

**Timothy Naftali**

Hello, I'm Timothy Naftali, Director-Designate of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library Museum. I'm here on March 7, 2007 in Yorba Linda, California, with Ms. Barbara Hackman Franklin. Ms. Franklin is joining me today with Paul Musgrave, and we are engaging in another interview for the Richard Nixon Presidential Oral History Program. Ms. Franklin, thank you very much for joining us today.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

My pleasure.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let's start with how did you come to enter the Nixon White House?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

That's an interesting question, and I have never been quite sure where all the pieces came together. But what I can tell you is this. I was at Citibank. It was then First National Citibank, now Citibank, in New York as an assistant vice-president. I was contacted by people in the White House Personnel Office saying -- Dick Ferry [phonetic sp], to be precise, was the one who called me, who then later headed up his recruiting firm with his name in it. Called and said, "We are looking for women for the administration; could you help us?" And I said, "Sure," and so I did. Now I found out later that the impetus behind that call was the head of Presidential personnel at that time, Fred Malek, who had been in my same class at Harvard Business School. So that's how that part of it began. Now, going back, though, I had been a volunteer in the 1968 Nixon campaign in New York, but you know, a low level volunteer. But I did know some of the people who then landed, I think, elsewhere in the White House. And I knew Shelley Scarney Buchanan. She and I had been in the same sorority and met through a sorority gathering in New York. I don't think that all those other things had much to do with that call from Dick Ferry. I think that was a Malek to Ferry to me. And so I did help. And then later, how much later, maybe a year later, I'm not sure about the time, I got another call saying, "You've got to come down here. We're creating a new job for someone. The President wants to do this to recruit women for high-level jobs in government. This is very serious." So I went to Washington and talked to Ms. John Clark, who was a recruiter, and then to Fred. And then I went back to Citibank to think about it. And I had to satisfy myself that this was really serious, an effort to advance women in government. And I satisfied myself through some other conversations, that it was really serious, and then I decided I would do it. Taking a six months leave of absence from Citibank, fairly naïve to think of six months, but that's what they originally said, "This is a six months assignment."

**Timothy Naftali**

This is two years after President Nixon's executive order.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

[Unintelligible] .

**Timothy Naftali**

Two years after President Nixon made a statement about wanting to improve the number of women in the government. I believe he had been asked about that at a press conference?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, that's the famous Vera Glaser question at the press conference. We do have the precise verbiage. Vera was a very attractive, very dynamic press women, and she got up and said, "Mr. President, you have appointed 200" -- I'm improvising a little, but what I think she said, "Of your first 200 appointments, only three have gone to women. Are we going to be forever the lost sex?" or something like that. And she reported that the President seemed surprised, a bit taken aback, and said something like, "Well, we'll have to do something about that." After that, a circuitous set of events occurred, which we have been able to piece together. And Vera was right in there, as was a woman named Catherine East, who was at the Women's Bureau, a career woman, in the Department of Labor. And somehow they got connected to Arthur Burns, who was a counselor to the President. And out of a series of conversations came the idea for a Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, which was set up later in 1969. There was a little bit of an internal battle, we're told, about what kind of women would be appointed to that task force. And Charlie Clapp, who worked for Arthur Burns, claims that he won out, and there were progressive women appointed. Vera was one of them, and Pat Hutar was another. Virginia Allen was the chairman.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let me step back. Tell us the difference between a progressive -- what kinds of women could they have chosen from?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Oh, well, there was a -- we got to go then back up a little bit into what was happening at the time, and that's the '60s. And the women's movement was getting going, and "The Feminine Mystique" that Betty Friedan had written in the earlier part of the '60s, spawned or catalyzed the women's movement, which was more a left wing operation than with the bra burnings and all of that kind of symbolism. But there were conservative women, on the other hand, who wanted none of this, and thought it was -- women belonged at home. Well, there was some tension in this, with those women who wanted an equal opportunity to do whatever they wanted, and those who said, "Oh, no, we don't need that." And that's what I think was meant by what kind of women. Are we going to put the more progressive ones, not the bra burners here, but the more progressive ones who were interested in equality on this task force, or are we going to put the ones who think women should stay in the home on the task force? What happened was the former, the more progressive for women's equality, was the predominant population of that task force. And the recommendations of the task force, then, were really in accordance with that point of view. There were five major recommendations, some of it having to do with the regulation and legal legislation, but one of them was that a women's rights and responsibilities office ought to be set up in the White House. And another one, the last one was there ought to be a

whole lot more women appointed to government positions. And as I looked back at this, number one recommendation and number five were the genesis of, then, my job. And that was my job and what the President did to get the departments and agencies to bring together action plans about placing and training and whatever women came out of that task force set or recommendations.

**Timothy Naftali**

Now, President Nixon sends memos to various departments setting targets for employing women. Were you in the White House at the time those memos were being written?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, he did not set the targets. That was a coordinating process. My office -- after I was appointed to recruit women, but I was also appointed to monitor the progress on the action plans that the departments and agencies sent to the White House. So that kind of happened all at once. And that memo went out roughly to the departments and agencies, I think roughly at the time that I arrived. And then Jane Spain [phonetic sp] became the vice chairman of the Civil Service Commission. There was a three-pronged approach. And it was of a piece; it was a package. And I think it really made an impact across government. Those plans came back to my office, and that's where the targets landed. And there was a bit of negotiating back and forth about which departments should have which targets, and there were numbers, and there they were.

**Paul Musgrave**

Could you just clarify, when you say the three-thronged approach, you were to take charge of Presidential appointments. Jane Baker Spain was to take charge of the Civil Service, and then the agencies were responsible for internal development?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

No, let me just clarify a little bit. The action plans that came from the departments and agencies that had the targets in them, that was a mixture, I would say, of -- there might be a Presidential appointment in one of those departments, and, of course, a President has to do that. But it's part of that department. So the targets were -- that's what I meant by a coordination or a negotiation back and forth. My job was the White House point person, and I was the recruiter to go out and find women to feed into this whole process. And then Jane Spain was to make sure that women in the career service were being treated fairly, as opposed to actually appointing them. That's not the way that system works. But she was to oversee that that process, which is well established in the career service, was being handled properly, and that women were being given the kind of opportunity that they should have. So that's what we meant by the three prongs.

**Timothy Naftali**

Who was running interference for this program above you? Was it Fred --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Fred, but I think the real promoter of this, at the very senior levels in the White House, was Bob Finch. And by the time this got started, Bob Finch had left the old HEW and had come to the White House as counselor. Now, he was very close to President Nixon from way back, from here, from California. And there are some memoranda that we have come upon. There is one in particular that was about the end of 1971 where he cataloged a whole bunch of different actions that should be taken, and mind you, this was after the task force recommendations. But Bob really believed in this, I think in terms of equality, I think in terms of politics. He really believed women ought to be elevated. And there is a memorandum that he lays out a bunch of things, and it's a decision memorandum. And there were some initials, an RN checking off this and that. And that's what caused some of this stuff to really get going. I would say all through this -- and maybe I'm wrong about the year. I thought it was '71; maybe it was '70. But in any case, Bob Finch was the pusher at that level. Now, not everyone, I would say, who was around at that time really thought this was the greatest idea going. But Bob never let this go. And I'm sure that he talked with Nixon. I'm sure that there were times when there was a difference of opinion about whether a woman should be appointed here or there, and that got to the highest levels, that he would intercede in the right way. I'm sure I don't know nearly all of what he did. But he was the prime mover. Now, Don Rumsfeld also was counselor to the President. The two of them had oversight over this whole activity. Don was pretty busy with some other stuff at that point, OEO and so Bob was really the one who just kept his eye on this ball the whole time.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you have any interactions with Don Rumsfeld?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yeah, yeah, oh yeah, Don was always there if we needed him. And one day he did -- there were women chained to the gate outside the White House, and I can't remember, it probably was a war protest. But he sent me a note and said, "I know you're interested in bringing women into government, but don't you think chaining them to the gate is a bit much?" Good sense of humor. So Don was there when we needed him, but I think the real -- the real pusher at that level was Bob Finch.

**Timothy Naftali**

When did you first meet President Nixon?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

The day I walked into his office, I was introduced to him. The day I was appointed, and that would have been April of 1971.

**Timothy Naftali**

Could you describe that meeting?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, it was somewhat overwhelming. There I was with my big hair and my little suit, mini-skirted suit that we all wore then. Even my little purse was in the photograph. And he was very gracious. The Oval Office was a new experience for me. He was very gracious, and it was very clear that he thought this was important, that advancing women in government was important. And that's what he wanted me to do.

**Timothy Naftali**

When did you first meet the first lady?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I'm not sure. It was a little bit after that; it was not that day. And the thing I remember happening shortly, though, after I got there was getting a note from Mrs. Nixon congratulating me on the birth of my son. I had no son, and I figured this was some kind of mistake, which it was. There was another person named Barbara Franklin, who had been already in the scheduling office, and so had been working with the First Family's schedule. And the note was for her.

**Timothy Naftali**

When did you first meet Julie Nixon?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Julie, sometime a little bit later, as well. Julie took personal interest in this effort to advance women. And she went and made speeches. She was a great cheerleader for this effort. And I have some of her early speeches, and we would talk about it. I was a great admirer of hers. Whatever she was then, early 20s, I thought, you know, good for her. She's right out there trying to help her dad. I'm still a great admirer of Julie's.

**Timothy Naftali**

Please tell us a little bit about recruiting other women for executive office. How did you do this?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, first of all, I had to get myself a staff; I had no staff. This was a new function. There was nobody home there, so I had to create -- to at least get a secretary. I had to get somebody to answer the mail. They had made me visible within about two weeks. And this was a new thing for me, too, visibility. After I had gotten there, I got stuck in front of a really dreadful, in hindsight, press conference. It had been called by the communications shop in the White House, only inviting the women of the press. And they were mad any way at the President for whatever reasons, and impatient about let's get on with moving women up. And it wasn't held in the press briefing room like everything else. It was held in the Roosevelt Room. So they walked in kind of annoyed, and there I was, and my title initially was staff assistant for executive manpower. And they jumped on that instantly and said how can you recruit women with a title like that? Well, they were not wrong, and so that title disappeared. But what it

illustrates is that there was a level of insensitivity there in that White House, and I include myself in it, too, that didn't see that that title was like waving a red flag. I managed to get through that press conference, and the press that came out of it actually was relatively good on the whole, but it's one of those character-building experiences that you really don't want to be attacked, or that's the way it felt by the women of the press. Helen Thomas was there at that time, Fran Lewine who covered the AP, and a whole bunch of others. So once I had been made visible, then I really had to do this. And I was intent on doing that anyway, but -- so -- and I did manage to get a little bit of staff, got somebody to answer the mail. What happened after they made me visible was I got tons of letters and resumes from all over the country. And it was a question of what do we do with all this stuff? And one school of thought was we'll just forget about it. Couldn't forget about it, if we're serious; we've got to answer the mail. And so I made a deal with White House correspondence, Mike Smith, who later was a Reagan appointee to USGR, and who was foreign service officer -- they used to bring foreign service officers over there to deal with correspondence. I have no idea why; I don't think that happens anymore. But we made a deal with Mike Smith so that these people -- I mean I crafted the letter, but the people who were sending these resumes -- and some of these cases were really very unhappy cases. I looked at a lot of them, women who really had to get a job, but who didn't have skills. I'm coming back to your question about recruiting. That was kind of sad, but I figured they had to have something from the White House, and so they at least got a letter. We got all of that done. The next thing, though, was to decide how was I going to find women? So one way to do that is to divide the country into 10 regions. We already had Federally 10 regions, and then to reach out to people we either knew collectively or I knew who were in those places, and ask the question. We're looking for women at this level for government positions. Who have you got? I would often be asked, well, do you care if they're Republicans? And my answer to that was, well, it would be nice if they were, but it doesn't matter; send us everybody. Through this process, too, some very interesting names surfaced. We were building a talent bank of women, a list, and people like Sandra Day O'Connor came out of that because she was in the state Senate then, I think it was the Senate in Arizona. Juanita Kreps came out of that, who was a director of companies at the time, who later became Commerce secretary in the Carter administration. The list we compiled was really quite amazing, but in general, I would say that the women I found were undertitled, underpaid, probably had more responsibility than they were recognized for. And that was just the way it was back then.

### **Paul Musgrave**

Were there senior women besides yourself in the White House who helped?

### **Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, thank you for asking about the other women. There were some women in the administration who were absolutely terrific and very helpful. Virginia Knauer was the one in the White House, always very supportive, a tremendous woman. Helen Bentley was the one who also was extremely important in a lot of ways. She was, at that point, the highest-ranking woman in the administration. She was chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, a salty kind of a person, but really believed in equality. Now, she, I found out later, had been in touch with Bob Finch, too. There had begun to be a group quietly working the equality issue. Helen was always very good to me, and I had -- before I got a secretary, I brought somebody from Citibank at one point to help just open the mail for awhile, until we got organized. Helen offered her office to help, and she did. And so they were doing letters over there before we got organized with White House correspondence, and she sent me this huge dictating machine. We don't do that anymore at all. Remember, this is before computers. This is all typewriters.

And I would dictate and send the stuff over there, and it would come back. So Helen was one. Catherine May Bedell, who was the first woman to be chairman of the Tariff Commission. She had been in the Congress, was another one who was very helpful. And Helen, too, went on to become a member of Congress. Some of these women -- this was a great gestation period for some of these women to move forward. And then there were others at different levels who were just very, very helpful. So were some of the men in the White House, some were, some weren't, and in the departments, too. I mean this was a gradation back then, because that's kind of where things were.

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, among the departments, who were -- what were the more helpful departments?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

HEW, Elliot Richardson and HEW, and I think the numbers bear that out in terms of appointments. State Department did okay. Even Defense, that was the era when the first generals and admirals were appointed. And I don't think that would have -- women, I mean -- I don't think that would have happened had this pressure not been placed by the President on the departments. Even Treasury did a good job; Treasury's a smaller department. It depended in some cases, who the secretary put in charge of this. At Treasury, Charlie Walker, who was the deputy, was the one who was in charge. And there was a woman who headed the career, what would be HR today. She was terrific, and she made a big difference. So, you know, a lot of this had to do with who's sitting in which chairs. But everybody responded. That is really the bottom line here.

**Timothy Naftali**

What were some of the recalcitrant departments? Tougher departments?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Tougher? I'm not sure I remember who -- I think Interior was a little bit of a tougher one. I think HUD was. Again, depended on who was in charge.

**Paul Musgrave**

[Unintelligible]

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, but during this same era, in the middle management levels, over a thousand women were moved up. This would have been GS 13 to 15, and many of them in very unusual jobs. That's when you had the first women FBI agents, tug boat captains, forest rangers, Secret Service people. An awful lot happened, and in many ways that could have been -- you could view that as more important than what happened at the top, because the equality and the view to advancing women got into the bureaucratic process, and as we know about bureaucracies, once you get into the bureaucratic process, it just keeps on going. And I think that was one of the things that happened.

**Timothy Naftali**

This was novel, because it was a gender based strategy recruitment.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

That's right.

**Timothy Naftali**

To that point, it had been a minority, a minority recruitment issue.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes.

**Timothy Naftali**

How did you pull those two together?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, they were, because we were looking for minorities, too. And then there was also, in the White House, a minority recruiter. His office was right across the hall from mine, Bill Marumoto, who was Japanese American from California. And we used to compare notes quite a lot. And so we communicated, but it was sort of -- we were going in tandem. And he really was the one who found Romana Banuelos, who was the Mexican American woman from California who became treasurer of the United States. Now, we had her on our list, too, but she was on that list. And we had a fair number of African Americans. Now, we were very sensitive to all of those issues at the same time, that we were going to have diversity. In looking back, I'm proud of us. You know, we really had that in mind and it just kind of happened. Well, we worked on it, but I mean it wasn't that -- it wasn't talked about. Diversity wasn't talked about in the same way then that it is today.

**Timothy Naftali**

You read Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I did, I did. Now, you're asking what did that mean?

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, no, what did you think -- well, I was going to ask you whether you met Betty Friedan.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I met her later during my White House chapter, actually, I met her, because she was out there still beating the drums in a couple of different organizations and very much active in the women's movement. And I met Gloria Steinem, who was also active. I'm going to digress for a moment here. I felt that some of those people missed the point. They got off the issue. They were for equality, and that was the right and equal opportunity, the right thing, but it got a little too political, and their view would be if you weren't really a feminist, unless you were also for peace and for a whole bunch of other things that to me were a different agenda. If you're going to be for equality for women and equal opportunity, then stick to the point and keep all spectrums of the political sides together. That's where we had some real difference of opinion. I've just now lost your question.

**Timothy Naftali**

I was wondering about your first meeting with Betty Friedan.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Oh, I don't have any -- Betty was a kind of a boisterous character. She was just a character, but she had a point in that book, and what she did was to capture, I think, what was in the psyches of a number of women who wanted to have careers. Now, for whatever reason, I always -- here I come from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania -- I always wanted to have a career, always. And it never -- I didn't want to just stay at home. I might want to do both. But -- so that book, I think, just reinforced where I was coming from anyway. Had I not been coming from that place, I would not have been at Harvard Business School at that time when there were so few of us women there.

**Timothy Naftali**

You met Gloria Steinem.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Mm-hmm.

**Timothy Naftali**

I read in one article that you were sometimes confused by Gloria Steinem.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I don't know. Somebody at one point, or some people were calling me the thinking woman's Gloria Steinem. I wasn't sure that that was quite accurate. Very bright woman, very good looking, and I do remember at one point I had tried to get together with her in New York for lunch, thought we had a lunch date, but she never kept it. I figured at the end of the day, she really didn't want to be seen for political reasons with someone from "that" White House, which was the way they used to talk about "that" White House. I would have to say something else that goes back to when I was -- when we started, when the President started all this, and I was brought in, and there was this press stuff that followed my appointment. There was a fair degree of skepticism about whether this was real, you

know, and then there were people who were telling me that, you know, this is really impossible. What do you think you're doing? Well, I didn't think it was so impossible. Maybe that's the beauty of being young and optimistic. There was a lot of skepticism that this was going to work or that we even could make it work. So I think at the end of the day, as we looked back, when in fact it did work, and we did make it work, was justification for the early optimism. But there was a lot of skepticism. Some of that maybe was political, but some of it was just that women really felt contained back in that era.

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, when did -- let's -- let's stop now and let you get to your call.

**Paul Musgrave**

You're a good sport.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I will survive. I may become incoherent, but I'll survive. We're rolling.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let's talk about the Equal Rights Amendment and the Nixon administration's commitment to that.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, definitely there was a commitment, and the President said so on more than one occasion. But I think going back to when he was in the Senate in the '50s, he was on record in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment, and ERA was a big thing during the '70s, and there was a lot of steam behind it, a lot of momentum behind it. And the Congress, I think, had passed -- both houses had passed it, and then was going to the states for ratification, which is where it got stopped three states short of ratification. Now, what happened that stopped it? Well -- and this was happening, I think, into the early '80s, I believe, if I'm right on my timing. So we were -- we were out of office. But the tension that was already in existence between those who wanted equality for women in the workplace, equality in pay and whatever else, and there was another group over here telling women they really should stay home and do what women were supposed to do. The tension erupted over the battle, over this ratification battle for the ERA. And I would say the galvanizer, from where I sat, was Phyllis Schlafly, in the Eagle Forum, who, I think, confounded a lot of us, because she was saying things -- she wasn't the only one, either, but she was the most visible, saying things like, "Oh, we're going to have to share bathrooms. Women are going to have to go fight in the front lines." And some things that were patently not true. And, of course, she, herself, was not someone who stayed home and made babies either. She was out doing a lot of things. She happened to have a lot of children, but she was telling everyone to stay home when she was not doing it herself. Some of us who looked at this thought this was a bit disingenuous. But she tapped into a cord of concern, and maybe even a little bit of fear. And I think that that's what stopped the march of the ERA. However, even though that happened, I think the genie was out of the bottle entirely in terms of women moving forward. So it's too bad it didn't get ratified. I think even today, there is some -- some people who have hopes of getting it ratified. The Sewall-Belmont House and Museum on Capitol Hill has got a big map in it of the states that are still left for ratification, and I think there are some people who still would like to charge ahead and get that done so that it's in the

constitution. It would be nice, but I don't think now we need it as much as we did many years ago.

**Timothy Naftali**

Do you recall a debate within the administration over ERA?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I don't remember a debate. There may have been one, but I think the President was clear on this, so there never was much of an internal debate that I was a party to at all. Now, the policy -- you have to remember, too, in the White House, there was a policy side of the house, which is where ERA would have been, any policy decision, and then there was the administrative side of the house, which is where I was, because I was actually in Presidential personnel. There were times, though, when I crossed over into the policy side to talk about some issue that was of concern to women, because there wasn't anybody else to do that, and so I did. And I would write memos that would go up this way, and then over here to the John Ehrlichman side of the house. And I think I have written some things, or did, on ERA, on childcare. Not sure if we wrote on abortion; abortion wasn't the issue quite as it is today, but it was in the mix. So I just did it because there was no one else to do it. And because I was picking up this stuff in my travels on the outside when I was out recruiting and when I was talking to women's groups, or when people were coming to see me, it was after I had been made visible. So what I was doing in effect was -- there was an outside part of this job. I would say the recruiting, the speaking, and the being the focal point was the outside. But then on the inside, if I had a real issue that I wanted to get attention on, to do that internally in the White House. And, of course, to get the women that we were finding placed. That was the inside part of it, too. I had to go to the placement people who were part of White House personnel.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let's talk about one of those policies. In your press conference, your first press conference, you were asked about day care centers. And by 1972, again, it seems that day care -- that government subsidized daycare centers is something that a lot of people were talking about.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yeah, they really were. And my memory is a tad fuzzy on what we did or didn't do, except that I think we took a position, I think the President did that vocally, that we were for some kind of daycare. And I do know that I went to OMB on that issue, and I do remember who I went to, because he later became prominent. Paul O'Neill was the associate deputy or whatever his title was, in his career, who had these kinds of issues. And he was very amenable to the kind of position that we were trying to mold together to take.

**Timothy Naftali**

People wouldn't associate that, frankly, with a Republican administration.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I know, I know.

**Timothy Naftali**

Try to help -- please explain the Republican Party -- how did this happen?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Leadership from the President is I think how it happened, fundamentally, and progressive leadership. This was a very -- this was a conservative President, but a very progressive conservative President, is the way I would put that. The party today, I think, is different, and even some people today would say what was conservative then is not what we think of as conservative today, so there has been a bit of an evolution. But it was Richard Nixon's Presidency was very progressive in a lot of different areas. There were a lot of mixing of trends going on at that time, and the environment was one of those along with what we were doing. Consumerism was another one of those, and that's where the Consumer Product Safety Commission came from, new agency that I then became a commissioner of. That act was passed and signed during that Presidency. And so there were just a lot of things moving around, a lot of moving parts at that time domestically. And this President, I think, was ahead of himself in many ways. Because he talked about social security, too, and that we needed to do some things there. He just was -- we're talking about some of these same issues today.

**Timothy Naftali**

Was there some concern -- I mean, we're talking about how the left was pushing in one direction. Was there some concern about a conservative backlash from some of this fear that -- as you pushed forward in these areas?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I'm not sure that I remember that. I would say that what happened with the ERA would be perhaps a conservative backlash in terms of the march for equality. I'm not sure that I remember anybody really talking much about a backlash. I think in many ways, it was a solving of problems. We had some things ahead of us here that we needed to deal with. And I think that that's what the leadership of that President was really about.

**Timothy Naftali**

I recall reading, you mentioning that occasionally, though, you encountered some opposition from Charles Colson.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, I never knew quite where to put that. He was not someone who was -- my favorite way of saying this, he was not my most favored nation, I guess. He once in a while would write a memo, and I still have some of those and, of course, he's sitting up here. I'm sitting down here. And Fred Malek is in between. And Bob Finch, happily, though, is up here, too. Yeah, saying, "I think Barbara Franklin is

getting a little out of hand. Why don't you put a lid on her," or something to that effect. And I must say, too -- and, of course, everybody up here saw these memos. These memos -- it was very -- it was a very structured White House in that sense, so that the copies went everywhere. So I knew at that level, everybody had seen what he had written. And it would go to Fred, you see, it wouldn't go to me. Fred would pass it along to me, FYI, you know, thank you very much, never said anything. It really annoyed me, really annoyed me, I must say. And I figured I was just doing my job too well. Quite a bit later, maybe a year, whenever the campaign started, and Fred was going to go to the campaign to be the -- whatever he was, deputy director or something, he talked to me one day and said, "I'm going to go, and would you go to work for Chuck Colson while I'm gone?" And I said, "No, I'll quit." And I would have. That's how strongly I felt. Now, I'm told that Chuck Colson is a different man today. I don't know. He was a pretty rough character back then.

**Paul Musgrave**

Were these objections that he was making ideological, or what would be the basis for his objections?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I'm not sure. I'm not sure. He was to be the political guru dreaming up all these various strategies for the reelection and so on. So I don't know, because what we were doing with respect to women definitely did pay off politically, I believe, in 1972. And the whole -- I did come upon a memo that I had done after the election, cataloging what appearances and media coverage the women in the administration, the appointees had gotten. And it was quite considerable, and that memo went forward. So what Chuck's problem was, I don't know. Maybe it was something about me. I don't know, but whatever it was, I didn't like it.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let's just pause for a second.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Okay.

**Paul Musgrave**

Why don't we talk for a second about the '72 campaign, because that year not only do we have Anne Armstrong --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

That's right.

**Paul Musgrave**

-- whom I'm sure you want to talk about, but there is also the National Women's Political Caucus. I was wondering if we could actually start with that group and the role that you played.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

With the Women's Political Caucus, no role. I wanted to go to a meeting of that group. I was into outreach. I mean the women's groups were coming to me, but I was also outreaching, and seemed to make sense. And the Women's Political Caucus was far more visible then than it is today. But definitely a left of center operation. I was told I was not to go to such a meeting.

**Timothy Naftali**

By whom?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, I'm not sure by whom, but it came from the top. But probably Haldeman, if I had to guess, but I had never known that. So I didn't go. But they knew I wanted to. So I think there were some points in there. But again, this was this tension I was talking about between -- and by then, though, you see, the women who were in the caucus tended to, I felt, digress away from equality, and wanted everybody to sign on to everything else -- get out of Vietnam and goodness knows what else, or you weren't really a feminist. And we did not agree with that. I did not agree with that. But on the equality point, I think we all did agree, even though there were nuances of difference. But there was -- there was this tension between different sides of the aisle back then.

**Timothy Naftali**

Now, how did you play a role in the '72 convention? You said that you helped do a lot of things.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, what I did, and the guys over there actually were sending me the formats and who was going to be doing what, and the programs and so on. So what I did was to look at all that. I remember Stan Anderson being one of those people who was circulating this kind of stuff back to me. And I got very concerned in the summer of '72, there were no women anywhere, on the podium, or it seemed anywhere in the whole programmatic setup. And it seemed to me that if we were going to be credible, having made the case for appointments, and actually having done it, tripling the number and doing a whole bunch of other things to help women to advance in the Federal Government, and we kept them out of the convention, that it did lack credibility. So I started writing memoranda about that, which I sent over there, and it did make a difference, I think. And Anne Armstrong was a keynote speaker, and I think that's one of the reasons. Now, someone in the convention hierarchy made that decision, but I really believe that my beating the drum, and writing memos and talking to the guys who were over there made a difference. And Anne was spectacular.

**Timothy Naftali**

We hope to interview her. Tell us about her, though. What was her position?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

She was, at that time, the co-chair of -- yeah, I was thinking she became counselor later. She was co-chair of the RNC at that time, so she was in many ways a logical person to be the keynote. But she was -- she was very -- and is very articulate, very attractive, a wonderful image for women, whether you were a career or whether you were a homemaker or whatever, she was -- she was -- she was wonderful. And, you know, that was one of the lines, I should pull this out, that the President -- it was in the State of the Union, it was in a variety of other things. That something like this, that no matter whether a woman wants to have a career outside the home or a career inside the home, she should have an opportunity, equal opportunity to decide which career she wants, or something. I'm not getting it quite right, but that was the thought. And that was -- that's what we talked a lot about that. That's what equality was about. Get rid of the stereotypes, and don't put women in a box, but let women decide what kind of lives they want to structure. That is what it was about, still what it's about.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you interact with elected female --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Some, there weren't very many, few and far between. The one that I did go to see because she was so activist on the Democrat side was Bella Abzug, a genuine character from New York with her hats and whatever, and she -- actually, we got along just fine on this point. She was very far to the left on some other things, but yes, and she would have been a supporter of the ERA. And there were others. Margaret Heckler was in the House, I think at the time, on the Republican side, but -- Charlotte Reid for a time, and she came into the administration. But there were not very many. There were not very many.

**Timothy Naftali**

Margaret Chase Smith was still --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I'm not sure if she was still in the Senate.

**Paul Musgrave**

I think she lost in '70 --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I've forgotten. I'm not sure if she was -- I met her after she was out of the Senate, so I'm not sure of the timeframe. But there were not many, and this is -- we're doing far better there today, but still not really, I think, as well as we should be on either side.

**Timothy Naftali**

I'd like to go back and pick up on something that you discussed earlier. It wasn't just a matter of finding women. You also had to place them.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes.

**Timothy Naftali**

Please talk to us about the challenge of placing women.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes. That was a big challenge. The White House personnel shop, then, had two sides. And I don't believe any personnel shop since has been structured this way. It really did make sense, if, as the President had articulated, you really wanted to find the best people. There was a recruiting side, and then there was a placement side, and a political clearance side. That was all done on the placement side. The fact that there were two arms really made a big difference, and there were professional recruiters. Some of the people who -- I was not a professional recruiter, but I was in that shop. But some of the other people there were professional headhunters, who came to the administration, really knew how to go find people. And that's what the charge was: go find the very best people. So then if you found them, as what I was doing with women, then you had to go to the placement side of the house and make sure they were cleared and whatever, and get them placed. Now, those that were a bunch of people -- I think they were all men, actually, in that side of the house, but they each had an assignment, a bunch of departments that were their departments to be the funnel into and to knock on the door and say the President wants this person placed there, whatever. So that's what I did. I had to work with the people who were in there, if I had good women, and I thought I had a good slot for someone, I would go and commune with sometimes several of them to say, okay, here are the qualifications of this person. What have you got that might make sense? And then they would take -- pick up the ball and go. Now, Malek, the head of this, and sometimes it went higher, knew what we were doing in terms of putting women in certain places. The other thing though, and I had some interesting conversations with some of these guys. Stan Anderson used to hang up on me on the intercom all the time. "Stop bugging me about women," clunk. But then I would go see him, and he would deliver. So Stan delivered, but some interesting repartee back and forth. One of other things that I did, though, that I got pretty adept at doing, was to be able to spot a vacancy that was coming. And you could do that if it's a regulatory agency, because you know when terms are up. And in some other places there would be some rumors that so and so was going to leave and what have you. So I got pretty good at keeping my eyes and ears open as to what was coming.

Then if I saw something coming, I would go to the powers that be, which often meant up the line in the placement guys and say, "Okay, I think this one is coming up. If I can find women candidates that are qualified, will you place the women in these slots?" And so what I would try to do is I would do my own little targeting, try to get a commitment up front that the women would get the first look, in other words, if I could find them, at those jobs. Otherwise, there were always candidates from everywhere else, from the Hill -- Hill people would push their candidates -- or wherever, and they would mostly be men. And so it was a way to try to get ahead of the curve, and it worked in a variety of occasions,

enough of them so that we have some successes, Dixie Lee Ray being one of the prime ones. We saw that seat coming up on the old Atomic Energy Commission, became the Nuclear Regulatory Commission later, saw that coming up, and could we find a woman? And I got a go ahead, a red light, yeah, if you can find one, go for it. We got some women candidates, and Dixie Lee Ray was the one who rose to the top of the list, and so I called her, got her in an airport, and said the President was interested in placing a woman in this job. And she didn't think that was serious, and she said, "Is that for real?" I said, "Yes, it is, and will you come in and talk to us?" which she did. And the long and short of it was that she was appointed to that seat. And then when Jim Schlesinger, who had been the chairman, was leaving for -- I'm not sure what he was leaving for, but he was stepping out -- he did not want her to become the chairman. Now, that was another one. I knew he was stepping out, and thought, aha, what a good idea. There had never been a woman chairman of that-- in fact, I think she was the first woman on that commission at all. And so we just -- Jim was pretty vocal in his opposition. They did not get along at all. She was a biologist; Jim was something different. Dixie Lee Ray was a character with her knee socks, and her blazers and her two dogs. She wouldn't go anywhere without these dogs. And at one point, I invited her -- I was having these meetings of women in the White House, the Roosevelt room, and I invited her. And she wanted me to get the dogs cleared by the Secret Service, and they wouldn't clear the dogs. And she wouldn't come to the meeting. I mean, you know, she was a bona fide character, but wonderful, and very well regarded in her field. So bottom line was that we just waited until Jim left, and then got her appointed -- it was a pleasure of the Presidency, chairman, got her made chairman of that commission. I would, as some say, stoop to tactics like that, too. But that was -- that was my job, and I thought it was for the good of the order, and I, you know -- I couldn't have gotten that done had the others in the chain of command not agreed and not gone along.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you get a sense of the people who recruited you for your job knew how persistent you would be?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I don't know. I guess I figured that Fred figured if I had managed to get through Harvard Business School in his class, that I must have something going by way of persistence. I don't know.

**Timothy Naftali**

Let me -- since you were talking about tactics, I think this is a good place for you to tell, because I'd like to record it, the Susan B. Anthony story. I won't -- I think it should be recorded; it is fantastic.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, Susan B. Anthony, we all know who she was. And her symbolism to the women's movement was very profound. And so we came up with the idea, in my little coterie office, that it would be nice if the White House had a bust of Susan B. Anthony. So, how were we going to do that? Well, we got -- went out and got several women's groups to agree to get a bust of Susan B. Anthony made for the White House. And they liked that idea. There was a bust in the Capitol, and that's the one that was copied. It was done -- she was bronzed, very stern, anyway, looking, in upstate New York. And we got the bust, and then we wanted to present it to the White House, but we had a wait until we could do that. Mrs. Nixon was kind enough to say she would be pleased to accept the bust. So between the time

we got the bust, it was delivered, she resided in the closet in my office on the third floor of the old EOB. And in the dead of night, sometimes, she would steal out of the closet, and she would make her way to the office of someone who had said something derogatory about women, or had done something that was against the idea of more opportunity for women, to remind that person that this was the wrong thing to have said or done. And then I, of course, I had to go and retrieve her and bring her back to the closet. And that's what she did. Now, no one ever quite knew how she stole out of the closet and got to these places, but that's what she did.

**Timothy Naftali**

Would you get a call in the morning?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, yeah, "Would you get Susan out of here?" [laughter]

**Timothy Naftali**

Now, who was the one who called you most often?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, the one who was most noteworthy in terms of some of his commentary about women was Ron Ziegler. He was at the very top of the list. And finally, though, we got her presented to Mrs. Nixon, and for a long time she sat at the entrance of the east wing, the bust on a pedestal, and we don't know where she is today, but I hope she's still somewhere in the White House. And, of course, Clem Conger was the White House curator. He didn't like her at all. He just told me one day, "That is not art." I said that's not the point. This is a symbol of something very important going on in our society, a change to equality for women.

**Timothy Naftali**

Was this the time that they started talking about the Susan B. Anthony dollar?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I think that was later.

**Timothy Naftali**

It was later?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yeah, I think that was later. But this was just one of those wonderful little snippets that just gave color to the whole effort that we were after. The other thing that we did that was a creative effort that's going on today, August 26th, I think is the day the Suffrage Amendment passed, 1919 -- 1919, 1920.

**Paul Musgrave**

1920, I think.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

1920? We created the first women's equality day proclamation, and that came out of my office, too, a proclamation that the President signed and put out. And there was a gathering to commemorate that. And I think now Presidents have such an equality day gathering every summer. But we were doing -- trying to do things, some things like that to underscore what we were doing that was broader than just the Federal Government here, that we were spreading equality. And I really do think that that made a difference, spreading equality into the mindset of society. And that's really what President Nixon did. He made women's equality mainstream rather than as a part of the left wing bra burning movement.

**Timothy Naftali**

I think in the era it would have been called consciousness raising.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Consciousness raising was part of that era, yes, it was.

**Timothy Naftali**

How did the women's movement, the leaders react to these efforts, for example, that day, the proclamation of that day? What was the reaction?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I truly don't really remember except that a bunch of those people showed up at the White House. Now, there were still some that were very -- oh, I don't know. They were grudging, I would say, in their support and in their accolades. "Oh, yes, you know, you couldn't have done it if we hadn't been out here beating the drums." That maybe is true, but you needed -- you needed noise coming from one part of the political spectrum in other -- so that the mainstream of it could carry the message in terms of action, not noise. And I always have felt that anyway. Republicans like the action. And some others sometimes make the noise.

**Timothy Naftali**

How were your relations with women members of the press?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, initially after that press conference, which was a little bit -- it wasn't bad, I must say. It just was a little unsettling for me, because I was a novice. Actually, pretty good, I would say, on balance. And, in fact, as we went along, it got better, because I think they really saw that we were serious, and that something was happening. And the one article that I always think of as the one that tipped the skepticism over to the this-is-real category, was the old Washington star. And it was the Fall of 1971. Big article written by Ruth Dean, was the reporter. I remember what I was wearing. I was pictured in it; I was wearing a blue something. And she enumerated lists of women who had been appointed, and which ones were the first, and really talked about the whole effort. And that to me was the biggest -- I shouldn't say hurdle, but it was --

**Timothy Naftali**

Tipping point?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

It was the tipping point, is a better way to -- yeah, in terms of press coverage. And Marlene Simmons was an "LA Times" reporter who did some very favorable stuff. We got a lot of favorable media at the end of the day.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you get any reaction from your colleagues at the White House when that media appeared? Did you get some memo saying good job --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, actually. There were people who, then, were on the bandwagon here. And they also knew the President was wanting this done. That does make a difference. Now, not everybody was equally excited about this, I would say. Pat Buchanan always kidded me a lot. I had known Pat before, and we would sit in the mess, you know, the table where everybody would come if you were by yourself. And I had mess privileges. That was a big deal. There were not that many women who had mess privileges.

**Paul Musgrave**

Explain that to us for future generations.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, White House Mess -- well, this nice little place in the West Wing where staffers could go and have lunch, and you had to have privileges or you couldn't just go in there. And getting mess privileges was a big deal. And so I did have mess privileges. And often, I would go in there and just sit at this kind of captain's table where you sat if you were alone. And it was usually a bunch of men sitting there. And I got teased a fair amount, and Pat may be the prime teaser, but I've always been fond of him. He's a very decent guy. I don't agree with everything he says, needless to say, but -- and I never knew whether he was really serious when he would say, "Oh, do we really need more women around here?"

or whether he was just teasing me. Maybe it was a little of both. And there were some others. I mean, I got a fair amount of teasing. But, you know, that just went with the territory. You just had to go with it and have a sense of humor, and hand it back. But I picked up a lot of information sitting around that table about what was going on, or what job might be open, or when the President was going to make a major speech. And, gee, then I would think wouldn't it be nice if he a line or two about women in there, and then I would go to the speech writing staff, Ray Price, Dave Gergen. Ray Price was terrific on this. And somehow, they knew how to craft just the right way that the President would say what we were trying to say. And so going in there and putting up with a little bit of teasing was a small price to pay for what I got out of it in terms of new information about what was going on.

**Timothy Naftali**

I was just going to ask whether you recalled a speech where actually you got something --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

State of the Union in '72, for sure, and there were several others, oh, yeah.

**Timothy Naftali**

What do you recall of the process of getting that in the State of the Union?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I don't recall much, except that it was not a big deal. You know, that was -- that was easily done, is my recollection. Now, precisely the way the words were crafted, they did, but they were very good at it in that shop.

**Paul Musgrave**

Now, was it Margita White who worked on crime stop --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Margita, yes.

**Paul Musgrave**

Aside from that first press conference, did you work with the communications department?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, I did.

**Paul Musgrave**

And can you tell us something about it?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

And I worked with Margita who became a very close friend. And I probably should throw this in. The first press conference, I think Van Shumway was the one who set up and invited the men -- or rather the women, in the different place from where it would have been if the whole Press Corps. had been invited. Margita was the one who was presiding, and it went on and on, I thought interminably, and she was supposed to close it off and didn't. And I found out afterwards that she was pregnant with her son, and she was afraid she was going to be sick. And so -- but anyway, we became fast friends after that. And she was really the one I worked with most. Now, we had someone attached to my little operation who was a communications person. She had come from the business and professional women's clubs. And so she was really doing more of that, working with her [unintelligible] shop. But I did some of it, too, because that was part of what we were needing to do. We needed to get the results, but we also needed to communicate it, or it wasn't going to count politically, or to give inspiration to women and to others around the country.

**Timothy Naftali**

Could you please tell us the story of how you tried to put a woman on the court, Supreme Court?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Tried, yes. September, is my recollection, of when we started this, of '71. There were two seats. And I thought it would be -- so did some others -- thought it would be a terrific idea to have at least one woman. I thought two would probably be about right, a little optimistic. We started to beat the bushes looking for women. We looked at women who were -- and we did this pretty methodically, and the Justice Department was the key player here, and they were also in on it. Looked at women who were already in judgeships somewhere. There weren't very many of them. And the President was looking for someone who would -- who was qualified to be on the Supreme Court, but who would be philosophically compatible. And that's where it came unglued. There were not many of those women who were philosophically compatible, really, if any, maybe one or two. Interestingly, as an aside, a bunch of women's groups got together and made a list. And Liz Carpenter, who had been the press secretary for --

**Timothy Naftali**

Lyndon --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Lady Bird.

**Timothy Naftali**

Lady Bird Johnson.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Came to visit me in my office and gave me the list. And it was a pretty good list, but it had on it pretty much the same people that we had found with the exception of a few others, who were lawyers, but who were really not philosophically compatible. So it was -- I fed some names into the system, though, but it just was not as -- not as good of -- well, they just weren't there. It made me realize that our pipeline needed a little shoring up. If we're going to have women at the Supreme Court, you really need to have some women coming up through the ranks. The one that was surfaced, more by Justice, but we were in that loop, too, with the -- was Mildred Lillie from Los Angeles from around this area, and she was some kind of a state -- I can't remember now, but either a state or local judge. She really was not, according to the American Bar Association, qualified to sit on the highest court in the land, although she looked like a very good woman, a lot of community activity and whatever. So she got shot down pretty much because the ABA just didn't approve. But the bottom line was that at least there was a search for women, and one had been named. The cynical among us thought that some of the men had put her forward just so she'd get shot down as not qualified, and that would be the end of that. I looked at it differently. I really thought there was now more emphasis on the idea of women out here, and we've learned from Julie's oral history that -- I hope she doesn't mind my saying this, but it's online, I believe -- that the only time she heard her mother speak a little more sharply to her father was when he didn't appoint a woman. And, you know, that's another thing. I used to get asked, why is President Nixon doing this, meaning this effort to advance women. And I would generally -- is it just politics or whatever. And I would generally say something like I really didn't care why he was doing it, as long as he was doing it. But I really think that part of it was the fact that he had a wife who was a very self-made woman. And that has to have registered with him. And he had two daughters, and a mother who was a very strong woman as well. So I think that was in the mix of President Nixon's desire to do this. There was a political aspect, too, but I really think there was more than that. And I admired greatly Pat Nixon. I've read Julie's book, of course, and know something about her life. She really did make it on her own.

**Paul Musgrave**

Now, you mentioned about trying to put more names in the pipeline at the district court and circuit court level. Did you have much time -- obviously staffing the executive branch is a job in itself. Did anybody at justice ever get asked to put that as part of their targets?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, I'm not sure what happened. John Mitchell was pretty supportive of this whole effort to advance women. I would say that. From where I sat, at least. What I came to understand about judgeships was that Justice was a heavy player, but also, so was the political process in the states, the senators. And it was a little harder for me, from where I was sitting, to get at that in the same way that I could get at, you know, who was going to be a commissioner of XYZ, or an assistant secretary or something. It was a little harder to do. We often sent lawyers, because we did find a bunch of good women lawyers. We would send them into the system, but there was not as much -- bottom line, not as much as I could personally do to build that bench. Now, we're in better shape today in all of that, but that was a -- that was a very interesting experience, I would say. That particular effort to get women on to the Supreme Court. And then finally, 10 years later it happened with President Reagan doing it and promising he was going to do it. But interestingly, Sandra Day O'Connor's name had come up during our searches

for women in the '70s. And then that's what happened. It's really interesting the way all this -- these circles closed.

**Paul Musgrave**

It takes time.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, it takes time for some things -- for new ideas to sink in and take root, and I believe that that's what was happening in the '70s, in a way that was not a controversial left wing movement. Equality was, "oh, yeah, it's okay, it's legitimate," made so by a, quote, conservative President who made an effort at the national level to advance women.

**Timothy Naftali**

It seems from looking at the data from that period, that this was a majority view, this idea of equality was becoming the majority view in the country.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, I don't think it was at the outset of the '70s. I think there was a lot of tension around it and a lot of discussion around it. Whether if you polled, if that would have been a majority, I'm not sure. It would have depended, I think, how one would define equality.

**Timothy Naftali**

So then -- so the administration was on the leading edge of this.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, on the leading edge of making it a mainstream idea. Yeah, I really do believe that that's -- that's one of the reasons this is a watershed period of women's history, because the movement that was over here on the left. And I do not believe -- because of the tension, because -- around whether women should have careers, raise children, could you do both, did you have to do one or the other, there was tension around all that. Society didn't have a coherent consensus. And that's why I think that what President Nixon did was leading edge. I don't know if we looked at it that way at the time. I'm not sure. But I think in hindsight, it was. Because, you know, when I went to Harvard Business School, we -- and we saw "The Feminine Mystique" come out, and I graduated there in '64. And we would talk about some of these things, those of us women who were there. We thought we had to make a choice. I know I did. And I think the others did, too. Were we going to have a career, or were we going to have a family? And the idea of somehow having both, well, yeah, maybe, but it was -- it was not clear that that was an acceptable path to take. And I started -- I mean this is some of the things that I think caused me to have different thoughts when I was in this job than some years later, and I would make speeches about that, equality, so that women could choose the kind of paths or careers or lifestyles they want, either simultaneously or sequentially or whatever. I was saying some things like that, that when I look back, I think that was pretty good. Because really, we -- it was not so clear. That's what I think has been forgotten today. We just don't have some of these same "either or" type choices. Some

of the stereotypes are just gone. Not that having careers and families and everything all together is simple, but now there is no question that it's okay.

**Timothy Naftali**

Given that amnesia, could you tell us what kinds of things you would hear, what kinds of things you would hear in the early '70s about being a woman?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I would hear some of just what I said to you -- no. I do remember one of those episodes in a meeting, and I think this ended up in the press somewhere. And this was a governmental meeting, in one of the departments. And somebody -- we were going through the action plans and targets, women going into such positions and so on. And someone in a key position there all of a sudden said, "Oh, my goodness. If women get these jobs, it means men won't get them." That's right. And I just remember sitting there looking at them and saying not a word. What can you say? But there were things like that that would come up that sort of a light bulb would go off, oh, my goodness. Or I remember also giving a speech, I think it was in Baltimore, about this whole effort, and a black man stood up and he said, "Wait a minute. You shouldn't be giving these jobs to women. Black men should get these jobs."

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, I wondered if there was any tension with the civil rights community.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yeah, I think there was. I think there was. I didn't see that much of it, but I saw some instances just like the one I have mentioned. Well -- and I think that happens when there are groups that are out of the power stream, and they're given some openings, then there is a little bit of fighting among those groups about who's going to get whatever it is to be gotten. Yeah, I think there was some of that. I don't see that today, but I think there was some of it back then, mm-hmm.

**Paul Musgrave**

Now, one thing that you talked about at the time in press and interviews at the time was the frustration that you experienced when you would find a qualified woman to fill a certain job, but they wouldn't be able to move to Washington. Can you say something about that?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

We're back now to a couple of things. Suppose there was a family back there in whatever city. Oh, goodness, could you leave the family? Could you move the family? There were those kinds of discussions. I'm thinking of one really classic case, and that was Cynthia Holcomb-Hall, whom I recruited for the Tax Court of the United States. And there had never been a woman on the Tax Court. She was from Los Angeles, so was her husband, who was a prominent tax attorney as well. What were we going to do with John Hall? Well, you know, they both wanted to come to Washington. So I think it was the first case of this. We found a job for John Hall in the administration. He became deputy -- deputy assistant secretary for tax policy at Treasury. And Cynthia, I do remember at the time

said, you know, you're going to have trouble here with people who have spouses, and families and how you're going to be able to reconcile moving or whatever. And it did keep some women from not taking government jobs. The other thing that kept some women from taking a government job was the risk that would be entailed if they were in a business situation, and they left. They left the place, and they came and did something else. Could they get back on to the -- either the chain of command there or somewhere else. It was too risky. Remember, too, women being undertitled, underpaid, hard to get to wherever you got. Were you really going to walk away from that? It was too much risk. And so that kept some people out of the mix as well.

**Timothy Naftali**

I've seen where you said that in the middle '70s, the Federal Government was more progressive on placing women than the private sector.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, I believe that was true. I think that was because of this effort started by Nixon, continued by Ford. However, I do think that there was a ripple effect that in that case, government was leading by example. And there was a ripple effect that caused a variety of other opportunities to open up in different sectors and different places in business, in the arts, in sports, Title IX came into existence. Just all over the place. I really think that was -- that was something that pushed everything ahead through our society with respect to equality. And you don't see that. I didn't see that at the time, either. It was only afterwards, when you start to see where opportunities mushroomed, and you saw that nothing had happened in the '60s except talk, noise. And then you saw what happened in the early '70s, and then you saw what happened afterwards. Something happened that was very important in that early period.

**Timothy Naftali**

Why did you leave that office in 1973?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I left because at that point I think I was probably weary, and I figured I had done what I could do. And I was thinking about what I was going to do next. I had extended my -- I was on leave at Citibank for first the six months that I thought I was going to be in Washington. That was some kind of a silly illusion at the outset, but I had extended my leave. And that was one of the things -- I think it was a two-year leave, and that was starting to -- the two-year mark was coming up. And I was trying to figure out what it was I should do, and had not come down on that. And then I got a call one day coming from up here somewhere, coming down to me through Fred, saying that the Consumer Product Safety Commission, which was being formed at the time, that act had passed, Consumer Product Safety Act passed in October, I think, of '72, five new Presidential slots. And I had gotten agreement up front, as I did, where I could, to target two of them for women. There had never been two women on one of those five member collegial bodies before. I had filled one of the slots with a minority woman. That was the other thing we would do. This was going to be a minority slot. This was going to be another woman. And the message that came down to me is that we think you should take the second slot. I didn't know quite what to do about that, so I went back to Citibank to commune with Walter Wriston, who was then the CEO. And I knew him because at Citibank, I had been on the corporate planning

staff that was right -- a little group of us of the MBAs right below him. He used us as his staff, so I knew him. And I went back there to talk to him, and I told him what had been put forth. And he looked out the window for what seemed like forever, and he talked very slowly, and then he said, "That's what they want you to do. You better do it, or you better get out of the country. It's a bloody bunch down there." He was seeing, I think -- remember this timing.

This was early '73. Things were starting to swirl around following the Watergate break-in and everything else. There was starting to be a poisonous atmosphere. And he apparently thought that some of the things that were going on in the administration were things he didn't particularly like. Anyway, we talked a little more, but bottom line was that I thought I better do this. Now, I had concerns about being a regulator, because I had come out of banking which was highly regulated. I wasn't really sure that I wanted to be on the other side of that fence, but long story short, I agreed to that appointment, and agreed to a seven-year term. The terms were staggered, because it was a new agency, so the new chairman -- first chairman got a three year term, and four -- that was the way it worked. And they sent our nominations as a group to the Hill to the commerce committee. And they were pending. And, of course, the agency -- I should back up here, couldn't start until there were commissioners in place. So that was a crucial step. So four of us were sent up. There was to be a fifth commissioner; he decided to drop out for some reason. Of course it's a bipartisan commission, so there were going to be three Republicans and two Democrats. Pending confirmations on -- at the time when Haldeman and Ehrlichman resigned. And I did not know whether they were going to throw my nomination back -- I believe I was the last White House staff person confirmed by the Senate that year -- throw my nomination back just because I was White House staff. The atmosphere in Washington had gotten very poisonous and uncomfortable, and anyone associated with that White House was a little bit suspect. They did not throw my nomination back. I did get confirmed, and we started the agency. Interesting snippet: the staff person who was handling our confirmations for Warren Magnuson, who was a Democrat -- the Congress was Democrats controlled at that point. Warren Magnuson was the chairman of the Congress Committee. The staffer in question, Michael Perchuk, who later became the chairman of the FDC under Carter. Mike Perchuk was known around there as the 101st senator. He was a very powerful staffer, and he had about 60 people working for him, and was one of these terribly candid disarming people, very partisan, and somehow he and I at least respected or liked, maybe too strong, each other. I remember talking with him as things were unraveling a bit. And he predicted to me -- and this would have been somewhere in the spring of '73, that he thought President Nixon would resign, and he thought it would happen in June of '74. Now, what I didn't know until years later was the effort that was going on in the Congress, then, to impeach the President, and I suppose convict as well, had the votes. And what I also didn't know, that Mike Perchuk was one of the prime movers of that in the Senate. One of the things that only come together a little bit later. I think I've missed -- there was some point that I was also going to -- where were we? I lost it.

**Timothy Naftali**

No, no, that's fine. We asked you about --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Why I left.

**Timothy Naftali**

Why you came to leave, why you left. We were going to ask you also about the effect that Watergate had on the administration. When we were talking about the 1972 platform, you mentioned daycare on the platform. What effect, do you think, Watergate had on some of the issues that mattered to you, women's issues? Do you think there was some progress that was stunted? What effect, if any, did the collapse of the Nixon administration have on these issues?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I think with respect to pushing forward on equality and gender, and I don't think there was much impact. Ford carried it on, actually so did Carter. But by then, I think you see there was more of a consensus growing in society about that, so that Watergate -- what Watergate did, I think, was to backburner some of the progress that had been more in the limelight on the women's side, and on a variety of other issues. I think Watergate just became front and center. And so now, as we look back on the Nixon Presidency, there are some things that pop out, and that's one, of course. China is another. But some of the other very progressive things that happened there, I think, are damped down because of Watergate. What I also think, though, is that there was a period of time after the President resigned and some of us who were still active or in government, where there was -- I don't know, there was just a discomfort, or people were nipping at our heels a little bit or something. Now, I will say another thing, too, here. I'm glad for another reason that I did not go to work for Chuck Colson way back there, because my friend, Bill Marumoto did. And I think he spent considerable time with the prosecutors, and the FBI, and the investigators, the Ervin Committee. Incidentally, I know the Ervin Committee looked at all of my credentials, even though the Ervin Committee really had nothing to do with the Senate confirmation process, but they did, before my confirmation, because I was White House staff. So there were just these things, but I didn't spend any time -- I was not part of the process. So I never talked to prosecutors or the Ervin Committee or any of that. But the people around Chuck Colson, I believe did, all of them.

**Paul Musgrave**

Do you think it had an effect on the party?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, it did, not a good effect on the party. Not a good effect on the party. It was just a very poisonous, a very poisonous time in Washington. I think after -- I was going to say after Reagan was elected, that was 1980, took on a different coloration. But I do think Gerald Ford did the nation a great service by calming everything down, and his pardon of President Nixon. He paid a price for it, but I think he did exactly what someone needed to do at that time, and he did. And it's why our system works as well as it does. And it does. We have a remarkable democratic system, unlike any in the world, and it worked really very, very well there. It could have been otherwise, but it wasn't.

**Timothy Naftali**

Would you like to comment a bit on the effect on the party?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I got off the party. Well, the party had to reconstruct itself. And it did with Reagan, I would say. Not really -- Ford quieted the turmoil in society, but the party had to reconstruct itself, and Reagan caused it to reconstruct itself in a slightly different way. But then it carried on and he, of course, got elected twice, and then Bush 41 once, and now we're in another -- we're in another time where the party is having to rethink itself once again.

**Paul Musgrave**

When do you think that Reagan changed the party, in 1980 or in 1976?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Started in '76.

**Paul Musgrave**

Could you tell the difference at that point?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, you knew that something was happening out there. Yes, I would say so. But it didn't come to fruition. And there had to be a break in there. Ford quieted everything down, but then, you know, what happens in this country, we just decided, okay, enough of this. We want a change. We want a change, and then we had a pretty ineffective change in the Carter Presidency. And so that, then, gave the impetus that had -- and the momentum that Reagan had started in '76, a chance to come to fruition. And I think that's what happened. So really, if you look back, the party could have been damaged far worse, but reconstructed itself relatively quickly. Doesn't always happen, but it did.

**Timothy Naftali**

You met George Bush when you worked in the White House.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I did. He was serving as the ambassador to the U.N. I met him and Barbara Bush, yes.

**Timothy Naftali**

You became friendly, and you actually were in contact with him on a regular basis when he was head of the Republican National Committee?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, I was. I was one of the few people still in government, I think. That was a tough duty for anybody at that time, just trying to keep the party somehow together, and, yeah. I would meet once in a while with him for lunch or something, and we'd talk about things. Of course I was serving a term, so I

couldn't be thrown out with the change of the Carter administration. And he did a job there, too, I think just keeping the party moving forward.

**Timothy Naftali**

Do you remember where he stood on women's issues, then?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

He was good on women's issues. Bush was, you mean.

**Timothy Naftali**

Yes.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yeah, yeah, I think he would -- he would have agreed with everything we were just talking about, mm-hmm.

**Timothy Naftali**

When he becomes President, you become Secretary of Commerce in 1992. Please tell us the story of Richard Nixon's advice to you when you went to China.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

That's a, that's a closing of a loop in a way, because, of course, President Nixon went and -- the opening to China in 1972, very important strategic move in world affairs, and you can look back on that now, and it's even more profoundly strategic, as you look back on it, than it was at the time. So it was sheer genius. I was sent in 1992 to normalize business relations. We had placed sanctions on China after the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989, one of which banned ministerial contact, which meant that high level people couldn't communicate, which meant that the U.S. China Joint Commission of Commerce and Trade, had been started by Secretary Baldrige some years before, couldn't do anything because the two officials at the top couldn't talk. And so President Bush decided that I should go and reconvene the JCCT with my then counterpart, who was Minister Lee Lang Cheng [phonetic sp], who then became a vice premier somewhere soon after that. And the act of doing that would take away this sanction on ministerial contact. The President thought that that sanction ought to be removed before we left office in the event that there was a real crisis with China that the next administration would have, which was -- we then knew it was going to be Clinton, would have a much harder time solving if that sanction were still in place. And at the same time, there were a lot of business -- our business people who wanted to go. They were looking at China as a brand new opening market after Deng Xiaoping had begun the special economic zones, and there was some more opening up going on and looking at that new market, but were a little reluctant to go, because we were not sure how the U.S. government would feel about that or if they got into trouble, whether the U.S. government would stand behind them.

Anyway, I was sent to do all of that. We brought back a billion dollars worth of signed contracts, a big Boeing contract, a bunch of other stuff. And a lot of other business flowed after that, because GE then sold engines for those Boeing planes. And so there was a lot of stuff that followed, which was all very good stuff. But anyway, to answer your question, about the time I was to leave, just before, it would have been somewhere in December of '92, there appeared on the front page, bottom right-hand side of "The New York Times," an article that called this mission a "boondoggle." This was some boondoggle, since it was thrown together in just about two weeks or three weeks. And it -- well, it was hardly a boondoggle. It was one of those trips that you weren't quite sure how it was going to turn out. You knew you should do it, but you weren't sure. We were not sure how I was going to be received on the other end. Anyway, President Nixon called me and had read the article, and said -- and I wrote it down at the time -- he said, "To hell with them. Go, you're doing the right thing." So I asked him what advice he would give me, and his advice was -- I wrote this down, too -- "Don't slobber over them." Wonderfully earthy, pithy, but I understand what he meant, because there had been criticism of some people before who had gone over there and clinked champagne glasses. This is administration people, not at the cabinet level but below. And that did not go over well with the American public. The politics of China were far more black and white then than they are today. There were those who thought these are Communists, and we shouldn't deal with them. President Bush, who, of course, would have been in the liaison office there had a really different view of China, and I think understood it probably better than anybody else in the administration. And I think he, in hindsight, we look at that, he was absolutely correct. So I did -- was pleased that President Nixon thought to call me, and then I did see the President in January of '94 when there was the reunion around his 25th anniversary of the first inauguration. And we had a chance to talk about that a little bit then, so that was also a nice bit of closure for me. Just interesting, how these things intersect. I had nothing to do, of course, with his mission to China. I was over here doing the women thing, but he had brought back from that trip these squares of silk, and I have one of those, which is framed and hanging in my Washington apartment, a little bit of history.

**Timothy Naftali**

That's wonderful.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

We also gave some of those squares to a group of women that came in to see him somewhere after that trip.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you -- one question. Did you try to increase the number of women who came in to see the President?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, yes. And that was of -- it was part of outreach, but it was part of, again, building momentum here again for what we were doing. Yes, we would schedule those and he would, he would meet with groups of women of various kinds, yes. We did that; we did that rather systematically.

**Timothy Naftali**

There you'd have to work with Haldeman, correct?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Well, but you know, if the President wanted this done, yes. But -- and the scheduling office was under Haldeman. Well, somehow we got it done. Once again, though, Bob Finch was sitting up there. And I do think that Bob Finch, one of the two counselors who had oversight responsibility for this women effort, was the one who did -- Don Rumsfeld was the other. But Bob Finch really was the one who I think kept his eye on this all the time, and interceded in a variety of ways, because he was in a position to see what was going on at that level. So I think he was very, was a very, very big help in many ways that I'm sure I don't even know. He really believed in this effort. And, of course, he was very close to the President.

**Timothy Naftali**

I'd really appreciate it if you could tell us how Herbert Hoover used to call you.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

This was when I was secretary of commerce, and there is a bathroom that is in the secretary's office, which is a rather male kind of a bathroom. And there is a phone in there that is not connected to the rest of the phones in the whole secretarial suite. And once in a while, the phone would ring. And if I ever got in there in time, the secretary's office is very large, would depend where I was in it, but if I ever got in there in time to answer it, there would never be anyone there. And the legend was that that was Herbert Hoover calling to see how things were going in the department. He was the longest serving secretary of commerce. And when he heard a women's voice on the phone, he thought he had the wrong number and he hung up. The building is named for Herbert Hoover for that reason, prior to his becoming President.

**Timothy Naftali**

And his portrait was hanging over your fireplace.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, his portrait is to be hanging over the fireplace in the secretary's office. And I had it there when I was in office, but when Democrats occupy the office, they generally take it down and bring in somebody else like Averell Harriman or someone else.

**Paul Musgrave**

Now, there is one question -- there was another story that you were relating to us earlier about Don Rumsfeld sending you a note.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Oh, that was because -- there were demonstrations at the time, I think Vietnam oriented demonstrations. People in this case were chaining themselves -- they were women -- to the gate in front of the White House. And, yeah, he wrote a note saying that he thought that bringing women into the administration was a very good idea, but wasn't chaining them to the gate going a little too far?

**Timothy Naftali**

One other question I have here. Were you involved with the women's surrogate program?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Oh, yes, yes. Although that was run out of the campaign, but I was informally linked to it. Barbara MacGregor was the -- it was her program. Clark MacGregor was the chairman of the campaign. And it was either her idea or somebody else's that there would be teams of women, three, and they would, they would be two Cabinet wives. Of course there were no women in the Cabinet at that point. Two Cabinet wives and an administration women appointee. And they would be like flying squads, and we would go all over the place. And there were -- we did. There were a bunch of those. I participated in that, as did a number of others. And I think they made a difference. We had schedules. I do remember one trip all over Pennsylvania where our bags never, ever caught up with us. I was with Joyce Rumsfeld and Anne Richardson, who were both wonderful. And Anne just was able to make light of the fact that our clothes were not looking so great, but there we are, and aren't we terrific? So we had some fun, but it was a novelty, too, at the time. And I think it made some political points for the campaign in '72.

**Timothy Naftali**

Do you recall any discussions with the platform committee at the '72 convention about women's issues?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Not a whole lot. I think there was some interaction because I know there was some memoranda that we handed over. But I honestly don't remember much interaction directly with the platform committee at that convention, no, I don't. As I recall, though, the platform on the issues we were talking about here was quite a progressive platform with all the right stuff in it. That platform, however, evolved over the years, and was not quite so progressive when we came to the '80s.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did the party take a position on abortion in '72?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I honestly don't remember. I honestly don't remember. It was an issue. It wasn't as big an issue, though, in the framework of all that we have been talking about as it became later, or as it is now. And this was prior to Roe v. Wade, of course. One thing I do remember that I got flack about, because there were women who were pro choice, who were interested in what was going on. Pat Buchanan

managed to get a letter from President Nixon to -- I think it was Cardinal Cook, Cardinal somebody in New York, with a -- that said, yes, I agree with you on abortion. And, of course, you understand where the cardinal would have been. And I got some flack about that from some women in women's groups. And I had nothing at all to do -- I had no way of knowing -- nobody did, as it turned out. We checked later to see whether the usual process for positions -- and there was a process that was well defined within the policy side of the House, whether that process had been followed. And it hadn't. It was a kind of end run that I credit to Pat. There were differences of opinion back then on that issue, that's for sure.

**Timothy Naftali**

Do you remember the reaction in the White House to Roe v. Wade, to the decision?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I don't, because I think I was out of there by then. Yeah, I think -- when would -- I'm trying to remember.

**Timothy Naftali**

It was '73 --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

'73 --

**Timothy Naftali**

You may have been out of --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I think I was gone by then. And was really -- at that point when we got to the commission, I mean, there was nothing there. It was another job of creating something. We had gotten a couple pieces of other agencies, something from FDC, something from commerce, trying to -- and then some other stuff, trying to put it together, and to form at the commission level, some kind of a decision process that was orderly when we started. It had no -- it had no order. We would sit in a room and there was not even a secretariat. I mean we had to do all of that, and then start deciding what our priorities were and what we were really going to try to focus on.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did some of this effort ever touch on the issues of gay rights at the time?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Gay rights? No, no, and I don't remember that being much of an issue at the time.

**Paul Musgrave**

One thing, I'd like to return to the '72 campaign cycle, if I may, the film that we sent to Susan that you watched, the campaign film, "Change Without Chaos." Do you remember how that came about? Because you -- I imagine it was a longer interview than what we got to see.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes and I really don't remember; I really don't, or who produced it or anything else. I really was out of that loop. I didn't -- there was a time when I think someone thought I should go to the campaign instead of staying in the White House, and I think -- I didn't really want to do that. And I feel that I remember talking with Bob Finch, and he didn't think that was right either, because then it politicized too much what we were doing. And we -- although there was a political element. But we were not -- I was not running around saying we're only looking for Republican women. We were looking for women who were qualified to do whatever. And so the thought was, if I went to the campaign, it would make it look political, because I was visible. I was visible at the time.

**Paul Musgrave**

Did you ever get a request from the RNC to help them find qualified women candidates?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

No, we were not doing that. We were working for the administration, exclusively.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you feel that there was -- so there was tension, sometimes, to be partisan?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Tension to be partisan.

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, in other words, pressure to -- you wanted to be clear that this was -- although it's a Republican administration, you were looking for the very best people.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

That's right, because that was what the positioning was from the President. I think he was right. That's what we should be looking for, and then, you know, we can see who fits where. There were some Democrats placed, or there were some people placed who were not active anything politically, because we were looking for the best people. We were looking for competence. I would say that that made some of the Republican activists not too happy on occasion, particularly if there was a job, and there was someone being pushed by whoever, a Republican Party in a state or a group on the Hill or something. And there was someone else who was better qualified for that particular job, but wasn't

quite so political, and if we went with the -- I'm talking now not just women. I'm talking generally. We went with the more qualified. I mean some of the Republicans were not entirely happy with that. But I think if you look back at the kinds of people who were appointed in that administration, men and women, it was really quite, quite a heavy group, well qualified, and people who went on later and did a whole lot of things in government and even in elective office. I mean it was a great gestation period in a way, training for people who went on to all kinds of positions higher up later.

**Timothy Naftali**

You had an experience that you were in two Presidential administrations. How would you compare and contrast your experience being in two different White Houses, the Nixon White House to the George H. W. Bush White House.

**Paul Musgrave**

You were not in the Bush White House, but you were in the commerce department.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I would say that the Nixon one was far more structured, far more hierarchical. There were people who criticized that, that it was a little too imperial at the time. We would hear some comments like that. It was just structured differently, much more highly structured, I would say, than the Bush White House was. But, you know, every President has got his or her own style, and I think that's reflected in the way a White House is organized, or should be.

**Timothy Naftali**

Did you find that in the Bush White House, the relationship between the White House and the departments was different, because some have said that in the Nixon White House, the departments were kept, with some exceptions, quite far away. The commerce secretary did not really have much interaction. Well, Stans was a friend, but --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Stans was, yeah.

**Timothy Naftali**

But the Interior Department secretary, for example, was kept at arm's length.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Yes, that one was a little bit of a problem, I'd say, as I recall. He didn't last. I think that was part of the more imperial approach. And I think when we got into the second term of Nixon, that tendency for less everything, from the -- less power to the departments was even a more pronounced -- it was more pronounced than it would have been the first go around. The Bush administration was different, you know. I can't really contrast those two very well. The Nixon administration had a very definite feel along those lines. People used to say that Bob Haldeman was Prussian. There were those sorts of

comments. I never had enough interaction with Bob Haldeman to know whether he was or not. But it was far more coming out of control than I think the Bush -- yeah, the Bush 41 White House was, as an example. And I think the Reagan was even different. They're all different, sort of what it amounts to. And it does emanate from the top, the style of it does, so --

**Timothy Naftali**

Do you have any more questions?

**Paul Musgrave**

I had just one, and this is actually something that turned up right at the very end of our preparation process. There is a December, 1991, "New York Times" article where they're talking about potential new Cabinet secretaries, and your name is listed. But Kenneth's Lay's name is also on the short list, according to "The New York Times." Do you know anything about that? Was that serious, or --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Was what serious? Ken Lay?

**Paul Musgrave**

Ken Lay.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I honestly don't know. He was -- he was Texas, of course, and he was a friend of the President, and I don't know. I really don't know what the inside of all that was. I only know the calls that I got, and what I was asked to do, and I never knew who else was in the, in the mix.

**Paul Musgrave**

When did you get the call?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Oh, you know, I'm not sure. I'd have to go back and look. It would have somewhere in the Fall of -- this would have been '91. I'm not sure. I'm not sure I can pinpoint it. But there were some things that I had to do and whatever. But I never knew who else was in the mix. It was only rumor. Don't know for sure.

**Timothy Naftali**

I think you've told the story of some man who came up to you and said, "I'm as qualified as you are to be secretary of commerce, and I didn't get it." And you said to him, "But you weren't playing -- you weren't in the game."

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Okay, you could be right. I'm not sure where I said that, but --

**Timothy Naftali**

No. It's a great, great comment, because you have to be not only very, very qualified, but you have to be --

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

You have to be in the -- actually --

**Timothy Naftali**

You used the word, the mix.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I do remember this, and I do remember who said that, now, come to think of it. Well, some people don't understand how these things work, and I think there is always still some question raised -- well, why this person, and why not that person? Or, you know -- there are a lot of subtle things that go into these appointments, as I learned very vividly, when I was engaged in all of that in the White House, in the Nixon White House. A lot of things go into one appointment.

**Timothy Naftali**

Is there a story that you would like to put on the record that we haven't gotten to today?

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

I can't think of anything right this minute. I'm sure there is something that I will think of later, but right now --

**Timothy Naftali**

That's okay. We've asked a lot of you.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Right now I can't think of anything else.

**Timothy Naftali**

Well, Ms. Franklin, thank you for your time. It's been wonderful and very helpful to future generations.

**Barbara Hackman Franklin**

Thank you. Thank you for doing this, both of you.