



Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Newsletter

September, 2012 Editions 3 & 4



*Annual Wreath Laying Ceremony
at the Tomb of
President Gerald R. Ford
Honoring President Ford's
99th Birthday*

July 14, 2012

Major General Gregory J. Vadnais lays a wreath from President Barack Obama at President Ford's Tomb.



Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft presents the 2012 William E. Simon Lecture on Public Affairs on July 13.



(l-r) Steve Ford, Mike Ford, Tom O'Neill and Susan Ford Bales at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Annual Dinner in Washington, DC on June 4. Tom O'Neill accepted the Gerald R. Ford Medal for Distinguished Public Service on behalf of his father, Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill.



On July 12 the Board of Trustees of the National Constitution Center (NCC) met at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum for an evening hosted by Rich DeVos (right) and Doug DeVos (left) to celebrate the collaboration between the NCC and the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation.



(l-r) Mike Ford, Scott Wilson, Susan Ford Bales, Corinne Reilly, Chris Matthews, Sean Naylor and Steve Ford at the National Press Club Luncheon in Washington, DC, honoring the winners of the Gerald R. Ford Journalism Awards on June 4.

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*Letter from the Foundation
Executive Director,
Joseph S. Calvaruso*

In 2007, Mrs. Betty Ford created an annual tradition here in Grand Rapids. On July 14 of each year, personal wreaths from the Ford family and from a special selected person are presented at President Ford's tomb, together with a wreath from the President of the United States. Mrs. Ford's annual tradition is part of a long-standing presidential tradition by which the incumbent president on the birthday of each deceased president sends a wreath to the deceased president's tomb. This year's ceremony included wreaths placed by the Ford family and by Trustee Brent Scowcroft on behalf of President Ford's Cabinet, White House Staff, and Administration. In addition, flowers were placed at Mrs. Ford's tomb by her granddaughters Tyne Berlanga and Heather Devers and her great-granddaughter Joy Elizabeth Berlanga, and by breast cancer survivor Johanna Harvey in tribute to Mrs. Ford's inspiration to women around the world.

In conjunction with the Wreath Ceremony, Brent Scowcroft delivered the 2012 William E. Simon Lecture to a capacity luncheon crowd on July 13. Special thanks go to Brent for his wonderful Simon Lecture and his dedicated service as a Foundation Trustee since 1982. At the luncheon, Honorary Trustee Ralph Hauenstein and Grand Valley State University President Tom Haas presented Brent with the 2012 COL Ralph W. Hauenstein Fellowship Award. Thank you to

our generous luncheon sponsors Amway, Grand Valley State University – Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, Law Weathers, and Mercantile Bank of Michigan, as well as our other table sponsors.

We were especially pleased to host the National Constitution Center Board of Trustees at this year's Simon Lecture. The NCC provided a special live presentation of "Freedom Rising" at the beginning of the luncheon. On the evening of July 12, Foundation Trustee Doug DeVos and Foundation Honorary Trustee Rich DeVos hosted a lovely dinner in the Museum atrium for their fellow NCC Board members, Foundation Trustees, and invited guests. A highlight of the evening was Richard Norton Smith's lecture and reflections about President Ford.

At the June 4 Foundation Annual Dinner in Washington, D.C., the 2012 Gerald R. Ford Medal for Distinguished Public Service was awarded posthumously to Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. Accepting the award from the Ford family and the Foundation was Tom O'Neill, Speaker O'Neill's son. At the annual Journalism Awards luncheon held at the National Press Club, the 2011 Gerald R. Ford Prizes for Distinguished Reporting were presented to Corinne Reilly of "The Virginian-Pilot" for her reporting on National Defense, and to Scott Wilson of "The Washington Post" for his reporting on the Presidency. In



(l-r) Joe Calvaruso, General Brent Scowcroft and Donna Calvaruso following the Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Museum.

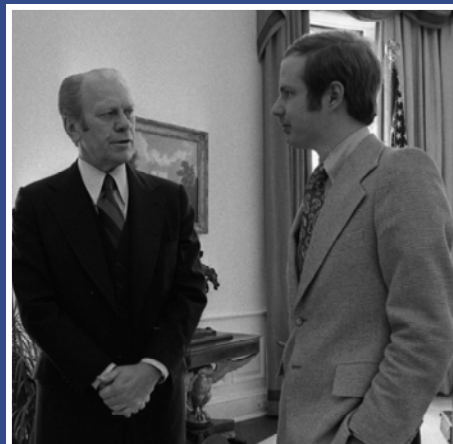
addition, Sean Naylor of the "Army Times" received an Honorable Mention for his reporting on National Defense.

I'm pleased to join the Trustees in paying special tribute to long-serving Trustees William T. Coleman, Jr. and Alan Greenspan. At the Foundation's Annual Meeting in June, Bill and Alan were named Honorary Trustees. Also at the Annual Meeting, four outstanding new Trustees were elected to the Board: Michael Jandernoa, William Martin, John Morris, and Buzz Thomas.

Thanks to all those who joined us in honoring President Ford on his July 14 birthday and at the Simon Lecture, particularly the Trustees and "Friends of Ford" who donated their time, services, and funds to make possible those tributes and the Foundation's many other activities that promote President Ford's extraordinary legacy.

Joe

Due to the several recent remarkable events, we are combining issues 3 and 4 of this year's newsletters.



Cover Photos courtesy of Dr. Robert M. Humphries

*Looking Back
Foundation Trustee Robin B. Martin*

Robin Martin was a member of the White House Advance Office while Gerald R. Ford was Vice President and President from 1974 -1976. This Oval Office photo was taken in March 1976.

Photo courtesy of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Board of Trustees Welcomes New Members



Michael J. Jandernoa

Mike Jandernoa is the former Chairman of the Board and CEO of Perrigo Company, a leading global healthcare supplier that develops, manufactures and distributes over-the-counter (OTC) and generic prescription (Rx) pharmaceuticals.

In addition to his service on Perrigo's Board of Directors, he also serves on the Board of Directors of Business Leaders for Michigan (BLM), the Van Andel Institute, Hopen Life Science Fund, Metabolic Solutions Development Company (MSDC), the University of Michigan President's Advisory Board, and Grand Valley University Foundation. Mike is a member of other corporate advisory boards and is a past member of the Young Presidents' Organization. Mike also serves/chairs on numerous religious and community boards and committees as well.

Also, Mike is the founder of Jandernoa Entrepreneurial Mentoring. He is a co-founder of Bridge Street Capital Partners and a founder and Board member of Grand Angels.



John Morris

John Morris manages an investment portfolio that includes commercial real estate, venture capital, leveraged acquisitions, global equities and fixed income.

John has served as an appointee to three California governors. The appointed positions included Vice President and Treasurer of the State Bar of California (Governor Pete Wilson), Chairman of the California State World Trade Commission (Governor Gray Davis), and Board Member of the California Housing Finance Agency (Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger). Additionally, John has served as a member of the Board of Overseers for the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. While on the Hoover Institution board, John developed and produced the film *Spinning Boris* for the Showtime Network. The film is based on the true story of three American political consultants' secret involvement in the 1996 Yeltsin presidential campaign.

John is an alumnus of UCLA with a degree in economics and a graduate of the University of Southern California with a Master's in Business Administration. For the past 25 years, John has served on the board for several capital campaigns for both the College of School of Letters and Science and the Athletic Department at UCLA.



William C. Martin

Bill Martin is a first generation American who was born and raised in Detroit, Michigan. Martin founded the First Martin Corporation in 1968. In 1996, he founded the Bank of Ann Arbor and serves as its Chair. In 2000, Martin was tapped to be the tenth Athletic Director of the University of Michigan and served in that capacity for ten years. His public service includes serving as President of the Washenaw Land Conservancy, Ann Arbor Public Schools Foundation Board and Wittenberg University Board. The Ann Arbor News has recognized Martin as the Citizen of the Year.

As a lifelong sailor, Martin was President of the United States Sailing Association. He has also served as a board member and President of the United States Olympic Committee receiving its highest honor, the General Douglas MacArthur Award. Currently, Martin is active on the boards of the National Football Foundation and the Miami Dolphins. Martin resides in Ann Arbor with his wife, Sally; they have grown two sons and four grandchildren.



Samuel "Buzz" Thomas, III

A public affairs professional with nearly 20 years experience, Thomas spent 14 years in the Michigan legislature, including serving as Democratic Floor Leader in the Senate and as Democratic Leader in the House. He took pride in presenting a well balanced professional ideology. It translated into regulatory and other expertise in the areas of health care, energy and utility policy, education reform, business development incentives and arts and culture.

Thomas, 42, has equal experience and empathy for small and large business owners. Prior to his foray into politics, Thomas was Construction Manager for Parkside Building Company and Avis Tech Partners.

His varied background led him to more than two dozen leadership and other awards ranging from being named the Legislator of the Year in 2005 by the Michigan Association of Regions to earning the Peacemaker Award from Wayne State University. Thomas serves on the boards of the Karmanos Cancer Center of Detroit, Habitat for Humanity of Detroit, The Belle Isle Conservancy, New Urban Learning Schools of Detroit and the Michigan Association of Public School Academies.

*A Special Thank You to Foundation Honorary Trustees
William T. Coleman, Jr. and Alan Greenspan*



*Gentlemen, your dedication to President Ford and his legacy will forever be appreciated.
Congratulations on your appointments as Honorary Trustees
of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation.*



*2012 Wreath Laying Ceremony
At the Tomb of
President Gerald R. Ford
July 14, 2012*

Vaden Bales, Steve Ford, Dick Ford and Susan Ford Bales placed a wreath at the Tomb of President Gerald R. Ford.

Remarks of Susan Ford Bales:

Good morning and welcome! Today's ceremony is a combination of two special traditions. The first is part of a long tradition of the United States Presidency. The second tradition is very personal to Mother that she began shortly after Dad's death in 2006.

Today, President Barack Obama carries on the Presidential Tradition. On the birthday of each deceased president, the incumbent president sends a tribute wreath to be presented by a military officer at the deceased president's tomb. Just over an hour ago, President Obama's wreath arrived here at Dad's tomb. The President has requested that General Vadnais lay the presidential wreath on his behalf. In 2007, Mom began the personal tradition. On July 14 of each year, a personal wreath from our family and another wreath from persons with a special connection to Dad are presented with the presidential wreath. This year, the third wreath is from Dad's White House Staff and Cabinet. Three members of his White House Staff are here with us this morning. That special third wreath will be presented by Dad's dear friend and White House advisor Brent Scowcroft.

I'm often asked how Mom began this tradition and how it then grew to the wonderful ceremony it's become. Not surprisingly, particularly to those who knew her, Mother was at the center of the planning. Several months after Dad's death, the White House Military Office contacted our friend, Greg Willard, to discuss

arrangements for the first presidential wreath laying here at Dad's tomb. Greg and my husband, Vaden, then talked to Mom about the White House wreath tradition and President Bush's plans for that first July 14 presentation. Mom, of course, was thrilled. The three of them talked several times after that about various ideas as to a simultaneous July 14 ceremony for her to create. She then sent a letter to Greg and Vaden and asked them to plan and conduct a ceremony each July 14 here at Dad's tomb as part of the Presidential Tradition. Of course, not surprisingly, Mom's letter came with specific instructions. In planning and conducting her ceremony in the years ahead, she wanted Greg and Vaden to include persons who were special to Dad, along with military, Boy Scouts, and others who represented important parts of Dad's life. And each year she also wanted them to consider whether a program or lecture might be scheduled near July 14. This morning's ceremony - with Dad's dear friend, Brent Scowcroft, and Brent's wonderful Simon Lecture yesterday - are shining examples of exactly what Mom wanted this ceremony to be. Thank you, Greg and Vaden, for continuing to travel to Grand Rapids each year to carry out Mom's instructions to you and for making her dream for this ceremony a reality. And, most of all, to both of you, thank you for the joy and pride you each brought to Dad and to Mom for so many years.

Today's ceremony will proceed as follows:

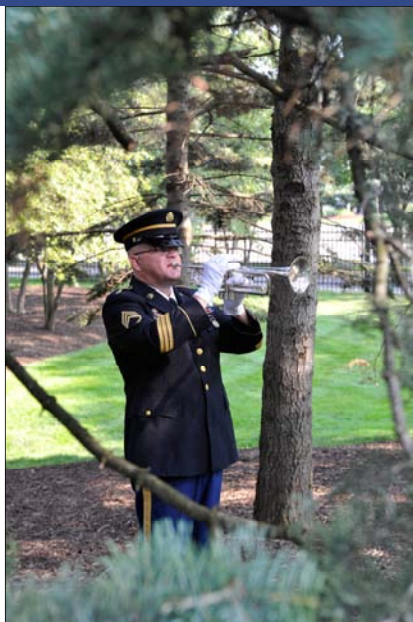
General Vadnais will come forward and place the Presidential Wreath. Next, Vaden, Steve, Uncle Dick, and I will present the wreath from Dad's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and brother. Then, General Scowcroft will place the wreath on behalf of himself and his fellow members of Dad's White House Staff and Cabinet. After that third wreath is placed, a soldier from the Michigan National Guard will walk to directly in front of the tomb and observe a 38-second moment of silent tribute. Following that 38-second tribute, Echo Taps will be sounded. As Taps are sounded, those guests in uniform will render a salute. In addition, for our civilian guests, it is customary for those not in uniform to place their hand over their heart during Taps.

At the conclusion of Taps, flowers will be placed at Mom's tomb. The first bouquet will be presented by her granddaughters Tyne and Heather and great-granddaughter Joy Elizabeth. A second bouquet will be placed by Johanna Harvey, a breast cancer survivor who was treated at the Betty Ford Breast Cancer Center at Spectrum Hospital. Johanna's flowers symbolize the gratitude of herself and millions of women around the world who are alive today because of the courage Mother showed in the fall of 1974.

Ladies and Gentlemen, please rise as we join President Obama and my family in honoring the Thirty-Eighth President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford.



Lt. General Brent Scowcroft places a wreath at the tomb of President Gerald R. Ford.



Echo Taps at the Wreath Laying Ceremony.



Grand Rapids Mayor George Heartwell delivers the Invocation at the Wreath Laying Ceremony.



Great-Granddaughter, Joy Elizabeth Berlanga, places a rose at the Tomb of Mrs. Betty Ford.

(l-r) Granddaughters Heather Devers and Tyne Berlanga and Great-Granddaughter Joy Elizabeth Berlanga place flowers at the Tomb of Mrs. Betty Ford.



(l-r) Johanna Harvey, breast cancer survivor, assisted by Vaden Bales, places flowers at the Tomb of Mrs. Betty Ford.



Seymour Padnos, Steve Waterbury, Karin Waterbury and Tom Haas pay their respects at the Tomb of President and Mrs. Ford.



(l-r) Peter Secchia, Sue Allen and Marty Allen pay their respects at the Tomb of President and Mrs. Ford.



Grand Rapids Police Officer, Wally Tett and members of the Gerald R. Ford Council, Boy Scouts of America, at the Wreath Laying Ceremony.

2012 Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Annual Dinner June 4, 2012

Susan Ford Bales, daughter of President and Mrs. Ford, hosted the 2012 Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Annual Dinner which honored former House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill for his distinguished service to the Nation. Thomas P. O'Neill, III posthumously accepted the 2012 Gerald R. Ford Medal for Distinguished Service for his father.

The Foundation welcomed distinguished guests, including Ford family members, former Ford Cabinet, Administration and White House Staff members, among them former Vice President Dick Cheney and his wife Lynne, to the Annual Foundation Dinner in Washington, D.C.

Steve Ford, son of President and Mrs. Ford, shared stories of friendship between his father and Tip O'Neill. He emphasized the ability of O'Neill and President Ford to find common ground with one another, allowing partisan political barriers to be broken down for the good of the Nation. O'Neill was a distinguished member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Massachusetts) from 1953 – 1987, who also served in leadership positions including Speaker of the House, House Majority Leader and House Majority Whip. O'Neill received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1991 from President George H.W. Bush.



(l-r) Mike Ford, Susan O'Neill, Susan Ford Bales, Rosemary O'Neill, Shelly O'Neill, Tom O'Neill, Stephanie O'Neill, Kip O'Neill and Steve Ford.

Carla A. Hills, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development during the Ford Administration, touched on O'Neill's background and entry into the political arena. O'Neill's career in politics began at age 15, when he campaigned for Al Smith against Herbert Hoover in the 1928 Presidential Election. He won his first U.S. Congressional seat in 1952, a seat vacated by Senator-Elect John F. Kennedy, and became House Majority Leader in 1973, a position held while President Ford was in The White House. In 1977, O'Neill was selected as Speaker of the House, and maintained that role until he left Congress in 1987. In his obituary, the New York Times described O'Neill as a strong advocate for the working man, "one of the last and least recon-

structed liberals of the cadre of the Republican Era New Deal". Carla Hills offered examples of O'Neill's ability to break down political barriers, saying he "maintained a long and warm friendship with President Ford, reaching across the political aisle, permitting the essential business of our Nation to be done".

Red Cavaney, former White House Special Assistant to President Ford, read the citation. He remembered O'Neill as an outstanding political leader, a patriot who always carried the torch for the Congress and the American people.

Thomas P. O'Neill, III accepted the award on behalf of his father. Tom presented personal insights about his father, expanding on the friendship between his father and President Ford. He cited their love of golf as one of the ways in which they disregarded partisan agenda in order to find common ground.

A video of this remarkable evening is available on our website:

www.geraldrfordfoundation.org/2012-annual-foundation-dinner/



(l-r) Trustee Dick Cheney, Tom O'Neill and Trustee Brent Scowcroft.



(l-r) Chris Matthews, Trustee Mike Ford and Foundation Chairman Steve Ford.



(l-r) Dr. Madison Richardson, Trustee Don Rumsfeld, Toni Simon and Joyce Rumsfeld.



Trustee Susan Ford Bales and Sergeant First Class Alvy R. Powell, Jr.



(l-r) Trustees Paul O'Neill, Alan Greenspan and Brent Scowcroft.



(l-r) Joe Suhor, Foundation Chairman Steve Ford and Bob Boetticher.



(l-r) Trustee Carla Hills, Tom O'Neill and Foundation President Red Cavaney.



(l-r) John Shlaes, Chris Matthews and Trustee Dick Cheney.



(l-r) Lynne Cheney, Trustee Dick Cheney and Trustee Peter Secchia.



Trustee Terry O'Donnell



(l-r) Foundation Vice-Chairman Hank Meijer, Peter Meijer and Trustee Buzz Thomas.



Front Row: (l-r) Trustees Jim Baker, Dick Cheney, Susan Ford Bales and Brent Scowcroft.
Back Row: (l-r) Susan Baker, Lynne Cheney, Foundation Secretary Greg Willard, Melanie Swan, General Guy Swan and Randy Bumgardner.



(l-r) John McConnell, Foundation Chairman Emeritus Marty Allen, Foundation Treasurer Dave Hoogendoorn and Ron Nessen.

Lt. General Brent Scowcroft

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation

2012 William E. Simon Lecture

on Public Affairs

July 13, 2012



Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft.

Susan [Ford Bales], I don't know what to say; you have left me speechless. I frankly don't know how I can continue after such a moving introduction. Thank you for those comments. For me, President and First Lady Ford were not just the leaders of the country, they were my dear friends. To hear your comments, Susan - their daughter - was touching beyond belief. So, I will take a deep breath and try to continue. Thank you.

It's a great honor, privilege and pleasure for me to be here today to deliver the William Simon Lecture to honor President Ford. I am delighted that the National Constitution Center (NCC) is here. The program you put on earlier was very touching and, oh, how appropriate now! I think it ought to be mandatory in every school in the country. And that's sort of the theme of my opening remarks.

First, for Bill Simon; it's so typical of Bill to establish this lecture series. So, it is with reverence to his memory and distinguished service that I speak today. And, of course, I am deeply honored to participate in anything related to Gerald Ford, one of our most indispensable presidents -- and a dear friend.

The discussion of the NCC sets the stage for the few remarks I want to make about President Ford himself. As I observe the internal discussion in this country at present, I think back to the Ford period. I find myself amazed that this country had the good luck to have had Gerald Ford when our national discourse was in a state of repair, probably as bad or maybe even worse than the state of disarray today. When President Ford came to office, we had two overwhelming traumas, the Vietnam War, which was bitterly divisive, and President Nixon's resignation, probably the biggest domestic crisis in this country since the Civil War.

President Ford is known as a Great Healer. He took a nation at war with itself and put it back together again. And he did it so well that the American people quickly forgot how bitterly

divided we had been such a short time before. But what is less recognized is that he did it by being incredibly brave in taking the steps he felt were indispensable for healing the country's wounds without regard to himself or his personal interests. For example, he pardoned Richard Nixon avoiding a bitter controversy which could have paralyzed the country for years. It very likely cost him his election in 1976. But it was the right thing to do. He granted amnesty to draft evaders, taking on and dissipating one of the bitterest issues stemming from the bitterly divided Vietnam conflict. He signed the Helsinki agreements, which effectively and eventually brought the Cold War to an end; but he was accused of selling out the country at the time. I could go on and on. I have a whole list of things. But he was a man who faced the problems head on and made decisions which were the best for his country -- not for himself or his personal fortunes. And he never agonized over the decisions, never sat questioning his own judgment. He thought through, made his decisions, and moved on. It was classic.

We are now in a new time of troubles. I want to turn now to the world of foreign policy, and it's very different from the world of President Ford. There are two fundamental things that have happened. The first is the end of the Cold War, because the Cold War was a framework for our thinking and our actions. We were discussing at the table just a few moments ago, George Kennan. During the Cold War, our strategy was set for us. It was containment. It was: put our arms around and hold in this evil empire until it disintegrated. We had trouble with the tactics, whether to do this or that or the other; but the strategy was a given. And we were comfortable with that. Then, with the end of the Cold War, we went through a period of drift. Some suggested there weren't any enemies out there, and we

didn't need a foreign policy. And then the wake-up and the strong emotional reactions to 9/11. We discovered the world was not a peaceful placid place. But now, in the world, we don't have the strategy. Now, we're all tactics, and that's a much harder way to run a system.

The second thing that's happened is that over-worked word, however true it is, globalization. The world is changing. It didn't start after the end of the Cold War. It started before that, but it was masked by the Cold War and its all-consuming demand for attention. But globalization - whether it's in economic and financial affairs, information technology, health, climate and so on - is changing this world that we live in. In the political world, it is attacking the very foundations of our system, which is the Westphalian System basically formalized at the Treaty of Westphalia in the 19th Century setting up the nation state as the player in the world,



(l-r) Susan Ford Bales, General Scowcroft and Hank Meijer.



*Lt. General Brent Scowcroft
Recipient of the 2012
COL Ralph W. Hauenstein
Fellowship Award*

Col. Ralph Hauenstein (center) presents the 2012 COL Ralph W. Hauenstein Fellowship Award to General Scowcroft (left) with Tom Haas (right), President of Grand Valley State University, at the 2012 William E. Simon Lecture and Luncheon.



sovereign unto itself and impregnable in that sovereignty. And since then, we have had that kind of a nation state system with its epitome probably in the 20th Century, where it became almost a zero sum game. You were either an ally or an enemy, and if you got stronger it meant your enemy was weaker. That still is the mentality that is with us.

But what globalization is doing is changing all of that. In a way, it's having an effect on the nation state like industrialization did 250 years ago. Industrialization brought about the modern state as a necessity to deal with these economic and industrial forces that were afoot in countries and needed to be regulated. So it built the nation state. Globalization is having a similar effect, but anything similar is eroding the borders of the nation state because we are finding that more and more of the things to be done have to be done in cooperation with others to be effective. We can't do them unilaterally. One of the most striking, I think, was the economic crisis of a couple years ago. It showed that we have a world economic system -- what happens in one place spreads through the whole world. But since then, it's also shown the other side of it; we have no general way to deal with it. Now at the end of World War II, we set up at Bretton Woods, where we sent our distinguished world economists



Bust of President Ford presented to Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft.

away for a summer (not a bad place to spend the summer) and they set up the Bretton Woods Agreements: the World Bank, the IMF, and so on to deal with a world

economy. We haven't in the opposite direction since then. We did set up the G-20, which is mostly a debating group. But that's just an illustration of the kind of world that we have now. What we're living in now is still very much a Westphalian nation state system. But we are beset by the problems that globalization brings. There is a kind of uneasy coexistence now, and it's hard to know how we should react to events. One of the other manifestations of globalization is the Arab Spring or the Arab Awakening. You have the incident of a poor fruit peddler in Tunis who immolated himself because he was tormented and beaten up by a police officer. It spread almost instantaneously around the world. That's all on account of modern social media, cell phones, and TV. All of these things are changing and politicizing the world's people. For most of history, most people in the world thought and lived like their parents lived, and their children were going to live like they lived. There was sort of a fixed order of things; that's the way the world ran. And now they have discovered it's not so. Those other people over there have a much better way of doing things. And so, not only was there an eruption in the Middle East, the Chinese were very fearful of the same thing happening and tightened up their controls extensively. Look what's going on in Russia today. That's an example of the kinds of forces that are loose in the world. And it makes it very difficult to know how to behave and which ones of these forces we should listen to.

In response to the Arab Spring, we took actions in Libya. The United Nations Security Council has a couple of times, and the General Assembly have generally agreed on a doctrine called the Responsibility To Protect, which

says: when a government does not or cannot protect major elements of its population, it is the duty of the United Nations to intervene. Sounds good; but Article II of the UN Charter says: nothing in this organization permits the UN to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of its members. It's another example of the different kind of world that we live in.

So, how did we intervene? We intervened to protect the Libyan people. But as far as the Chinese and Russians are concerned, we intervened to overthrow Gaddafi. So when a similar situation starts in Syria, they say - no, you fooled us once; you are not going to do it again. These are some of the consequences of this troubled world we live in.

The war on terrorism is a great example. Terrorism in its modern manifestations is a unique development. One of the things we haven't spent nearly enough time on is what is at the roots of this issue and why now. What is it that induces young people to voluntarily wrap explosives around their waist and blow themselves up - contrary to every human instinct? We need to look at those kinds of things. The war on terror is putting this new phenomenon that struck us most viciously on 9/11 into the Westphalian framework. Terrorism is a method of killing innocent people to accomplish a goal. It's not an enemy; it's a method of warfare. We have a criminal justice system that provides for individual lawbreakers, and we have a law of war that deals with nation states fighting each other. But, the war on terror is neither of these. So we don't know when we catch a terrorist whether we should try them in a civil court, or a military court. We're nowhere because we have not gotten yet to the roots of where we are. That's my message today.

Let me talk just a little bit about the world and where we are in a couple of places. The most troubling, of course, is the Middle East. I think you can see in a country like Egypt that what the Arab Spring did is demonstrate to people what they're against. This was a revolt on behalf of dignity. People want to be treated like human beings with respect, not pawned off back and forth like chattel. But it was not, as we love to think, necessarily an uprising for democracy, for parliamentary systems. So what we are stuck with is - after the bad guys are gone, how do you put together a system when you have people with fundamentally different ways of looking at things? Egypt is one of the most interesting examples. Egypt's has a military government since Nassar. But we don't think of it that way. The military now wants to continue some kind of control over the government. The political, what we would say, political parties in Egypt, are almost non-existent except for the Muslim Brotherhood, which has held itself together under persecution by the state. It is really the only organization left that has outreach like a political party. So Egypt is going through this struggle, fortunately peaceful so far, to figure out who it is and how it can organize itself to move forward.

Syria is a very different case. Syria is not homogenous like Egypt. Syria is a series of different religions and national groups that have not always voluntarily been a part of the state, if you will. Syria is run by a small offshoot of Shite Islam called the Alawites, about 10% of the population of Syria. The Shia religious population as a whole is less than half. The Sunnis are a majority in Syria. Also, there are Christians, Druze, other minorities, Palestini-



(l-r) Rich DeVos, Lt. General Brent Scowcroft and Helen DeVos.

ans and others who actually, many of the minorities, support the Assad regime as protection against the majority Sunnis. On top of all this, there is a religious vs. secular struggle going on. So in Syria, the temptation is - we helped out in Libya, how about Syria? My own sense is that if Assad would leave tomorrow, the situation wouldn't be changed very much. This is a system which is bitterly at odds within itself. I think if we could get some kind of cease-fire it would be a miracle. There are some problems to which there simply are no solutions, and I fear Syria is one of them. Intervention by the United States or NATO in Syria would be akin to that in Iraq. But Syria is more bitterly divided than Iraq. If we went in, then we would own Syria. And that is a price I don't think we can pay.

Iran is a difficult problem in two ways. Iran is in a difficult region. It is a Persian culture in an Arab region. It is a Shia religious country in a basically Sunni region. So it's in a difficult position. They probably, although not certainly, probably are seeking nuclear weapons. What's the best significance if they get nuclear weapons? I think for the United States the problem is not that they would have a handful of weapons, but that that would lead the Turks, the Saudis and probably the Egyptians to do the same thing in order to protect themselves. That could spread to Asia. That kind of proliferation would not make for a better world. And that's fundamentally what our problem is. I think we have an approach that is not too bad. It is increasing sanctions on them (and we currently are getting much better cooperation now) but not punishing them in a way that says: we want to overthrow the regime - you guys are bad guys, we are going to throw you out. That would tend to bring the Iranians together. So, I don't think we should give up now. I think that we should try to talk seriously to the Iranians, but that in itself is hard, because Iran is not a country in the normal sense of the word. Iran has a government, it has a parliament, it has a president - Ahmadinejad - who run the country ostensibly, but they don't have fundamental power. The fundamental power lies with the Mullahs, and the Ayatollah can override any act of the parliament or any act of the president. So that is the fundamental power. The actual military force power, again, is not the military but the Revolutionary Guard which is probably at least the size of the military. They are what keep the system in power. So the question is, who do you talk to? And each one of those groups is somewhat jealous of the other; so negotiating with Iran in itself is an extremely difficult job.



(l-r) Lt. General Brent Scowcroft and Dick Ford.

Let me say a few words about China. China is a very different country. China did not participate in the Westphalian system. China instead has a general notion of world politics that follow what they call a central kingdom notion. There is China, and there's everybody else. The Chinese are Chinese, and they think they're different. If you are not a Chinese, you can't become one. China has been ruled by others than China, but there's this different idea about the whole nation state system. The Westphalian system for the last 200 years had been raping China. Hong Kong, for example, was a British territory. The Europeans, not so much the Americans, but the Europeans seized bits of Chinese territory and have despoiled China. So they have that notion of the world that they're now in and that we're asking them to be responsible stakeholders in. So they tend to say, it's not our world; we didn't build it, you built it. And we're part of the sufferers. We need to recognize that.

The interesting thing to me about China is while they're growing rapidly and got on the right way with a lot of help from the United States, we tend to think of them as the next great enemy. Well, lo and behold, you know maybe there doesn't have to be the next great enemy. Because unlike Adolf Hitler in the 30's, unlike Stalin in the 40's and 50's and his successors, there is not an implacable hostility that has to continue with China. If you look around the world at the issues, there isn't anywhere we and the Chinese are head to head enemies -- not in North Korea, not in Taiwan, not in Southeast Asia, not in Afghanistan, not even increasingly in Iran. I've talked to the

Chinese about Iran, and they say, look, it's not our problem; we get a lot of oil from Iran, that's important to us, and Iran is a great trading partner. But when you say, ok, but let's suppose that things deteriorate with Iran and there's a conflict in the region; what do you think that does to your supply of oil and the price? Isn't it better that you work with us to resolve it in a different way? The whole issue of terrorism, we are on the same side. The issue of energy, we're on the same side. So this is not a relationship that is fated to be a struggle to the death. But we can make it so; if we treat them like an enemy, they are almost sure to become one. And I think we need to be farsighted in the way we deal with the Chinese, probably more farsighted than we can expect of them. They do some pretty bad things now and then. But I don't think that's a fundamental problem.

Russia is a country searching for its soul. You know the Russians have for 500 years, since Peter the Great, been ambivalent about whether they are really a European country that didn't share in the Renaissance and Reformation, or whether they are really an Asian country with a European veneer. At the end of the Cold War, we tried for a time to say no-

body lost the Cold War. Both sides won the Cold War because it ended peacefully; no one was killed. But in our interest in building a strong Europe, we did a lot of things that some Russians, especially President Putin, thought was taking advantage of Russia at the time they were weak. Putin has said that. When we were weak, you took advantage of us ... you pushed NATO right up into the borders of Russia ... you denounced the ABM treaty ... you did this...you did that because we were weak...well now we are strong, and you're not going to do that anymore. I think that's a system that can be dealt with, and I think we are beginning to. The reset button didn't work all that well, but I think, with Putin now, we may find a somewhat different man since he's been re-elected and has seen his predecessor, Medvedev, get more with a little honey than by beating on the table. We'll see, but Russia has a long way to go. They are living off energy right now, their petroleum reserves. You don't ever see anything in the market saying "Made in Russia." That's a fundamental problem for the Russians, and I think they will turn their attention to it.

Just one word about Europe. Europe is still in the mood that we were just after the end of the

Cold War. There aren't any threats, so, they say - whew, we don't need to spend money on defense; we need to do our own thing. Now they are beset with the implications of the European Union that they thought they could just paper over the top and not redo the girders that hold it together at the bottom. I don't think we should give up on Europe. I think they will eventually come through. It may be too late economically by the time they do. I think that what NATO did in Libya is an indication of what we and the Europeans can do together responsibly, and at a time when we're exhausted from Iraq and Afghanistan, and the Europeans were tired even before.

Let me close by saying all of these issues have elements in them that are fundamentally different from the world that we've all grown up in and known. We need to think more seriously about how to deal with them. And that comes to us at a time when we are bitterly divided here at home, not fundamentally on foreign policy. But it still constrains us. So let me close by saying:

"Where is Gerald Ford when we need him?"

Thank you.

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Rich DeVos welcomes the National Constitution Center to the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum.

*“Celebration of Collaboration”
Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation Welcomes
the National Constitution Center
July 12, 2012*

Located on Independence Mall in Philadelphia, the National Constitution Center brings the U.S. Constitution to life for the whole family through multimedia exhibitions, live performances, timely public programs and dynamic education resources. As America's first and only nonpartisan, nonprofit institution devoted to the Constitution, the Center illuminates constitutional ideals and inspires acts of citizenship. The center contains 75,785 square feet of exhibit space that includes “The Story of We the People” - the permanent exhibit in DeVos Hall which includes a 350-seat star-shaped theater featuring “**Freedom Rising**” a multimedia production combining film, live actors, and video projection on a 360-degree screen.

On July 12th the Board of Trustees of the National Constitution Center (NCC) met at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum for an evening hosted by Rich DeVos and Doug DeVos. Rich DeVos serves on the Board of Trustees for the NCC as well as Honorary Trustee of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation. Doug DeVos is Chairman of the Executive Committee for the NCC as well as Trustee of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation. The evening included a reception, dinner and special showing of the traveling version of “**Freedom Rising**” and a presentation by historian Richard Norton Smith.

Rich DeVos welcomed the attendees:

“To our Philadelphia guests – welcome! Grand Rapids is a little mid-America town that has grown up to become a very nice successful city. It’s the kind of town you would like to see everywhere across our land. But these are the cities that make our country what it is. And so to have you here and to get you out of Philadelphia, at least for a while, and to show you the rest of the world is pretty nice (laughter).

So this is a town that emerged. And it emerged primarily because a couple of companies in this town decided to make it emerge. I was involved - once upon a time - in helping to find support for a music hall. We did, and we built a music hall. That got us involved. Then they built a large convention center, and they needed a hotel. So I went around to all the big hotels. And they said, “No, we don’t build hotels in towns like that.” So my partner and I said, “Ok; we will buy the old hotel downtown and fix it up.” They said, “Well, for \$6 million you can do that.” \$22 million dollars later we finished with that old hotel and rehab! We still had to build a 30-story tower next to it, which we did also. You know it’s the kind of town that you are honored to spend your money in because of the people who live here. This is a town that you would like America to be. This is the typical American town or it should be. Anyway, we got another hotel built,

the JW Marriott, and tomorrow you will be at the Amway Grand Plaza.

We got to know President Clinton through our association with the National Constitution Center. I gave him a copy of my book, and he said he liked it. It was the proper thing for him to say (laughter). I asked him if he would write an endorsement of my book because I would like to put a copy in all of my hotel rooms. We have a total of about 1200 hotel rooms here. So he wrote a nice endorsement, and we put the books in all of our hotel rooms. The first shock was that President Clinton would do that for me - we are not exactly on the same political team (laughter). But, you know, he and I are getting to be on the same team, and as we have met more of you from Philadelphia, we realize more and more we are all on the same team.

We all have a big concern for this country and its survival and its ability to help everybody have the opportunity that we have had. We grew up as a couple of regular kids (my partner and I) in this town, not from wealthy families. We wanted to have a business of our own; that was all. So we started a simple business which turned into a worldwide business. That is the whole hope and dream of America, isn’t it? It is a dream that could only be imagined;

but it happened here and we, Helen and I, and our family thank the Lord for our blessings. There is no way to explain to us as citizens of this town how this happened. So to have you here, to share this with us, I hope will strengthen your faith in the Constitution because the Constitution is what we are all about. And here you see the evidence of it.

So let’s carry on our good work at the National Constitution Center. The Constitution Center cannot fail. It must go forward and it must succeed in a dynamic way. Let’s continue to work on it.

Thank you for coming to our little town of Grand Rapids.”



Actors from the National Constitution Center (NCC) perform “Freedom Rising” at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum during a “Celebration of Collaboration” between the NCC and the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation on July 12.

Photos courtesy of Dr. Robert M. Humphries

*Lecture of Richard Norton Smith
at the
Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum,
July 12, 2012*

Thank you Susan (Ford Bales). It's hard to believe that a year has passed since we gathered here to say goodbye to Betty Ford and to try, however imperfectly, to convey our appreciation for her extraordinary contributions to all of us. Lest we forget - Mrs. Ford had her own constitutional issues. Some of you may remember she wanted to amend the document to add the Equal Rights Amendment, first proposed in 1923. Congress being Congress, lawmakers got around to passing it in 1972. Mrs. Ford made it her cause, and she came within three states of the necessary three-quarters to ratify. Interestingly, critics of the Equal Rights Amendment warned that if it passed we could expect unisex bathrooms, demands for women in combat and calls for same sex marriage. They didn't say what would happen if it didn't pass!

It is also a great honor to see everyone here associated with the Constitution Center. It is a world class facility which happens to be located in the heart of Independence Mall in Philadelphia, but which is, like the document that it celebrates, global and timeless in its outreach. We are here to celebrate what British Prime Minister William Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." In talking to Marty Allen earlier today, he reminded me of another British Prime Minister, James Callaghan who, wanting to know the place that shaped his dear friend Gerald Ford, paid a visit to Grand Rapids.



Doug DeVos

It's hard to imagine two men from more different backgrounds or more contrasting political outlooks than President Ford and Sunny Jim Callaghan (as he was known) - a classic, old line socialist, and Labor Prime Minister. And yet the differences between them vanished when they were in the same room. They became the dearest of friends. It reminds me again, isn't it unfortunate that we have more elder statesmen than statesmen!

At the beginning of the 1974 holiday season, the President of the United States greeted White House visitors by comparing himself to the official Christmas tree, a great Ornamental Spruce that dominated the Blue Room. "We are both from Michigan," said Gerald Ford, "and neither one of us expected to spend Christmas in the White House." Places shape people, the American heartland no less than the City of Brotherly Love. Here in the Midwest, pragmatism is a virtue, and the search for common ground is seen as a sign of strength, not weakness. In the words of the late great Everett Dirksen of Illinois, "I am a man of fixed and unbending principles, and one of my principles is flexibility." As the other half of Capitol Hill's long running Ev and Jerry show, Gerald Ford felt much the same. "It's ok for you to be an advocate," he told one White House staffer, "but you can not be a zealot." There was nothing casual about the remark. After all, Ford and his generation had paid a high price for a world full of zealots and demonizers.

Places shape people, and this place prepared Gerald Ford for the greatest constitutional crisis since the Civil War. The Constitution says you have to be thirty-five, native born, and a resident of the United States for 14 years or more to serve as president. It says nothing about IQ or political skills or communications ability. It is silent concerning legislative craftsmanship or that all purpose resume buster: "works well with others." I've always thought that one qualification, perhaps hard to quantify, but impossible to miss, is being grounded in character; indeed it is being grounded. It's knowing who you are, where you come from, what you believe, what principle, if any, is more important



Richard Norton Smith

to you than winning an election, and to where inevitably one day you will return.

If Gerald Ford wasn't already grounded enough, he had Betty Ford to complete the process. Seeing Rich (DeVos) here and looking out on this city that the DeVos and Van Andel families, among others, have done so much to transform reminds me of the old Pantlind Hotel whose transformation was a metaphor for the rebirth of Grand Rapids itself. For the dedication the Fords came back, as was their habit, to celebrate. In the course of the program, it was explained how the Pantlind was built in 1913 and how it had undergone an extensive and (according to Rich) expensive process of rehabilitation. At which point Betty Ford classically leans over to her husband and says: "You were born in 1913; maybe you could use a little rehabilitation!"

On the night before he became President, Gerald Ford held his wife's hand. Together they repeated words that he had learned in a Grand Rapids Sunday School half a century earlier: "Trust in the LORD with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths." Often in times of trial, Ford had turned to those lines from the book of Proverbs. They had consoled him after the adolescent discovery that his step-father was not his birth father. During World War II they had steadied a young gunnery officer inches from death aboard a lurching aircraft carrier in the Philippine Sea.

It was a different kind of tempest that confronted the nation's only appointed Vice President as he faced the prospect of becoming its only unelected President. To find historical parallels one must imagine the disintegrating Union over which Abraham Lincoln nominally presided in 1861, or the crisis of confidence in democratic capitalism that confronted Franklin Roosevelt in March 1933. However daunting their tasks Lincoln and Roosevelt had at least



(l-r) Steve Ford, NCC Trustee Dikembe Mutombo and Susan Ford Bales at "Celebration of Collaboration" Dinner.

taken office with the sanction of the ballot box to legitimize their efforts. Gerald Ford lacked any such capital on which to draw. To govern a nation economically adrift, roiled by political scandal, and ravaged by years of cultural upheaval and official mendacity, he had only the 25th Amendment to the Constitution to add to the support of Michigan's 5th Congressional District.

As Susan has suggested, he in fact might be the most constitutionally minded of all America's presidents - beginning with the 25th Amendment that he supported in the wake of the Kennedy assassination, little knowing that he would become its first beneficiary. Under that amendment, of course, the president is empowered, with the approval of both houses of Congress, to fill a Vice Presidential vacancy. Now it is no secret that Gerald Ford was not Richard Nixon's first choice for the Vice Presidency. When Spiro Agnew resigned, there is little doubt that President Nixon would have picked John Connally if he thought he could be confirmed.

Years later Nixon allowed that there were three people in the world who really understood power. He said, "I'm one, John Connally is the second, and I suppose Nelson Rockefeller is the third." For all that, John Connally was never going to be Vice President, not in 1973

anyway. Senator Byrd of West Virginia informed the White House liaison that there would be blood on the floor of the Senate if such a nomination was sent up. Carl Albert and Mike Mansfield spoke for more than their fellow Democrats when making it clear there was only one man who could be confirmed in the white-hot political climate that followed the Agnew resignation.

And it wasn't just because they liked Gerald Ford. It's because they knew Gerald Ford and trusted him. I think it was his second term - he's told one day to be outside a committee room door at such and such a time. Nothing more. He shows up; it turns out that the Old Bulls in charge of overseeing the nation's intelligence oversight had decided to bring Ford in as a member of the next generation in whom they had confidence. There were no staff in these sessions; there were no notes taken. Five people sat in a room with the head of the CIA or whatever other intelligence agency, one after another, and they remained until every single question had been answered. They knew there would never be a leak; and there never was. That gives you some idea why a generation later Gerald Ford was the only confirmable choice for the Vice Presidency.

The day after he, along with his family, was somewhat abruptly introduced to the nation in the East Room of the White House, Ford acted very much in character. Without fanfare or entourage, the Vice President-designate flew home to Cedar Springs, Michigan, self-professed red flannel manufacturing capital of the world, to march in the annual Red Flannel Day Parade. It was a telling gesture. Wherever he might be headed, Gerald Ford had no intention of forgetting where he came from. He was grounded.

Further evidence of this, if needed, came from the most exhaustive investigation ever made by the FBI. Three hundred and fifty agents talked to a thousand people. And the worst they could come up with - and it really steamed President Ford - they found someone from a high school football game whom he had hit after the whistle sounded! That was the worst offense that they could find in Gerald Ford's sixty plus years.

Few who witnessed the sight of Richard Nixon silhouetted against the chopper door, arms thrust skyward in a bizarre reenactment of Churchill's V for victory, will ever forget it. The new President's best moments, by contrast, often came

off-camera, beginning with the quiet reassurance he offered his wife as they made their way back into the White House and a hastily improvised inauguration, "We can do it," he whispered into her ear. If his words that day were pitch-perfect, his instincts remained Grand Rapids modest. Only the strenuous objections of its author, Bob Hartmann, dissuaded the new President from excising the most memorable line of his eight-minute inaugural address, and thereby diluting the contrast between himself and his disgraced predecessor. "Our long national nightmare is over" remained in the text. "Our Constitution works, our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher power," he added, "by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy. As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the Golden Rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate."

Forty years later those words are more relevant than ever. The new president paid tribute to the Constitution four times in the course of his eight minutes. We didn't know it at the time (I'm not sure he knew it at the time) but he was in fact laying the groundwork to exercise the pardon power in Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution. There is a story about a White House steward who hastened to wipe a floor soiled by the family's new golden retriever, Liberty, at which point the President waved him. "No man should have to clean up after another man's dog" he said before tending to the mess himself. And yet that was exactly the role that history assigned to Gerald Ford.

At his first White House press conference on August 28, the new President was besieged with questions about his predecessor, the custody of his papers and tapes, and his chances to avoid legal prosecution.



(l-r) Hank Meijer and Dick Ford.

The feeding frenzy confirmed a suspicion fast hardening into certainty, that yesterday's man threatened to swamp the Ford Presidency before it ever left the dock. Privately, Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski told the White House that it might well take two years before Nixon saw the inside of a courtroom assuming, that is, he could ever get a fair trial. Discussion of a possible presidential pardon led to acrimonious exchanges in the Oval Office. Ford testily rejected warnings of the political consequences. "Damn it" he said, "I don't need the polls to tell me whether I'm right or wrong. Too many decisions have been made in that room based on politics" he grumbled.

This didn't prevent historians or journalists, then or later, from debating his motives and methods. It was characteristic that when faced with the most critical decision of his presidency Ford didn't take a poll; he said a prayer. The streets around the White House were deserted on Sunday morning September 8 when he slipped across Lafayette Square to take communion at St. Johns Church. Returning to the Oval Office, he affixed his signature to a document immunizing his predecessor from prosecution from any Watergate related offense.

"It is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country. As President my primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States whose servant I am. As a man my first consideration is to be true to my own convictions and my own conscience. My conscience tells me that only I as President have the constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book."

That is the voice of Grand Rapids. Those are the values of a man who was grounded. The Nixon pardon, needless to say, unleashed a storm of anger reminiscent of the calls for impeachment touched off by Harry Truman's decision to fire General Douglas McArthur a quarter century earlier. "I fired McArthur because he wouldn't respect the authority of the President" explained Harry Truman. "I didn't fire him because he was a dumb son of a bitch," hastening to add "although he was." The pardon opened the door to a constitutional tug of war that consumed the rest of the Ford presidency. For example, Gerald Ford was to rely heavily on the veto power hotly debated in Philadelphia. Some at the convention argued on behalf of an absolute veto, a bridge too far for most delegates. That was defeated 12 to nothing. Then, by a vote of 8 to 2, the states agreed on a modified negative, the veto as you and I now know it.

President Ford did not hesitate to use it – frequently – particularly after the 1974 elections that left him with almost no other tools to control federal spending. Only three American presidents used the veto with greater frequency than Gerald Ford. On average, Ford issued 26 vetoes a year, 66 in all, of which he managed to sustain 54. Eighty percent – not bad when you have a 2/3 opposition Congress. The aforementioned Harry Truman vetoed 31 bills a year. FDR vetoed 53. The winner (and probably all time champion) was Grover Cleveland, who vetoed 73 bills annually, and who had a particularly rocky relationship with the body that calls itself the world's greatest deliberative body. The story is still told about one night in the White House when his young bride was awoken and she said "Grover, I hear something. There are thieves in the house." To which Cleveland is said to have replied, "No my dear; there are thieves in the Senate, not the House."

The great irony of Gerald Ford's presidency was that this man, proud to call himself a child of Capitol Hill, who found himself pitch-forked into the White House, was set upon by his former colleagues over their interpretation of the Constitution, in particular Executive vs. Legislative power. Case in point: The War Powers Act was passed over Richard Nixon's veto. But it was Gerald Ford who was left to deal with the political consequences of a debate originally staged in the Constitutional Convention. There Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina objected to the language giving Congress the power to "make war". "Its proceedings are too slow," he said. Moreover, "the House of Representatives would be too numerous for such deliberation." Mr. Butler of South Carolina agreed. Mr. Madison of Virginia rewrote the clause. Instead of the power to make war, Congress was explicitly given the power to declare war. And the Executive was empowered to repel attacks.

Here is what President Ford had to say about the War Powers Act: "The brilliant system of checks and balances which our founding fathers devised was not meant to breed constant paralyzing confrontation between the President and Congress of the United States. The War Powers Bill seeks by simple legislation to codify the military powers of the President, spelling out exactly what he can and cannot do and how and under what circumstances to defend the United States and its citizens from international danger. The resolution also grants to the Congress powers which tend to make it superior to the Executive Branch. As in the provision that Congress may order the withdrawal of troops within 60 days by a concurrent resolution not subject to presidential veto.

Furthermore the resolution requires consultation with Congress in military emergencies. No president with common sense would dream of neglecting this aspect of his obligation. But can it be mandated by law and what does it mean? Finally there is a question of how closely this resolution would involve the Congress in the actual execution as opposed to the general direction of foreign policy particularly in times of crisis. Does the consultation provision require the approval of the Congress before Executive action is taken? What if the President and Congress disagree? Which of these separate but equal powers would prevail in such a confrontation?"

This was no mere theory for President Ford. Six times in his presidency military action was taken involving the War Powers Act. That included the evacuation of US citizens and refugees from De Nang, Phnom Penh and Saigon; the rescue of the Mayaguez and two evacuation operations in Lebanon in June of 1976. Again, hear President Ford's words describing the practical consequences of the War Powers Act: "When the evacuation of De Nang was forced upon us, during the Congress' Easter recess, not one of the key bipartisan leaders of the Congress was in Washington. Without mentioning names here is where we found the leaders of Congress; two were in Mexico, three were in Greece, one was in the Middle East, one was in Europe and two were in the Peoples Republic of China. The rest we found in 12 widely scattered States of the Union. This one, one might say, is an unfair example since the Congress was in recess. But it must be remembered that critical world events, especially military operations, seldom wait for the Congress to meet. In fact most of what goes on in the world happens in the middle of the night, Washington time."



(l-r) Archivist of the United States David Ferriero and Elaine Didier, Director of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum.

And what of the emergency operation to evacuate Americans from Lebanon? "On June 18, 1976, we began the first evacuation of American citizens from the civil war in Lebanon," wrote the President. "The Congress was not in recess but it had adjourned for the day. As telephone calls were made we discovered among other things that one member of Congress had an unlisted number which his press secretary refused to divulge. After trying and failing to reach another member of Congress we were told by his assistant that the Congressman did not need to be reached. We tried so hard to reach a third member of Congress that our resourceful White House operators had the local police leave a note on the Congressman's beach cottage door, 'please call the White House'."

This wasn't the end of the presidential-legislative tug of war. There were breast-beating attempts on Capitol Hill to link trade to human rights abuses. The President had a clear cut understanding that would have let 55,000 Jews a year leave the repression of Leonid Brezhnev's Soviet Union. And then something called the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was passed. It made for a great headline. It may have advanced Senator Jackson's presidential campaign. But it didn't do anything for the 55,000 Soviet Jews who were no longer able to emigrate. That same fall lawmakers eliminated funding for pro-Western forces locked in combat with Cuban mercenaries in Angola.

And yet, long before his term ended, Gerald Ford knew that the United States had turned

the corner. We had been through the worst in Southeast Asia. Weeks after the fall of Saigon, Ford was in the Middle East talking to Anwar Sadat and laying the groundwork for as much of a lasting peace as could be achieved in that mercurial corner of the world. Then came the Helsinki Accords, widely unpopular at the time, now recognized as a critical milestone en route to the end of the Cold War.

Finally, there was the Nation's Bicentennial. That it turned into a genuine celebration of a country and a Constitution that had come through extraordinary tests, was due in no small measure to this seemingly ordinary man from West Michigan. "Our founding fathers knew their Bibles as well as their Blackstone," President Ford said outside Independence Hall on that memorable Fourth. "They boldly reversed the age old political theory that kings derive their powers from God and asserted that both powers and unalienable rights belong to the people as direct endowments from their creator. Furthermore, they declared that governments are instituted among men to secure their rights and to serve their purposes and governments continue only so long as they have the consent of the governed."

What he called "this union of corrected wrongs and expanded rights" owes much to a Constitution as dynamic as the society that it governs. "The world may or may not follow," the President reminded us, "but we lead because our



(l-r) Foundation Chairman Steve Ford, NCC Trustee Steve Galbraith, NCC Trustee Larry Kent and NCC Executive Committee Chairman and Foundation Trustee Doug DeVos at reception prior to National Constitution Center dinner.

whole history says we must. Liberty is for all men and women as a matter of equal and unalienable right. The establishment of justice and peace abroad will in large measure depend upon the peace and justice we create here in our own country where we still show the way. The American Adventure began here with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence. It continues in a common conviction that the source of our blessings is a loving God in whom we trust."

That was the voice of Grand Rapids. That was the vision of a man grounded in this place and its values. And that, I would submit, has at the heart of a nation that is nothing if not a perpetual work in progress. "Indeed a nation," said Gerald Ford, "that has never become, but is forever in the act of becoming."

Thank you.



Congratulations Elizabeth!

2012 Gerald R. Ford Memorial Scholarship Awarded to Elizabeth Overbeek

Elizabeth Overbeek of Hamilton, Michigan has been chosen as the 2012 recipient for Davenport University's most prestigious scholarship, the Gerald R. Ford Memorial Scholarship. The scholarship honors President Ford, who once served as an instructor and assistant football coach at what would later become Davenport University. The scholarship is presented annually to a highly distinguished student pursuing a four-year degree on the university's W. A. Lettinga campus in Grand Rapids. In her future at Davenport University, Elizabeth plans to study Nursing in the College of Health Professions.

Elizabeth is a graduate of Hamilton High School, where she graduated with a GPA of 3.99 as a member of the National Honors Society. Elizabeth was on the volleyball, basketball, and softball teams all four years of high school and ran cross country in her senior year. She also participated in Students Assisting Students Anonymously (SASA), a group that provided toiletries, clothes and other necessities to less fortunate students in the Hamilton School District. The full scholarship includes tuition, room and board, study abroad, and fees and books for four years. Selection criteria include the highest academic qualifications of any Davenport University scholarship, including a high school CGPA of 3.75 and ACT score of 31. Applicants are also required to write an essay conveying how they will uphold the values and character of President Ford.

25th Annual Gerald R. Ford Prize for Reporting in 2011

June 4, 2012

On June 4 the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation proudly announced the Recipients for the 25th annual Gerald R. Ford Prize for Reporting in 2011. This year, the awards were presented by Steve Ford, son of the late President Gerald R. Ford and Chairman of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation, at a National Press Club luncheon in June. MSNBC's Chris Matthews was the featured speaker at this year's luncheon. Matthews was the spokesman for Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill during the Carter and Reagan administrations. He moved into journalism in the late 1980s, as the Washington Bureau Chief for the *San Francisco Examiner*. He has worked for NBC since 1994.



Scott Wilson, White House correspondent for *The Washington Post*, receives the 2011 Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency from Chris Matthews (left) and Steve Ford (center).

Scott Wilson, White House correspondent for *The Washington Post*, won the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency. The \$5,000 award recognizes journalists whose high standards for accuracy and substance help foster a better public understanding of the Presidency. When announcing their decision to award Scott Wilson this year's award, the judges issued the following statement:

"Wilson is able to write critically without being offensive or partisan. He reaches out broadly to sources both inside and outside the White House, yielding an even-handed perspective on the performance and results of the Obama presidency. He is equally at home with domestic and foreign policy, politics, and personalities. Wilson is adept at spotting a trend and explaining it and his reportage frequently becomes the instantly-accepted wisdom in Washington. Scott Wilson writes for the serious reader, and consistently meets that reader's expectations. In every respect, the judges found his reporting on the presidency in 2011 outstanding."

Corinne Reilly who reports on military affairs for *The Virginian-Pilot*, won the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. The \$5,000 award recognizes journalists whose high standards for accuracy and substance help foster a better public understanding of National Defense. When announcing their decision to award Corinne Reilly this year's award the judges issued the following statement:

"From this remarkable group of entries, the judges have selected Corinne Reilly from The Virginian-Pilot for the 2011 Gerald Ford Award for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. Ms. Reilly's poignant writing, which covered the NATO combat hospital in Kandahar, Afghanistan, was at once horrifying and riveting. None of the judges could put her work down once they started reading it."

The judges were impressed with the clarity of Ms. Reilly's writing. Her straightforward, conversational style – largely without the flourish of adjectives – was nonetheless powerful and profoundly moving. The judging panel felt that her work helped foster better understanding of national defense issues and more than admirably met the Foundation's criteria for quality, insightfulness, resourcefulness and brevity."



Corinne Reilly (center), Military Affairs Reporter for *The Virginian-Pilot*, is the 2011 recipient of the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. Chris Matthews (left) was the keynote speaker for the awards luncheon along with Steve Ford.

Sean Naylor staff writer for *Army Times* won Honorable Mention for the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. When announcing their decision to award Sean Naylor the Honorable Mention, the judges issued the following statement:

"For Honorable Mention, the judges selected Sean Naylor from Army Times. The panel felt that Mr. Naylor's articles provided prescient insights into a volatile, dangerous and strategically critical part of the world. His in-depth research, excellent sources and ability to connect the dots provided important information on an area that has to date received relatively little attention in the press."

The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation sponsors the Gerald R. Ford Journalism Prizes for Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency and Distinguished Reporting on National Defense to recognize and encourage thoughtful, insightful, and enterprising work by journalists covering the presidency and national defense. The Foundation is a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan corporation whose programs are supported entirely by contributions and bequests in an effort to honor President Ford's sustained commitment to public service.



(l-r) Mike Ford, Susan Ford Bales, Sean Naylor (Army Times), Chris Matthews and Steve Ford.

*The President Gerald R. Ford
Energy Lecture Series*

presented by **VARNUM**
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

“Alternative Energy - A National Security Perspective”

Lt. General Richard Zilmer (Ret.) spoke on August 16, 2012 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum as part of the President Gerald R. Ford Energy Series presented by Varnum. Zilmer spoke on the nexus between national defense and our dependence on foreign oil, as well as alternative energy sources. Zilmer is a member of CNA’s Military Advisory Board that concluded a 30% reduction in domestic energy consumption would significantly improve our national defense.



(l-r) Varnum Law Partner Bruce Goodman and Lieutenant General Zilmer (Ret).

**Steve Ford Visits Jenison Michigan
High School Football Team’s Leadership Council**

On June 8, Steve Ford made a guest appearance to speak with the Jenison Michigan High School Football Team’s Leadership Council. The Council is made up of the team’s top leader’s both on and off the field and has become a model for other programs across the State. Steve discussed the values, character and integrity that President Ford stood for and used the President’s football career including the Willis Ward story to emphasize the key points of his message. Steve also shared many great stories with the team about his own football career, living in the White House, on the campaign trail for his dad, his acting career, and other personal experiences that have taught him the benefits of living a life of high character and integrity.

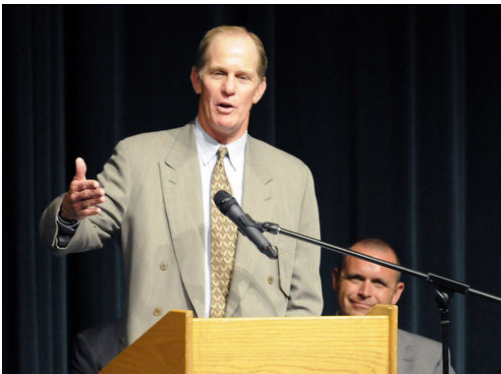
Trustee David Hoogendoorn’s son, Garrett, is a member of the football team’s leadership council and Trustee John Baab’s son, Stephen, is a top administrator in the school system.



Steve Ford (center) visits with the Leadership Council from Jenison High School Football Team.

**Steve Ford is Surprise Guest Speaker at 150th Commencement -
Grand Rapids Central High School’s Final Graduating Class**

On June 9, 2012 Steve Ford was the surprise guest speaker at the final graduating class of Central High School in Grand Rapids. Steve encouraged the graduates to look forward and not be broken down by their personal struggles. “Your life will not be dictated by your circumstances, it will be dictated by your character,” said Ford. Betty Ford was a graduate of Central High and attended from 1932 to 1936. Recently, the school auditorium was dedicated in her honor. The renaming of the auditorium was part of the school’s 150th Anniversary celebration.



Steve Ford at Central High School Commencement.

2012 Meijer Great Choices Student Film Festival Awards



More than \$20,000 in prize money was handed out to 17 Michigan high school students on Saturday, June 9, 2012 at the Meijer Great Choices Student Film Festival award presentation held at Celebration Cinema North, in Grand Rapids. The awards featured special guest speaker Steve Ford, Chairman of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation. The film festival encourages Michigan youth to become personally engaged in promoting three challenges of our future: Building Character, Celebrating Diversity, and Promoting Health Lifestyles, by producing 30-second public service announcements. The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation is the Legacy Partner of Building Character. When asked one name to describe character, people often give the name of President Gerald R. Ford. Over the course of his life, whether as a U of M football player or as President of the United States, he often stood alone with his decisions that were made from his inner sense of personal integrity and character. President Ford not only demonstrated character, but courage.





Geir Gundersen Named New Supervisory Archivist

It is a great pleasure to announce that Geir Gundersen has been selected as the new Supervisory Archivist for the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, effective July 29, 2012. He replaces David Horrocks, who retired at the end of June, after a stellar 40 year career with NARA, the last 35 of which were as Supervisory Archivist at the Ford Library.

Geir has been with the National Archives since 1988 and at the Ford Library since 1989. He has worn many hats over the years, so has a broad knowledge of all of the library's program areas, which is a great asset as we face the challenges ahead. He has also been very involved in our efforts to add exhibits and expand public programs. In recent years, he has been the de facto team leader of our declassification efforts, making great strides in addressing backlogs and streamlining procedures.

Please join me in congratulating Geir! I am looking forward to working with him in this new leadership position. He is already off to a great start! ~ Elaine K. Didier, Director of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum.

Upcoming Exhibit: Grand Rapids

Pro Football and the American Spirit

October 10, 2012 - January 6, 2013

A popular exhibit that has traveled the country tells the story of professional football players and personnel who served our nation in the armed forces from World War II to Desert Storm to the conflict in Afghanistan.

Exhibit artifacts include Hall of Famer Art Donovan's Marine uniform, the career medals of General Ernest Cheatham, pro football's highest ranking former player and Pat Tillman's Army Ranger uniform, and many other significant moments from the Hall of Fame's vast collection.



Yes, I want to be a member of "Friends of Ford"

Become a member of Friends of Ford and help support the Library & Museum's many exhibits and programs. Join us as we seek to enhance public understanding of American history, government and the presidency.



As a member of Friends of Ford you are invited to participate in many special Library and Museum activities that are not open to the general public.

Members of Friends of Ford receive many valuable benefits:

- ★ Free admission to the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum
- ★ Advance notification of speakers and exhibits at both the Library and Museum
- ★ Invitation to pre-opening exhibit tours by staff members
- ★ Foundation Newsletter, "News From The Ford"
- ★ 10% Discount on merchandise at the Museum Store
- ★ Free admission to other Presidential Libraries and Museums
- ★ Membership card
- ★ Members at the Family, Associate, Sustaining, Patron, President's Cabinet and Legacy membership levels receive additional benefits.

For further information, please contact Chelsea Knauf at 616.254.0396 or email cknauf@38foundation.org. Attached is an application envelope for your convenience. Memberships are tax deductible to the limits allowed by the IRS. The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation is a tax-exempt 501(C) 3 organization.



Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation

303 Pearl Street, NW

Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504-5353



We Look Forward to Seeing You!

Upcoming Events:

John J. Miller - *What if They Banned Football?*

Ann Arbor: Monday, October 15, 2012 at 7:30 pm

John J. Miller, author of *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football*, will share the intriguing, never-before-fully-told story of how Theodore Roosevelt helped to save the game that would become America's most popular sport. Based on extensive research, Miller's story is about college football in its infancy and the culture clash it inspired. It's about a vibrant cast of characters, and presidential foresight that set the game on a path to thrive these 142 years.

Rocky Bleier, Former Pittsburgh Steelers Running Back - Opening program for *Pro Football and the American Spirit* Exhibit.

Grand Rapids: Tuesday, October 23, 2012 at 7:00 pm

Hear Rocky Bleier tell his story - a gripping tale of courage on both the football fields of America and the battle fields of Vietnam. A Pittsburgh Steelers running back, Rocky takes audiences from his early years through his professional career and talks about the lessons he learned along the way...lessons that we all can benefit from. To make reservations call (616) 254-0394 or email: ford_events@nara.gov.

Ira Shapiro, Author, *The Last Great Senate: Courage and Statesmanship in Times of Crisis*

Ann Arbor: Thursday, October 25, 2012 at 7:30 pm

Discussion format: Ira Shapiro and Senator Carl Levin (Senator Levin to confirm)

This is the story of the final years of the last great Senate. For nearly twenty years, from 1963 through 1980, the Senate occupied a special place in America. It was a turbulent period in our country's history, marked by war, assassination, political scandal, violence and civil unrest. In that troubled time, the Senate provided ballast, gravitas and bipartisan leadership for America. The lessons of the last great Senate provide a model for the Senate and our political leaders.



Sasha Issenberg, Author, *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns*

Ann Arbor: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 at 7:30 pm

Sasha Issenberg presents the untold story of the analytical revolution upending the way political campaigns are run in the 21st century. *The Victory Lab* follows the maverick operatives and academics now calling the shots in some of the war rooms, in the process transforming the highest-stakes industry in the country. Armed with research from behavioral psychology, data-mining, and randomized experiments that treat voters as unwitting guinea pigs, the smartest campaigns now believe they know who you will vote for even before you do.



Holiday Open House - Grand Rapids: Sunday, December 2, 2012; 1:00 pm - 5:00 pm

The annual favorite will feature a visit from Santa and Mrs. Claus, holiday music, and storytelling for children. Admission will be free from 1:00 pm to 5:00 pm. No reservations required.

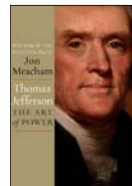
Annual Tree Lighting Ceremony; Grand Rapids: Thursday, December 6, 2012; 7:00 pm - 9:00 pm

Join in the fun as the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum and special guest **SUSAN FORD BALES** lights up the Grand with its annual holiday display of trees and twinkling lights. A sing-along, refreshments, and free admission will be included in the festivities. No reservations required.

Jon Meacham Luncheon and Book Signing: Author of *Thomas Jefferson: The Art of Power*

Grand Rapids - GVSU Eberhard Center: Friday, December 7, 2012 at 12:00 pm

Thomas Jefferson, Meacham argues, was a man of genius and contradiction, embodying both the promise and the shortcomings of the American experiment. Here is an intimate portrait of Jefferson the human being and the politician, a Renaissance figure who led a nation through ferocious partisanship and cultural warfare in an age of economic change and external threat. Philosophers think; politicians maneuver. Meacham concludes that Jefferson's genius was that he was both and could do both, often simultaneously. Such is the art of power. To make a reservation email: events@38foundation.org or call 616-254-0396. Cost \$35; includes autographed book and lunch.



Visit our website www.geraldrfordfoundation.org

or follow us on Facebook

for up-to-date event information.



www.facebook.com/geraldrford



The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation fosters increased awareness of the life, career, values and legacy of America's 38th President. It does so through activities designed to promote the high ideals of integrity, honesty, and candor that defined President Ford's extraordinary career of public service. The Foundation promotes the ideals, values, commitment to public service and historical legacy of President Gerald R. Ford and further promotes greater civic engagement and recognition of integrity wherever it exists in the public arena. It supports permanent and changing exhibits designed to promote historical literacy; conferences; educational outreach and other programs, both scholarly and popular, including at the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum. Inquiries regarding contributions should be addressed to Joe Calvaruso, Executive Director, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation, 303 Pearl Street, NW, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504-5353.