

William A. Rusher Papers

A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress



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CONGRESS**

**Manuscript Division, Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.**

1993

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LC Online Catalog record:

<http://lccn.loc.gov/mm89077641>

Prepared by Kathleen M. Dondanville with the assistance of Melissa Little, Scott McLemee, and Richard Urban

Collection Summary

Title: William A. Rusher Papers

Span Dates: 1940-1989

Bulk Dates: (bulk 1968-1988)

ID No.: MSS77641

Creator: Rusher, William A., 1923-2011

Extent: 78,400 items ; 224 containers ; 89.6 linear feet ; 36 microfilm reels

Language: Collection material in English

Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Summary: Author, lawyer, and publisher. Correspondence, memoranda, diaries, drafts and manuscripts of articles, books, book reviews, columns, minutes of meetings, reports, research notes, reference material, financial and legal papers, photographs, and other papers relating to Rusher's role as publisher of the *National Review* and the development of the conservative movement in American politics.

Selected Search Terms

The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the Library's online catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically therein.

People

Agnew, Spiro T., 1918-1996--Correspondence.
Ashbrook, John M.--Correspondence.
Bauman, Robert, 1937- --Correspondence.
Blackwell, Morton C., 1939- --Correspondence.
Buchanan, Patrick J. (Patrick Joseph), 1938- --Correspondence.
Buckley, James Lane, 1923- --Correspondence.
Buckley, William F., Jr., 1925-2008--Correspondence.
Burnham, James, 1905-1987--Correspondence.
Cohn, Roy M.--Correspondence.
Evans, M. Stanton (Medford Stanton), 1934-2015--Correspondence.
Goldwater, Barry, 1938- --Correspondence.
Heston, Charlton--Correspondence.
Hodel, Donald Paul, 1935- --Correspondence.
Kirby, Lewis, 1923- --Correspondence.
Liebman, Marvin--Correspondence.
Moore, Roger, 1927- --Correspondence.
Reagan, Ronald--Correspondence.
Rickenbacker, William F., 1928- --Correspondence.
Rusher, William A., 1923-2011.
Viguerie, Richard A--Correspondence.
Wayne, John, 1907-1979--Correspondence.

Organizations

American Conservative Union.
American-African Affairs Association.
National Draft Goldwater Committee.
Republican Party (U.S. : 1854-)
Young Americans for Freedom.

Subjects

American periodicals--New York (State)--New York.
Conservatism.
Liberalism.
Periodicals--Publishing--United States.

Political clubs.
Presidents--United States--Election--1964.
Presidents--United States--Election.
Press and politics--United States.

Places

South Africa--Politics and government--1948-
United States--Politics and government--1945-1989.

Titles

National review.

Occupations

Authors.
Lawyers.
Publishers.

Administrative Information

Provenance

The papers of William A. Rusher, lawyer, publisher, and author, were given to the Library of Congress by Rusher in 1989.

Additional Guides

A description of the Rusher Papers can be found in *Library of Congress Acquisitions: Manuscript Division, 1989*, pp. 19-21.

Transfers

Sound recordings have been transferred to the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division where they are identified as part of these papers.

Copyright Status

The status of copyright in the unpublished writings of William A. Rusher in these papers and in other collections of papers in the custody of the Library of Congress is governed by the Copyright Law of the United States (Title 17, U.S.C.).

Access and Restrictions

Restrictions apply governing the use, photoduplication, or publication of items in this collection. Consult a reference librarian in the Manuscript Division for information concerning these restrictions.

Microfilm

The microfilm in these papers was produced by the office of the *National Review* and is included in the collection as its own series. It is available for research use in the Manuscript Reading Room.

Preferred Citation

Researchers wishing to cite this collection should include the following information: Container or reel number, William A. Rusher Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Biographical Note

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
1923, July 19	Born, Chicago, Ill.

1943 A.B., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

1943-1946 Second lieutenant and captain, United States Air Force

1948 J.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

1948-1956 Associate, Shearman, Sterling and Wright law firm, New York, N.Y.

1949 Admitted to New York Bar

1955 Special counsel, New York State Senate Finance Committee, Albany, N.Y.

1956-1957 Associate counsel, United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Washington, D.C.
Investigated communist presence in New Orleans, Hawaii, and the United States Treasury
Department

1957-1988 Publisher of *National Review*

1964 Helped establish the National Draft Goldwater Committee that engineered Barry Goldwater's
Republican presidential nomination

1965-1970 Vice chairman, American Conservative Union

1968 Published *Special Counsel* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House. 304 pp.)

1970-1973 Debater, Public Broadcasting System television program "The Advocates"

1972 Member, Presidential Advisory Task Force on Civil Disorders

1973 Published *Amnesty? The Unsettled Question of Vietnam* with Arlie Schardt and Mark Hatfield,
(Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Sun River Press. 148 pp.)
Began syndicated column, "The Conservative Advocate"
Distinguished Citizen Award, New York University School of Law, New York, N.Y.

1973-1980 Served on the National News Council

1975 Published *The Making of the New Majority Party* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 222 pp.)

1981 Published *How to Win Arguments* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 207 pp.)

1984 Published *The Rise of the Right* (New York: W. Morrow. 336 pp.)

1987 Published *A Short Course on South Africa* (New York: N.p. 38 pp.)

1988 Published *The Coming Battle for the Media: Curbing the Power of the Media Elite* (New York:
Morrow. 228 pp.)
Retired as publisher of *National Review*

1989 Published *The Meaning of Taiwan* (New York: N.p. 50 pp.)

2011, Apr. 16 Died, San Francisco, Calif.

Scope and Content Note

The papers of William Allen Rusher (1923-2011) span the years 1940-1989, with the bulk of the material concentrated in the period 1968-1988. The collection documents the instrumental role Rusher played in the development of the conservative movement from its origins in the 1950s. Nearly four decades of service to the conservative cause are highlighted by the papers, including Rusher's participation in key organizations and political campaigns, his writings and lectures, and his work as publisher of the first significant national journal of modern conservatism, the *National Review*. The papers are arranged into the following series: [Diaries](#), [General Correspondence](#), [National Review file](#), [Subject File](#), [Speeches and Writings](#), and [Microfilm File](#).

The greatest concentration of material in the collection is found in the [General Correspondence](#) series (1957-1989). Comprising the bulk of the file are letters between Rusher and the general public, subscribers to the *National Review*, and family and friends. Although the majority of the correspondence is of a routine nature, dispersed throughout the file are letters in which Rusher articulated and defended the principles of the conservative movement, thereby providing a rich source of information on conservative ideology and tactics.

Of special interest is correspondence between Rusher and his associates, including government officials, members of various conservative groups and organizations, political activists, Hollywood actors, and journalists and writers. Correspondents include Spiro T. Agnew, John M. Ashbrook, Robert E. Bauman, Morton C. Blackwell, Patrick J. Buchanan, James L. Buckley, James Burnham, Roy Cohn, M. Stanton Evans, Barry M. Goldwater, Charlton Heston, Donald Hodel, James Lewis Kirby, Marvin Liebman, Roger Moore, Ronald W. Reagan, William Rickenbacker, Richard Viguerie, and John Wayne.

The [National Review](#) file (1958-1989) contains correspondence, memoranda, reports, and other material documenting Rusher's tenure as publisher of this journal. Founded in 1956 by William F. Buckley, the *National Review* was for many years the only substantial national journal of conservative opinion, and it played a significant role in shaping the development of the modern conservative movement. Staff correspondence and memoranda are perhaps the most significant material in the series. Consisting of letters and memoranda between Rusher, Buckley, and other staff members, these items document editorial decision-making as well as provide insight into the evolution of conservative thinking.

Letters and memoranda from Rusher to Buckley in this file are of special interest. Not only do these writings contain detailed discussions pertaining to the business aspect of the magazine, they also contain candid social and political comments. Included are Rusher's observations about the internal operations of the American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, and other conservative organizations, his opposition to Richard M. Nixon and desire to break away from the Republican Party to create a national conservative party, and his concerns over what he perceived as the liberal bias of the national media.

The remainder of the material in the *National Review* file primarily pertains to the administrative operation of the magazine. Included are advertising files, financial records, Buckley's yearly fund-raising appeals, and records relating to various legal matters and lawsuits. Also included are copies of Rusher's monthly newsletters to subscribers.

The [Subject File](#) (1960-1988) is comprised of correspondence, memoranda, reports, research notes, printed material, and other items primarily pertaining to Rusher's involvement in various conservative organizations. The series contains considerable documentation of these groups' efforts to incorporate conservative principles into the political and social arena. Significant records include the files of the American Conservative Union. Created in response to the defeat of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election, this organization was founded to influence American public opinion to accept conservative principles. Rusher's records pertaining to his position as chairman of the group's Political Action Committee are of special interest. Mailings, district action handbooks, and other material document the committee's grass-roots efforts to gather and organize public support for conservative candidates and principles. Also in the file are records pertaining to the Young Americans for Freedom, a political action group organized with the assistance of William F. Buckley. Of note is correspondence between Rusher, Buckley, and others relating to the group's early administrative problems and internal power struggles.

The Subject File also contains material pertaining to Rusher's involvement in political campaigns. Of particular interest are the memoranda, handbooks, and press releases of the National Draft Goldwater Committee. These records document the successful drive to nominate a conservative as the Republican party's 1964 presidential candidate. Although Goldwater was soundly defeated by Lyndon B. Johnson in the election, the campaign was pivotal in that it provided Rusher and other

conservatives with their first serious political encounter and created a generation of activists that later clinched the 1980 presidential election for Ronald Reagan. Also in this file are records pertaining to the Committee for the New Majority Party, the short-lived attempt led by Rusher and other activists during the 1970s to abandon the Republican party and found a new national Conservative party.

Rusher's concern with what he regarded as the liberal bias of the national media is featured in files relating to the National News Council. Correspondence, reports, minutes of meetings, and other material document the bipartisan council's work in monitoring the press and arbitrating disputes over the fairness of news stories. Also in the file are Rusher's records pertaining to the organization Concerned Alumni of Princeton documenting his objections to the intolerance by liberals of conservative views and traditional values at Princeton University and other colleges. The Subject File also focuses on conservative opinion regarding the government of South Africa and other African countries. Included are extensive files related to the American-African Affairs Association launched by conservative thinkers to counter the opposite views of the African-American Institute.

The [Speeches and Writings](#) series (1958-1989) includes correspondence, transcripts and programs pertaining to Rusher's numerous speaking engagements. Of particular interest are files covering his participation in debates with well-known figures such as Ralph Nader, William B. Shockley, and Ramsey Clark. Also in the series are extensive files covering his syndicated newspaper column "The Conservative Advocate." The file documents Rusher's views on such topics as the Vietnam War, the ideological biases of the national media, student protesters, and foreign affairs, and other political and social issues.

Also found in the file are research notes, press releases, transcripts and related material concerning Rusher's regular appearances on television and radio programs. Various folders document his work on the television program "The Advocates." This weekly program examined contemporary issues from both the liberal and conservative side, featuring Rusher as the advocate for the conservative point of view. Also present are transcripts of the political and social commentaries he wrote and read on the air for the Associated Press radio network, and items portraying his part in the making of "The Conservatives," a television documentary on the history of the modern conservative movement.

Within the writings file are drafts, research notes and publishing material relating to Rusher's articles and books. Correspondence and research material regarding *The Coming Battle for the Media* illustrate Rusher's deep concern over what he perceived to be the dangerous liberal inclination of the national media despite the efforts of such organizations as the National News Council. His distress over American communists and their alleged infiltration into public and private institutions is documented by drafts and research materials pertaining to his book *Special Counsel*, an account of his work with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1956-1957. The file also includes a substantial amount of "fan mail" from people who heard his speeches, watched his television programs, or read his columns and books.

The [Microfilm File](#) (1957-1969) consists of thirty-four reels containing microfilm of material from a period when the *National Review* office filmed the vast bulk of its files and discarded the originals. The film contains general correspondence, subject files, and speeches and writings. The arrangement of material on the microfilm reels reflects its order at the time of filming and is divided into alphabetical and chronological segments. The alphabetical segment is arranged by name of person, organization, topic or type of material. The chronological portion, a distillation of the alphabetical file, was kept by Rusher as a reading file and is arranged by date of issue or receipt of material. Researchers using the alphabetical file should scan the material carefully when searching for specific items, as filing methods in the office of the *National Review* were sometimes inconsistent.

The collection also contains a [Diaries](#) series (1940-1988) comprised of daily annotated journals documenting Rusher's personal and professional life. The series will not be available for research until fifty years after Rusher's death.

Organization of the Papers

The collection is arranged in six series:

- [Diaries, 1940-1988 \(RESTRICTED\)](#)
- [General Correspondence, 1957-1989](#)
- [National Review, 1958-1989](#)
- [Subject File, 1960-1988](#)
- [Speeches and Writings, 1958-1989](#)

- Microfilm File, 1957-1969

Description of Series

Container

BOX 1-5*

Series

Diaries, 1940-1988 (RESTRICTED)

Daily annotated journals.
Arrangement is chronological by year.
*Access to the diaries is restricted.

BOX 6-102

General Correspondence, 1957-1989

Incoming and outgoing correspondence, including attachments, exchanged between Rusher and the general public, subscribers to the *National Review*, family, friends, elected officials, political activists, and members of conservative groups and organizations.
Arrangement is alphabetical by name and chronological therein.

BOX 102-127

National Review, 1958-1989

Correspondence, memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, financial and legal records, lists, drafts of newsletters, reference material, newspaper clippings, and printed matter pertaining to Rusher's work as publisher of the *National Review*.
Arrangement is alphabetical by topic or type of material and chronological therein.

BOX 127-174

Subject File, 1960-1988

Correspondence, memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, newspaper clippings, lists, financial and legal records, research notes and material, printed matter, and miscellaneous material relating to Rusher's work with conservative organizations and groups and his other interests.
Arrangement is alphabetical by topic or type of material and chronological therein.

BOX 175-224

Speeches and Writings, 1958-1989

Manuscripts of articles, books, book reviews, columns, interviews, memorial tributes, speaking engagements, and television and radio appearances by Rusher, including drafts, transcripts, printed versions, research material, notes, photographs, related correspondence, and publication material.
Arrangement is alphabetical by type of material and chronological therein.

REEL 1-34

Microfilm File, 1957-1969

Microfilm of office files reproduced by the *National Review* and then disposed of prior to the shipment of the rest of the collection to the Library.
The material was filmed in two segments, an alphabetical file and a chronological file, both of which contain a variety of items, including correspondence, memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, financial and legal records, speeches, and writings. The alphabetical file is arranged by name of person, organization, topic or type of material. The chronological file was created by Rusher as a daily reading file of incoming and outgoing material which duplicates in part items located in the alphabetical file.

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BOX 2*	1952-1961 (10 volumes)
BOX 3*	1962-1973 (12 volumes)
BOX 4*	1974-1983 (10 volumes)
BOX 5*	1984-1988 (5 volumes)
BOX 6-102	General Correspondence, 1957-1989 Incoming and outgoing correspondence, including attachments, exchanged between Rusher and the general public, subscribers to the <i>National Review</i> , family, friends, elected officials, political activists, and members of conservative groups and organizations. Arrangement is alphabetical by name and chronological therein.
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	Baarslag, Karl, 1972-1982
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