

NEWS FROM THE FORD

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE GERALD R. FORD FOUNDATION

April 2009



President Ford's Legacy in Bronze

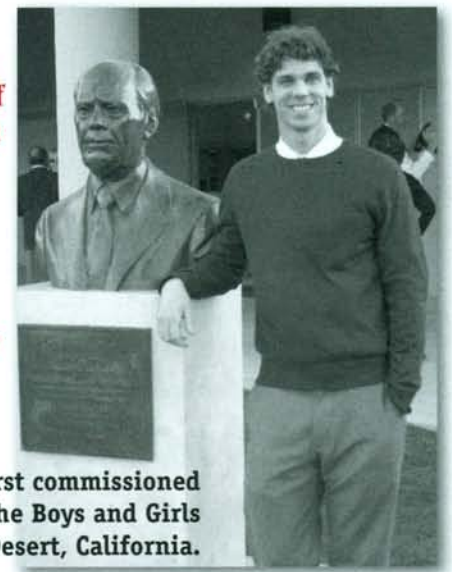


Marc Glassman Photo

"Portraiture should be more than a simple likeness. That's why my research had to involve more than just the study of photos. I had to try to understand how an intangible like humility or dignity might be reflected in posture and movement. Occasionally a photograph will, by chance, capture a glimpse of these elements, but you have to look hard to find it. You have to know what to look for before you begin."

—Brett Grill

Brett Grill, shown here with his first commissioned bronze of President Ford, at the Boys and Girls Club of Coachella Valley in Palm Desert, California.



Marc Glassman Photo

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation has selected sculptor Brett Grill to create the Gerald R. Ford statue for the U.S. Capitol Rotunda. A western Michigan native, Grill is an art professor at the University of Missouri. "I grew up with the story of the Ford presidency. It's West Michigan lore, written on the city's buildings, its highways, and its institutions."

Grill, 29, rose to the top of the list of 11 sculptors screened by a Foundation committee. Committee member Steve Ford remarked "He captured the essence of Dad. He spoke about Dad's service, those things that are the spirit of who Dad was. It was in his blood to do public service, but he never sought the office of president." Project coordinator Joseph Becherer noted "There's a difference between a physical likeness and a physical likeness that possess much of the life or spirit of the person....For Brett, what he did was present the president moving forward—not in a dramatic way—but rising to the occasion of the presidency."

In researching his subject Grill read biographies of President Ford and made a personal visit to the Library to view photographs and video footage of President Ford, taking away reproductions for further reference. He cites the eulogies of President George W. Bush, former President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Dick Cheney as particularly useful background sources of information. In total, he made more than 25 small-scale clay models in different poses seeking the one that would best express "leadership with humility." Photos of the statue will not be released until its dedication.

A bronze sculpture of Gerald Ford as an Eagle Scout by renown American realist sculptor Charles Parks memorializes another aspect of President Ford's legacy. The statue was placed in the Museum lobby last October by the Gerald R. Ford Council of the Boy Scouts of America in Grand Rapids, where the original cast stands.

"My early years as a Boy Scout were invaluable in helping to shape the course of my later life. The three great principles which Scouting encourages — self-discipline, teamwork and moral and patriotic values—are the building blocks of character. By working for these principles, those who belong to and support the Boy Scouts of America add greatly to the vitality of our society and to the future well-being of its people."

—President Gerald R. Ford

Remembering the Legacy...
Preserving the Future



Courtesy Gerald R. Ford Council

**GERALD R. FORD COUNCIL
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA**

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Foundation Appoints a New Executive Director

Last December the Executive Committee appointed Joe Calvaruso as the Foundation's Executive Director. "We are pleased to have found someone with a combination of leadership and administrative experience that allows the Foundation to build on our organization's already sound and vibrant base," noted Chairman Jack Ford.

Chairman Emeritus Marty Allen added "Our discussions with Joe during the search process convinced us that his background and familiarity with the Ford Museum and Library, and the Foundation's mission provided us with the fit we've been seeking." He went on to say that "Joe and his wife Donna are generous contributors to the *Friends of Ford* membership program of the Foundation and both have been active volunteers at our events."

With over 29 years experience in the banking industry, Joe Calvaruso served most recently as Senior Vice President, Director of Risk Management at the Grand Rapids-based Mercantile Bank of Michigan. In addition, he held numerous leadership positions as a member of the Risk Management Association (RMA), including serving four years on the international Board of Directors, and won many achievement awards. He is an Albion College graduate and earned an

Letter from the Foundation Director



I would like to thank the Ford Family and the Board of Trustees for the honor and privilege they have given me to serve as the Executive Director of the Gerald R. Ford Foundation. I'm excited to join the work being done through the Foundation for the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum to advance President Ford's legacy.

My interest in the Presidency and the political process began while I was attending Albion College. I first met President Ford there in the late 1970s, when he was on campus for a speaking engagement. I was one of the fortunate students to have an opportunity to meet him and shake his hand. He inspired my interest in public service and I admired his integrity and commitment to our nation. President Ford became a role model for me as I began my career.

President Ford continues to inspire today's youth as was evident in this year's annual essay competition for West Michigan high school students.

The theme was "Patriotism Today." I was impressed by the enthusiasm and insight of the 18 finalists who were presented with awards during a ceremony at the Museum on President's Day. The top three finalists read their essays to an audience of family, friends, teachers and mentors. The essay contest is one of many programs sponsored by the Foundation that embraces part of our mission to promote the high ideals of integrity, honesty, and candor that defined President Ford's extraordinary career of public service.

Thanks to the Library and Museum volunteers and staff for their dedication and hard work on our programs and events. Your efforts are appreciated as is evident by the great community support and attendance at these programs. Also I would like to thank the *Friends of Ford* and community who make all this possible through your generous contributions and participation. I look forward to meeting many of you at one of our upcoming events.

JOE CALVARUSO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Gerald R. Ford Foundation

MBA in Finance from Western Michigan University.

Over the past eight years Calvaruso served as a coordinator for visits nationally and internationally by members of the Bush administration. Avid political enthusiasts, he and his wife put their bank careers on hold to work on the national advance team of Vice President Dick Cheney's 2004 reelection campaign. For them it was a wonderful opportunity to combine their love of politics and extensive experience in program planning as they helped with rallies, fundraisers and other campaign events.

Calvaruso also serves as Chairman of the Michigan Certified Development Corporation and is on the Visiting Committee at the Gerald R. Ford Institute of Albion College.

Gerald R. Ford Foundation Executive Director Joe Calvaruso with Library and Museum Director Elaine Didier and his wife Donna on his first official visit to the Library in Ann Arbor.



Letter from the Library Director



Now entering my fifth year as director, I am pleased to report that the Ford Library and Museum are thriving by offering outstanding exhibits, superb support for researchers and a steady stream of engaging and thought-provoking programming and educational experiences for all ages. We are delighted with the increasing diversity and size of our audiences as we offer opportunities to interact with nationally renowned authors and journalists, historical interpreters, and experts who help bring our feature exhibits to life.

National Issues Forums, conducted last Fall in collaboration with the Kettering Foundation, led by Trustee David Mathews, were a great success, and brought many first-timers to both the Library and Museum. These facilitated sessions offered citizens and students, experts and lay persons alike the opportunity to examine various solutions to major issues facing our society, and to

discuss and learn in an atmosphere of constructive and civil dialogue. I believe President Ford would have been proud to see the Library and Museum sponsoring these kinds of activities. Be sure to read David Mathews summation on the back cover of this issue.

In November, I was honored to be asked to represent the National Archives as the sole U.S. representative at a symposium in Paris celebrating the 200th anniversary of the installation of the French National Archives at the Palais de Soubise. I was invited to speak as part of a panel on Archives and Citizenship, an appropriate match with the kinds of civic education programs we plan and host at the Library and Museum.

Our collections continue to grow, including last quarter's acquisition of the papers of **Michael H. Moskow**, the recent openings of the Private Journals of Federal Reserve Chairman **Arthur F. Burns**, segments of the papers of Trustee **Rod Hills**, and the audiotape interviews of Trustee **Jim Cannon** conducted with President Ford for his book *Time and Chance*. In addition, to provide increased online access, staff are exploring whether we can enhance our efforts

to digitize the heavily-used **Presidential Memoranda of Conversations**.

We are all delighted to welcome our new Foundation Executive Director, Joe Calvaruso and his wife Donna, who bring new ideas and energy to expand *Friends of Ford* membership and enhance collaboration between the Library and Museum and the Foundation.

Looking ahead, we have a very full schedule of programs planned for the spring and into the summer. We are blessed to have an outstanding staff of museum and archival professionals who manage to balance the exacting requirements of their respective responsibilities with creative approaches and application of new technologies to make our resources more accessible to visitors on-site and via the Internet.

We welcome your comments and suggestions, and look forward to your visit, both in person and on our website!

ELAINE K. DIDIER
DIRECTOR

Gerald R. Ford
Presidential Library and Museum

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS JULY-FEBRUARY

2008 William E. Simon Lecture on Public Affairs: Richard Norton Smith ★ July 13, Grand Rapids

“What Would Jerry Do?”

“...Gerald Ford: the un-elected president who healed a nation; pardoned his successor; and ended an unpopular war.”



Richard Norton Smith's tribute to President Ford's legacy was in conjunction with a wreath-laying memorial ceremony at President Ford's gravesite attended by family, friends, and public alike.



EXCERPT:

“... I submit, that Gerald Ford should be seen—as he was seen by all those youthful mourners who weren't even alive when he debated Jimmy Carter—not as the personification of a single decade, or political party, but as someone whose approach to public life is more relevant today than at any time since he left the White House.

1. Certainly we want a President who is honest. In retrospect, we most admire Harry Truman for his candor and a certain frankness of expression that occasionally found voice in threatening letters to Washington music critics who panned his daughter Margaret's singing. I say in *retrospect* because at the time Truman's actions were seen as decidedly unpresidential. By the same token, no president since has chosen to emulate Gerald Ford's all too honest declaration in the first paragraph of his 1975 State of the Union Address, that “the state of the union is not good.”

Listen to his description, long after the fact, of the resignation of his first White House press secretary, Jerald Ter Horst, hard on the heels of the Nixon pardon. “He felt I had not consulted with him, told him about my decision,” said Ford. “I said that if I had told him, and the press had asked him questions about it, he either had to tell them in advance, which I didn't want done, or tell a lie.”

It is a revealing passage. For public policymakers, the only thing worse than lying to others is lying to yourself. Americans paid a heavy price for official self-deception in Vietnam and Watergate. Gerald Ford resolved to do things differently. In the penultimate days of the Vietnam War, he wanted an on the ground assessment from people he could trust. So he sent his army chief of staff, General Frederick Weyland. Just to be sure, however, he also dispatched his irreverent White House photographer, David Kennerly, whose blunt approach to unpleasant truths might best be summed up in a remark he made to the National Security Council on his return from Saigon. “Well,” said Kennerly, “I have good news and bad news. The good news is the Vietnam War is over. The bad news is we lost.” Every White House needs a Kennerly—even more, it needs a President willing to listen to him.

2. We honor presidents who put the national good ahead of their narrow political interests. We honor them, but we don't always re-elect them. And when President Ford, facing both economic recession *and* a tough re-election campaign, testily informed his advisers, “I'm not going to bankrupt the country to get re-elected,” he effectively refuted the idea that in politics, virtue is its own reward. As the economy spiraled downward near the end of 1974, the President met with a delegation of Michigan lawmakers, auto executives and union leaders. They wanted his support for a \$700 million federal rebate designed to stimulate flagging auto sales. They didn't get it.

3. By the same token, we all want a President with the courage of his convictions, and a vision that reaches beyond the latest Gallup Poll. Half a century after the fact, Dwight Eisenhower is honored for his refusal to panic when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the world's first satellite. At the time, however, there were no such hosannas. To the contrary, Ike was accused of being asleep at the switch, allowing the Russians to open a wholly fictitious missile gap at the expense of Western security.

Fast forward twenty years. New York City teeters on the brink of default. Its leaders plead with the White House for a federal bailout. As with the automakers of his home state, Gerald Ford says no—not so long as taxpayer dollars are being used to prop up a tottering status quo, and a municipal bureaucracy living on borrowed money and borrowed time.

We all know what the immediate reaction was, captured in the famous *Daily News* headline: “*Ford to City: Drop Dead.*” Years later Governor Hugh Carey, the man ultimately forced to address at the state level the consequences of buy now, pay later government, told me, “Jerry Ford has never gotten the credit he deserves for saving New York City from bankruptcy.” In fact, it was Ford's tough-love approach that forced the city to change its spendthrift habits. Without which there could never have occurred the New York renaissance popularly associated with Rudy Giuliani and Mike Bloomberg.

(Continued on page 10)

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS JULY-FEBRUARY

2008 William E. Simon Lecture on Public Affairs: David Broder ★ November 18, Ann Arbor

“2008 Election Retrospective”

“an absolute barn-burner of an election”

EXCERPTS:

Gerald R. Ford: “I’ve covered eleven presidents now and without any qualification I would say the one who was the most genuine and appealing human being of all of the eleven was your own Jerry Ford. He never changed once he went behind the fence at the White House, which is remarkable because something about that location really does tend to bend most of the occupants out of shape in one way or another. But, he had the character and the mid-west values so down by the time he got to the White House that he was absolutely immune to that kind of folly, or fantasy, or whatever the right word is.”

John McCain: “I, like every other reporter that I know, have been intrigued by and charmed by that wonderful man ... He was perhaps the paragon of what it means to be an independent political force ... He’s a remarkable man and I think the fact we’re getting him back now in the Senate is a blessing for the country because he will be a real force in the U.S. Senate.”

Hillary Clinton: “... in a certain respect she was politically tone deaf at that point [health care reform], but she has never stopped growing in terms of her talents and abilities and particularly, her political sensitivities. In Iowa, at the start of this year she was not a particularly good candidate ... but as time went on she got better and better and better. At the end of the campaign I thought she was making speeches and doing events that were at least as good and maybe in some respects better than those of Barack Obama. I don’t know where she will wind up ... but she will be a force in this country over the next years to come without any question at all.”

Barack Obama: “Through pure chance I met him and his wife about ten years ago. I was out in Chicago...having lunch with a man we’ve all come to know quite well by now, David Axelrod [who told me about Barack Obama], “He’s in the state senate but he’s not going to be a state senator forever.” ... we arranged to have lunch together the next day. Michelle came up from University of Chicago ... to join us. I have to say I was just blown away by this young couple—by her at least as much as by him.”

“I’d never seen him as a campaigner until Iowa. What I saw of Obama in Iowa was a revelation. I went with him to several of the small town events he was doing in Iowa and it was very, very clear. You’d have to be deaf and dumb not to recognize what was happening. He was taking strangers and by force of personality and intellect converting them into

enthusiastic supporters in meeting after meeting.”

“Would Americans really vote for a black man? We did not know the answer to that question. I thought from what I had seen in Iowa that the chances were that it would not be a fatal barrier for him. But I certainly didn’t know that in advance. But what we did

find out was that when the Rev. Wright surfaced and made those remarkably inflammatory statements, Barack Obama, by himself, in 3 nights of late-night writing, wrote a speech about race in America that I think will become a classic for this generation. It certainly is the strongest statement about that subject that we’ve heard from anyone since Martin Luther King. It was an amazing feat in terms of taking what could be a terrible, terrible personal problem and lifting it to a level where it became a guide to Americans of all races about how to think of this classic American tragedy of race in our own time.”

Republicans: “John McCain, for his sins, inherited perhaps the toughest political environment that any Republican has had to face for a very long time. The President’s lack of popularity and support, the uncertainty about what was going to happen in Iraq and Afghanistan and then finally after September 15, this sudden and shocking collapse of the economy. I don’t believe there was any Republican who could have been elected this year under those conditions. In some respects McCain came closer than anyone else could have.”

Implications: “The good news for the Republicans is that while there has been a genuine turning away from the Republicans’ picture in Washington, D.C., at the state level it’s a very, very different picture. In California, in Texas, in Florida, you have popular Republican governors in states that are part of the emerging national majority. Those are states that you can build a base for a national campaign if you govern the way that the Texas, the California and the Florida governors are governing, not the way that the Republicans have been operating in Washington, D.C. And there are many other really talented Republican governors now, governing states successfully—from Bobby Jindal in Louisiana to Tim Palenti in Minnesota—that is where the Republicans can genuinely look for answers if they can figure out how to move what’s happening at the state level and make that the basis for their operations at the national level. Meanwhile, Barack Obama and the Democrats now inherit all the problems that made life so miserable for John McCain during the campaign. Every single challenge that faces this country now is the responsibility of the Democratic leadership at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.”



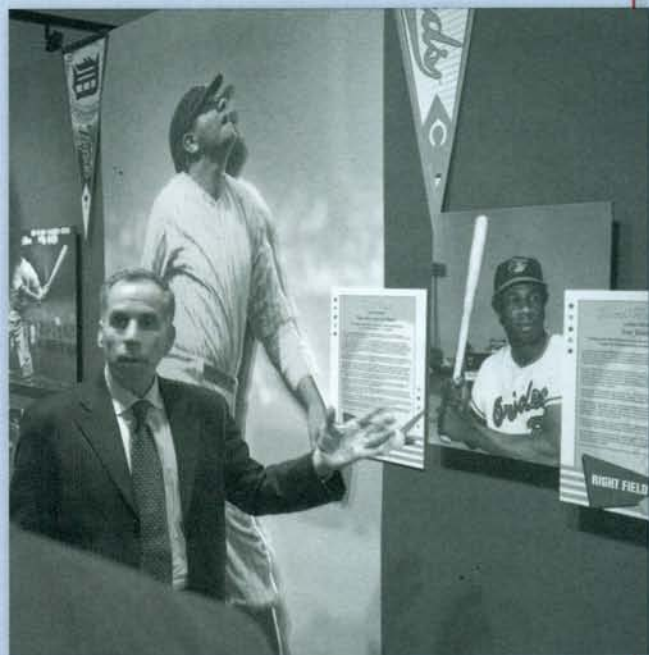
PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS JULY-FEBRUARY

NEW EXHIBITS

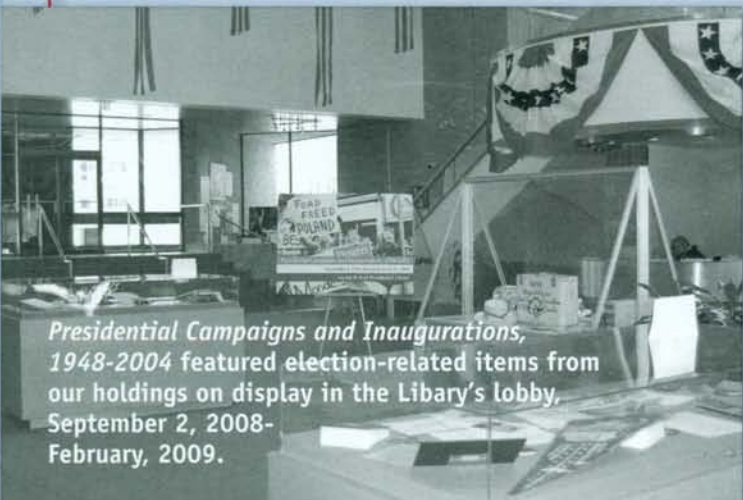


On July 13, the Museum unveiled the *Gerald R. Ford Tribute Gallery*, a permanent addition to the core exhibit, updating the post-presidency through President Ford's State Funeral.

The Library debuted a permanent wall-mounted display of biographical documents and photographs, *The Life and Times of Gerald R. Ford*, on August 29.



Speaker Tim Kurkjian toured the Museum's *Born to Play Ball*, an exhibit which opened with a talk by Baseball Hall of Fame president Jeff Idelson, August 7 - January 4, 2009.



Presidential Campaigns and Inaugurations, 1948-2004 featured election-related items from our holdings on display in the Library's lobby, September 2, 2008-February, 2009.



White House in Miniature opened at the Museum on Inauguration Day. More than 700 people came to see the exhibit and watch the Inauguration in our handsomely renovated Auditorium. On January 30, White House Curator Emeritus Betty Monkman opened the exhibit with a presentation about the White House.

Transitions and Traditions in the President's House

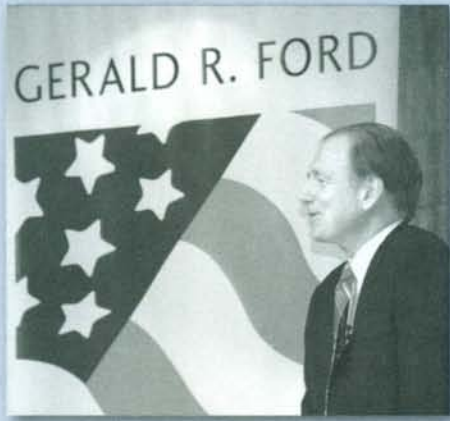


Economy in Crisis, 1974-1975 illustrates the witches' brew of inflation, recession, budget deficits, and oil supply worries inherited by President Ford, with documents, photos and artifacts, in the Library's lobby, running March 2009 through winter 2010.



PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS JULY-FEBRUARY

AUTHOR TALKS

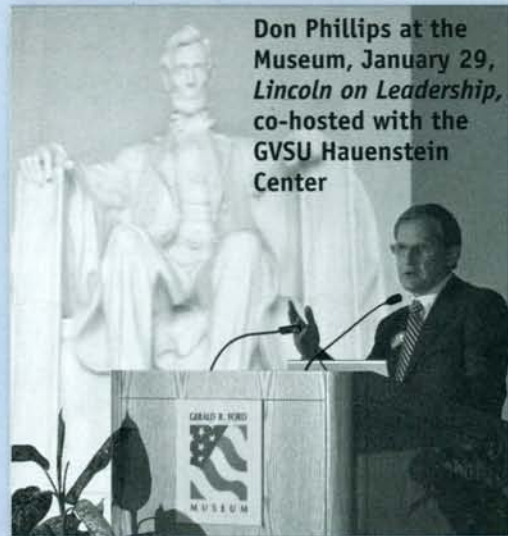


Jay Hakes at the Library, October 6, *A Declaration of Energy Independence*

Rick Atkinson at the Library, September 23, *The Day of Battle: The War of Sicily and Italy 1943-1944*, recipient of 2008 Gerald R. Ford Foundation Journalism Prize for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense



Tim Weiner at the Museum, October 26, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*



Don Phillips at the Museum, January 29, *Lincoln on Leadership*, co-hosted with the GVSU Hauenstein Center



Teen author Noah McCullough at the Museum and Library, February 14-15, *First Kids: True Stories of all the Presidents' Children*



Dale Van Atta at the Library and Museum, September 9 and October 29, *With Honor: Melvin Laird in War, Peace, and Politics*



Michigan Public Radio reporter Don Gonyea spoke at the Museum about his coverage of the Obama campaign over the previous 21 months, November 18.



Six *National Issues Forums* offered non-partisan public discussion of issues related to health care, education, energy and racial/ethnic tension, co-sponsored by all the presidential libraries and the Kettering Foundation at the Library and Museum, Fall 2008.

ELECTION-RELATED

Over 700 visitors watched the *Presidential Inauguration* on a big screen in the Museum's newly renovated auditorium, with an overflow crowd in the Michigan Room.



PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS JULY-FEBRUARY

PERFORMANCES

Face-to-Face Productions' *Honest Abe: A Character You Can Count On*, at the Museum February 2-6



Lincoln impersonator Fred Priebe delivered the Gettysburg Address from the heights of the Library's grand staircase.



Lincoln vs Douglas Debate with Jim Getty and Tim Connors, a Museum collaboration with the GVSU Hauenstein Center, February 12.

Ann Arbor's own Dodworth Saxhorn Band, a recreation of one of the first 19th century all-brass bands, played historic instruments at the Museum (October 4) and as part of the Library's *Lincoln Bicentennial Celebration* on February 8.



The recent *Lincoln Bicentennial* brought record crowds to programs at each site. At the Library, more than 300 people enjoyed a Sunday afternoon program featuring Abe and Mary Todd Lincoln and the Dodworth Saxhorn Band playing rousing patriotic music on original 19th century brass instruments. At the Museum, an overflow crowd attended a re-creation of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. A new flat screen video monitor in the Michigan Room linked to a camera in the auditorium enabled overflow attendees to enjoy the complete program.

On President's Day, more than 2,000 visitors came to meet George Washington at the Museum and enjoy guided tours of the *White House in Miniature* exhibit led by a docent from the Nixon Library who volunteered to share his time with our attendees.



Top Three Gerald R. Ford Essay Challenge Winners



Steven Harwood
1st place



Sarah Legault
2nd place



Joanna Chen
3rd place

Topic:
Patriotism

Awarded:
President's Day

Read their essays online at: <http://www.geraldrfordfoundation.org/>
and <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/photogalleryessaychallengewinners08.asp>

New!



Watch video of these Museum programs online:

Mel Marmer
Baseball and Our Presidents
October 4, 2008

Dale Van Atta
Behind the Scenes in the Nixon/Ford White House: Machiavellian Maneuvers
October 29, 2008

Norm Coleman
Ty Cobb: The Greatest Player Who Ever Played the Game
November 4, 2008

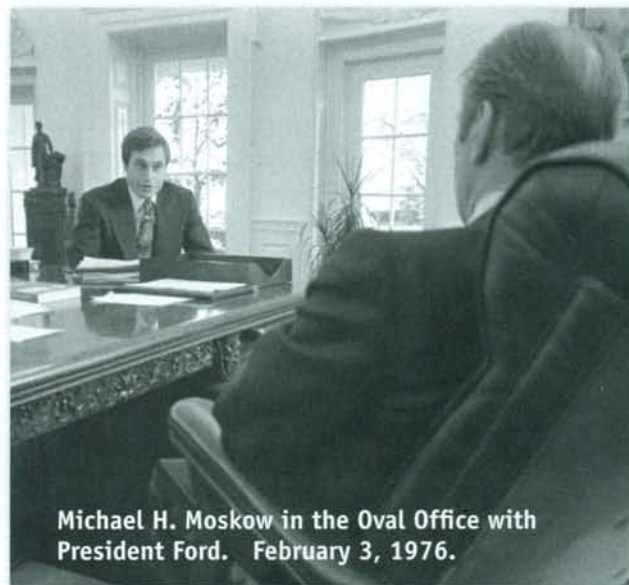
Just click on <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/photogallery/photogallery.asp>



The Library hosted a full house of 14 researchers last June, including four Foundation Research Grant recipients, five teachers from Texas on a Teaching American History Program grant, and academics from Harvard, New York and Spain.

New Library Acquisition

President Ford's Undersecretary of Labor **Michael H. Moskow** donated papers documenting his government service, 1969-1977, including in the Ford administration at the Department of Labor, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Council on Wage and Price Stability.



Michael H. Moskow in the Oval Office with President Ford. February 3, 1976.

Fall 2008 Gerald R. Ford Foundation Grant Recipients

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation semi-annually awards travel grants of up to \$2,000 to support research in the Ford Library's collections. For grant application forms and information, please contact Bill McNitt, Gerald R. Ford Library, 1000 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, by phone (734) 205-0557, or email William.Mcnitt@nara.gov. Application deadlines are March 15 and September 15.

Bennett, M. Todd.
U.S. Department of State.
The Spirits of '76: The American Bicentennial, Public Commemoration, and the Struggle for the Soul of the Nation.

Bishop, William.
Vanderbilt University.
Still 'Special'? US-UK Relations and the Search for Zimbabwean Independence, 1976-80.

Cook, Jonathan H.
University of Cambridge (Great Britain).
Détente Declining: Domestic Politics and U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union, 1972-1976.

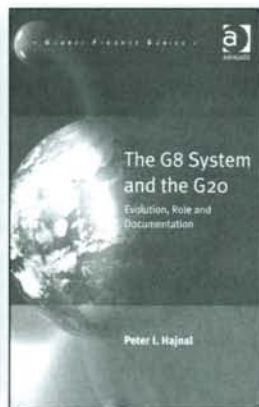
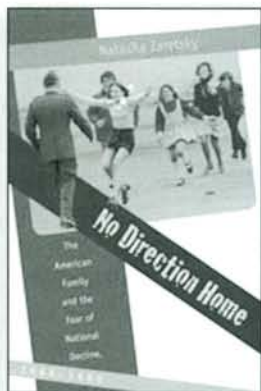
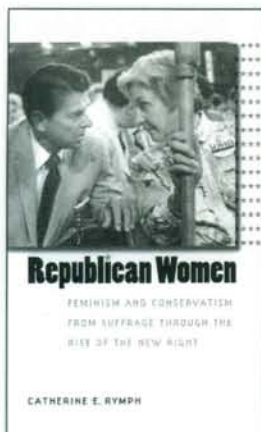
Dowdall, Aaron.
University of Missouri. *Fissure Along the Angola Fault Line: How the Angolan War Created Divisions in the U.S. Department of State.*

Goode, James.
Grand Valley State University.
Foreign Policy of the Ford Administration.

LaBau, Jason.
University of Southern California.
Phoenix Rising: Arizona and the Origins of Modern Conservative Politics.

Milnes, Arthur H.
Queens University Centre for the Study of Democracy (Canada).
Library of Political Leadership: The Ford-Trudeau Years: A Documentary History.

Selected Publications by Recent Grant Recipients



Dissertations and Articles:

From the Pews to the Polls: The Formation of a Southern Christian Right
Daniel Kenneth Williams, Brown University

First Ladies and American Women: Representation in the Modern Presidency
Jill Abraham Hummer, University of Virginia

Nationalization and Deregulation: The Creation of Conrail and the Demise of the ICC
Matthew Hiner, University of Akron

Housing Segregation in Suburban America since 1960
Charles M. Lamb, Cambridge University Press

Elections: Debating the 1976 Debates: Establishing a Tradition of Negotiations
John W. Self, Presidential Studies Quarterly

“What Would Jerry Do?”

(Continued from page 4)

4. We admire presidents who are ahead of history's curve, even though the full impact of their policies may not be felt for years. Students of the Ford White House are sometimes surprised to learn that it incubated more than its share of novelty. The Earned Income Tax Credit, passed in 1975, has been called one of the best anti-poverty programs ever attempted. According to Roger Porter, the work of the Ford Treasury Department under Bill Simon laid the intellectual groundwork for the Tax Reform Act of 1986—the last major overhaul of our tax system, and a model of enlightened, bipartisan policymaking. To coordinate a successful war against the twin evils of inflation and unemployment, the President created a high power Economic Policy Board, even as his administration wrote into law the nation's first fuel economy standards.

Yet the greatest innovation of the Ford presidency was also the most counterintuitive. In his first State of the Union Address, the President announced that he would undertake no new domestic programs until the nation got its financial house in order. Here was the most radical innovation conceivable. Imagine: a president willing to forego the project grants and ribbon cuttings and credit-takings that accompany recycled taxpayer dollars, or anything labeled “new.”

And yet no one who knew Congressman Ford should have been surprised. This was the same man, after all, who had once disappointed West Michigan boosters hoping to exploit his connections with the Defense Department in order to attract a major military installation to the region, with all the federal largesse sure to follow in its wake.

Ford deflected the request because he regarded military spending as too unreliable, too subject to boom and bust, to offer any solid foundation on which to build the local economy.

5. Successful occupants of the Oval Office combine principle with pragmatism. Beyond this, they are illusionists, gifted at concealing their manipulation of men and events. Though reputedly a man without guile, Gerald Ford was a close student of Washington and its ways. His years on Capitol Hill were instructive in what scholars of the Eisenhower presidency like to call hidden-hand leadership.

For example, in the winter of 1975 lawmakers were about to enact a \$28 billion tax cut sought by the White House—without passing the necessary budget cuts to pay for it. The president gave instructions for his congressional liaison to contact parliamentarians at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. He was to ask what, if any, rules existed for calling lawmakers back to Washington for a special session during the Christmas recess. Before hanging up, he was to direct recipient of the presidential inquiry to treat it as a state secret. “That,” said Ford, “will get the word around the Hill faster than Western Union.” He knew his colleagues. No sooner was the executive threat made known, however surreptitiously, than Congress passed a compromise budget before adjourning for the holidays.

6. Finally, we yearn for leaders whose egos don't get in the way of their ambitions. Ronald Reagan famously kept on his Oval Office desk a sign proclaiming, “There's no limit to what a man

can achieve, so long as he doesn't care who gets the credit.” Gerald Ford liberally shared the credit with what has been described as the most distinguished Cabinet of the twentieth century. As Roger Porter has pointed out, five Ford Cabinet officers held PhD's. Seven were graduates or former faculty members of Harvard. For his Attorney General he selected Ed Levi, the rigidly non-political president of the University of Chicago. And when a vacancy loomed on the Supreme Court, he emphasized intellectual brilliance over ideological purity. Indeed, he may have been the last president to do so.

If he was no swashbuckler, it was because, in the words of journalist David Broder, he was “the least neurotic president I've known.” In later years Broder amended this statement, concluding that Gerald Ford was, in truth, the kind of president most Americans say they wanted, but didn't realize they already had at the time.

Let me conclude with a story whose relevance to this year's election you are perfectly free to gauge for yourselves. In addition to honesty; a commitment to putting the national interest ahead of narrowly personal advantage; the courage to say no; the imagination to see into tomorrow; the political skills to realize one's vision; and a Trumanesque disdain for official pomposity—in addition to all this, we want a president whose self-confidence makes him unafraid of dissent, and unwilling to settle for the echo of his own voice.

I've already suggested that just such an atmosphere pervaded the Ford Cabinet. It didn't stop there. Not long before leaving the White House, President Ford had a conversation with his old friend, and former Yale Law School classmate, William Scranton. Governor Scranton was considerably to the left of the President on the political spectrum, which never got in the way of Ford's asking, or Scranton's providing, blunt edged counsel.

“Bill,” said the President, “you didn't favor military aid to South Vietnam.”

“No, I didn't,” Scranton acknowledged.

“You were opposed to the Nixon pardon,” Ford continued.

“That's right,” said Scranton.

“You weren't enthusiastic about my economic program.”

“That's right.”

“My food stamp decision drove you up the wall,” Ford reminded his guest.

“It sure did,” said Scranton with a thin smile. Ford removed the pipe from his mouth.

“Why are you for me at all?” he finally asked.

“Because,” said Scranton, “you're the first President I ever knew whom I could talk to like that.”

The conversation is over thirty years old. But the lesson it imparts is timeless. In the end, there are as many criteria for choosing a president as there are voters. No doubt each of you will fashion your own as you contemplate the choices before you this fall. By the same token, there is no shortage of standards by which historians assess a president's performance. Might I suggest one formula applicable to voters and scholars alike? What would Jerry Ford do?

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MUSEUM DEDICATION
SEPTEMBER 18, 1981



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May 1, 2009: ANN ARBOR
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A grant of \$5000 is awarded annually to support dissertation research on any aspect of the United States political process during the latter part of the 20th century.

May 7, 2009: GRAND RAPIDS
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Gerald R. Ford Foundation

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The Gerald R. Ford Foundation is a private, non-profit corporation whose primary mission is to support the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum through historical exhibits, educational programs, conferences, research grants and awards. In fulfilling its mission, the Foundation seeks to honor the principles and values demonstrated by President Ford throughout his public service career. The Foundation also seeks to educate Americans about the unique history and significant events of the Ford presidency. Finally, the Foundation seeks to enhance public understanding of American history and government, particularly the presidency. Inquiries regarding contributions should be addressed to Joe Calvaruso, Executive Director, Gerald R. Ford Foundation, 303 Pearl Street NW, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504-5353.

THE GERALD R. FORD FOUNDATION NEWSLETTER

Editor: Nancy Mirshah

Adapted from Remarks by David Mathews to the Presidential Libraries at the Conclusion of their Holding Deliberative Forums on Election Issues, March 10, 2009

I speak as a Friend of two presidential libraries, LBJ and Carter, and a trustee of the foundation for another, Gerald Ford. I want to salute the National Archives and the Libraries for what I believe is the first collaborative project involving all of these institutions. But it isn't just your collaboration that impresses me. It is what you have done to strengthen American democracy by helping bring back our oldest political institution, the town meeting, in its most powerful form—not just as a place for general discussions but as a forum where citizens face up to, and work through, the difficult choices that confront us on major issues, such as health care, energy, environmental protection, and education.

This has not been just another project in a parade of ever passing projects. You have claimed a new role as institutions that are uniquely positioned between the American citizenry and the American government. The Presidency is the one office that is truly the public's office, the one office where all citizens select the incumbent. The locations of the libraries reflect this relationship. The Libraries belong where Franklin Roosevelt located his, the place he called home. In an age when people are susceptible to losing confidence in government because it seems distant and disinterested, it would be the saddest of ironies for the Libraries not to be in the communities that gave us our presidents. Can anyone truly understand Harry Truman apart from Independence, Gerald Ford apart from Grand Rapids, or Ronald Reagan apart from

his career in California? As John Dewey said, "Democracy must begin at home, and its home is the neighborly community."

The Presidential Libraries are treasuries for our history, but as you have recognized, they shouldn't be antiques. They ought to be wellsprings, not just repositories. And that is exactly what you have accomplished this year by providing a public space where citizens in your area can reason together on how best to respond to the challenges facing our nation. Woodrow Wilson would have appreciated the significance of what you have been doing. You may recall, he said that "the whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend upon the understanding of one man, but to depend upon the counsel of all." Providing a public space where Americans can reason together is as much your mission as any of the other responsibilities you have. Furthermore, of all of our institutions, you are in a unique position to bring an historical dimension to political discourse, which can be very short sighted. For example, one of this year's National Issues Forums topics, health care, has been an issue in almost every administration. You have the documents that can enrich these deliberations.

America's great but unfinished experiment, democracy, will be appreciably strengthened if you continue to offer citizens opportunities to create a shared and informed public voice.



David Mathews