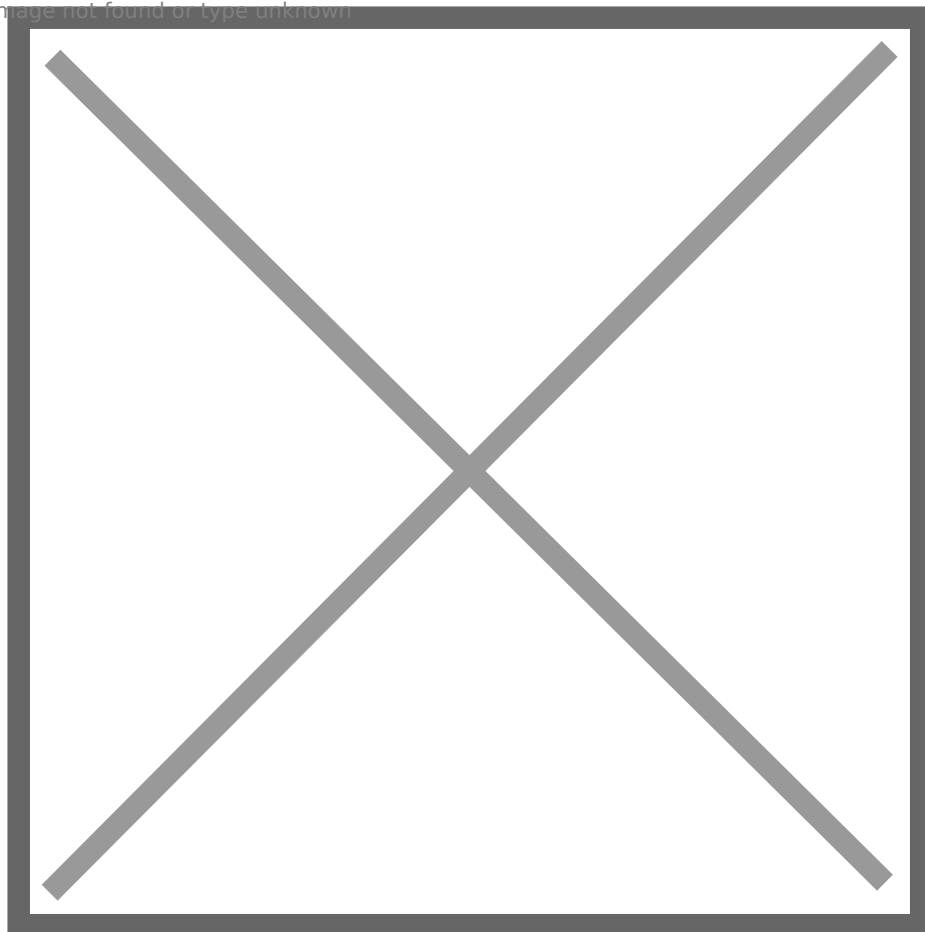


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## **A. JAMES REICHLEY INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS, (1967) 1977-81**

### **Collection Type**

Personal Papers

### **Extent**

1.0 linear feet (ca. 2,000 pages)

### **Record Type**

Textual

## **Access**

Open. Some items are temporarily restricted under terms of the donor's deed of gift, a copy of which is available on request, or under National Archives and Records Administration general restrictions (36 CFR 1256).

## **Copyright**

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## **Processed by**

William McNitt, June 1991

## **Biography**

A. James Reichley

March 3, 1929 - Born, St. Clair, Pennsylvania

1946-50 - B.A. (Philosophy), University of Pennsylvania

1951-53 - U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps

1953-54 - Technical editor, Franklin Institute, Philadelphia

1955-56 - M.A. (History), Harvard University

1957-61 - Political reporter, *Pottsville Republican*, Pottsville, PA

1961-62 - Legislative Assistant, Senator Kenneth Keating of New York

1963-67 - Assistant to Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania

1967-76 - Associate Editor and member of the Board of Editors, *Fortune* magazine

1970 - Consultant, President's Commission on Student Unrest

May-October 1976 - Consultant, White House staff

1977-? - Senior Fellow, Department of Governmental Service, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

Author:

- *The Burying of Kingsmith* (Houghton Mifflin, 1957) [novel]
- *Hail to the Chief* (Houghton Mifflin, 1960) [novel]
- *States in Crisis* (University of North Carolina Press, 1964)
- *Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon and Ford Administrations* (Brookings Institution, 1981)
- *Religion in American Public Life* (Brookings Institution Press, 1985)
- *Elections American Style* (Brookings Institution, 1987)
- *The Life of the Parties* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000)
- *The Values Connection* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001)
- *Faith in Politics* (Brookings Institution Press, 2002)

### **Scope and Content Note**

The James Reichley interview transcripts result from his interviews with over 160 government officials in conjunction with the writing of his book *Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon and Ford Administrations* (Brookings Institution, 1981). They focus primarily on the personalities, philosophies, and issues of the Nixon and Ford administrations, although one series concerns the 1980 presidential

campaign and transition.

In conducting the interviews, Reichley did not employ a tape recorder. He took notes during the interviews and then constructed transcripts from the notes soon afterwards. The transcripts therefore should not be considered a verbatim record of the entire discussion. While varying in length from a single page to ten pages, the average transcript is four pages.

Although Reichley conducted most of the interviews between 1977 and 1981, two date from a much earlier period. A 1967 interview with Richard Nixon focuses on his views of the upcoming presidential campaign. A 1969 interview with John Mitchell concerns the work of the Justice Department.

Reichley interviewed over fifty former members of the Nixon and Ford White House staffs, several Cabinet members and almost thirty other agency officials, thirty-five members of Congress, and four other political figures. These interviews focus on White House administration; philosophies of the two Presidents and their administrations; relationships among various administration officials; roles of the Cabinet, Domestic Council, and Office of Management and Budget; congressional liaison; presidential campaigns of 1968, 1972, and 1976; and such issues as economics, civil rights, busing, desegregation, welfare reform, and the Vietnamese War.

A number of interviews also examine the role of Bob Haldeman in the Nixon White House and attempts to influence the direction of Nixon administration domestic policies by Daniel Moynihan, Arthur Burns, and John Ehrlichman. Some Ford administration interviews focus on the role of Donald Rumsfeld and the relationship between Rumsfeld and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. Interviewees of note include Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Reagan; Vice President Rockefeller; and Cabinet members William Coleman, Carla Hills, Edward Levi, Robert Finch, John Mitchell, John Connally, Melvin Laird, Elliot Richardson, and William Simon.

The almost thirty interviews concerning the 1980 campaign and transition include several on the conduct of the campaign, especially in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the work of the transition team, but also cover plans for the new administration and various issues, including the Kemp-Roth proposal to cut taxes. Interviewees of note include George Bush, James Baker, Drew Lewis, and Richard Schweiker.

In his deed of gift transferring these interview transcripts to the Ford Library, Reichley specified a restriction on their use. While researchers may freely examine the transcripts and make use of the factual information they contain, no direct quotations from the transcripts may be used without written permission from James Reichley. His address is available upon request.

In arranging the interviews for use by researchers, the Ford Library staff kept the basic order established by Mr. Reichley. Three interviews were moved to more appropriate series, however, and each series was alphabetized.

#### Related Materials (June 1991)

Materials on many of the same topics, especially those from the Ford administration, appear throughout the Library's holdings. Other interviews with President Ford, Vice President Rockefeller, and the Ford White House staff appear in the James Cannon Papers, the James Hyde and Stephen Wayne Interviews, and the William Syers Interview Transcripts.

#### **Last Modified Date**

2025-03-07

#### **Ford White House Interviews, 1977-78.**

(Box 1, 0.1 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with members of the Ford White House staff concerning White House operations, politics, issues, and the conservative philosophy of the administration. Major topics include busing, operation of the Domestic Council, economics, Energy Independence Authority proposal, federal budget, 1976 presidential campaign, regulatory reform, and White House administration. Some interviews also include information about the Nixon administration.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

#### **Box 1 - Ford White House Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Ford White House Interviews - General
OPEN	Baker, James - Interview, 8/27/79

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Baroody, William - Interview, 9/27/77
OPEN	Buchen, Philip - Interview, 9/1/77
OPEN	Cannon, James - Interview, 3/1/78
OPEN	Cavanaugh, James - Interview, 3/8/78
OPEN	Cheney, Richard - Interview, 5/20/77
OPEN	Connor, James - Interview, 10/19/77
OPEN	Ford, Gerald - Interview, 3/8/78
OPEN	Friedersdorf, Max - Interview, 10/27/77
OPEN	Gergen, David - Interview, 2/21/78
OPEN	Goldwin, Robert - Interview, 2/27/78
OPEN	Hartmann, Robert - Interview, 12/8/77
OPEN	Hills, Roderick - Interview, 11/17/78
OPEN	Kendall, William - Interview, 11/22/77
OPEN	Kilberg, Bobbie - Interview, 12/28/77
OPEN	Marsh, John - Interview, 9/2/77
OPEN	Morrow, Hugh - Interview, 10/18/77
OPEN	Rockefeller, Nelson - Interview, 3/24/78
OPEN	Rumsfeld, Donald - Interview, 1/25/78
OPEN	Schmults, Edward - Interview, 11/16/77

**Nixon White House Interviews, (1967) 1977-78.**

(Box 1, 0.2 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with members of the Nixon White House staff concerning White House operations, politics, issues, and the conservative philosophy of the administration. Major topics include desegregation of schools, Domestic Council operation, 1968 presidential campaign and 1969 transition to the new administration, revenue sharing legislation, Vietnamese War, welfare reform, and White House administration. Another focus is the roles of Bob Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Arthur Burns, Daniel Moynihan, George Shultz, Robert Finch, and Charles Colson in the Nixon administration. The interview with Richard Nixon dates from 1967 and focuses on the 1968 campaign. Some interviews also include information about the Ford administration.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

**Box 1 (Continued) - Nixon White House Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Nixon White House Interviews - General
OPEN	Anderson, Martin - Interview, 1/3/78
OPEN	Ash, Roy - Interview, 4/30/78
OPEN	BeLieu, Kenneth - Interview, 9/13/77
OPEN	Buchanan, Patrick - Interview, 9/13/77
OPEN	Cashen, Henry - Interview, 10/11/77
OPEN	Casselman, William - Interview, 10/28/77
OPEN	Clapp, Charles - Interview, 8/25/77
OPEN	Cole, Kenneth - Interview, 12/21/77
OPEN	Cook, Richard - Interview, 9/16/77
OPEN	Cowen, Eugene - Interview, 10/5/77
OPEN	Dent, Harry - Interview, 4/3/78
OPEN	Ellsworth, Robert - Interview, 9/1/77
OPEN	Engman, Lewis - Interview, 2/17/78
OPEN	Fleming, Harry - Interview, 8/29/77
OPEN	Garment, Leonard - Interview, 10/19/77
OPEN	Harlow, Bryce - Interview, 11/3/77
OPEN	Harper, Ed - Interview, 10/26/77
OPEN	Hess, Stephen - Interview, 10/21/77
OPEN	Huebner, Lee - Interview, 12/9/77
OPEN	Klein, Herb - Interview, 1/16/78
OPEN	Korologos, Tom - Interview, 8/31/77
OPEN	MacGregor, Clark - Interview, 9/2/77
OPEN	Malek, Fred - Interview, 9/13/77
OPEN	Moynihan, Daniel P. - Interview, 7/13/78
OPEN	Nixon, Richard - Interview, 9/28/67
OPEN	Patterson, Bradley - Interview, 11/11/77
OPEN	Price, John - Interview, 3/24/78

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Price, Ray - Interview, 3/2/78
OPEN	Sears, John - Interview, 8/26/77
OPEN	Timmons, William - Interview, 11/29/77
OPEN	Waldmann, Ray - Interview, 1/11/78
OPEN	Waldron, Agnes - Interview, 9/23/77
OPEN	Warren, Gerald - Interview, 1/6/78
OPEN	Weber, Fred - Interview, 10/17/77
OPEN	Whitaker, John - Interview, 2/15/78
OPEN	Ziegler, Ron - Interview, 11/15/77

### **Foreign Policy Interviews, 1977-78.**

(Box 1, 0.1 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with State Department, National Security Council, and other officials from both the Nixon and Ford administrations concerning national security and foreign affairs matters. Major topics include the Vietnamese War, the foreign policy role of Henry Kissinger, and Kissinger's relationships with Nixon and Ford. Some interviews from other series also touch on foreign affairs.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

### **Box 1 (Continued) - Foreign Policy Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Foreign Policy Interviews - General
OPEN	Allen, Richard (National Security Council) - Interview, 10/27/77
OPEN	Laird, Melvin (Secretary of Defense) - Interview, 3/31/78
OPEN / DIGITIZED	<a href="#"><u>Lake, Anthony (National Security Council) - Interview, 10/28/77</u></a>
OPEN	Lord, Winston (State Department) - Interview, 10/19/77
OPEN	Scowcroft, Brent (National Security Council) - Interview, 12/1/77



Status	Title
OPEN	Scranton, William (Ambassador to the United Nations) - Interview, 6/30/78
OPEN	Sonnenfeldt, Helmut (National Security Council and State Department) - Interview, 10/12/77
OPEN	Watts, William (National Security Council) - Interview, 9/21/77

**Domestic Policy Interviews, (1969) 1977-78.**

(Box 2, 0.1 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with Cabinet members and other department and agency officials from both the Nixon and Ford administrations concerning domestic issues. Major topics include busing; civil rights; Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Department of Justice; desegregation; Office of Management and Budget; and welfare reform. The John Mitchell interview dates from 1969; all others were done after the end of the Ford administration. Many interviews from other series also touch on domestic issues.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

**Box 2 - Domestic Policy Interviews**

Status	Title
OPEN	Domestic Policy Interviews - General
OPEN	Coleman, William (Secretary of Transportation) - Interview, 12/19/77
OPEN	Finch, Robert (Secretary of HEW) - Interview, 3/8/78
OPEN	Hills, Carla (Secretary of HUD) - Interview, 5/19/78
OPEN	Kleindienst, Richard (Department of Justice) - Interview, 8/30/77
OPEN	Kurzman, Steven (HEW) - Interview, 9/28/77
OPEN	Leonard, Jerris (Justice Department) - Interview, 10/31/77
OPEN	Levi, Edward (Attorney General) - Interview, 1/24/78
OPEN	Mitchell, John (Attorney General) - Interview, 9/18/69
OPEN	Nathan, Richard (OMB) - Interview, 8/4/77
OPEN	Panetta, Leon (HEW) - Interview, 9/19/77

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Richardson, Elliot (Nixon and Ford Cabinets) - Interview, 1/9/78
OPEN	Veneman, Jack (HEW) - Interview, 9/12/77
OPEN	Weinberger, Caspar (OMB) - Interview, 1/4/78

**Economic Policy Interviews, 1977-78.**

(Box 2, 0.1 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with officials from the Department of the Treasury, Federal Reserve Board, Council of Economic Advisers, Office of Management and Budget, and the White House from both the Nixon and Ford administrations concerning economic issues. Major topics include economic controls, federal budget, inflation, and taxes. Some interviews from this series touch on matters beyond economics, while many from other series also mention economic issues.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

**Box 2 (Continued) - Economic Policy Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Economic Policy Interviews - General
OPEN	Burns, Arthur (Federal Reserve Board) - Interview, 9/21/77
OPEN	Connally, John (Secretary of the Treasury) - Interview, 8/27/79
OPEN	Friedman, Milton (Private Economist) - Interview, 3/9/78
OPEN	Greenspan, Alan (Council of Economic Advisers) - Interview, 1/28/78
OPEN	Jones, Sidney (Treasury Department) - Interview, 11/29/77
OPEN	Lynn, James (Office of Management and Budget) - Interview, 9/8/77
OPEN	MacLaury, Bruce (Treasury Department) - Interview, 12/20/77
OPEN	Mayo, Robert (Office of Management and Budget) - 1/24/78

Status	Title
OPEN	McCracken, Paul (Council of Economic Advisers) - Interview, 10/5/78
OPEN	O'Neill, Paul (Office of Management and Budget) - Interview, 10/18/77
OPEN	Penner, Rudy (Office of Management and Budget) - Interview, 1/11/78
OPEN	Peterson, Peter (Council on International Economic Policy) - Interview, 3/23/78
OPEN	Seidman, William (White House) - Interview, 11/16/77
OPEN	Shultz, George (Labor Department/Office of Management and Budget) - Interview, 1/4/78
OPEN	Simon, William (Secretary of the Treasury) - Interview, 10/18/77
OPEN	Stein, Herb (Council of Economic Advisers) - Interview, 11/29/77
OPEN	Volcker, Paul (Treasury Department) - Interview, 3/24/78
OPEN	Walker, Charls (Treasury Department) - Interview, 10/4/77

**Congressional Interviews, 1977-78.**

(Box 2, 0.2 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with members of Congress concerning relations with the White House during both the Nixon and Ford administrations and a variety of other issues. Major topics include abortion, busing, 1976 presidential campaign, revenue sharing, Vietnamese War, welfare reform, and White House liaison with Congress.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

**Box 2 (Continued) - Congressional Interviews**

Status	Title
OPEN	Congressional Interviews - General
OPEN	Anderson, John - Interview, 9/21/77
OPEN	Bayh, Birch - Interview, 9/9/77
OPEN	Brock, William - Interview, 9/22/77

Status	Title
OPEN	Brown, Clarence - Interview, 9/13/77
OPEN	Byrnes, John - Interview, 11/2/77
OPEN	Conable, Barber - Interview, 9/13/77
OPEN	Coughlin, Larry - Interview, 10/26/77
OPEN	Crane, Philip - Interview, 1/30/78
OPEN	Devine, Samuel - Interview, 11/1/77
OPEN	Dole, Robert - Interview, 9/9/77
OPEN	Eckhardt, Bob - Interview, 10/14/77
OPEN	Frenzel, Bill - Interview, 10/14/77
OPEN	Goodell, Charles - Interview, 8/30/77 (?)
OPEN	Heinz, John - Interview, 9/22/77
OPEN	Hyde, Henry - Interview, 9/22/77
OPEN	Kemp, Jack - Interview, 10/4/77
OPEN	Lay, Chris (Administrative Assistant to Steve Symms) - Interview, 9/19/77
OPEN	Mathias, Charles - Interview, 9/22/77
OPEN	McDade, Joe - Interview, 10/13/77
OPEN	Mikva, Abner - Interview, 11/3/77
OPEN	Montgomery, Sonny - Interview, 11/9/77
OPEN	Preyer, Richardson - Interview, 10/21/77
OPEN	Railsback, Thomas - Interview, 9/15/77
OPEN	Schroeder, Patricia - Interview, 9/22/77
OPEN	Schweiker, Richard - Interview, 1/17/78
OPEN	Scott, Hugh - Interview, 12/6/77
OPEN	Shuster, Bud - Interview, 10/6/77
OPEN	Simon, Paul - Interview, 9/19/77
OPEN	Steiger, William - Interview, 11/22/77
OPEN	Stevenson, Adlai - Interview, 9/20/77
OPEN	Stokes, Louis - Interview, 9/15/77
OPEN	Thompson, Frank - Interview, 10/20/77
OPEN	Treen, David - Interview, 10/5/77

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Waggoner, Joe - Interview, 2/8/78
OPEN	Wiggins, Charles - Interview, 12/6/77

### **Politician Interviews, 1978.**

(Box 3, 0.05 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with four political figures-- Ronald Reagan, White House and Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger, and former Illinois Governors Richard Ogilvie and James Thompson-- concerning issues and politics during both the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

### **Box 3 - Politician Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Politician Interviews - General
OPEN	Nofziger, Lyn (Nixon White House/Reagan Advisor) - Interview, 1/5/78
OPEN	Ogilvie, Richard (Governor of Illinois) - Interview, 1/23/78
OPEN	Reagan, Ronald - Interview, 1/4/78
OPEN	Thompson, James (Governor of Illinois) - Interview, 1/25/78

### **1980 Campaign and Transition Interviews, 1980-81.**

(Box 3, 0.2 linear feet)

Transcripts, reconstructed from notes, of interviews with campaign workers and transition officials concerning the Reagan-Bush campaign, the transition to the presidency, and plans for the new administration.

Arranged alphabetically by name of interviewee.

### **Box 3 (Continued) - 1980 Campaign and Transition Interviews**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	1980 Campaign and Transition Interviews - General
OPEN	Baker, James - Interview, 12/15/80
OPEN	Budde, Bernadette (Director, Business Industry Political Action Committee) - Interview, 11/17/1980

Status	Title
OPEN	Bush, George - Interview, 1/12/81
OPEN	Butler, Steward (Heritage Foundation) - Interview, 12/15/80
OPEN	Conable, Barber (Congressman) - Interview, 12/16/80
OPEN	Cotiaux, Neil (Virginia Republican) - Interview, 10/28/80
OPEN	Crane, Philip (Congressman) - Interview, 11/20/80
OPEN	Danforth, John (Senator) - Interview, 1/7/81
OPEN	Franklin, ? (Administrative Assistant to Attorney General Coleman of Virginia) - Interview, 10/28/80
OPEN	Gifford, Dawn (Legislative Assistant to Congressman Jack Kemp) - Interview, 11/17/80
OPEN	Greenspan, Alan - Excerpt from Interview with Jessica Savitch on NBC, 11/17/80
OPEN	Gresham, Vic (Field Worker, Virginia Reagan - Bush Campaign) - Interview, 10/28/80
OPEN	Hager, Henry (Republican Leader, Pennsylvania State Senate) - Excerpt from Speech, 10/23/80
OPEN	Heritage Foundation Report on the Office of Management and Budget Notes, 12/18/80
OPEN	Lewis, Drew (Reagan Cabinet Appointee) - Interview, 12/4/80
OPEN	McClaghry, John - Interview, 12/22/80
OPEN	Morras, M.C. (Director, Reagan - Bush Campaign in Fredericksburg, VA) - Interview, 10/28/80
OPEN	Reagan Trip, 9/11/80 - Notes
OPEN	Robb, Rick (Pennsylvania Campaign Official) - Interviews, 10/17/80 and 10/23/80
OPEN	Ryan, Matt (Republican Leader, Pennsylvania State House) - Interview, 10/23/80
OPEN	Schweiker, Richard - Interview, 12/19/80
OPEN	Sears, John (Reagan Campaign Official) - Interview, 1/12/81

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Spees, Richard (Administrative Assistant to Senator Paul Laxalt) - Interview, 1/17/81
OPEN	Spence, Clark (Republican Leader, Adams County, PA) - Interview, 10/24/80
OPEN	Taft, Will (Transition Official) - Interview, 12/9/80
OPEN	Walker, Charls (Former Treasury Department Official) - Interview, 12/15/80
OPEN	Wanniski, Jude - Interviews, 7/15/80 and 10/17/80
OPEN	Wirthlin, Richard (Reagan Pollster) - Interview, 12/9/80