Gerald R. Ford Foundation *Newsletter*

Spring 1989

All-Democracies Conference

Delegates from 44 democracies from every region of the world converged on the Gerald R. Ford Library, December 5-8, for the **All-Democracies Conference** co-hosted by former Presidents Ford and Carter. The goal of the conference was to form a working group that would help establish better cooperation and support among the world's democracies.

There was lively discussion of many association issues, including whether or not democratically-oriented political parties in non-democratic countries should be members of the association and whether a capitalist economy is an essential element for the growth of democratic freedom.

The Conference recommended that future action should be taken at three different levels: (1) formation of an Association of Democracies at the government level, (2) development of a network of citizens groups, and (3) establishment of an International Institute for Democracy.

The Committee for a Community of Democracies—USA sponsored the conference with funding provided by the Gerald R. Ford Foundation, the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the United States Information Agency.

Presidents Ford and Carter listen to the views of Jed Johnson, executive director of the Former Members of Congress organization.

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A Few Words About Grant Recipients

Each spring and fall since 1982 the Gerald R. Ford Foundation has awarded grants to support research at the Ford Library. The grants of up to $2000 defray travel, living, and photocopy expenses. Sixty-one grants have been awarded.

Many recipients are doctoral candidates like Laurence Chalip, who extensively researched American Olympic sports policies. After completing his dissertation last year, he met with U.S. Olympic Committee executives to explore future directions in Olympic policy.

Other grantees are established scholars like Donald Kettl of the University of Virginia. Kettl drew heavily on the Arthur Burns papers for his book *Leadership at the Fed.*

As this newsletter goes to press, 1983 recipient Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones' *The CIA and American Democracy* has just been released by Yale University Press and reviewed in the *New York Times.* Mr. Jeffreys-Jones, a senior lecturer at the University of Edinburgh, illustrates the international scope of the grants program.

Many scholars present their findings in the form of conference papers before they are published. The April 1989 Hofstra University conference on the Ford Presidency includes as speakers ten Foundation grant recipients. They will be talking about such topics as White House staff management, judicial appointments, dealing with the Soviet Union, the New York City fiscal crisis, and the Ford image.

Grant Recipient Discusses His Research at Ford Library

Jeffrey G. Charnley, assistant professor in the Department of American Thought and Language at Michigan State University, received a research grant from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation in 1987. He will present a paper based on his work at the upcoming Hofstra University conference on the Ford presidency. In an interview that lasted more than an hour, Professor Charnley spoke at length about his work at the Ford Library. The following is an edited version of that interview.

Q. What is your research about?

I came to the Ford Library to look at Congressman Ford's views on the war in Vietnam. I felt his congressional stand was significant because he ended up being president at the time Vietnam fell.

Q. Why did you choose this topic?

I first became interested in the Vietnam war because I won the lottery —the draft lottery. One month after graduating from college I joined the Army. I was trained as an infantry officer, expecting to go to Vietnam, but the peace accords were signed and I went to West Germany instead.

Military history and war protest movements had been early interests of mine. I was asked to teach a class on the history of the Vietnam war while I was teaching history at Central Michigan University. I did research for that. That work and my strong interest in Michigan history made this topic a natural for me.

"I first became interested in the Vietnam war because I won the lottery —the draft lottery."

Q. What brought you to the Ford Library?

I first learned that the papers were available when I met former Library Director Don Wilson at a conference shortly after the Library had opened for research. He was encouraging people to use the resources, and that sparked my interest initially.

Q. How did our records help you?

When I got to the Library I was just amazed at the extent of the congressional papers. I wanted to focus on the letters Ford received from his west Michigan constituents. How did they view the war? What stand did they want their congressman to take? Not until I got into the correspondence did I realize what a national constituency Ford had because of his position as minority leader. That coincided with the escalation of the Vietnam war. His influence went far beyond his west Michigan roots. That was an important discovery.

Jeff Charnley and his state-of-the-art notetaking equipment

Q. What else did you discover?

The war in Vietnam helped transform Gerald Ford from a regional politician to a national politician with a clear understanding of foreign affairs. He was very knowledgeable about the key foreign affairs issues of the sixties.

Q. Did that surprise you?

Yes. Most people think of Ford as a congressman being interested primarily in domestic affairs. I see him maturing, becoming more pragmatic. The war was a period of growth for him politically. That was kind of surprising to me.

Q. Do you think GRF's position on the war hurt him?

No, I argue that the war proved beneficial to Ford's career. He didn't use it for political gain personally, but it did have that effect. He gained a national audience by speaking out against Lyndon Johnson. Ford relished this greater visibility. His job as minority leader goes hand in hand with this. Later he became *the* spokesperson for the Nixon war policy in Congress. In that way, the war helped prepare Ford for the presidency, too.

Q. How might your study shed light on contemporary issues?

Look at the issue of war powers, for example. People are concerned about what specific power we give our president. That is still a hot issue, and Ford's experience with Vietnam is instructive.

Q. How so?

Ford did not favor the growing congressional restraints on the powers of the president as commander-in-chief, but he had to deal with the War Powers Act of 1973. The law requires a vigilance in foreign and military policy by congressional leaders which few before were willing to maintain. It was a significant shift. And the law hasn't been challenged yet in a significant constitutional way.

Q. How did your grant help?

Number one, it helped speed my research. I was able to photocopy a lot of material. Without the grant I would have had to take more notes on my grandfather's sixty-year-old typewriter. It meant I could pursue the topic in greater depth.

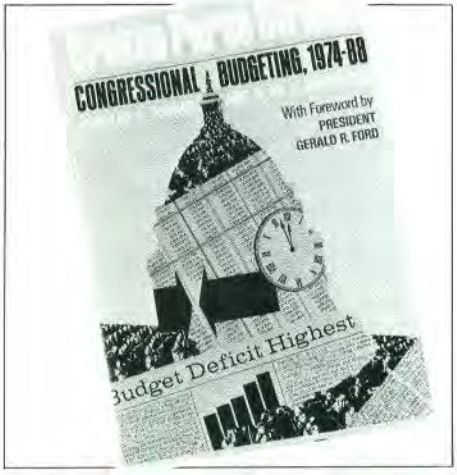
It is often difficult for an assistant professor just starting out to get funding. I was pleased that my status as a "new" professor did not work against me in this case. That was encouraging.

Budget Study Funded by Foundation

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation has funded an eighteen-month study of the U.S. government budget process. Rudolph G. Penner, an economist and former Director of the Congressional Budget Office, and Alan J. Abramson, a political scientist, authored the final report, *Broken Purse Strings: Congressional Budgeting, 1974-88.* The study chronicles the budget process from the writing of the 1974 Congressional Budget Act to the present, outlines the "more important persistent problems," and proposes solutions.

In order to make the process less cumberson, more accurate, and more honest, the study recommends (1) having a joint budget committee in Congress which would issue a joint budget resolution, (2) giving the President more power to impound funds voted by Congress, and (3) developing a more sophisticated economic forecasting approach. The authors advocate longer term planning and repeal of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act. They do not endorse two frequently offered solutions: a balanced budget amendment or a two-year appropriations cycle.

President Ford supported the findings of the study both in his foreword to the book and in public statements. He called on future Congresses and presidents to "resume their constitutional responsibility." Although noting that Gramm-Rudman-Hollings may be our best "temporary expedient," Ford stated that "delegating parts of the budgeting process to computers or appointed officials is congressional default."

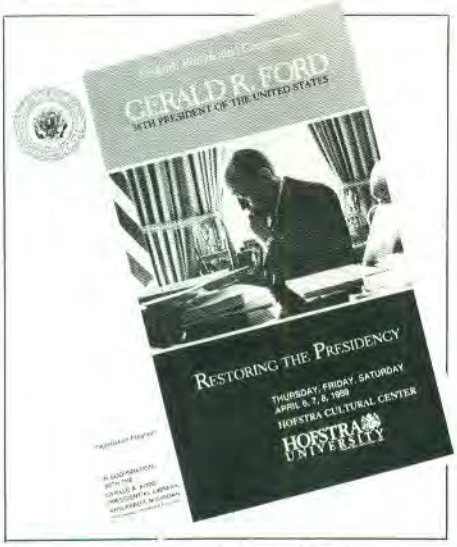


Budget study funded by the Foundation

In addition to President Ford, an *ad hoc* committee of trustees led by George Grassmuck played an ongoing, active role in the budget study's development. Members of the group included Philip Buchen, Paul O'Neill, William Seidman, William Simon, and Frank Zarb.

Major Conference on Ford Administration

Scholars and public servants from across the country will gather in April at **Hofstra University** in Hempstead, New York, for a major conference on the Ford administration.



Program for the Hofstra Conference

Eighteen panel discussions will cover a wide range of issues in domestic and foreign policy, including "The Nixon Pardon," "Reforming the CIA," "The Fall of South Vietnam," and "The 1976 Election."

Along with President Ford, participants will include former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, former CIA Director William Colby, Nixon biographer Stephen Ambrose, and journalists Tom Brokaw and Bob Woodward.

The three-day event, entitled **"Gerald R. Ford: Restoring the Presidency,"** is the seventh in Hofstra's series of conferences on recent administrations. The conference will run from April 6-8.

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New Lecture Series Begins

William E. Simon recalled the economic accomplishments of the Ford Administration.

At President Ford's invitation, William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury during the Ford administration, delivered the keynote address in a new public affairs lecture series sponsored by the Gerald R. Ford Foundation.

In **"Past Decisions—Future Imperatives,"** Simon recalled the economic accomplishments of the Ford administration. He cited the President's use of the veto and his understanding of the intricate congressional budget process as examples of presidential leadership. "He gave us a clear, uncluttered vision of what we had to do and, equally important, what we had to stop doing, to restore economic stability and prosperity without inflation, and to secure peace through strength," Simon observed.

The current Chairman of the Board of WSGP International, Inc., went on to describe the main themes of Ronald Reagan's economic program, concluding that Reagan "has revived and honored traditional values of hard work, thrift, opportunity, and reward . . . for all people." But Simon warned against complacency. Among the fiscal danger signals he singled out were the structural imbalance in the nation's budget and trade accounts, the precarious position of the savings and loan industry, the bubbling up of inflation, and the "frightening, ever-expanding volume" of the Third World debt.

Simon blamed institutions, including business, for succumbing to "the narcotic of government spending, subsidy, and supervision." He called for decisive action to reduce the "catastrophic federal debt" and to reform the congressional budget process. Simon acknowledged, however, that meaningful change awaits a new, national commitment "to mobilize and unleash the great, and still largely untapped, powers of the private sector . . . ." Such a commitment requires better education, better training, and a system of values that stresses personal responsibility.

Simon delivered the address in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on October 19, 1988, following an introduction by President Ford.

The Foundation plans to host two speakers every three years under the auspices of the "William E. Simon Lectures in Public Affairs." The series is designed to advance the public's understanding of the fundamental bonds between political and economic liberty. Simon endowed the lecture program with a $500,000 gift to the Foundation.

Presidential Libraries Advisory Committee Meets

The newly established Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries met on November 17 at the Archives and the White House to discuss various topics relating to the presidential libraries system. Frederick Ryan, Special Assistant to President Reagan, spoke to the Committee about plans for the Reagan Library. President Reagan joined the group for its discussion.

Don Wilson expects the Committee to "provide fresh insights on how the libraries can enhance their roles as research centers and community resources."

The Committee will meet again in April at the Library Directors' Conference at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas.

Members of the Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries met with National Archives officials on November 17 at the Archives. Front row, left to right: John Fawcett, Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries; Harry Middleton, Director, Lyndon B. Johnson Library; Don Wilson, Archivist of the United States; Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, daughter of the late President; Martin J. Allen, banking executive and chairman of the board of trustees of the Gerald R. Ford Foundation; Claudine Weiher, Deputy Archivist; Jeremiah Milbank, president of the J.M. Foundation. Back row, left to right: Robert J. Lipshutz, attorney and former Counsel to President Carter; George Elsey, president emeritus of the American Red Cross; Thomas Johnson, publisher and chief executive officer of the *Los Angeles Times*; David Eisenhower, grandson of the late President and author of *Eisenhower at War*; William J. vanden Heuvel, president of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute.

Ford and Carter Propose American Agenda, Library Gets Papers

Observing Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter together at public events, it is obvious that the former rivals have become friends. They have also become partners in post-presidential statesmanship.

On November 21 they discussed with George Bush the year-long "**American Agenda**" study they have directed. Working with a sixteen-member bipartisan committee and their 320 expert advisors, Ford and Carter prepared for the President-elect a list of the "most difficult problems he is likely to face . . ., and realistic options for solving" them.

". . . partners in post-presidential statesmanship."

The report cites the priorities for the first three months as the budget deficit; national security and defense; international trade and Third World debt; Mexico, Nicaragua and Central America; the environment; drugs; children at risk; and, U.S. relations with allies. Ongoing priorities are productivity, competitiveness, education and job training, and U.S. relations with the USSR.

President-elect Bush played host to Presidents Ford and Carter on November 21 to discuss the American Agenda.

White House photo

The two former presidents also gave the new president some advice on the operation of the presidency.

James Cannon, one of the executive directors of the group, has arranged for 24 feet of American Agenda's working files to be deposited at the Gerald R. Ford Library.

Museum Curator, Library Assistant Director Appointed

Director Frank H. Mackaman has recently announced the selection of **James R. Kratsas** to become curator of the Museum in Grand Rapids and **Dennis A. Daellenbach** as assistant director for the Library in Ann Arbor.

Kratsas, 34, has been curator of the Jimmy Carter Museum for the last two and one-half years. Daellenbach, 45, has been an archivist with the Ford Library since its creation in 1977.

Goncharoff Lectures at Museum

Nicholas T. Goncharoff, president of US/USSR Enterprises, delivered a lecture at the Museum on January 18. Based on a personal, two-hour conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev last fall, Goncharoff analyzed the internal politics of the Soviet Union and speculated about the direction of its domestic and foreign policies.

The program was co-sponsored with the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan.

With this medal the National Portrait Gallery acknowledged the Foundation's gift of a portrait of President Ford in 1988.

Reference Overview

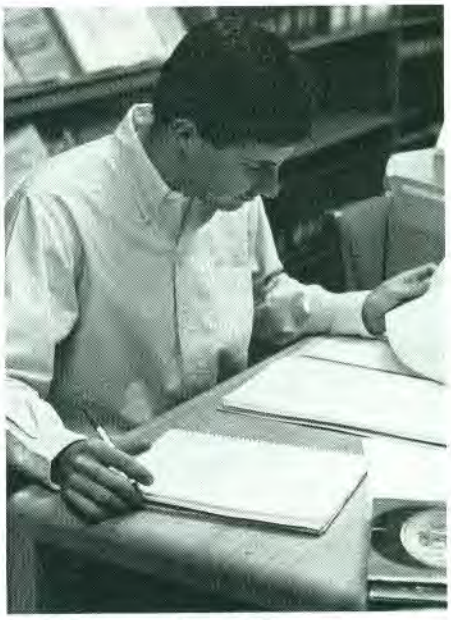
In the past six months research use of the Library has boomed. The Library recorded more than 900 research visits and answered over 500 letter and telephone inquiries in that time, with October being the Library's busiest reference month ever. A milestone was reached during that month when University of Michigan student William O'Connor became the 1000th researcher to use the Library's holdings. Reference programs have become more complex as the Library matures, so it is timely to offer a few observations on the who, how, and why of reference use.

Requests are often handled entirely by mail or telephone. The variety resists easy generalization, but illustrations include two chefs seeking to replicate formal White House dinner menus and a student interested in the President's "favorite snacks." Another student researched his role as President Ford for a school project. A *Newsweek* writer requested document photocopies to back up a story, a former presidential adviser sought information from his files, and a biographer looked at his subject's correspondence with the White House.

Many inquiries seek guidance on the value of a research trip for topics as diverse as press treatment of the Ford Presidency, Icelandic fisheries disputes, or a biography of Armand Hammer.

Most people who use the Library's collections on-site are students working on term papers, seminars, and special workshops. They are enrolled in classes such as American government, historical methods, archives administration, or journalism. Library archivists have assumed a highly active instructional role, even serving as adjunct faculty for the University of Michigan.

For post-graduate scholars researching for publication, the organization and operation of the White House bureaucracy has emerged as an important subject area. Foreign affairs as a topic commands the most interest, but the security classification of most pertinent records limits opportunities at this time. Foreign policy research is most feasible when it focuses on press relations, campaign politics, or presidential-congressional relations. Surprisingly, economic and domestic policies, while well represented in the Library's collections, have stimulated only sporadic interest.



1000th researcher William T. O'Connor

Edward Steichen on the USS Lexington, *1943*

Steichen and His Men

"Steichen and His Men: A Photographic Portrait of World War II" opened at the Museum on February 11 and remained on display through March 12. The exhibit, developed by the Navy Memorial Museum and the Smithsonian Institution, featured 40 photographs by renowned photographer Edward Steichen and seven of the photographers he had personally selected to be in his Naval Aviation Unit.

The Unit was given free rein to travel on carriers and submarines, in airplanes, and into factories to ensure comprehensive coverage of the Navy's war effort.

The Museum held several special events in conjunction with the exhibition, including an open house for area high school and college teachers of social science or photography.

Foundation Sponsors Congress Study

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation joined the U.S. House and Senate, the Congressional Research Service, and others to sponsor **"Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference"** in Washington, D.C., February 9-10.

More than 500 people attended sessions about legislative-executive-judicial relations, sources for the study of Congress, the quality of the public's knowledge of Congress, and media treatment of the House and Senate. Conference speakers included historians, political scientists, journalists, and Members of Congress.

The Foundation provided $2,500 to support conference activities honoring the congressional bicentennial.

Election Activities at Museum

The Museum celebrated the bicentennial of the first presidential election with special events throughout the fall and winter.

A straw poll, which George Bush won by a two-to-one margin, was part of the Celebration on the Grand community festival in September. Children also had the opportunity to design and make campaign buttons for the candidate of their choice.

A lecture series called "The Unnoticed Miracle: Two Centuries of Free and Regular Presidential Elections" began on October 5th. In the series presidential campaign expert Father James Fisher examined key elections between 1789 and 1976.

Nearly 1000 high school students took part in the Close Up program in October. Activities focusing on elections included viewing a video, discussion of the four Michigan ballot proposals with League of Women Voters representatives, instruction on use of voting booths, and a straw poll on campaign issues.

In addition, docents offered a special Presidential Elections Tour throughout the fall. Well over 400 students participated.

Athletes Photo Exhibit Coming

"Athletes: Photographs 1860-1986" will be on display in the Museum's lobby from April 15 through May 14. The traveling exhibit, organized by the International Center of Photography, is being circulated by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service. Artifacts from the Museum's collection reflecting President Ford's interest in sports will complement the photographic exhibit.

Seventh Annual Political Film Series

"WWII", the Museum's 7th annual Political Film Series began on January 12. World War II was selected as the theme for this year's series to tie into the feature exhibition of Steichen photographs. Films in the series ranged from documentary to animation.

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation funded the series and the Grand Rapids Film Theatre helped organize it.

First Lady Lou in Grand Rapids

A two-act, one-woman play based on Lou Henry Hoover's papers will be presented on April 27 at the Gerald R. Ford Museum. The play, written by Rebecca Christian and performed by Jody Hovland, was commissioned by the Herbert Hoover Library Association. Mrs. Hoover is portrayed as a young mother in the first act and as the weary, reflective wife of a former president in the second act.

Actress Jody Hovland in costume as Lou Henry Hoover (Photo by David Creamer)

Sports memorabilia on display with the ATHLETES feature exhibit, April 15 through May 14. On the left is the helmet Gerald Ford wore when he played football at the University of Michigan. Autographed football is from the 1935 college all-star game.

COMING EVENTS

March 6-May 1: Great Decisions Lecture Series, Museum. Monday evenings (except April 24) at 7:30. Free.

April 15-May 14: "ATHLETES: Photographs, 1860-1986" exhibit in the Museum lobby.

April 24: David Broder speaks on "The Constitutional Presidency: 200 Years Later," at 7:30, Museum. Free.

April 27: "First Lady Lou" at 7:30, Museum. Tickets go on sale April 10.

April 30: Free Museum admission to celebrate the 200th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. Related activities.

May 9-13: Second European Conference on Archives, Ann Arbor. Library will host a reception.

May 14: Free Museum admission for moms on Mother's Day.

May 24-July 12: "WIN (Whip Inflation Now)" exhibit, Museum.

June 5: Foundation annual meeting, Washington, DC.

June 14: Flag Day display of flags from the 50 states, Museum.

June 18: Free Museum admission for dads on Father's Day.

July 14: Free Museum admission to celebrate President Ford's birthday.

Children "decorating the President's Christmas tree"

Special Holiday Events

The Museum celebrated the 1988 holiday season with a variety of special events. Two **"Decorate the President's Christmas Tree"** workshops were filled to capacity by 40 children who made ornaments based on patterns Betty Ford used for the White House Christmas tree in 1974.

A holiday tea honoring Museum docents was held on December 13.

On December 15, the Museum hosted the second annual **"Home for the Holidays"** open house, featuring free admission and extended hours, and performances by the East Kentwood Madrigal Singers.

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation Newsletter

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Contributors: Richard Holzhausen, David Horrocks, Frank Mackaman, Barbara Packer, Leesa Tobin

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