

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

R. JAMES WOOLSEY

Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Background

Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, September 21, 1941	
BA, Stanford University	1959-1963
MA., Oxford University	1963-1965
LL.B., Yale Law School	1965-1968
United States Army, Captain	1968-1970
Lieutenant, Office of the Secretary of Defense	1968-1970
Argument over Vietnam with Nitze	1969
Advisor, U.S. Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks	1969-1970
Advisor to Paul Nitze	
General Counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services	1970-1973
Working with Senator John C. Stennis	
Under Secretary, Department of the Navy	1977-1979
Delegate at Large, U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Reduction Talks	1983-1986
Ambassador, Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe	1989-1991
Director, Central Intelligence Agency	1993-1995

INTERVIEW

[Note: this interview was not completed or edited by Mr. Woolsey.]

Q: Today is the 24th of April 2013; this is an interview with James Woolsey and just to start off when and where were you born?

WOOLSEY: Tulsa, Oklahoma, September 21, 1941.

Q: First on your father's side. The first place any relations to the Cardinals?

WOOLSEY: Well not that anybody really knows. The Woolseys in the U.S. mainly spell their name with two O's. The family myth is that this was the nephew of Cardinal Wolsey that came over to the new world and started spelling his name with two O's. What we do know is that up there in New England, particularly Connecticut and New York, the federal district judge who wrote the Ulysses Opinion permitting it to be published in the U.S. was a Woolsey and I think there were governors of Connecticut, President of Yale, etc. My late sister-in-law was an amateur but a very accomplished person looking into family histories and she couldn't get us back past my father's grandfather who was a sergeant in the Union Army in the Civil War, Hiram Bloomer-Woolsey. I think she might have found that up in New York he was a member of the 122nd New York Volunteers: I think she might have found the name of his father but couldn't take it back any further than that. What I sometimes jokingly say is that there are some very establishment and reputable Woolsey's who were presidents of Yale and so forth and then sometime in the 1830s somebody stole a horse and headed West and that was us. But I really don't know; they may be related.

Q: Well what do you know on your father's side? What were your grandfather and fathers occupations?

WOOLSEY: My father was a trial lawyer his whole life and a very good one; my grandfather, Jay, J-A-Y, Woolsey owned a lumber yard. His father Hiram Bloomer was a sergeant in the Union Army and I don't know what he had been or what he was before or after he was a sergeant; I think perhaps a farmer or small businessman in upper New York State because he came in through the 122nd New York Volunteers.

Q: Are any of the Bloomers any relation to whoever was the lady who invented the bloomer pants, pantaloons?

WOOLSEY: Not that I know of.

Q: Where did your father go to get law?

WOOLSEY: My father went to Oklahoma University both as an undergraduate and to law school and started practicing in Tulsa in the middle of the Depression in 1933 or '34. He worked with a wonderful sole practitioner names Samuel Boorstin, B-O-O-R-S-T-I-N, who is the father of Daniel Boorstin the famous historian, and Librarian of Congress.

Q: Oh yes.

WOOLSEY: Sam was a very good friend of the family's and my dad worked for him for several years and then went out on his own with a larger firm which is the way that the

Sam Boorstin clerkships worked; you worked and learned to practice law with a real pro for several years and then he always had just one assistant so you went on out to a firm or whatever else you wanted to do. So my father was Sam's bright young man for several years in the middle of the Depression and that's how he got started practicing law and how he learned a lot of the wonderful tricks he used to try cases.

Q: Do you have any knowledge of how your family got up to Oklahoma?

WOOLSEY: I'm not sure how between Hiram Bloomer from New York and Jay Woolsey who I think grew up in Oklahoma; my father's father. I'm not sure how and when that transition worked geographically. My mother's family was from West Texas, Kirby, but she was born in West Texas, San Saba I think or San Angelo, and then moved to Oklahoma when she was a young girl. She and my father are separated by four years but went to the same high school, Tulsa Central High School in Tulsa. My mother was born in 1911 and so she would have been a young teenager in the '20s and she had two living great grandmothers because a lot of people back then would have children when they were 16 or so.

Q: Sure.

WOOLSEY: So you had this phenomenon of people who if they lived to be 70 or so they might well know not just their grandparents but great grandparents. My mother used to love to sit on the porch when she was 12 or so in West Texas, they had a ranch, and listen to two old ladies reminisce about the 1860s. One of them was from her, I think, mother's side of her family who was then a young matron in the 1860s on a plantation outside Marietta, Georgia, which Sherman burned on his march to the sea.

Q: My grandfather was an officer of Sherman so he may have had something to do with that.

WOOLSEY: They may have interacted. The other old lady rocking on the porch was from my I guess mother's mother's side. She had been a young matron in the 1860s on a ranch in West Texas and had her own carbine along with her husband's over the fireplace. It has several notches in it, my mother remembers, from Indians she had killed when they would raid the ranch to try and steal cattle. My mother's name was Clyde, almost always a boy's name but she was an only child and was named after her father whose name was Clyde. He died long before I was born but my grandmother on my mother's side, a Kennedy-Kirby, was nicknamed Petey or Mama P but mainly Petey. She lived with us the whole time I was growing up and lived until after I got married at age 23. She was the fourth member of our family and my mother and father and Petey and I were the family; I was an only child.

Q: Did you get any stories from your grandmother about growing up in Texas and all?

WOOLSEY: Well I mentioned the one that my mother remembered about the two old ladies reminiscing about their lives, one of them on the plantation and the other on the

ranch in the 1860s. I remember my father had been a little boy; he was born in Big Heart, Oklahoma, and then changed later to Barnsdall. He and his parents and his brother were in a cyclone. They were out in rural Northern Oklahoma, and I guess they must have had a small farm and they had a cyclone cellar. The four of them went down into it and the cyclone basically blew the house away like in...

Q: The Wizard of Oz?

WOOLSEY: The Wizard of Oz. Dad remembered one moment being in the cellar of the family house and the roof overhead of the main floor and the next minute being out in the rain with the house just gone.

Q: How about World War II, did this...

WOOLSEY: I was born September '41, so three months before Pearl Harbor, and my father had served on active duty; he had an ROTC Commission from when he was an undergraduate at the University of Oklahoma. He'd served on active duty in the '30s for two years and a lot of it was training people and running CCC Camps during the Roosevelt era.

Q: Civilian Conservation Corps.

WOOLSEY: He had two years' experience of being an officer so when Pearl Harbor came he was called immediately to train troops. We spent from '41-'44 traveling around mainly the South and West with him to different assignments at different outposts training troops. It was me, my mother, my grandmother and my aunt, Virginia Kirby-Ginger. So since my father was away a lot even before he went over to Europe in the summer of '44, I was effectively raised by three, I always say, very smart Scotch-Irish women with nothing to do except teach this little boy stuff. So I learned my alphabet when I was tiny, I read early and they taught me songs to sing for guests and stuff like that; that may be one reason I ended up going into a profession like trial law where you express yourself. But, in any case, my views and so forth, they tell me, were pretty well set by the time I was four years old. My father came home after the War and we were sitting around the dinner table and he said, "We have to decide what church we are going to go to." He had always been Baptist and my mother is Presbyterian. They tell me I said, "I don't know about you daddy but I'm a First Presbyterian," which is the First Presbyterian Church. Even then I had a mind of my own.

Q: How important was the church for you?

WOOLSEY: Well somewhat; I'd say pretty significant; we had a pretty good minister. Back in those days you learned a lot about the Old Testament and I was in Protestant Churches in that part of the country and I loved the Old Testament. As a matter of fact, there is a story my Jewish friends. I was probably about seven or eight and shooting baskets and goals in our backyard. My father had just put up a basketball net for me. A family moved in behind us and I saw someone moving in the house that had been vacant

for a month or so. I ran into the kitchen and said to my mother, "Mom, there is a family moving into the house behind us, the Johnson house." I said, "I only see one boy, he's older than I am and he has on a really weird baseball cap, it doesn't have a bill." My mother said, "Well it probably means they are Jewish." I said, "What's Jewish?" She said, "Well, they are just like us except they believe Jesus was not the son of God, he was just a good man." I said, "Oh." She said, "You are reading about him now in school. You've just finished Gideon and the trumpets." I said, "You mean they are Israelites?" She said, "Well, yeah, sort of." I said, "Can I go see their Christmas tree." She kind of smiled and said, "Go on over and welcome them into the neighborhood and you can ask to see their Christmas tree but they probably have something different." So I went over and I asked to see their Christmas tree and the boy who was three or four years older than I was showed me in and showed me the Menorah and told me about Hanukah and so forth.

But we lived in the same house from the time I was in first grade; we lived in the North side of town in my grandmother's house until my dad came back from the War. We ended up on the South side of town in a nice home that we lived in the whole time I was growing up and until well after I went to college, law school, the military and so forth. My parents were still there. Then in the late '70s they moved up to the Washington, D.C. area and went into a military semi-retirement complex and lived until the mid-'80s.

Q: Well now this town in Oklahoma, was this Tulsa?

WOOLSEY: Tulsa is where I grew up and went to the same high school my parents went to and so forth.

Q: What was the situation vis-à-vis Blacks and Whites in Oklahoma as a kid?

WOOLSEY: Well there had been a terrible race riot back around just after World War I, I think around 1919 or so. I think there were still probably some scars from that. The Supreme Court decision was handed down in '54 so...

Q: Brown vs. Board of Education.

WOOLSEY: Brown vs. Board of Education. So that would have been when I was 13, yeah. Our school was integrated without any difficulty, a small number of Blacks, just a few but they were generally treated well as far as I can tell and in time more came in. There wasn't any big demonstration or any of the mess such as existed over in Arkansas or anything like that. I'm sure there was discrimination in the ways there was in much of the South; but because I think maybe the memory of how awful the race riot had been and the number of people killed in 1918 or 1919 or right around there, people were really pretty cautious and took things kind of step by step. It was not a major issue for most people and the very small but rather remarkable Jewish community in Tulsa was very readily sort of welcomed and was part of the system.

Q: I've run across this again and again in the South or the southern areas the Jewish community usually was not large but the people were well integrated very often as merchants.

WOOLSEY: I'll tell you about my two Tulsa Jewish stories. First of all, Sam Boorstin who my father worked for was hired by an interesting Russian in 1933; Roosevelt recognizes the Soviet Union and the first delegation comes to the U.S. and one of the first with an AMTORG, an Economic Delegation, to come to Tulsa's oil exposition. The Russians knew they had oil and they knew they needed to learn a lot about equipment, drilling and so forth. The Tulsa oil show was the main place to go to learn about new developments on drilling, refining and so forth. A guy named Kaplarushnikov was the head of the delegation, and he stepped off the curb in the fairgrounds in a Tulsa crosswalk and was hit by an Oklahoma Gas and Electric truck that was running a stop sign. It broke both legs and he was really banged up and he's in the hospital in Tulsa. The guy from Gas and Electric says they are not going to pay anything to any damn Bolshevik, and they won't pay his hospital bill or anything, and he didn't have any money. So he has only one thing he can do and that is to find a lawyer and sue. Well, he casts about for a Russian speaking lawyer and there is only one in Tulsa named Boorstin who emigrated when he was 12 or so; so Sam took the case. So you had here in the middle of the Depression the utility to which everybody pays their utility bills being sued by a Bolshevik represented by a Jew before a red-neck Cree county jury. My dad was the clerk, Sam's side-kick and assistant, and he told me this story. I told it once some years ago to Daniel Boorstin. Daniel said, "Yeah, you've got it, that's what happened." So Sam was representing Kaplarushnikov and the Oklahoma Gas and Electric made some big mistakes; they hired a fancy dan big city lawyer from Kansas City to come down. Sam, by the way, always before a jury would wear what he called a jury suit which was a bedraggled old suit with elbows with holes and frayed cuffs on his shirts and so forth; my father always did that too, his whole life, particularly if he was representing a defendant. So anyway, the Oklahoma Gas and Electric didn't have anything they could argue. It was an open and shut case so mainly this guy just insulted Sam and insulted him for representing Russians and so forth. Sam stands up and says something like this. "Well," he says, "Opposing counsel has followed the rule that some lawyers I know follow which is that if the law is against you argue the facts, if the facts are against you argue the law, if both are against you insult the opposing counsel." He said, "Now this fellow says that I am a sole practitioner. That's right, I practice by myself down there on Main Street and all of you know you are my fellow Tulsans here on the jury." Sam by the way had a deep bass voice and a South Georgia accent which is where his family had emigrated to originally, so he talked like a bass version of a South Georgia guy. He said, "It's true that I'm a sole practitioner and everybody here on the jury knows that if you get into some kind of trouble and need legal advice you can come see me and if you've got the money to pay my fee we will do that but if you don't I'll still represent you anyway. That's the way I've always practiced law and I always will." He said, "Now the fellow also talks about how these Russians that came over with the delegation to our oil show, one of them I represent, are Communists, Bolsheviks and so forth." And he said, "Let me tell you that's right. They got a new government in Russia, Soviet Union, that's a fact since World War I, the World War." He said, "They might well not be any better to me and my

family if we were there now than their forebears were when my family and I left there and came to America when I was 12 years old.” But, he said, “You know, that doesn’t really have anything to do with the case.” He said, “Let me tell you what this case is really about. Tulsa is the oil capital of the world.” It fancied itself back then and still does to a little extent. He said, “And oil is going to be the fuel of the 20th Century.” He said, “Coal was the fuel for the Nineteenth Century but oil is the fuel of the 20th Century and we are the capital.” He said, “We have an obligation to teach the world how to use this remarkable substance to power cars, to power machinery, to move our economy out of this terrible depression.” And he talked for about fifteen minutes about the mission of Tulsa and the role of oil in the 20th Century. He said, “So, it’s true that these fellows are from the Soviet Union and I might not get along with them well but you’ve got to realize they came to Tulsa to learn.” He sat down. The jury went out and returned fifteen minutes later with not only a verdict for the medical costs but \$45 thousand in pain and suffering. In 1933 it was like a multimillion dollar verdict.

Sam’s other case that I love derives from a lady that I dated in high school and she and her husband are still friends of my wife’s and mine; we stay with them when we go to Tulsa. Carol Sidenbeck, whose father owned the sort of I. Magnin’s of Tulsa, a very high-quality women’s store; Leslie Sidenbeck called it Leslie’s dry-goods store. Leslie Sidenbeck was my image of vanity and sophistication; he had grown up, I think, in Switzerland. His family had a gorgeous Mediterranean style home with a tennis court, swimming pool and so forth on the South side of town not too far from us; it was a lovely big home. He fancied velvet smoking jackets and he loved first editions. When I would come to pick up Carol for a date, if it was the servants night out or something, he might answer the door and say, come in, I’ve got a new first edition and he would show me his first edition of Dickens and so forth. Since I like Dickens and read several Dickens books by that time we’d talk about Dickens. He had a little pencil moustache and looked a little bit like Adolphe Menjou; really a marvelous sense of urbanity and sophistication and so forth. Well flash forward to the early ‘80s; my parents had just moved to Washington. We had been sitting around at Christmas telling stories of one kind or another about Oklahoma and so forth and something came up about Leslie Sidenbeck. My dad says, “Yeah, you know, it was one of Sam’s finest trials when he got Leslie off for murder.” I said, “Leslie Sidenbeck with the pencil moustache, Carol’s father? Murder?” He said, “Oh yeah.” I said, “What in the world happened?” And dad said, “Well, it wasn’t anything big. Leslie and another fellow got in a price war over their dry goods and the fellow called Leslie out.” I said, “Called him out?” Dad said, “Yeah, the street.” I said, “You mean with guns?” Dad said, “Sure, yeah.” I said, “You mean like gunfight at the OK Corral? Leslie Sidenbeck and the other store owner?” Dad said, “Yeah, he called Leslie out.” I said, “What happened?” Dad said, “Well Leslie got him.” I said, “You mean Leslie drew faster and killed this guy.” Dad said, “Yeah, it happened.” I said, “Well, what happened then?” Dad said, “Oh. They indicted him for murder; they always did in those cases.” He said, “It wasn’t real easy I’m sure. You had one Jew representing another before a red-neck jury, but Sam gave a damn fine closing argument; got him off with self-defense.”

What was interesting about that was my father's attitude. This would have been in Tulsa. It was earlier than the Kaplarushnikov case so this was probably earlier in Tulsa back during the time of World War I when my dad was just a little boy. But he said, "Yeah he got him..." I said did it happen often?" Dad said, "Well, less and less over the years but it happened." What was interesting to me was my father's sense of sure, of course, gun fight, what's the big deal?

Q: Oh my God.

WOOLSEY: I'd told Carol, I have a hard time imagining this marvelous father of hers with his velvet smoking coat and his jacket and his first editions of Dickens out on Main Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma, gun holster drawing down and getting the guy who challenged him.

Q: What was sort of the politics of your family?

WOOLSEY: Conservative.

Q: I mean you grew up during the Roosevelt or at least going into the ...

WOOLSEY: I remember generally it was '44. I remember standing up. It's hard to think that kids do that now but my mother driving through Tulsa on an errand or something and me standing up for something right next to her. There was all this black cloth and so forth all over the lamp posts in Tulsa. I said, "What's that mommy?" She said, "Well the president just died." It would have been Roosevelt. My parents were both conservative Democrats and so am I. I think my mother voted for every winning president except she voted for Nixon instead of for Kennedy. Other than that her general stance was conservative Democrat and my father too. As a matter of fact that was Tulsa.

Q: As I recall I can't think of what I want to say is McGee or something.

WOOLSEY: Kerr-McGee.

Q: The senators from there were sort of I won't say caricatures but very much of a...

WOOLSEY: Well Robert Kerr was a powerful chairman of the Senate finance committee and the family of Kerr-McGee Oil. Kerr and some of the other Oklahoma senators did a great deal to get the river dredged so Tulsa could be a seaport at least for barges and so forth. By the time of the '70s at one point we had just about the most conservative Republican and the most liberal Democrat in the Senate simultaneously in their jobs; I will think of their names in a minute. The Southeastern part of Oklahoma, so-called Little Dixie, was very solidly Democratic and the North up near Kansas with oil and insurance money and big wheat farms was generally Republican. The resolution of those vectors almost always came out with conservative Democrats and the modern manifestation is David Boren who is a good friend of mine; we were at Oxford together as Rhodes Scholars. David was a conservative Democrat governor and congressman and senator.

Q: Oklahoma being the site of, of course, the great Indian movement there. Did Indians play much of a role in your time?

WOOLSEY: Not as Indians because they were integrated with the five so-called civilized tribes. Most of the other tribes, there were one or two sort of little reservations in Oklahoma but the big reservations such as for the Hopi and the Navaho and so forth aren't in Oklahoma so the Indians generally speaking were integrated into society and intermarriage. I had several full-blood Indians in my class in high school but they got along and vice versa and school dances and so forth, this wasn't an issue. Our maid was Black but she was about one quarter Osage. She bought a new Oldsmobile every year with her head rights from the oil discoveries in Osage County. Back in the '20s there were very few Osage's so even if there was as little as a quarter or even an eighth I think an Osage got substantial head rights from the tribe. Glenpool was the area up just North of Tulsa, sixty miles.

Q: Well as a small kid were you much of a reader?

WOOLSEY: Yeah, I was.

Q: Do you recall any sort of the books that you read?

WOOLSEY: Well I loved Mark Twain; I loved Steinbeck so much so that I spent several years saying that I was going to be a labor organizer like Tom Joad. I read, when I was real little, kids' books and such as The Hardy Boys series. There was a series of very short biographies written maybe for kids just out of elementary school, or a little more, of leading American figures Washington, Jefferson, etc. I remember enjoying those; I always liked biography and history.

Q: Let's take elementary school first. What sort of student were you?

WOOLSEY: I was probably pretty diligent. I remember that we took tests in the fifth grade, I think, to see what year equivalent we had learned. Although they didn't announce it at the time, I was the highest one in the school, just about nearly tenth grade reading level while in fifth grade.

Q: Were you sort of reading ahead of your class?

WOOLSEY: I just read whatever kind of cropped up and was interesting and fun. I would read other stuff like Grapes of Wrath. By the time I was in junior high I was reading a lot.

Q: How about movies? Were you much of a movie goer?

WOOLSEY: Yeah, I always liked Westerns. Probably my two or three favorite movies of all time would be High Noon and Casablanca and Mel Brook's Blazing Saddles. But yeah I've always liked films; I'm not a scholar of films or anything like that.

Q: In school where there any courses that you really liked and courses that you didn't like?

WOOLSEY: The ones I really liked were history and English. The ones I kind of got done were Latin and math. I liked science, but math I just got to learn it and get it done but I don't particularly think mathematically but history and English had always been my focus.

Q: Can you think of any teachers that were particularly influential?

WOOLSEY: Yeah, I had a history teacher in high school, Miss Hunt, that my mother had. I took modern history from her and enlightenment and the era of colonization, empires and so forth. I liked that a lot and the same at Stanford. I liked English, history and Western civilization.

Q: I mean every state teaches a lot about the state. Did you get much about Oklahoma?

WOOLSEY: A little bit. Tulsa Central and the Oklahoma schools I think it was to my benefit were not very faddish; they didn't go with the fads of the times. They gave the tests and if they thought you were going to college they would put you on a track where you read Dickens, Shakespeare and Thackeray. I think probably the course I took when we read Edmund Burke's speech on conciliation with the colonies, my mother read Edmund Burke's speech on conciliation with the colonies when she was at Central. I rather imagine that the curriculum didn't change much at all from back to around the time of statehood up until I was there. As a result, to Oklahoma's credit, I think they missed a lot of the fads the Dewey stuff. They weren't into people's self-esteem and all of that stuff. As a matter of fact, my wife is a born and bred Californian and went to a very good Californian school but I always tell her I saw one time the Oklahoma Education Association put a booklet out called what to do with the Californian Child. There was by the '50s some reverse migration from all the Okies who went West in the '30s. They were kids who had not been taught phonics and so forth. They had been taught other things or whatever was kind of the fad of the time in the education community.

Q: Very much so.

WOOLSEY: Oklahoma, or at least Tulsa, missed the fads so they saw no reason to not read Romeo and Juliet just because they had read it every year for sixty years.

Q: I grew up partly in the California system and I remember in junior high the thing was that homework was considered a bad thing or something. You mentioned Okies. What about did the Dust Bowl...it was before your time, but was there much mention about the Dust Bowl, was it something that was part of the psyche of everybody?

WOOLSEY: Not a lot. Most people in Tulsa were looking to the future and oil was clearly going to be a big boost to the economy of the city. The main way my parents had

a rough time was we had all kinds of relatives staying with us, a lot of people did. But no it wasn't something people dwelt on. As a matter of fact, when I read Grapes of Wrath when I was about 15 I started calling myself an Okie and my mother said, "Jim, a lot of people in Oklahoma wouldn't like that. They'd like to be called Oklahomans." I said, "I don't care if they like it or not. Tom Joad was an Okie, I'm an Okie."

Q: Well you are off to high school and was it Tulsa Central?

WOOLSEY: Yeah.

Q: From when to when?

WOOLSEY: I'm the class of '59 at Central so '56-'59.

Q: What was it like at that time?

WOOLSEY: It was a good era. Sputnik had really waked the country up.

Q: This is the Soviet Union had launched...

WOOLSEY: A satellite in '57.

Q: And it really aroused the country to feeling...

WOOLSEY: A lot of people probably before that hadn't paid a huge amount of attention and the Korean War, of course, to thinking of this as a long Cold War or whatever. But Sputnik because we knew they had nuclear weapons because they had a test in what? '53? Then just a few years later they can launch a satellite means they could get a missile over here. So the country kind of went to general quarters and they picked up and made a lot more demanding science education, the interstate highway system got built in such a way you could use chunks of it as airfields for bombers and so on. So it was a serious time but all that didn't really prey on people's minds much. But we did have a period after the Soviet nuclear tests in the early '50s back around when I was in junior high school when you had the drills to duck and cover, get under your desk and people (some of them but not too many) were building fallout shelters for their families. But generally speaking the Eisenhower era was a pretty comfortable time in the States in general and I think probably in Oklahoma too.

Q: Did you get involved in extra-curricular activities at all?

WOOLSEY: Oh yeah, I was president of my senior class at Tulsa. I usually didn't get too involved in student government as such, student council and that kind of thing, but I was on the tennis team and played soccer some, tried out for football but I wasn't big enough. I loved baseball and played on the softball league that my father coached in when I was in elementary school. My dad taught me to play golf, fish and tennis so I suppose I'd say probably golf, tennis, soccer, basketball when I was in junior high and high school. I

never made the varsity in basketball but I was really ambitious; I was not a leading basketball player but I was kind of on the team, I was junior varsity. Oh, debate too; I was on the debate team in high school and college.

Q: What about sort of the world beyond the United States? The Cold War was on but did Europe or Asia or anything else sort of grab your attention?

WOOLSEY: Well my big leap into being really interested in the outside world was when the summer after my junior year I was selected as an American Field Service student and went to Sweden. I had a summer in Sweden with two different families and it was an absolutely delightful summer and I remember it extremely fondly. I got the feeling for what it's like to be European. As a result of that my freshman year at Stanford they still had one overseas campus in Germany then a year or so later they added ones in France and Italy. The first several years they had Stanford overseas campus the only one was in Germany. So I took a year of German as a freshman. Then I signed up for Stanford in Germany and went over there when I was 18. I worked for the summer in a Red Cross Refugee Camp in Berlin; then had six months at Stanford in Germany studying Germany and history. German is the only foreign language that I speak at all and it's very rusty. I haven't used it much in recent years even when I was in the diplomatic post in Vienna. You get spoiled because everyone speaks English and so forth. I did the American Field Service summer and the six months in Germany most of it at the study center outside Stuttgart but two months of it in the summer working in Berlin; this is the year before the wall went up. This is the summer of '61. So we had a lot of refugees coming through; we lived in a refugee camp. Whenever Cold War issues would come up I'd always remember being able to sit in my tiny little bedroom in the refugee camp which was right on the Sector Line. The Sector Line got moved a few blocks when the wall was built. But when I was there the Sector Line ran right in front of our refugee camp, it was the street it was on. So the other side of the street was in East Berlin. We could see the FOPOS, the East German police, arrest people who would try to cross the street. Now they couldn't arrest everybody across the street so they tried to get people who were coming as families or had luggage or something like that. But if a single individual kind of wandered across the street they might not bother him. So we had a big inflow of refugees and it had a big impact on the way I thought about the Soviets. I would always think about seeing these poor families standing out there with their luggage getting grabbed by the FOPOs and brought back into East Berlin; that was my image of a totalitarian state.

Q: Going back to the time you were in Sweden at that point we weren't really involved in Vietnam?

WOOLSEY: No, this was the summer of '58 so no.

Q: Well what were the Swedes often particularly in the early years had taken a sort of jaundice view of the United States. Did you pick up any adverse...

Woolsey: Not really. The Cold War wasn't far enough along and we had clearly kept the Soviets from taking over Western Europe. We weren't really fighting anywhere, the

French were leaving Indo-China, but the later kind of European intellectuals saying the Americans are a bunch of imperialists and so forth that wasn't really part of things, I don't think in the late 1950s.

Q: Well then what brought you to Stanford?

WOOLSEY: After the American Field Service a lot of the kids who were on that with me were going to Ivy League schools. I thought I might like to too, maybe Harvard or maybe Yale. My mother thought there would likely be a lot of Communists back there and Ms. Sandberry, who was my counselor, worked out a compromise between my mother and me which was Stanford. My mother figured it was out West so it probably wouldn't have as many Communists, as they had at a place like Harvard. As it turned out, my Western Civilization teacher, my first year, Eugenia Almacost, was a Greek Communist at Stanford but she was a very good history teacher and played it straight. It was really kind of funny. But anyway, Stanford was the compromise and I've never been sorry I went there; it was a great undergraduate education.

Q: What was Stanford like at the time?

WOOLSEY: It was a combination of UCLA and Yale. Well, to give you an example, in 1959, my first term at Stanford I went straight A and the grades were somehow disclosed. I don't remember how it worked but in any case people knew who had done really well or not. I had a guy come to me in my dorm room and he said, "Your name is Woolsey, right?" I said, "Yeah." He said, "You went straight A this first term, didn't you?" I said, "Yeah." He said, "I want to talk to you about what we are going to do with a fraternity." He was putting together a group to take over a fraternity because this fraternity Sigma Nu had had a lot of drinking going on one Saturday night and one of the students was killed by somebody who had been drinking and ran over him in the parking lot. He was drunk and had fallen down and somebody ran over him without knowing he was there, who had also been drinking and driving. So they were first told they were just going to kick them off campus. Then they said okay you can stay but you can't participate in the Rush; so that would have basically meant nobody joined them. So this guy, Thompson, got ten or twelve of us together and each of us got another one or two and we ended up with about thirty people and we made a deal with the fraternity. We said, "Take all of us or none of us," and they were perfectly happy to take all of us. So we set this thing up and at first we called it Sigma Nu because that was the national fraternity. Then we got into a fight with the national Sigma Nu fraternity. We wanted to let one of the political science section leaders, who was a graduate student from Nigeria, we wanted to let him have a room in the house because he didn't have very much money and the dorms were more expensive so we wanted him to have a free room. He was a teacher for a couple of fraternity brothers and they liked him. This national fraternity got really bugged at us because he was Black and Sigma Nu, like several fraternities, was founded in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War; we never even noticed the oaths and stuff that it said you need to recognize that slaves and descendants of slaves cannot associate with free men.

Q: Good God.

WOOLSEY: So we took a look at that and said, “Oh the hell with that.” So we got in a big fight with the national. The forces of the national Sigma Nu fraternity were led by head cheerleader from Ole Miss named Trent Lott.

Q: Later a senator.

WOOLSEY: Later a senator. So we got in this fight and to make a long story short we seceded from Sigma Nu and set ourselves up as a local fraternity Beta Chi. This was all happening in 1960-'61-'62 so we were before the free speech movement in Berkeley. We were before almost anything with the civil rights marches and so forth in the South. I think that the Birmingham Boycott was before us but such a small matter thirty students made a local fraternity out of what was a national fraternity chapter. We got a huge amount of attention particularly in the local press, the San Francisco press, and so we had interviews and all kinds of stuff. We didn't know it was going to happen but we just liked this Nigerian graduate student. He didn't mind getting a room for free. Because of this big fight I got into the civil rights business a bit, not a lot. I didn't go down and demonstrate in the South like really brave folks did, but when I graduated from college in '63 I was an intern for the summer at the State Department just before I was going to go over to Oxford in September. I was helping out in the evenings and weekends on something called the District Action Project which was run by the Congress of Racial Equality. This was basically tutoring for kids from the ghetto in English and math and stuff to help them do better in school. The guy who was running that came to those of us mainly, but not exclusively; who were doing the tutoring and said we would like to talk to you guys about becoming marshals on this march. We said, “What march?” This was August of '63 and they said, “Well everybody is putting the word out all the civil rights organizations are all going to come to Washington and we are going to have a big march and rally at the Lincoln Memorial. Frankly we need people who will, if the Nazis, George Lincoln Rockwell was a Nazi group in Northern Virginia, if the Nazis come across the bridge and attack the marchers we need people who are going to lie down in front of them and do our non-violent thing.” So we said, “Yeah, sure.” So we went through some non-violent training. Mainly it was a really hot day and mainly all I did was get water and occasionally a stretcher for people who keeled over from a heatstroke, or whatever. But I just happened to be standing up above the Lincoln statue about 100 feet or so and off to the side. So I was within about 150 feet of King when he gave his “I Have a Dream” speech.

Q: This was Martin Luther King.

WOOLSEY: So anyway I got more involved in the anti-war movement later and I will tell you about that.

Q: In 1960 was the election of Kennedy over Nixon and this engaged an awful lot of students. How did you fall in that?

WOOLSEY: I was in favor of Kennedy but I didn't do anything politically. Our main thing back around that time for most of us was this fight about the fraternity.

Q: Were you caught up in it at all...I mean inspired and I'm not sure inspired is the right term that the idea that government work is respectable.

WOOLSEY: Yeah, yeah.

Q: The fact that...

WOOLSEY: Yeah, Kennedy did that. He did the whole thing with the Peace Corps and 'pay any price bear any burden' and yeah he had a big impact on my generation in that way.

Q: What was your major at Stanford?

WOOLSEY: History.

Q: Any particular part of history:

WOOLSEY: Focusing on modern Europe, focusing especially on the years between the World Wars. I taught myself French enough to take the exam and I had one-quarter of it after I had studied it one summer. My German was pretty good and I needed two languages and I was going to go to graduate school and become a professor of modern European history. When I went as a Rhodes Scholar to Oxford you don't have course requirements for a doctorate, it is just your dissertation. So I started working on my dissertation and I decided after a couple of months this wasn't the life I wanted. So I dropped back into the Oxford politics, philosophy and economics program in tutorials and went on then to law school.

Q: We are ready to quit in a minute but let's talk about the Rhodes thing if we can and then we will quit. What attracted you to this and how did that work at the time?

WOOLSEY: Well, I forgot but I think it was 32 American scholars back then. This was before they were picking women so every sort of six state grouping would nominate two people on the basis of recommendations and interviews and stuff; then that six state grouping would end up with a total of I guess four scholars being picked. David Boren and I got to know one another during the selection process and we didn't think both of us would win and weren't sure either one would but they ended up picking two Oklahomans. So he and I went over at the same time.

Q: What sort of things were they interested in?

WOOLSEY: Well they were interested in academic achievement and recommendations. I've never seen what people wrote but I rather imagine this thing we did about the fraternity because we were so far in front of everybody else; almost everybody else. It

might have had an effect. I'd had this really interesting experience of studying and working in Germany and the refugee camp. Also you are supposed to have some sports achievement; mine wasn't great. I was a junior varsity tennis and junior varsity soccer or freshman actually at Stanford and then went over to junior varsity in soccer. I was not real accomplished, but I was on a team. Then I was on the debate team. So you never know. Interviews you never know on what basis they are going to pick.

Q: Did your experiences particularly in Berlin and the refugee and all that sort of color your attitude toward the Cold War?

WOOLSEY: Absolutely. Yeah. I mean the Germans we were working with in the camp were German Red Cross people. This is '61 and the Berlin Airlift had only been eleven or twelve years before. So a lot of these people had lived through as adults in World War II and the Airlift and the preservation of West Berlin in the West and then it was really tested a year after with the Wall going up. But for Germans that I dealt with there was none of the haughtiness or anything like that; they liked Americans. I had a very good experience overseas and so I had two things to write about on the Rhodes application; the American Field Service thing, Sweden and the study in Germany.

Q: Today is the 14th of June 2013 with James Woolsey. We had left you when you had gotten your Rhodes scholarship; it was at Oxford wasn't it?

WOOLSEY: Yeah all Rhodes are at Oxford.

Q: What years were you there?

WOOLSEY: The fall of '63 to the summer of '65.

Q: This has been a place obviously Bill Clinton went there and many other leaders went there from the United States and actually from other countries too. What was so special about it do you think?

WOOLSEY: Well it is mainly Oxford which is a unique place. It's a collection of small colleges that very little is done at the university level except the final exams for the undergraduates. I started out being a graduate student working on a doctorate in history for a couple of months. Then I decided that really wasn't something that I wanted to do. So I shifted over to undergraduate which is the so-called PPE program, Philosophy, Politics and Economics. An Oxford bachelors, which turns into a masters after five years or something; so it's appropriately a master's degree. Or it is the degree the structure that if you are going to take those subjects; at Oxford you take all three of them and you can concentrate in one. But the unique thing about the place, in addition to its history and so forth is its tutorial system. It is one-on-one between you and your teacher once or twice a week. You read him an essay that you have written in preparation for the class and then it is just you and he and he challenges it, asks you questions and you go back and forth. There are lectures you can go to but they are basically just, if you want to, for entertainment or being able to go to a series of lectures by somebody like Sir Isaiah

Berlin or whatever. The final exams called schools are the end of your second year if you are taking it as a graduate, as I did, or the end of your third year if you are starting fresh as an under graduate. It was a delightful two years.

Q: Were there any people that you kept running into I mean did you make good connections there?

WOOLSEY: Well you see other Americans a lot and a number of them have become lifelong friends like Will Slocum. You see other people after that mainly at reunions every few years of something.

Q: You mentioned you decided not to go for a PhD. Academic career.

WOOLSEY: Yeah.

Q: What was there about an academic career that didn't appeal to you?

WOOLSEY: I don't know. I think if the doctorate had had tutorials I might have stayed with it, but I didn't like just going and spending my time sitting in the library stacks writing a dissertation and that's really just what it was. The undergraduate teaching method I thought was superior and enjoyable and so on.

Q: It does that meeting of the minds that I've heard. When you got out of there wither?

WOOLSEY: Well I got married and started law school.

Q: Why law?

WOOLSEY: Well I liked the disputational side of the Oxford system, and its philosophy especially, but also some of the others; politics and economics and so arguing seemed fun. My father was a trial lawyer; I had always thought I was going to be an academic, but as I began to see some of the downsides of academia I began to see some of the upsides of how he had enjoyed law and was still enjoying trial lawsuits. The trial work I did was mostly in arbitration which is interesting because you don't have to spend a lot of time, not nearly as much anyway, that you do in civil litigation on discovery. So after you've tried a few arbitrations as counsel people start asking you to serve as an arbitrator. So you get to do the two things that at least to me were the most enjoyable about law practice. You get to put on a case and argue it and write a brief, cross examine the other guy's witnesses and so forth as a trial lawyer and then every once in a while you get to be a judge which is to be the arbitrator. Several of the ones I did were about technology and I like technology so it worked; I was glad.

Q: Were you getting involved with government work in your legal side?

WOOLSEY: No, I came back in the summer of '65 and started law school. I was at Yale law school for three years. Then immediately in September, right after the summer after

my third year at law school, I started in the Pentagon. I was there for two years, '68-'70, as a lieutenant doing my active duty working in the office of the Secretary of Defense.

Q: What sort of work were you doing?

WOOLSEY: At first I was working on figuring out criteria for designing reconnaissance satellites. Later I began serving as an advisor to a marvelous man, Paul Nitze, who was the deputy secretary of defense in the Johnson administration and then came back early '69 in the new Nixon administration to help negotiate arms control agreements with the Soviets. I got assigned to be his assistant, essentially. So I did that for about the last year of the two years I was in the Pentagon.

Q: What was the state of reconnaissance satellites and all?

WOOLSEY: Well we were just transitioning from photography to essentially ones and zeros, sort of still photos, not movies, but a large number of still photos from space rather than film that you had to eject from the satellite and believe it or not catch...

Q: Oh yes, I know.

WOOLSEY: ...with a big scoop like device on a transport aircraft and then take it back and develop it.

Q: On arms control this was going to involve you later again. How stood it when you were working with Paul Nitze?

WOOLSEY: Oh, he was great. He became like a second father. I met him because he and I got into a big argument about the war in Vietnam and how it was being fought and so forth.

Q: How did you stand and how did he stand?

WOOLSEY: Well, it was complicated as with everything with Paul. It wasn't a full straightforward pro-antiwar thing. As I remember it had to do with tactics and search and destroy and guerilla warfare and so forth. I somehow got in this argument with him the first time I met him at his daughter's engagement party, black tie in Washington, several hundred people. His daughter had just gotten engaged to a friend of mine from college. At the entry into this very high town, sit down, black tie dinner engagement party for the Nitze's daughter, I got into a big argument with him as we came into the party out there in the alcove. As it developed he was poking at me with his champagne flute and I'm poking him with mine like an up-start started challenging d'Artagnan and I essentially retreat back to some windows and we're both arguing. When we drove home that evening, I said to my wife I had gotten into a little discussion about the war with Nitze at the party. She said, "Yeah, everybody noticed; are you out of your mind? What are you doing?" I said, "Well, it won't matter. This is January of '69, he's leaving in a couple of weeks with a new administration coming in, it doesn't matter." But a few months later,

about March or April, he's back to help negotiate arms control. My boss, Charles Rosati, called and asked if I could come down and see him. I did and he said, "Jim, you know Nitze's back." I said, "Yeah, I heard." He said, "He's going to go over to Helsinki and Vienna and negotiate with the Soviets about our strategic weapons. He's going to need an assistant, somebody to draft statements and review intelligence and so forth. You're working on intelligence stuff now and that might be relevant, and you are a lawyer and there might be a treaty involved. Would you be interested in being his assistant?" I said, "I can't think of anything I'd rather do as a lieutenant in the Army than go over to Helsinki and Vienna and work with Nitze on arms control agreements. I've got to say that I've only met him once and it didn't go real well." He kind of grinned and said, "Well that must be what he meant." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well I floated your name up to him and he paused for a second and then he kind of grinned and he said 'yeah, that's fine, send Woolsey on up. He may not know what the hell he's talking about but at least he'll speak up.'" That how I got into all this by quite inappropriately getting into an argument with the Deputy Secretary of Defense as a lieutenant in the Army at his daughter's engagement party. He took me as his assistant not in spite of that, but in a lot of ways really because of it. I learned later that Nitze really liked having his staff flag issues for him by arguing about stuff.

Q: Can you go over a little bit about where you were coming from on Vietnam at that time?

WOOLSEY: Well I supported the war for the first several years but by the fall of '67 my wife and a man named Alan Lowenstein who's a smart old guy whom I knew at Stanford; he was the assistant dean of men. But he and Sue both persuaded me that the strategy was wrong. Search and destroy wasn't going to win it. So I founded and helped organize Yale Citizens for Eugene McCarthy for President. I was sort of the head of the anti-war movement for a year.

This was the establishment anti-war group, the Yale Citizens of Eugene McCarthy for President. We sent people up to New Hampshire. I made everybody get clean for Gene and shave their beards and cut their hair and put on coats and ties and go up and be well presented young gentlemen and ladies to work the canvassing and so forth.

Q: How was Gene McCarthy? Did you have much to do with him?

WOOLSEY: Almost nothing, met him once.

Q: When one looks at his World War II record I mean it is quite remarkable.

WOOLSEY: Yeah, he's a complicated guy, a pretty good poet actually. He may not have been the best president ever, but what we were really doing was trying to see if we could get enough votes to have somebody notice that there were some folks against the war. When we got 42 percent in New Hampshire, in 1968 it was stunning; nobody expected us to do that well.

Q: Well this is a pivotal year in American. Did you continue did you go to Chicago?

WOOLSEY: By my third year '67-'68 in law school when I was running Yale Citizens for Eugene McCarthy for President, I was also the managing editor of the Law Journal. So I had a lot of duties to make sure the journal got out on time and everybody's thing got proof read and everything else, selected and write notes for people to write and all kinds of things. So I was running both this anti-war movement and editing the law journal as well as going to class so I didn't have any time to go off to something like Chicago.

Q: How did Lyndon Johnson strike you?

WOOLSEY: Well I'm a kind of conservative Democrat more southern than not. I was kind of pre-disposed to think Johnson was a good president but just finally got so fed up with the war I worked for McCarthy.

Q: Well you went to Helsinki...

WOOLSEY: Yeah with Nitze.

Q: ...were still a lieutenant at the time?

WOOLSEY: I think I became an Army captain after my first year. I had been an officer not yet called to active duty long enough that when I first started in active duty in the fall of '65 I became a first lieutenant really right away. Then after a year I became a captain.

Q: Did you find yourself working with Nitze was there a Pentagon side to the team there. In other words was the Pentagon having a....

WOOLSEY: Well Nitze was a consultant to the defense department. Since he had already been deputy secretary of defense he was a very special kind of consultant because very recently he outranked everybody except the Secretary. So when we went over to the talks there'd be a small State Department team with an ambassador and two or three State Department officers. There'd also be a small one for the arms control agency and a small one from the Joint Chiefs and us; so there were about five teams of four or five people each going over to Helsinki.

Q: What was the American team after?

WOOLSEY: Well this was all kind of exploratory at first as there had never been anything like this. So we were starting to explore ideas with the Soviets and this was new. Neither side wanted it to crash and burn but nobody wanted to give much up either. So I'd say the first rounds in Helsinki in the fall of '69 and Vienna in the winter and spring of '70 were still pretty early stages.

Q: What was your impression of the Soviet team?

WOOLSEY: Mainly military officers, diplomats and KGB guys. One or two of the diplomats were interesting and got to know them a little bit. The military guys were really quite rigid and closed mouth. The KGB people were probably the friendliest and that's one way that you knew they were KGB.

Q: Was it sort of like two stray dogs sniffing each other and sniffing around?

WOOLSEY: They would have summits from time to time and Nixon was using this in part to kind of soften his image of being a hawk, but I think he and people at Defense and State and so forth were willing to have something come out of this and eventually it did, but this was the very early stage.

Q: It really took a lot of...well it was in the late '80s when things began to...

WOOLSEY: Well they had agreements before that but probably started the intermediate range nuclear force talks that produced an agreement back in kind of the early '80s. But START and SALT I came before that; there was SALT I and the ABM treaty and those were kind of '60.

Q: Were you involved in any particular part of the negotiations?

WOOLSEY: Basically I helped Nitze. If he wanted a statement on something to circulate and see if the other negotiators wanted to join in making it part of our submission to the Soviet side I often drafted or I'd follow the intelligence on what the Soviets were doing with their various systems and so forth.

Q: What about the British and others were they involved in this?

WOOLSEY: No, this was U.S.-Soviet. We would from time to time brief other countries -- particularly countries we were close to like the Brits, but they weren't part of the talks, at least not part of these. Later on, when I ran the conventional force in Europe talks, I was working, of course, with the Brits because that was NATO versus the Warsaw Pact.

Q: Were nuclear weapons part of what you were doing or were you more...

WOOLSEY: This was all about nukes; SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) ones in '69 suddenly those were all nukes. The talks about real conventional forces didn't start for some time, and when they did they didn't go anywhere very fast. They were called Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks, MBFR. They were about conventional forces and they were stalled for a long time until I happened to take over just before the Berlin Wall went down. Once the Wall went down everything got shaken up and the East European countries wanted to work with us and so forth. I was really very lucky to get the CFE talks coming up on the power grid right as I took over. I negotiated a 111 page treaty in six languages in six months and another three months got it through a barrier that the Soviet military was putting up in another five or six months. So I did CFE really

for two and a half years and took it all away from a very early stage to senate confirmation.

Q: This was in the '80s wasn't it?

WOOLSEY: I was in it from November of '89 through the fall of '91, two years.

Q: Well back when you working on strategic weapons I'm told at one point we had pretty good intelligence and we were sort of saying we know you have these weapons here and spelling out what we knew. The head of the Soviet delegation went to the head of our delegation and said, "A lot of my people aren't cleared for this."

WOOLSEY: I think one of the Soviet military guys came to us and said, "We really shouldn't be going over this with the diplomats." He didn't mean the American diplomats. He meant the Soviet diplomats; the Soviet military didn't want anybody in their business.

Q: Did you have the feeling that the Soviet military was pretty well cracking the whip or was it...

WOOLSEY: They were more going along for the ride, trying to look like they are not causing trouble, but being sure that nothing really happened without their okay.

Q: I'm trying to sort of get the attitude of our delegation. Did you feel this was going to be a long, really long thing but we are beginning to clear some of the brush away?

WOOLSEY: I thought it would be a pretty long thing and by the summer, let's see I started arms control you mean the Newburg talks _____.

Q: Yes.

WOOLSEY: I started those in '69 I guess. After a couple of years when my military service was up, they asked me to work at the National Security Council staff on arms control. I also had an offer from Senator John Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to be general counsel of the Armed Services Committee. I thought that was a lot more interesting. So until they got somebody to take my job I stayed on at the National Security Council staff for about six months. When they got somebody to take the job, by that time I was out of the military, I took the job of general counsel at the Armed Services for three years.

Q: How would you describe Stennis' method of dealing with issues and all?

WOOLSEY: Oh he was a wonderful old Southern gentleman. He was really great to work for, very smart, very much a man of almost the prior century. He was born in 1905 and so he was slightly older than my father. He was really great and part of the really old school, very courtly, a marvelous man.

Q: What was the armed forces committee, it must have been a very difficult time because this was when things were really going down the drain.

WOOLSEY: We were in the middle of Vietnam but it was still much more polite and less contentious than it is today. Since the committee dealt with national security matters, defense authorization is the main bill, but other things too, it was pretty non-partisan. I mean a lot of the Democrats were Southern. Even if they weren't, they were big city Democrats who were liberal on domestic things. But on most national security matters, especially anything dealing with the Soviets, labor unions were influential. Back then the labor unions were the Soviets worst nightmare. They were our best buddies in dealing with the Soviets. There would be arguments about whether to withdraw troops from Europe. Senator Mike Mansfield always proposed that every year, and there would be the war motions, but they'd never get more than 30-35 votes. Stennis was highly respected as was Chairman of Appropriations Ellender. The Southern Democrats ran a lot of the senate and their tradition and the tradition of a lot of other people too was that politics stops at the water's edge. So even though there would be big formal arguments and motions that never got very many votes proposed about ending the war they never really were into that. They did vote, because Stennis came up with it, and I don't think it worked out very well, but they did vote for the act that requires Congress to authorize use of force under certain circumstances.

Q: War powers?

WOOLSEY: War Powers Resolution, yeah that's it.

Q: Well I guess things are also helped by the fact that the significant number of members of the Senate and Congress had served in the military.

WOOLSEY: Oh yeah, that was an era that brought out more World War II and Korean Vets.

Q: Which makes a difference.

WOOLSEY: Yeah, it does.

Q: Were you with the staff or were you working for Stennis?

WOOLSEY: I was the number two staffer for the committee. There was a chief of staff who was the head guy. As the general counsel, I was essentially the number two staff member for the committee.

Q: How did you find working for the staff at that time?

WOOLSEY: I worked for Stennis, chairman of the committee. Basically the staff did what he wanted. There were individuals who were assigned to individual members, but

I'd say nine out of ten of the staff really worked for Stennis and Margaret Chase Smith and her successor. Without regard to party or anything like that. Nobody worked on a party basis.

Q: But how was Senator Fulbright viewed who was taking by this time an anti-war stance?

WOOLSEY: You know I think people respected him. I think Stennis and the others felt that he was doing this because he believed it, but he really was not stopping politics at the water's edge because they thought he should.

Q: Yeah, how did you feel during this time about Vietnam and all of that?

WOOLSEY: Well I was thrown from my support for the founding of the Yale Citizens for Eugene McCarthy for President to helping Stennis defeat resolutions that would knock out the money for the war and so forth but pretty early. I was sitting next to Stennis on the floor of the Senate waiting for a bill to get called up or something. There was a little chair that would sit next to his big chair and if he was running the bill on the floor or something he would be there and I would be there often with him, drafting things and so forth. I was sitting there and I figured a mere four years before I had been running the anti-war campaign at Yale. One time I said to Stennis I said, "Mr. Chairman I've never mentioned it to you because it never came up but I thought you might want to know I was a founder and president when I was in law school of the Yale Citizens for Eugene McCarthy for President." Stennis' reaction was "Oh, Senator McCarthy? Such a fine man, such a wonderful senator and had a wonderful sense of humor." And he started telling me some jokes McCarthy had told him. McCarthy was against the war, Stennis supported the war, and McCarthy was his friend and a fellow senator. The fact that I had worked for McCarthy for president when it was an anti-war campaign could not have mattered less to him.

Q: Yeah.

WOOLSEY: It could not have mattered less.

Q: It's interesting and we are sitting here in Washington in a city that is really in a government that is rather nastily divided it seems to me.

WOOLSEY: Oh, it's really awful.

Q: You know many of us who are particularly older and knew a different period find it very difficult to accept the status.

WOOLSEY: Yeah, if anybody was around back then and particularly if they had a functioning role they were very nostalgic about it.

Note: this interview was not completed.