



441 Freedom Parkway NE
Atlanta, GA 30307
<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov>

Adam Clymer Papers: A Guide to His Papers at the Jimmy Carter Library

Collection Summary

Creator: Clymer, Adam, 1937-

Title: Adam Clymer Papers

Dates: 1976-1980

Quantity: 4 linear feet, 10 linear inches, 11 containers

Identification:

Accession Number: 08-04
National Archives Identifier: 2387564

Scope and Content:

This collection contains research papers and background materials consisting of notes from newspaper articles, interviews, presidential library documents, and conservative organizations' documents and financial records. This material was used by Adam Clymer to write his book "*Drawing the Line at the Big Ditch: the Panama Canal Treaties and the Rise of the Right.*" Also included are six computer diskettes containing numerous interviews and reference documents of senators' and presidential candidates' activities. The papers cover topics such as senate elections, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, and U.S. Presidents' handling of canal issues. The collection also provides information on Clymer's position of the Panama Canal issue, Ronald Reagan's 1976 and 1980 presidential candidacy, 1976-1980 elections of conservative senators, and the overall growth of conservatism.

Creator Information: Adam Clymer

Adam Clymer was born in New York City on April 27, 1937. After graduating from the Walden School in 1954, Clymer earned his B.A. from Harvard University in 1958. He did post-graduate work at the University of Cape Town, South Africa on a Frank Knox Fellowship in 1959.

Clymer began his journalistic career in 1960, working as a reporter for the *Virginian-Pilot* in Norfolk, Virginia. After time at the *Baltimore Sun* and *The New York Daily News*, Clymer joined the staff of the *New York Times* as a reporter and editor in 1977. He reported extensively on politics, elections, and public opinion. He was the paper's national political correspondent for the 1980 presidential campaign, polling editor from 1983 to 1990, political editor for the 1988 presidential campaign, and chief Washington

correspondent from 1999 through 2004. For his coverage of Congress, he received the Everett McKinley Dirksen Award for Distinguished Reporting.

Clymer co-authored *Reagan: the Man, the President* (1981) with contributing fellow Times journalists Hedrick Smith, Leonard Silk, Robert Lindsey, and Richard Burt. These journalists contributed chapters on Reagan's entry into politics in 1964, and his successful presidential bid in 1980. He authored *Edward M. Kennedy: a Biography* (2000) after extensively interviewing Senator Kennedy in the late 1990's. In July 2004, he became visiting scholar at the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania where he served in the Washington office as political director of the National Annenberg Election Survey. He also authored the book "*Drawing the Line at the Big Ditch: the Panama Canal Treaties and the Rise of the Right.*" The book is a case study of how the decision to turn the Panama Canal back over to Panama played out during the legislative campaigns of the 1976-1980 period and led to important victories for conservatives thus shaping American politics.

Restrictions:

Restrictions on Access: These papers contain documents restricted in accordance with applicable executive order(s), which governs National Security policies, applicable statutes/agency restrictions, and material which has been closed in accordance with the donor's deed of gift.

Terms Governing Use and Reproduction: Copyright interest in these papers has been donated to the United States Government. Some of the records may be subject to copyright restrictions (i.e. newspapers, publications, etc.). Researchers should contact the publisher for further information.

Related Material:

Related materials in other repository: Adam Clymer Papers located at the John F. Kennedy Library

Index Terms:

Limited to major topics under each category
Persons: Adam Clymer, Ronald Reagan

Organizations: National Conservative Political Action Committee

Subjects: Elections, political action committees, Panama Canal Treaty, conservatism

Types of Material: Research papers, notes from newspaper articles, interviews, financial records

Administrative Information:

Preferred citation: [Type of Document], [Names of Sender and Recipient or Title of Document], [Date], [Collection Title], [Series Title], [Folder Title], [Box Number], Jimmy Carter Presidential Library.

Acquisition information: These donated historical materials were received under provisions of the instrument of gift that Adam Clymer signed January 8, 2008.

Processing information: The collection was opened in August 2008.

Preservation information: The six computer diskettes of interviews have been transferred to the Audio-Visual Department. Copies of the files found on the discs have also been placed on a secured and backed up server.

System of Arrangement:

The records of the Adam Clymer Papers are arranged in one series:

| Series Title | National Archives Identifier |
|---|------------------------------|
| Adam Clymer's Subject Files | 2387578 |

Detailed Description of the Collection

[Adam Clymer's Subject Files](#)

Scope and Content: Containers 1-11. This series was opened in 2008. This series consists of research documents and news articles surrounding the intense debates in the 1970s over the decision to turn the Panama Canal back over to the country of Panama. These documents include articles on senate elections, budget files of the National Conservative Political Action Committee and documents relating to Jimmy Carter and previous Presidents' handling of canal issues. Also included are documents related to Adam Clymer's position on the Panama Canal issues; Ronald Reagan's 1976 and 1980 presidential candidacy; and the 1976-1980 elections of conservative senators. All audio interviews are closed in accordance with the donor's deed of gift. Arranged alphabetically by folder title.

[Return to series list](#)

Container List

Adam Clymer's Subject Files

Container 1

American Conservative Union (ACU)
American Conservative Union, 1976
Anyone but Church Political Action Committee
Baker, Codel - State Department Cables; Howard Baker Delegation to Panama, 1978
Baker, Howard - Documents and News Stories
Baker, Howard - Post Treaty
Bauman, Robert E. - Congressional Race, 1980
Beckel, Bob - Miller Center Interview
Byrd, Robert - News Stories
Campaign Finance
Canal Future

Container 2

Canal Handover Ceremony, 1999
Cannon, Howard - Nevada Re-election Race, 1982
Case - Bell Senate Race, New Jersey, 1978
Church, Frank - Collection at Boise State University [1]
Church, Frank - Collection at Boise State University [2]
Clark and Jepson Senate Race - Clark Papers Iowa State University, 1978
Cohen and Hathaway Senate Race, Maine, 1978
Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress
Congressional Club, 1980
Congressional Record
Conservative Caucus

Container 3

Conservative Digest
Copper Prices, 1977-1978
Crane, Phil - Presidential Campaign
Culver, John - Senate Re-election Race, 1980
East and Morgan - North Carolina Senate Race, 1980
Eisenhower Canal Issues
Elections, 1978
Ford - Carter Transition
Ford Library Documents [1]
Ford Library Documents [2]
Foreign Policy - 1976 Presidential Election

Container 4

Foreign Policy - Post Treaties
Group Research Files - Columbia University
Haskell and Armstrong Senate Race, 1978

John F. Kennedy (JFK)/ Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ) Canal Issues
Jordan, William Interviews
Labor - Non-Partisan League
McDonald, Larry
McGovern, George - Senate Re-election Race, 1980
McIntyre and Humphrey, 1978
Miscellaneous Facts
Miscellaneous News Articles

Container 5

National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1977 [1]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1977 [2]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1977 [3]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1978 [1]

Container 6

National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1978 [2]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1979 [1]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1979 [2]
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1979 [3]

Container 7

National Conservative Political Action Committee, 1/80-4/80
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 5/80-7/80
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 8/80-9/80
National Conservative Political Action Committee, 10/80-12/80

Container 8

National Conservative Political Action Committee - News Stories [1]
National Conservative Political Action Committee - News Stories [2]
National Conservative Political Action Committee - Organizational Statement
Nixon Administration
Opening of Canal
Opposition to Treaties, 1977
Opposition to Treaties, 1978
Panama Canal Treaty - Cables from State Department

Container 9

Polls
Presidential Review Memorandum - National Security Council (NSC), 1977
Ratification of Carter Library Documents
Ratification News Stories, 8/77
Ratification News Stories, 9/77
Ratification News Stories, 10/77-12/77
Ratification News Stories, 1/78
Ratification News Stories, 2/78

Ratification News Stories, 3/78-4/78
Reagan, Ronald

Container 10

Reagan, Ronald - News Stories
Reagan, Ronald - Radio Broadcasts
Republican Presidential Race, 1976
Senate Elections, 1980
Talmadge, Herman E. - Senate Re-election Race, 1980
Vanderbilt University - Television News Stories
Viguerie, Richard - News Stories
Wayne, John - News Stories

Container 11

Wellborn, David - Panama Canal Treaty Interviews
Weyrich, Paul - Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Inc. [1]
Weyrich, Paul - Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Inc. [2]
Box of six diskettes containing interviews and articles as follows - Clymer Disc Collection

Disc 1

PAC Data, 1978 from Biersack
Total NCPAC anti-spend
Correspondence re: Thurmond papers
PAC data, 1978 from Biersack FEC
Panama Children Books
Panama claim on Milton Eisenhower
Panama school books
Pastor, Robert, Papers, research notes
Payoff quotes
Pearson, James, retirement
Percy, Charles, senate reelection, 1978
Proposal - University Press of Kansas
Reagan, 1964 speech for Goldwater
Reagan, 1974-1976
Reagan, 1976 speech in Kansas City
Reagan, 1977-1978
Reagan, 1980
Reagan, 1982
Reagan and New Right, Hannaford, Wirthlin comments
Reagan approval among conservatives, polls
Reagan ideology from polls
Reagan in His Own Hand
Reagan Political philosophy from poll
Reagan, Panama Speech Coverage
Reinhard, David, book
Rusher, William, Book

Secret 1962 agreement on new treaty ex Washington Post
Senate debate, 1978 coverage
Senate Staff Oral histories
SFRC hearings
Shirley, Craig, papers research notes
Stone, Dick, 1980 Senate race
Talmadge, Herman, book
Thurmond Flood etc. from Congressional Record
Thurmond's 1974 and 1975 resolutions
Torrijos, Martin, 2005
Total NCPAC anti-spending in 79-80 from FEC

Disc 2

1978 Senate from Wash Star
ACU at BYU research
Baker Center Research notes
BYU History of ACU
Carter pre-September 7, 1977
Cohen, Bill papers research notes University of Maine
East, John research notes East Carolina
Georgetown Library research notes.
Group Research Reports research notes, Butler Library Columbia
McGovern papers, research notes, Princeton
McIntyre papers, research notes, UNH
Nelson, Gaylord, papers research notes
Symms, Steve, papers research notes, Albertson College
Talmadge 1980 Senate race research notes from Russell Library, UGA
Truth Squad
TV ads, Kanter archive University of Oklahoma
Vanderbilt Archive, 1976
Vanderbilt Archive, 1977
Vanderbilt Archive, 1978
Vanderbilt Archive, 1979-1980
Vanderbilt Archive on 1999 handover
Vanderbilt Archive post-election, 1980
Voices on Nelson-Kasten
Voices Cannon Randolph Huddleston
Wayne, John
Weyrich, Paul news stories
Wirthlin, Richard, book
Wisconsin Senate race, 1980 news stories
Would Reagan Have Run Again
WP 3-15 Treaty votes sought
WP Brooke leans against

Disc 3

Miscellaneous - A, Lee Edward
Campaign spending, 2003-2004 from FEC
1976 Common Cause report on PAC contributions
1976 Republican Platform re: Canal
1978 Senate elections results and commentary
1980 election results
ACU Independent Spending 1976
ADA pamphlet re: Citizens for the Republic
Armstrong-Haskell Senate race 1978 news stories, etc.
Baker, Howard, 1977-1978 newspaper notes
Bellman, Henry, autobiography
Berman, William C., book on Right
Bourne, Peter, book on Carter
Buckley, William F., books and articles
Carter, 1999
Carter Library research notes, 2006
Carter Library research notes, 2007
Carter pre-presidency
Carter, Jimmy, on Panama in Keeping Faith
Church, Frank papers research notes treaties, Boise State
Church, Frank papers research notes, Boise State University
Church-Symms newspaper Ads
Clark, Dick, 1978 Senate race
Clark, Dick papers research notes, University of Iowa
Correspondence with Senator Armstrong
Correspondence, Bozell, Brent
Crane, Phil Presidential campaign
Culver, John, papers research notes University of Iowa
DeConcini, Dennis, reservation
Dolan, Terry, New Yorker
Edwards, Lee book

Disc 4

Miscellaneous - Eisenhower, Torrijos (Martin) plus Crane, David
Crane, David, congressional race
Eisenhower, Dwight on Panama
Eisenhower, Milton, report text
Eisenhower, Milton, report
Ford Library research notes re: 1974
Ford Library research notes re: 1976
Ford Library research notes
Ford, Gerald to, 8/13/74 joint session
Hatch, Orrin New Right help for
Hatfield, Paul, 1978 Senate race
Hathaway, William, 1978 Senate race
Hayward, Steven, book

Hildenbrand, Bill oral history re: Baker
Hogan, J. Michael, Panama Canal in American Politics
Human Events, 1974-1975
Human Events, 1976
Human Events, 1977
Human Events, 1978
Human Events, 1979
Human Events, 1980
In-Kind contributions ex Biersack, FEC
Jamieson, Kathleen Hall to author
Kaufman, Burt, papers, research notes
Kissinger-Tack agreement coverage
Laxalt, Paul, memoirs
LBJ Library Research Notes
LBJ Telephone Tapes re: Panama
LeFeber, Walter, Book
Linowitz, Sol, 1976 Role JCL
McIntyre-Humphrey, 1978 local press
Mondale Papers Research Notes, Minnesota Historical society
Moore, Frank Weekly Reports
Morgan papers research notes ECU
Morgan-East, 1980 Senate race mostly local papers
National Security Archive re: Carter Admin
NCPAC, 79-80 Independent spending
NCPAC and Kennedy
NCPAC Independent spending 1978 details
NCPAC Independent spending 1980 monthly details
Nofziger, Lyn, book
Nunn, Sam, Senate re-election 1978
Torrijos, Martin, 2005

Disc 5

Single interviews - Allen, Richard thru Spencer, Stu
Interview - Allen, Richard
Interview - Bader, Bill
Interview - Baker, Howard by Annis
Interview - Baker, James A.
Interview - Baucus, Max
Interview - Bayh, Birch
Interview - Bell, Jeff
Interview - Brock, Bill
Interview - Brooke, Edward
Interview - Burke, Carl
Interview - Caddell, Patrick
Interview - Cannon, Lou
Interview - Carmen, Gerry

Interview - Carter, Jimmy
Interview - Charkoudian, Leon
Interview - Church, Bethine
Interview - Ciccone, Richard re: Percy
Interview - Clark, Dick
Interview - Cohen, Bill
Interview - Crane, Phil
Interview - Danforth, Jack
Interview - Danney Goble re: Bellmon
Interview - Deaver, Mike
Interview - diplomatic source
Interview - Dole, Bob
Interview - Dunlop, Becky Norton
Interview - Evans, Russ
Interview - Evans, Stan
Interview - Fagelson, Bernard re: Humphrey
Interview - Fenn, Peter re: Frank Church
Interview - Ford, Gerald R.
Interview - Gorman, John re: McIntyre
Interview - Gottlieb, Kevin re: Wendell Ford, Nelson
Interview - Griscom, Tom re: Baker
Interview - Helms, Ned, re: McIntyre
Interview - Humphrey, Gordon
Interview - Jepsen, Roger
Interview - Jordon, Hamilton
Interview - Lukens, Mary
Interview - Lynch, Dotty re: McIntyre
Interview - Maria Echeveste
Interview - Martin, Josie
Interview - Maxwell, John re: Grassley over Culver
Interview - McGovern, George
Interview - Morgan, Robert
Interview - Naughton, Jim
Interview - Nunn, Sam
Interview - Obey, David
Interview - Pacious, Harold
Interview - Rhatican, Bill
Interview - Rogers, William D. re: Baker
Interview - Schlesinger, James
Interview - Scowcroft, Brent
Interview - Sears, John
Interview - Smith, Larry, re: McIntyre
Interview - Spencer, Stu

Disc 6

Single interviews - Stavrianos thru Winter

Multiple interviews - Baker thru Wrenn
Interview - Stavrianos, Peter re: Daschle
Interview - Stone, Ann
Interview - Stone, Roger
Interview - Todd, Don re: Church
Interview - Trimarco, Tom re: Brooke
Interview - Wade, T. Rogers re: Talmadge
Interview - Webber, Elizabeth, re: McIntyre
Interview - Williamson, Rich
Interview - Wilson, George
Interview - Winter, Tom
ints, Baker, Howard
ints, Beckel, Bob
ints, Black, Charles
ints, Cannon, James
ints, Carmen, Jerry
ints, Dolan, Terry
ints, Ellis, Tom
ints, Hannaford, Peter
ints, Keene, David
ints, Mattingly, Mack
ints, Mondale, Walter
ints, Montgomery, Cran re: Baker
ints, Moore, Frank
ints, Nofziger, Lyn
ints, Pastor, Robert
ints, Phillips, Howard
ints, re: General George Brown
ints, Shirley, Craig
ints, Viguerie, Richard
ints, Weyrich, Paul
ints, Wirthlin, Richard
ints, Wrenn, Carter

[Return to series list](#)

[Return to collection summary](#)

Last modified: August 2015