



Spring 1990

## Henry Kissinger Speaks in Grand Rapids

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation was honored to have former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** as the second speaker in the William E. Simon Lectures in Public Affairs series on January 31 at the Amway Grand Plaza Hotel in Grand Rapids.

Following a warm introduction by President Ford, in which he recounted his long association with Kissinger and referred to their "unique chemistry," Kissinger captivated the audience of invited guests with his insights into current East-West relations.

Kissinger expressed his appreciation to President Ford for the "calm dignity" he brought to the White House following the Watergate period. He said that trying to conduct foreign policy while the executive authority of the United States was disintegrating was a "nightmarish prospect."

He noted that the changes that have taken place all over eastern Europe in the last year had their origins in the Ford administration. He said that the structure of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union was established by Ford and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974 and that the Helsinki agreements, for which Ford was vilified at the time, are a "forum and rallying ground" for fighters for democracy in Eastern Europe and "the most significant agreements signed in the last 30 years—there is no longer any dispute."

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*Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford at a press conference in Grand Rapids.*

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Kissinger expressed his belief that, on many levels, this is one of the most exciting periods through which anyone can live. It is the culmination of what Americans have wanted since the end of World War II. He warned, however, that this new period calls for a type of foreign policy we have never before had to conduct.

We cannot, according to Kissinger, believe that Gorbachev is the answer to all our problems. It's important to remember that "states have permanent interests that do not change with personalities." We have to remain involved in foreign policy in order to "prevent all the resources of Eurasia from being organized by a hostile power."

We don't want anything from the Soviet Union, Kissinger said, except that it stay within its boundaries. "They shouldn't get claustrophobia—they have 11 time zones!"

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**"States have permanent interests that do not change with personalities."**

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The former Secretary of State ended on an optimistic note, saying that the whole international environment is changing in the direction of our values. The dangers have been reduced. "We are in a position to work on building a structure of peace in the world that, while it will require a constant vigilance, will be a lot less tense than what we have known for a generation."

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**"We are in a position to work on building a structure of peace in the world . . ."**

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*President Ford presents a crystal globe to Henry Kissinger as a token of appreciation from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation.*

C-SPAN videotaped the Kissinger speech and broadcast it eight times between February 2nd and 5th. It was also shown on Grand Rapids local access cable television. The speech will air on the "Ford Hall Forum," a national network radio program hosted by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan.

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## COMING EVENTS

**February 6-April 8:** "Thomas Nast Cartoons: The Art of Politics" exhibit, organized by the Museum of Our National Heritage. Museum.

**March 5-April 23:** Great Decisions Lecture Series. Monday evenings. Museum. Free.

**May 5-November 4:** "Presidential Pets" exhibit. Museum. **May 5:** Presidential Pets Extravaganza.

**May 13:** Mother's Day. Free admission to the Museum for moms.

**June 14:** Flag Day. Display of flags from the 50 states. Museum.

**June 17:** Father's Day. Free admission to the Museum for dads.

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

## Ford: "I Told You So!"

During his second debate with Jimmy Carter in October 1976, President Ford said, "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe." He meant that, while the physical presence of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe was obvious, the "hearts, souls, and spirits" of the people were not dominated. With what Ford later admitted was a certain amount of stubbornness, he refused to clarify his statement until after the media had had a field day. Some speculate that his position cost him votes in November's close election.

Partly because of this, Ford watched last fall's events in Eastern Europe with especially keen interest. In an article written for *The Washington Post* in October he noted, "My mother taught me it is wrong to crow. But former presidents as well as small boys know no greater joy than being able to say: 'I told you so!' " He quoted his friends as saying, "You know, what you said about Poland wasn't so stupid after all!" and described the "Sphinx-like smile" he gave them.

In a more serious vein, Ford wrote, "The encouraging changes in Poland, Hungary, East Germany and, most remarkably, in the Baltic republics and other ethnic regions of the Soviet Union make me prouder than ever to have signed the Helsinki accords. I

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**"My mother taught me it is wrong to crow. But former presidents as well as small boys know no greater joy than being able to say: 'I told you so!'"**

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did not symbolize an American abandoning the hopes and aspirations of the captive nations, as many pundits and some former governors charged at the time. Rather, I acted for 200 million Americans by countersigning the Eastern Europeans' own initial and cautious declarations of independence, with formal Soviet concurrence."



Cartoon by Steve Kelley, San Diego Union. (Used with permission)

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## Journalism Awards

The third annual winners of the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency and the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense will be announced on June 4, 1990, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The Gerald R. Ford Foundation will award the \$5,000 prizes in recognition of

thoughtful and insightful reporting on the presidency and national defense during 1989.

Inaugural winners of the journalism prizes were Lou Cannon of *The Washington Post* and Charles Corddry of the *Baltimore Sun*, while David Hoffman of *The Washington Post* and Richard Halloran of *The New York Times* were selected last year.

## The Press and Divided Government

The National Press Club in Washington, D.C., was the setting on December 6, 1989, of a symposium, "The Press and a Divided Government." The symposium, jointly sponsored by the National Press Foundation and the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum, brought together representatives from both government and the press to discuss problems related to having a President from one political party and a Congress dominated by the other.

At a luncheon preceding the symposium, President **Gerald Ford** introduced the topic by recalling when Republicans had a majority in both houses of Congress and a Republican was President. "That was a long, long time ago," he lamented.

Speaking from the vantage point of one who has spent 34 years as a Republican in a House controlled by Democrats, **Robert Michel**, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, delivered keynote remarks.

He stated that "a political scientist might say America has reached a state of natural political equilibrium. With a Republican White House and Democratic Congress, each party has become perfectly adapted to its own special environment, like certain prehistoric beasts just before the Ice Age." Disagreeing with the theory that this is natural, Michel nonetheless characterized the Democrats in Congress as "political dinosaurs" whose dominance should be ended.

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**FRITZ: "I think government . . . is divided because the people want it that way. Americans are naturally suspicious of too much government, and they see divided government as a kind of safeguard."**

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*Representative Robert Michel.*

Michel went on to place a share of the responsibility for maintaining the Democratic majority in Congress on the press. The day-to-day work of Congress does not produce the drama necessary to attract network news coverage, consequently national television news focuses on the President. "The only time network television news gives the Congress a detailed look is when scandal erupts—or if some committee is holding hearings on some currently hot subject." He calls this the "coverage gap," saying that even most newspapers do not give Congress in-depth reporting. This, he says, means that the press does not "document how the Democrat majority fulfills or fails in its responsibility



*Panelists Guy Vander Jagt, Robert Squier, and David Demarest.*

to govern." According to Michel, the "Democrats are in effect getting a free ride in our divided government." He feels that more and better coverage of the House would be in his party's best interest. "I believe that the more the people know about the realities of the Democratic control of the House, the quicker Republicans may very well become a majority."

In the symposium that followed Michel's speech, participants from print and broadcast journalism, two members of the House of Representatives, a political consultant, and the assistant to President Bush for communications revealed a diversity of opinions on the subject of divided government and its relationship to the press.

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**VANDER JAGT: "... because of the way the media treats the subject, I don't think our American people know that we have a divided government..."**

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There was general agreement that government is not working very well, but not everyone blamed it on the division of power. **Andrea Mitchell**, former White House correspondent for NBC now covering Congress, expressed the views of several when she said, "There is nothing inherently dysfunctional about divided government." She said the problems result from rigid principles, not party lines. **Phil Jones** and **Helen Thomas**, who have both covered the White House, cited the lack of party loyalty as a major problem. Individual agendas keep government from operating smoothly. **Robert**



*Panelists Andrea Mitchell, Helen Thomas, and Martin Tolchin.*

**Squier**, Democratic political consultant, said the division is often government versus anti-government, not along party lines.

Representative **Guy Vander Jagt** reiterated Michel's point about the media's failure to cover Congress effectively, particularly regarding elections. He claims the people are not aware of the national significance of congressional elections because they see only local coverage. If they were made more aware of the national implications, they might tend to vote more along party lines, which he feels would be an improvement.

At the other end of the spectrum is **Marty Tolchin** of *The New York Times* who believes that dividing political power in government is good, resulting in more openness. **Sarah Fritz** of the *Los Angeles Times* thinks that the people want divided government because they are suspicious of too much power.

C-SPAN broadcast the proceedings throughout December. The Gerald R. Ford Foundation and Ford Motor Company provided funding for the symposium. The National Press Club hosted the event.

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**SQUIER: "I specifically got something out of this I can use in the campaign in '92. We now have the slogan, 'Help Stamp Out Divided Government: Elect a Democrat to the White House.'"**

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**VANDER JAGT: "And I would conclude, 'Elect a Republican to Congress.'"**

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## "Presidential Pets"

The Gerald R. Ford Museum will present a rare glimpse into the personal lives of U.S. Presidents during a six-month exhibit entitled "Presidential Pets." The exhibit, which runs May 5 through November 4, will explore the relationships between our nation's First Families and their pets.

"Presidential Pets" will use a mixture of artifacts, photographs, and anecdotes to document this private side of life in the White House. The exhibit will range from George Washington and his hunting dogs to George Bush and his English springer spaniel, Millie.

One of the highlights will be a 25-square foot dog house, a replica of the White House, used by Ronald Reagan's dog, Rex. The many other artifacts will include the spurs and harness ornaments used by James Monroe, a collar that belonged to Lyndon Johnson's favorite dog, Yuki, and a red dish and red ball used by Franklin Roosevelt's beloved Scottish terrier, Fala.

The exhibit will also present a number of special one-day events, including a community pet show on opening day.



President Ford and his golden retriever, Liberty.

## Science and Technology Guide

Library staff have prepared a guide to archival files on science and technology issues ranging from earthquake prediction to uranium enrichment to the space program. The guide is a spin-off from a Congressional request to identify all National

Archives holdings on such issues. Copies of the twenty-page guide are free upon request, as are copies of guides to material on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and to the 1976 campaign.

Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. and "Eli".

## "Research Grants Awarded in November"

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation awarded six research grants in November. The Foundation semi-annually awards grants in support of research at the Library, with September 15 and March 15 application deadlines.

**Laura Kalman** (University of California - Santa Barbara) began her Ford Library research almost immediately, examining "the 'post-liberal' state to determine how post-liberal it indeed was." Kalman's research follows naturally from her just-published biography of Abe Fortas, which dealt in large part with the strengths and weaknesses of American liberalism in the 1960s. Her photocopy order of nine thousand pages stands as a Library record, she permits us to report.

**James Michael Strine** (Johns Hopkins University), a doctoral candidate, has already made extensive use of the files of White House advisors Philip Buchen and Ed Schmults for insight into "the division of labor on legal matters within the White House and between the White House Counsel and the Department of Justice and agency counsels."

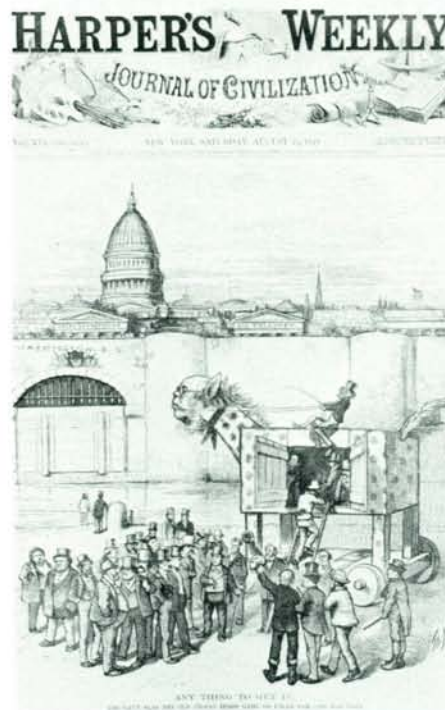
U.S. diplomacy in southern Africa, certainly a timely topic, will be the subject of **Thomas Noer's** (Carthage College) research. The Library's open material on diplomatic affairs is limited due to security classification restrictions, but open material can be extensive on other aspects of foreign policy issues.

University of Massachusetts political scientist **Sheldon Goldman** will study the selection of lower Federal court judges, and Calvin College historian **Robert Bolt** will research religion in the White House. **Kenneth Holland** (University of Vermont) won funding to study the effect of the War Powers Resolution on Ford administration behavior.

For details on the grants program, please call grants archivist David Horrocks, (313) 668-2218.



*Grant recipient Michael Strine doing research at the Library.*



*One of many Nast cartoons appearing on the cover of Harper's Weekly.*

## Thomas Nast Cartoons: The Art of Politics

"Thomas Nast Cartoons: The Art of Politics," an exhibition featuring many of Nast's political cartoons, will be on display at the Gerald R. Ford Museum until April 8. The exhibition was organized by the Museum of Our National Heritage in Lexington, Massachusetts, and draws from their extensive collection of Nast cartoons.

Thomas Nast (1840-1902), often considered America's most influential political cartoonist, depicted issues in the 19th century that are still relevant today, such as inflation, political corruption, the separation of church and state, minorities, and militarism. He is probably best remembered for his versions of Uncle Sam and Santa Claus, as well as for his use of the donkey and elephant to represent the Democratic and Republican parties.

The display includes many original cartoons, as well as covers from *Harper's Weekly*, which featured his work between 1862 and 1886.

*Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Our National Heritage.*



Photograph courtesy Hoover Library.

*President Ford participated in the "Farewell to the Chief" conference on former presidents in West Branch, Iowa, jointly sponsored by the Herbert Hoover Library and the Gerald Ford Library, on October 18, 1989. He is shown here being greeted by an honor guard of 300 Boy Scouts from the West Branch area.*

### **The Gerald R. Ford Foundation Newsletter**

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The Gerald R. Ford Foundation is a private, non-profit corporation whose programs are supported entirely by contributions and bequests in an effort to honor Mr. Ford's lifelong commitment to public service. The focus of the Foundation is on community affairs and educational programs, conferences, symposia, research grants and special projects that improve citizen interest and understanding of the challenges that confront government, particularly the presidency. Inquiries regarding contributions should be addressed to Martin J. Allen, Jr., Chairman, Gerald R. Ford Foundation, 303 Pearl Street, NW, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504.

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