



Spring 1992

Second Gerald R. Ford Colloquium: National Security Requirements for the '90s

The keynote speaker and panel members of the second Gerald R. Ford Colloquium on April 1 all agreed that the end of the Cold War, combined with the experiences of the Persian Gulf war, make it essential that the United States completely reassess its national defense policy.

Richard Perle, Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, observed that Saddam Hussein gave us a "jarring reminder that the end of the Cold War had not by itself—not yet—transformed men into angels." The monolithic threat posed by the Soviet Union for 45 years may be gone, but "regional crises," which call for a different type of military readiness, are still very much with us.

Perle spoke of five ways to meet this new threat. A major point, supported by three of the four other panelists, was the need for continued research and development, and production, of high tech weapons. The availability of highly accurate "smart" weapons, such as those which performed so well in the



Participants relax in the President's conference room prior to the Colloquium. (Clockwise from left: Richard Perle, Ronald Hatchett, Lawrence Cavaiola, Thomas McNaugher, Robert Axelrod, and Library director Frank Mackaman, back to camera)

Persian Gulf, would reduce the quantity of materiel needed to be transported to a crisis area. In the future, Perle said, "we will simply have to make do with quantities of equipment that can be delivered in a few days—not the months Saddam Hussein so foolishly allowed us to exploit."

Ronald L. Hatchett, deputy director of programs for the Mosher Institute for Defense Studies and adjunct professor of political geography at Texas A&M University, cited statistics to show that "if you have a stealth-equipped high technology force using smart weapons, the

reality is [that] you can save about 80 percent of the logistics requirements of an air strike force."

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Keynote speaker Richard Perle

Lawrence J. Cavaiola, deputy staff director of the House Armed Services Committee, maintained that we need fewer forces permanently stationed overseas, but more materiel pre-positioned for efficient air lift, as well as more available naval power. And, in order to take advantage of new weapons technology, we need to develop our "fine-grained intelligence" capabilities.

Cavaiola: "We need to develop our 'fine-grained intelligence' capabilities."

A second priority, according to Perle, is the development of a ballistic missile defense system. "We have been exposed and vulnerable long enough. This nation has the financial and technical resources to defend against ballistic missiles and it's time we got on with the urgent task of developing a system to do so," he said. He cited the success of the PATRIOT in the Gulf War and concluded, "If we are wise we will learn from Israel's close shave and get out of the barber's chair while there is time."

Both Perle and **Thomas L. McNaugher**, a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program of Brookings Institution, spoke at length about nuclear proliferation as a threat to our national security. Perle used North Korea as an example. "The question is not whether North Korea will get a nuclear weapon. The only question is when—if it has not happened already." He believes that the use of force to destroy that capability is "an unpleasant, but urgent, reality."

Perle: "This nation has the financial and technical resources to defend against ballistic missiles and it's time we got on with the urgent task of developing a system to do so."

McNaugher hopes that other means, such as the United Nations, now that the Soviet veto is not a factor, and strong export controls, can impede nuclear proliferation. But McNaugher, who was called up during the Gulf War, added, "Would I object strenuously to the use of force against North Korea? After the Iraq crisis, I don't say 'never', ever again."

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At the reception after the Colloquium participants met informally with audience members. Here Larry Cavaiola talks with Bruce Borthwick, a political science professor from Albion College who brought a group of his students to the Colloquium.



Thomas McNaugher and Lawrence Cavaiola

Perle spoke of the importance of an enhanced "out-of-area" role for NATO in dealing with regional matters and acting to slow nuclear proliferation. McNaugher feels that "we are the world's policemen, for the moment" but looks toward a reorganization of politics in which we may trade away some of our unilateralism "to help create a regime that is stable at lower levels of arms."

Hatchett: "If you have a stealth-equipped high technology force using smart weapons, the reality is [that] you can save about 80 percent of the logistics requirements of an air strike force."

Perle's closing point, that it is in our national interest to send aid to Russia, was the only one with which University of Michigan political science professor **Robert Axelrod** agreed. Axelrod does not think that even smart weapons can be effective

against a determined adversary or that ballistic missile defense is enough since there are alternate methods of delivery. He feels that an out-of-area role for NATO is unrealistic and that Brazil and Ukraine are greater nuclear threats



Ronald Hatchett and Robert Axelrod

than Korea. He recommends putting "nuclear weapons back in the closet," trying to prevent any major escalation, developing our economic strengths, reducing our dependence on oil, and improving our educational system. "We have to think of defense requirements as more than just weapons and technology....It's our ability to promote the norms of an open and peaceful world that we care about." This Perle dismissed as "the old liberal agenda."

The Colloquium was funded by the Gerald R. Ford Foundation, which is also publishing the proceedings of the meeting to be available through the Library this summer.

Axelrod: "We have to think of defense requirements as more than just weapons and technology."

Recent Research Grants

Last November, the Gerald R. Ford Foundation awarded research grants to six scholars. One of them, historian **Robert Schulzinger** of the University of Colorado, is interviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Journalist **Stephen Dryden** has a timely topic in "The Trade Warriors", a study of the U.S. Trade Representative to be published by Oxford University Press. **Kevin Corder** of Washington University (St. Louis) won support to explore the problematic impact of partisan politics on monetary policy. The degree to which presidents can guide regulatory policy is the larger concern of a specialized study by **Lawrence Rothenberg** of Carnegie Mellon University.

John Robert Greene, Cazenovia College, will write the Ford volume for the American Presidency Series of Kansas University Press. He also will be working on a bibliography of the Ford administration for Greenwood Press.

Robert Winfrey, Memphis University School, will investigate how the competing desires for equality and sovereignty have affected the development of an American Indian civil rights movement.

A near-record number of applicants are competing this spring for the balance of the \$20,000 awarded annually by the Foundation to support research in Library collections. The next application deadline is September 15. For information about grants contact David Horrocks at the Library.

Research on Vietnam War's Legacy Discussed

Robert D. Schulzinger is a prominent diplomatic historian from the University of Colorado at Boulder. He recently visited the Library on a Gerald R. Ford Foundation research grant. We are happy to share this post-visit interview.

Q. What is your research about?

A. I am writing a history of the war in Vietnam and its legacy.

Q. How will you share your findings?

A. Oxford University Press will publish two books which will appear in the mid-1990s. In the immediate future I will be presenting a paper at the April meeting of the Organization of American Historians on the development of U. S. human rights policy before and after the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Schulzinger: "I want to discover whether the American experience in Vietnam prolonged or shortened the cold war."

Q. How did our records help you?

A. While the National Security File has not yet been processed and opened for researchers, there is a wealth of material on the political impact of foreign policy. These materials lead me to the tentative conclusion that the Ford administration shared many of the beliefs of its centrist critics in the Carter camp, i.e. that the end of the Vietnam War signaled a new era in international relations and U. S. foreign policy. In this new environment the use of force would diminish while issues involving the way in which governments treated their own citizens would assume greater importance.



Professor Robert D. Schulzinger

Q. Bush, Cheney and Scowcroft saw the fall of Saigon from inside the Ford administration. Do you see an imprint of that shared experience?

A. Most definitely. They vowed to avoid gradualism which they considered to be the principal mistake of the military in Vietnam. In the initial glow of triumph over Iraq Bush declared, "by God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome." Such exultation may have been premature. Some critics charge that the administration stopped the war against Iraq too soon and then decided against military action to aid the Kurds and Shi'ites because the top leadership wanted to make certain that no widespread antiwar movement, similar to the one of the Vietnam era, developed in 1991. Until some documentary evidence is available, however, we won't know if the memory of Vietnam was an explicit factor in Bush's and his advisers' decisions at the end of the war.

Q. Has the collapse of the Soviet Union affected the research questions you want to ask?

A. Most generally, I want to discover whether the American experience in Vietnam prolonged or shortened the cold war. In recent years a counter-revisionist argument has arisen regarding Vietnam. This argument holds that the U. S. actually achieved its early goals in Vietnam by delaying the communist takeover for a decade. In the ten years between 1965 and 1975 the non-communist economies of Southeast Asia expanded rapidly and thereby were in a position to resist the domino effect in 1975. I believe there are serious flaws in this analysis and that it reads the history of the Vietnam War backwards. Nonetheless, the collapse of communism in Europe casts a new light on the most important questions of contemporary diplomatic history: Was the cold war inevitable? Did U.S. policy hasten or impede or have relatively little impact on the eventual dissolution of the Soviet empire? What was the relationship between action in the various arenas of the cold war—Europe, East Asia, South-east Asia and the more peripheral areas of the underdeveloped world?

Q. Why do you see the 1975 Helsinki Conference as part of the Vietnam legacy?

A. Helsinki represented an opportunity for the Ford administration to deflect public attention from the communist triumph in Vietnam. Yet the administration's efforts to refocus attention away from Vietnam and onto the potential for stability and greater human rights in Europe met with only limited success. The debacle of the fall of Saigon made a wide spectrum of American opinion believe that communism was triumphant everywhere. Instead of seeing the human rights provisions of the Final Act for what they actually were—a wedge loosening Soviet control over Eastern Europe—Helsinki was treated [by many critics] as an American setback and Soviet victory.

Q. What would you advise your colleagues about research opportunities at the Ford Library?

A. The Ford Library is a model of how the presidential libraries should function. It is one of the most user-friendly of all the libraries. Because the collection is relatively small, the indexing is of superior quality. The library's PRESNET system of online indexing is a godsend to researchers, cutting search time by 50% to 80%. I hope the other libraries adopt similar systems in the near future.

Q. What suggestions do you have for improving the nation's system of presidential libraries?

A. I have two. The first can be implemented by the libraries themselves, namely developing online machine based indexing. Second, I'd like to see a less cumbersome process for requesting mandatory review of classified documents. This will probably require new legislation or regulations at levels higher than the National Archives and Records Administration. Researchers find it very time consuming to have to request review of individual documents and would welcome a system whereby they could request classes of material, i.e. cables from Saigon to Washington for certain ranges of dates. It would also be useful if the declassification specialists at the libraries could request such declassification rather than having to wait for requests from researchers.

COMING EVENTS AT THE MUSEUM

May 9-November 30: "Symbols of Citizenship" exhibit explores rights and privileges we share as United States citizens.

July 4: Two for one admission special

July 14: President Ford's birthday. Free admission. The first 500 visitors will receive birthday cake.

September 12: Community Enrichment Day. Free admission.

October 4-November 1: Sunday afternoon "Symbols of Citizenship" lectures

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"America Since Hoover"

Harry Truman's private musings about "the most terrible bomb in the history of the world"

...a poor woman's desperate plea to First Lady Lou Hoover for clothing during the Great Depression ...

These documents are part of a special collection assembled for the 380 University of Michigan students enrolled in Professor Sidney Fine's history course, "The United States Since 1933." The project reflects the Library's continuing efforts to bring college students in contact with the resources of the presidential library system.

Last fall the Ford Library issued a call to eight presidential libraries for photocopies of documents that especially illustrate events or issues Professor Fine discusses in his lectures or the students encounter in their secondary reading. The response was nothing short of

phenomenal. The Library received scores of personal letters, private memos, diary entries, oral history transcripts, reports, and tape recordings to make available for student use. The resulting collection, "America Since Hoover: Selected Documents From Presidential Libraries, 1929-1980," includes nearly 3,500 pages that, in the words of a student using the material, "make history come alive."

In addition to learning about the documentary legacy available at presidential libraries, the students discover in a very tangible way that many of the great issues of the 1990s have antecedents in previous administrations. In the case of civil rights, for example, the Franklin Roosevelt Library provided a blunt, 15-page memo about racial violence which led to a riot in Harlem in 1943. The struggle for civil rights finds expression, too, in audio tapes of John Kennedy's telephone conversations during the integration of the University of Mississippi in 1962. And while U.S. relations with the former

Soviet Union are better now than they have been for fifty years, documents from the Eisenhower Library tell the tale of the Cold War's tense confrontations and regional disputes.

With Dr. Fine's close cooperation, student response to the Library's invitation to use this new collection has been good. Many students who visit the Library not only peruse the files to satisfy their curiosity but also incorporate relevant documents into research for their course papers or contact other presidential libraries to learn more about their collections. For nearly all of them, it is their first experience with what lies beneath the footnote.

Each presidential library received a complete set of the documents in "America Since Hoover" as thanks for their cooperation in the venture. These sets will give students all around the country the opportunity to sample the archival treasures of the presidential libraries.

F.D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable - through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America - that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium, by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable - though much less certain - that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

Albert Einstein
Old Grove Rd.
Massau Point
Peconic, Long Island

August 2nd, 1939

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The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada and the former Czechoslovakia while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America. One possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an unofficial capacity. His task might comprise the following:

a) to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States;

b) to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budgets of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions for this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the co-operation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakian mines which she has taken over. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsäcker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

Yours very truly,
A. Einstein
(Albert Einstein)

One of the Roosevelt Library's contributions to the "America Since Hoover" collection: Albert Einstein letter to President Roosevelt, August 2, 1939, regarding "new phenomenon" which could lead to development of the atomic bomb.

Collection Acquisitions and Openings

The Library continues to acquire, by donation, material of historical research value from scholars and former Ford administration advisors and officials. Library staff make this material available as quickly as donor restrictions and staff workload permit.

Acquisitions received and opened in the past year include the papers of assistant press secretary "Bill" Roberts, OMB associate director Paul O'Neill, HEW official Shana Gordon, energy adviser Glenn Schleede, and scholar/presidential assistant A. James Reichley. Reichley's collection includes notes on over 160 research interviews with government officials, members of Congress, and campaign advisors, 1968-1980. Microfiche copies of the William Simon Papers are becoming available as they arrive in filmed increments. Simon was Secretary of the Treasury during the Ford administration.

Newly-donated, but awaiting processing, are papers from Gwen Anderson, Stanton Anderson, Bo Callaway, George Denison, Maria Downs, Robert Goldwin, George Grassmuck, Robert Horn, William Hyland, Myron Kuropas, Margita White, Sheila Weidenfeld, and others. Several other Ford administration officials have indicated their desire to donate papers. Transfer details are being worked out.

Researchers gained access to many older collections in the past year. A complete list is available from the Library. Illustrative are the papers of Benton Becker on his 1974 pardon negotiations with former President Nixon; Treasury official David Macdonald on trade and other matters; and presidential assistant William Baroody on the public liaison program. Also available are transcripts of interviews conducted in 1976-77 by James Hyde and Stephen Wayne with Ford administration Domestic Council staff and others. L. Patrick Devlin's 1976 interviews with campaign advertising strategists are a valuable supplement to the extensive campaign records recently opened.

The 50th anniversary of U.S. entry into World War II occasioned the opening of files from Mr. Ford's service in the Pacific.



Cartoonist Pat Oliphant and Charles Eisendrath, director of the Michigan Journalism Fellows Program at the University of Michigan

Oliphant at Ford Museum

From January 4 through February 16, the Gerald R. Ford Museum in Grand Rapids featured a temporary exhibit called "Oliphant's Presidents: Twenty-five Years of Caricature by Pat Oliphant." It was comprised of approximately 90 works, including cartoons, bronze sculptures, and several of the artist's sketchbooks. Wendy Reaves, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Portrait Gallery and guest curator for the exhibition, selected the pieces from the artist's files and various public and private collections.

Oliphant's syndicated cartoons appear daily in more than 500 newspapers in the United States and abroad, making him the most widely read cartoonist in the world.

The exhibition was divided into sections corresponding to the six presidential administrations of the last 25 years: Lyndon Johnson through George Bush.

The exhibit drew a surprise visit from the artist himself. Oliphant was scheduled to meet with University of Michigan Journalism Fellows in Ann Arbor on January 16. When the sponsor heard of Oliphant's interest in seeing the exhibit, the entire seminar was moved to Grand Rapids, where Oliphant delighted the participants by drawing caricatures of contemporary and historical figures and talking about political cartooning.

The exhibition was produced by Art Services International, Alexandria, Virginia, in conjunction with the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Research Card #2000 Issued

On March 19, the Library issued its 2000th researcher card. When Scottie Peacock, an undergraduate communications student at the University of Michigan, arrived to examine documents on cable television deregulation for a class project, she was surprised to find that as researcher number 2000 she was a mini-celebrity. She accepted several mementos from the Library, including a copy of *A Time to Heal* autographed by President Ford and a Ford signature golf ball, had her picture taken, and then got down to work. Peacock was part of a class of 75 students who used the Library holdings to study such topics as Olympic sports policy, presidential assassinations, 1976 campaign advertising, the Nixon pardon, and Vietnam War MIAs and POWs.



University of Michigan student Scottie Peacock was obviously delighted to receive several Library-related gifts from archivist Helmi Raaska.

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation Newsletter

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