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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

United States Official Party

GERALD R. FORD

President of the United States

Gerald R. Ford, 38th President of the United States, was born in Omaha, Nebraska, July 14, 1913. He attended public schools in Grand Rapids, Michigan; received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Michigan in 1935; and an LL. B. from Yale University Law School in 1941.

In 1942 he entered the U. S. Navy, serving 47 months during World War II, and participated in 3rd and 5th Fleet carrier operations aboard the aircraft carrier U. S. S. Monterey for two years. He was discharged in 1946 and resumed the practice of law.

President Ford was elected to the U. S. House of Representatives in 1948 and reelected every two years through 1972, serving 25 years in the House. He was Chairman of the Republican Conference, 88th Congress; and the Minority Leader of the 89th, 90th, 91st, and 92nd and 1st Session, 93rd Congresses.

In November 1963, he was made a member of the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and authored (with John R. Stiles) the book Portrait of the Assassin (1965).

He was permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican National Conventions.

He visited the People's Republic of China in late June and early July 1972, on behalf of President Nixon.

President Ford was nominated Vice President on October 12, 1973, to succeed Spiro T. Agnew, who resigned, and was confirmed December 6. He succeeded to the Presidency August 9, 1974, following the resignation of Richard Nixon.

*This was done
hurriedly before
the China trip.*



Ray Zook, Chief of White House Transportation Office
Robert Manning, Assistant Chief of White House Transportation Office
Gary Wright, White House Transportation Office
John Dreylinger, White House Transportation Office

President Ford is the recipient of the following awards:

American Political Science Association's Distinguished
Congressional Service Award, 1961
American Good Government Society's George Washington
Award, 1966
American Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award
as "Giant of Accomplishment" 1971
AMVETS Silver Helmet Award, 1971
Boy Scouts of America "Silver Buffalo Award" for distinguished
service to our country and its youth, 1975

He has received Honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from:

University of Pennsylvania
Notre Dame University
Ohio State University
University of Michigan
Michigan State University
Western Michigan University
The Citadel
Chicago State University (and numerous colleges)

President Ford received all-city and all-state football honors in Grand Rapids during high school, and he was a member of the University of Michigan's national championship football teams in 1932 and 1933. In 1934 he was named the University of Michigan's most valuable player. He served as assistant varsity football coach at Yale while a law student there.

He married Elizabeth Bloomer on October 15, 1948, and they are the parents of four children:

Michael Gerald	Born March 14, 1950
John Gardner	Born March 16, 1952
Steven Meigs	Born May 19, 1956
Susan Elizabeth	Born July 6, 1957

ELIZABETH B. FORD

First Lady

Mrs. Ford was born Elizabeth Anne Bloomer in Chicago, Illinois on April 8, 1918. Her family moved to Grand Rapids when she was three years old. After graduating from Central High School in Grand Rapids in 1936, Mrs. Ford attended the Bennington School of Dance in Vermont for two years. She majored in modern dance there, studying under Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman and Hanya Holm.

Her early professional career was spent in New York, also studying in a more intensive dance course under Martha Graham and eventually as a member of the Martha Graham Concert Group. She also modeled part-time during this period.

She returned to Grand Rapids in 1941, organizing her own dance group and taking a job as a model and fashion coordinator for a department store. As a volunteer, she became involved with teaching movement and dance to crippled and handicapped children.

She married Gerald Ford on October 15, 1948, the year he first ran and won the seat as Congressman from Grand Rapids, Michigan. They are the parents of four children: Mike, Jack, Steve and Susan.

Since her marriage, Mrs. Ford has concentrated on raising the family and being wife and helpmate to the President. She has a great many personal interests as well, ranging from the Arts and mentally retarded children to womens rights.

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Secretary of State and Assistant to the President

Henry A. Kissinger was sworn in as the 56th Secretary of State September 22, 1973, in a ceremony in the East Room of the White House. He also continues to serve in his White House position as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Dr. Kissinger became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in January 1969. Since 1954 he had been a member of the faculty of Harvard University both in the Department of Government and at the Center for International Affairs. He was an Associate Director of the Center from 1957 to 1960. He served as Study Director, Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, for the Council on Foreign Relations from 1955 to 1956, and Director of the Harvard International Seminar in 1951.

~~Garrk~~ Gerald R. Ford, Biography

Gerald R. Ford, the 38th President of the United States, was born in Omaha, ~~Nebraska~~ Nebraska, on ~~the~~ July 14, 1913.

He attended public schools in Grand Rapids, ~~the~~ Michigan and received all-city and all-state football honors during high school. *Working his way through college,* President Ford graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Michigan in 1935 and received a law degree from Yale University Law School in 1941.

In 1942 he entered the U.S. Navy, serving almost four years during World War II. He participated in the ~~the~~ 3rd and 5th Fleet carrier operations aboard the carrier U.S.S. Monterey for two years. Discharged from the Navy in 1946, he resumed the practice of law in Grand Rapids.

President Ford was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1948 from Michigan's 5th District. He served *that district for* 25 years in the House. He was elected Chairman of the Republican Conference in 1963 and chosen Minority Leader in 1965. He also was permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican National Conventions.

Ford served as Minority Leader from 1965 until he was nominated Vice President On October 12, 1973. He was confirmed as Vice President December 6th. Ford succeeded to the Presidency August 9, 1974, following the resignation of Richard Nixon.

He married Elizabeth Bloomer October 15, 1948,
shortly before winning his first term in Congress. They are
the parents of four children, Michael Gerald (Mike), 25,
John Gardner (Jack), 23, Steven Meigs ~~son~~ (Steve), 19, and
Susan Elizabeth (Susan), 18.

~~During the Congressional years, the Ford family
lived in Alexandria, Virginia. They also own a home in Vail,
Colorado, where they gather for a family reunion at Christmas.~~



THE WHITE HOUSE

BIOGRAPHY OF THE PRESIDENT

GERALD R. FORD, Republican 38th President of the United States, was born in Omaha, Nebraska, July 14, 1913; attended public schools, Grand Rapids, Michigan; B. A., University of Michigan, 1935; L. L. B., Yale University Law School, 1941; won all-city and all-state football honors in Grand Rapids during high school; member of University of Michigan's national championship football teams, 1932, 1933; Michigan's most valuable player, 1934; assistant varsity football coach at Yale while law student there; in 1942 entered the U. S. Navy, serving 47 months during World War II; participated in 3rd and 5th Fleet carrier operations aboard the aircraft carrier U. S. S. Monterey for two years; discharged 1946 and resumed practice of law; elected to U. S. House of Representatives in 1948 and reelected every two years through 1972, serving 25 years in House; named in November 1963 to the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy; author (with John R. Stiles) of the book, "Portrait of the Assassin" (1965); permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican National Conventions; visited The People's Republic of China in late June and early July 1972 on behalf of President Nixon; recipient of American Political Science Association's Distinguished Congressional Service Award, 1961; recipient of American Good Government Society's George Washington Award, 1966; recipient of American Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award as "giant of accomplishment," 1971; recipient of AMVETS Silver Helmet Award, 1971; recipient of honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Western Michigan University, The Citadel, and numerous colleges; married Elizabeth Bloomer October 15, 1948; children: Michael Gerald, born March 14, 1950; John Gardner, March 16, 1952; Steven Meigs, May 19, 1956; and Susan Elizabeth, July 6, 1957; Chairman of the Republican Conference, 88th Congress; minority Leader, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd and 1st Session, 93rd Congresses; nominated Vice President on October 12, 1973, to succeed Spiro T. Agnew, who resigned, and confirmed December 6; succeeded to the Presidency August 9, 1974, following the resignation of Richard M. Nixon.

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9/21/74

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: EDITORIAL STAFF
VIA: PAUL THEIS, AGNES WALDRON
FROM: PAT PETRONE

PLEASE FIND ATTACHED A BIOGRAPHICAL
SKETCH OF THE PRESIDENT

KP



—Associated Press

THE GOOD OLD DAYS 81-1 w/stry 11/16/75

Three future Presidents — Gerald R. Ford (second circle from upper left), Richard M. Nixon (upper left) and Lyndon B. Johnson (right center) — were on hand when President Harry S. Truman delivered his State of the Union address at a joint session of Congress. Ford delivered his first State of the Union yesterday



THE PRESIDENT: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

(Unless otherwise noted, the following information is a synopsis of Jerry ter Horst's book, Gerald Ford, the Future of the Presidency.)

BIRTH

Leslie Lynch King was born on, July 14, 1913, in Omaha, Nebraska. . . . In 1915 his parents were divorced. Dorothy King returned to her parents home in Grand Rapids where she met Gerald R. Ford who was a salesman for a wood-finishing firm. He later founded the Ford Paint and Varnish Co. Leslie was formally adopted and became Gerald Ford, Jr. (His nickname was Junie.)

BIOGRAPHY

n. b. You will find attached biographies as President, Vice President, and a short biography from "Congressional Quarterly".

The Ford brothers: Thomas, a financial analyst for the State Senate, 56; Richard, the only brother still in the paint and varnish business, 50; James, an optometrist, 47. These ages were correct as of August 9, 1974. Detroit News, August 9, 1974. Janet Ford (Tom's wife) was the maid of honor at the President's wedding.

The King family:

Stepmother: Mrs. Margaret Atwood King; half brother: Leslie "Bud"

Henry King; Half sisters: Patricia King, Marjorie Werner. Parade 9/15/74

He spent his childhood on Madison Avenue, Grand Rapids.

He was a member of Boy Scout Troop #15 at Trinity M.E. Church. He became an Eagle Scout.

FATHER (Gerald Ford, Sr.)

"But I guess Dad was the strongest influence on my life." I've often thought, even nowadays; now how would he have done this?"

Gerald Ford, Sr, during WWII was head of the Kent County Office of Civil Defense. The Office was cited as one of the best in Michigan and in the Middle West.

From his earliest days, Ford remembers his mother and stepfather being active in community life and projects centering around Grace Episcopal Church. Both were fundraisers for charity, for Boy Scout Activities, and for the Grand Rapids Symphony Orchestra. One of Dad Ford's pet

3.

ventures was the organization of one of the first programs to assist underprivileged youth. Ford, senior, was a charter director of a recreation house established in the Grand Rapids high-crime district, a poor neighborhood of blacks and whites of all nationalities. He also organized a summer camp for needy youngsters. Page 35 ter Horst

PATERNAL FATHER

Leslie Lynch King (1882 -1941)

While working for Bill Skougis at a hamburger joint during high school, a man came in and said, "Leslie, I'm your father" He had never really known he was not Gerald Ford by birth. (1930)

"I thought here I was earning two dollars a week and trying to get through school my stepfather was having difficult times, yet here was my real father, obviously doing quite well if he could pick up a new Lincoln" Page 39 tH (note double irony of the words "I'm a Ford, not a Lincoln")

King had business interests in wool, lumber, and real estate. He was living in Riverton, Wyoming, and was considered to be wealthy. Parade 9/15/74

HIGH SCHOOL

William J. Schuiling, now a banker in the Washington area, won the hotly contested election for president of the senior class of South High School. Schuiling considered himself the underdog. Schuiling called his party "Republican". Ford in his "inaugural address" to Congress in August noted that he had run for that office on the Progressive Party ticket and lost. Washington Star 8/15/74

Ford bought a Model T Ford for \$75, secondhand. One night after basketball practice he threw a blanket over the engine to keep it warm. The car caught on fire and was a total loss.

To earn bus fare during his high school Senior year. J. Ford took a part time job at Bill Skougis' hamburger joint. He worked from 11:30-1:00 and 7-10 pm one night a week for \$2 and his lunches. He waited on customer and washed dishes. (n.b. his Horation Alger attitude toward social programs)

In 1931 he worked for Alex Demarelos at Tamona park (amusement park) He was in charge of supplies.

FOOTBALL

He played on the South High School Football Team under coach Clifford Gettings. For three years he was named center for the "All-City" team. In 1930, his senior year, South High School's Football Team won the State Championship. He was All-State Center for two years. Ford was invited to visit Michigan State, Northwestern, Harvard, and the University of Michigan.

n. b. The 30-30 Club is composed of members of this South High School Football Team. They have had an annual breakfast on Thanksgiving Day. In 1974 the President was the host in the White House. Note attached articles on the 30-30 Club and the article "The Next President as a Young Man" by Terance Sheridan for interesting human insights of a black friend during his high school days.

At the University of Michigan he succeeded All American Chuck Bernard. His senior year he won the most valuable player award. In 1934 the team lost 7 of 8 games. He played in the East-West Shrine Game in San Francisco, in January , 1935.

n. b "In Defense of the Competetive Urge" page 3...his days at the University of Michigan, and the information sent by the University.

The number on his football jersy was 48, the same year he entered the primary for Congress

PARK RANGER

In 1936, at age 23, he was a summer ranger in Yellowstone National Park's Canyon District.

Ansel Adams, noted scenic photographer carried his plan for improved national parks to the White House. A photo of a clearing winter storm at Yosemite hangs over the fireplace in the work area near the Oval Office.

Jack Ford, at age 22, was a summer ranger in Yellowstone National Park (summer, 1974)

ACADEMIA

n. b. attached biographies

He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1935 with a B average.

Note attached page 43 from the ter Horst book concerning his days at Yale.

Note insert "Ford's Classmates Also Gained Fame"

He voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. Fortune, March, 1974

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the traditional game in Chicago against the Bears. The collegians lost 5-0, but player Ford received duplicate offers from the Packers and the Detroit Lions: two hundred dollars a game for a fourteen-game season, a far cry from the big money that All-American players later attracted in the professional leagues. "Pro ball did not have the allure it has now," Ford recollected as Vice President. "Though my interest was piqued at the time, I didn't lose any sleep over the offers."

Ford was graduated from the University of Michigan in the spring of 1935 with a B average and a liberal arts degree. He received A's in four courses during his four years. They formed an interesting set of subjects: American Government, Money and Credit, European History, and Organized Labor. But, as happened before, it was his football talent and not his scholastic attainments that attracted attention. Ducky Pond, the head coach at Yale University, needed an assistant. He went from Connecticut to Michigan to see Ford.

"I saw the chance to realize two dreams at once—to stay in football and to pursue a long-nurtured aspiration for law school," Ford said. Pond offered him \$2,400 for twelve months of work as assistant line coach, junior varsity coach, and as coach of the Yale boxing team. "Of boxing, I knew next to nothing. No, that's not right. I knew absolutely nothing."

While working in his father's paint factory that summer in Grand Rapids, Ford took YMCA boxing lessons three times a week from Stanley Levandoski, a former amateur champion, becoming proficient enough "to fool the Yale freshmen." Ford coached at Yale for six seasons from 1935 through 1940. From the outset, he had difficulty persuading the law school faculty that he should be admitted.

"My scholastic advisers were convinced that I couldn't handle law school and a full-time job," he said. Finally, in 1938, Ford received permission to take two courses on a trial basis. He did sufficiently well to be allowed to take a full load of law subjects, beginning in the spring of 1939, although the dean declared it was "a great risk" for the law school to take on an assistant football coach.

"I was warned that of the 125 law students entering that year, ninety-eight were Phi Beta Kappa, and that was clearly another league from the one I had been in," Ford said. "Somehow, I got by."

Trans Academia

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8/27/74

FORD'S CLASSMATES

ALSO GAINED FAME

Stan

President Ford's fellow law students at Yale included some rather noteworthy figures.

Included were these 11: Justices Potter Stewart and Byron R. White of the U.S. Supreme Court; Sen. Peter Dominick of Colorado; Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey; Raymond P. Shafer, former Republican governor of Pennsylvania; J. Richardson Dilworth, former mayor of Philadelphia; Judge Morris Lasker; R. Sargent Shriver, the Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1972; Cyrus R. Vance, former deputy secretary of defense; Stanley Resor, former secretary of the Army; and Najeeb Halaby, former administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency.



NAVY

Ford joined the Navy on April 20, 1942. He was commissioned as an ensign. Ford was assigned to the Navy physical training unit headed by Gene Tunney. At his request for more active duty, he was assigned to training and the light aircraft carrier "Monterey" He was Director of physical training and Navigation officer. They joined the Pacific U.S. III Fleet. In the final year of heavy fighting the Monterey participated in almost every major naval engagement.

During the "Great Pacific Typhoon" 12/18/1944 G.F. narrowly escaped being swept overboard.

He spent 47 months on active duty. He left with the reserve rank of Lt. Commander, 10 battle stars, and 70 days accumulated leave. Capt.L. T. Hundt gave him the maximum rank of four.

LAW CAREER

Upon returning from the war, Ford and Philip Buchen joined the law firm of Julius Anberg, one of the most prestigious in the State. Anberg himself held for years the highest academic record in the history of Harvard Law School.



EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY

While in Law School in 1940, at age 27, Ford worked on Wendell Wilkie's campaign. Wilkie's "lack of airs" appealed to Ford, Wilkie carried Michigan by 6, 926 votes.

Wilkie's success in Michigan made Ford aware that a candidate with grass roots support could beat political bossism. Frank McKay was the political boss in Grand Rapids.

In 1941, Doc VerMeulen organized the "Home Front" against McKay. At Ford's request VerMeulen and Philip Buchen (Ford's law partner and friend from the University of Michigan) wrote to G.F. in the Pacific. The Home Front asked Ford, Sr. to run for the Kent County Republican Chairman seat, at young Jerry's request he agreed to do so. Ford, Sr. won the seat, scandals concerning Mc Kay erupted and the boss's power waned.

Upon returning from the War, Ford was elected vice president of the Independent Veterans Association. He lobbied for and received amended zoning laws to open up desirable land for low-cost housing developments for veterans and modified construction coded to speed houses to the market.

PRIMARY

In 1948, at the age of 35 and still a bachelor, (48 was the number of his football jersey at the U. of Michigan) G. F. challenged Representative Bartel J. Jonkman in the primary.

Jack Stiles was his first campaign manager. They were fraternity brothers. The campaign was directed out of a surplus quonset hut painted red, white and blue. n. b. "Portrait of the Next President as a Young Man" page 7

Jonkman was a chief opponent of Harry Truman's "giveaway" program of aid to war devastated countries. In his district, the major battle was the primary. He came to Congress as an internationalist. Ford's single successful campaign issue was his staunch support of American financing of European recovery after WW2--the Marshall Plan. He believed in strong defense budgets, and foreign assistance to friendly countries.

Interestingly, in light of present auto workers criticism. Leonard Woodcock, then a regional representative of the CIO and now President of the UAW was one of the Democrats who took up Ford's cause in the original primary fight against Jonkman.

10.

"A change happened within me during the war. In college I had been a real isolationist. But the war and being overseas changed my mind about the role that America should play in the world". Page 12 tH

Ford has described himself as a "moderate on domestic issues, a conservative on fiscal affairs and a dye-in-the-wool internationalist in foreign affairs" Fortune, March, 1974

According to terHorst, G.F. describes himself as an "internationalist... a reformed isolationist" p213 tH

1948 Platform, Grand Rapids Press, "I believe in aid to Europe with emphasis on making certain the common man in the countries we aid get the maximum benefits. This is the way to Democracy"

In 1968... "Our military strength has dangerously declined compared to that of the Communist world. We must rebuild our military power to the point where no aggressor would dare to attack us" Page 111, tH

11.

"But as I do not believe the grave challenges we face at home can be countered simply by pouring out more and more money, neither do I believe the great challenge in Southeast Asia can be met by pouring in more and more blood"

"Why are we pulling our best punches in Vietnam? Address on the House Floor, Page 106 tH

Also note page 77(xerox) when Ford cut across Party lines to actively support President Kennedy's foreign aid program.

CONGRESS

"I thought about it and finally decided that although I probably couldn't win, he ought to be challenged I told them I would go (referring to his run for Congress)

On the day Ford announced for Congress. President Harry Truman was winding up a 16 day "non-political" tour of the Nation. Page 5, tH

When Ford first came to Congress he~~f~~ ranked 368th of the 435 members of the House (in seniority). Among ninety-five freshmen he ranked 28th. Page 56, tH

John P. Milanowski was his original Administrative Assistant.

Milanowski was a former high school speech instructor who helped Ford with his gestures and style of oration. Milanowski (according to terHorst) once remarked Ford lacked "God's gift of gab". Page 61 tH

n. b. "Election Results" in attached biography (results of past Congressional elections)

At the House Judiciary Committee hearings before being confirmed as Vice President, asked what vites he regretted casting over 25 years, Ford replied he had cast 4,192 roll call votes and couldn't think of one he would change. Nor could he think of anything else he would have done differently. Washington Post, Nov. 17, 1973

EARLY DAYS IN CONGRESS

From Michigan's veteran Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Ford learned an important lesson: new-comers can best make their mark in committee work. Don't forget to "service" the district.

"I really admired him", said Ford, "He was my mentor." Page 55, tH (Vandenberg was influential in Ford's entering politics and especially in his interest in foreign policy)

13.

John F. Kennedy, a bachelor, had the office next to Ford. Ford was assigned to the Public Works Committee. Ford had his eye on the post of Speaker of the House. He needed to be on one of the premier committees.

When John Taber of N. Y., the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Appropriations had a problem that overlapped Public Works he called for assistance from Ford and his assistant Milanowski. Impressed with Ford's work, Taber was instrumental in getting Ford a seat on the Committee in 1951, at the beginning of his second term. He was assigned to the subcommittee handling Defense Department spending and was soon considered expert in the field of budgetary defense spending.

John Taber became chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. In 1953 Ford was 16th in seniority.

In 1956, Ford turned down an opportunity to run for Governor of Mich. The bid was made by President John Hannah of Michigan State University. He told Hannah "My place is in Congress." Page 68, tH

In 1956, Vice President Nixon called on Ford for help. Due to Eisenhower's illness, the importance of the position of the V.P. became increasingly important. An anti-Nixon movement arose---the nucleus of the save-Nixon campaign was the CHOWDER AND MARCHING CLUB, the social organization of influential Republicans in Congress that Nixon and Ford helped to form in 1949.

In 1960 the Michigan Republican party launched a "Ford for Vice President" campaign at the Republican convention in Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, KENNEDY, AND THE CIA

Ford believed he would be fiercely contesting Kennedy and Defense Secretary McNamara over the military spending policy...

"Ironically, in his first two confrontations one would amount to self-imposed neutrality, the other would find Ford fighting on Kennedy's side." Page 76, tH

In April of 1961 the Bay of Pigs invasion took place. JFK took full responsibility. But because of his position on Appropriations, Ford was aware that recruiting, training, and planning for the invasion

had begun with the Eisenhower Administration.

Ford felt he could not attack Kennedy. Page 77, tH (attached)

Ford's active support of Kennedy came in September, 1961 when he led a revolt of House members against a major slash in Kennedy's foreign aid program. He contested a moneybill that had been approved by the Appropriations Committee. Ford convinced the House that the President was not being extravagant. His amendment proposed \$1.6 billion--less than Kennedy had asked for but the House accepted it. The Party hierarchy took note of Ford.

Page 80 CIA (attached)

Ford was named to the Warren Commission after JFK's assassination in 1963. Later Ford and Stiles collaborated on a book Portrait of the Assassin.

privity to intelligence operations, Ford was aware that the recruiting, training, and planning for the invasion had begun within the CIA during the Eisenhower Administration. Ford felt he could not in good conscience attack Kennedy for the failures of a covert scheme to depose Castro that had been inherited from his Republican predecessor. Ford did not know why the invasion had gone awry but he endorsed Kennedy's decision to review CIA paramilitary operations and, later, to name John A. McCone as the new CIA director.

Ford's open and active support of Kennedy came in September 1961, when he led a revolt of House members against a major slash in Kennedy's foreign aid program. Although the parliamentary struggle eluded the headlines, it did not escape the attention of House leaders or members.

Ford took the audacious step of challenging a money bill that had been approved by the Appropriations Committee of which he was a senior member. That made it all the more unusual, because even non-members seldom contest bills that emerge from that powerful panel. In a year in which a coalition of Democratic and Republican conservatives was determined to show Kennedy that it—not he—was in charge of federal spending, Ford convinced the House that the President was not being extravagant by asking more money for foreign military aid. Ford's amendment proposed \$1.6 billion for such assistance—not quite all that Kennedy had asked but all that Ford figured the House would accept. "This is less than was recommended at any time by either President Eisenhower or President Kennedy," Ford told the attentive chamber. "In view of the worsening world situation, it should not be cut further." The Ford forces—mainly liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans—had to survive three votes before they were successful: a voice vote, a teller vote, and finally a roll call of the House.

The Ford victory sent a quiet signal into the backroom sanctums on Capitol Hill where the hierarchy of the House gathered at day's end over bourbon and branch water to take stock of the day's events. The conclusion was that Jerry Ford was one of those gentle tigers who, having tasted raw meat, would be back for more whenever he got hungry. Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck decided to keep a squinty



15B

White House. What was needed, McCone told Ford, was "hard evidence" sufficient to give the President a basis for action. And that kind of evidence had not yet been forthcoming.

Ford inquired whether the CIA was using U-2 reconnaissance planes to conduct high altitude photographic missions over Cuba similar to those conducted over Russia and other communist countries in the past. McCone said the planes were flying, but on a routine schedule and subject to bad weather over the Caribbean. Ford urged a step-up in U-2 overflights and said he would use his congressional leverage at the White House, NSC, and the Defense Department. McCone said he was already pushing for that but had been unsuccessful. He would keep in touch with Ford. Whether Ford's prodding was instrumental is not known, although McCone is certain it helped. Kennedy's advisers finally agreed to authorize U-2 reconnaissance on a massive scale over Cuba, the reconnaissance that came up with the photographic evidence of Soviet missile emplacements.¹⁴

In any event, the political aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis was another Republican disappointment at the polls in November, 1962. Instead of the traditional good gains in an offyear election, the Republicans lost two Senate seats and two House seats, giving the Democrats another solid majority for two more years. One Republican bright spot was in the South, where the party increased its House seats from nine to fourteen, a hint of greater change ahead. In Michigan, there was a good omen, too. Republican George Romney won the governorship, breaking a twelve-year Democratic grip on the statehouse. But out in California, an old colleague of Ford's lost the race for the governorship, telling newsmen he was through with politics and that they wouldn't have Dick Nixon to kick around anymore.

McCone was director of the CIA

¹⁴Following Ford's nomination as Vice President, McCone sent him a congratulatory letter praising his perception of defense and intelligence matters. "The particular one that stands out foremost in my mind was the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 when you felt—and I concurred totally—that there was more behind the Soviet buildup in Cuba than was recognized by high authority or by the intelligence analysts. Unfortunately, it took some time to develop hard intelligence to support your judgment and mine. Fortunately, the problem was liquidated, but how lucky we were to get the evidence in the nick of time."

MINORITY LEADER

Not unlike the challengers to established party leaders today-- Ford became one of the Young Turks who would challenge Charlie Halleck as Minority Leader. There were 140 Republicans according to CQ, their average age was 50 and one-half of their number had been in Congress less than ten years. Neither by age or seniority were they part of Halleck's Congressional generation. Page 91, tH

Ford won 73-67 in a secret ballot. It was analyzed by political scientist Robert L. Peabody as being less of an ideological struggle (both Ford and Halleck were moderate conservatives) than a revolt of the junior Republicans against the elders. Washington Post, October 14, 1973

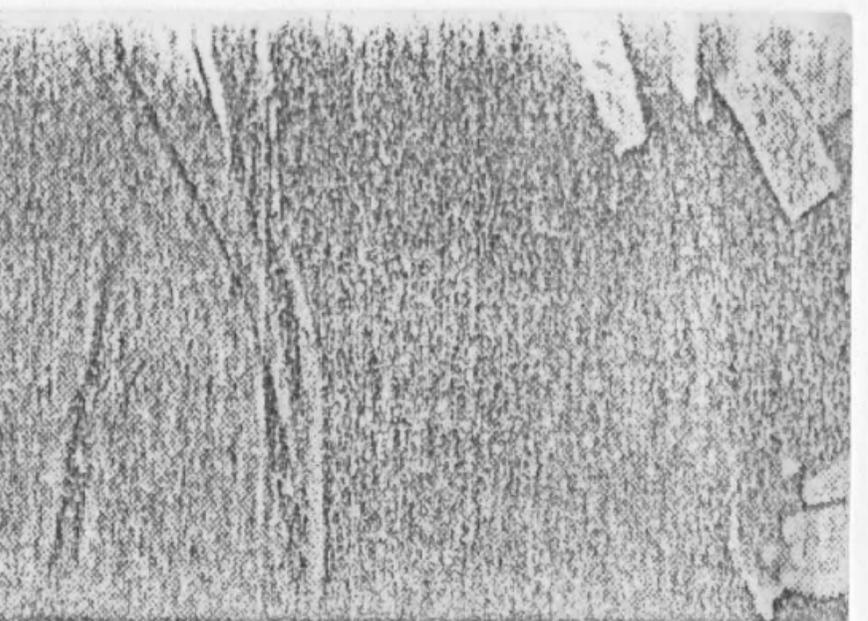
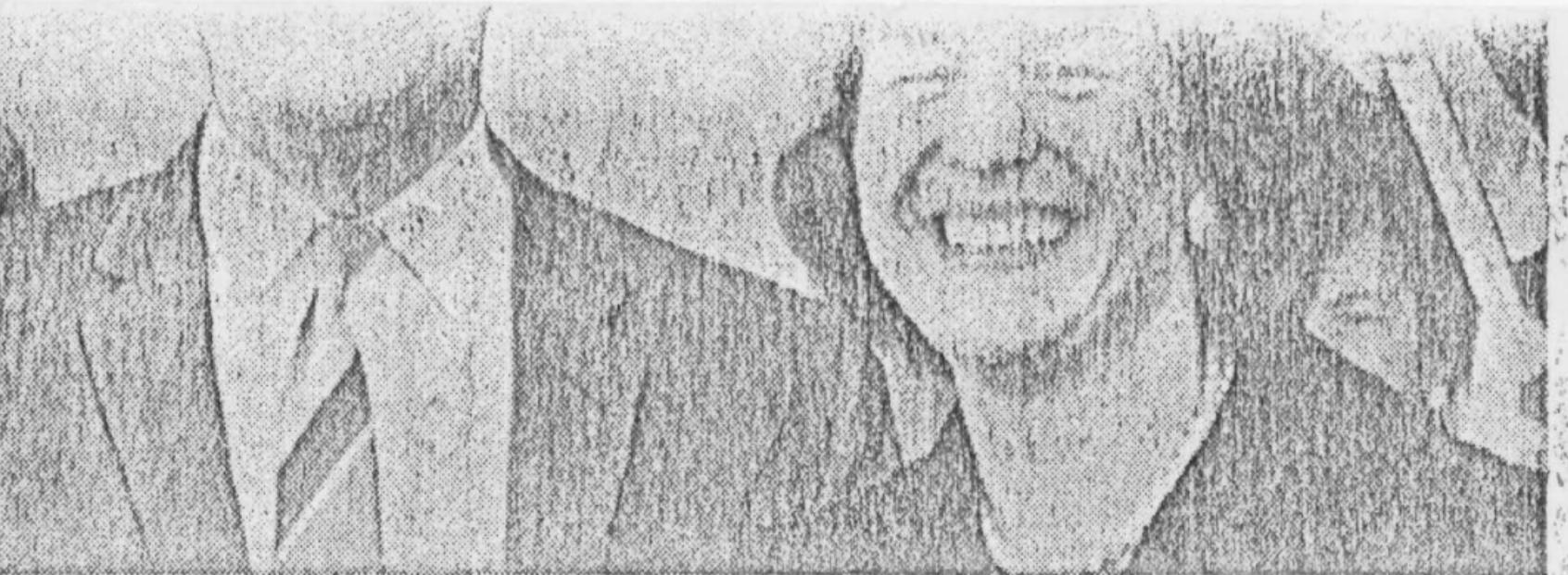
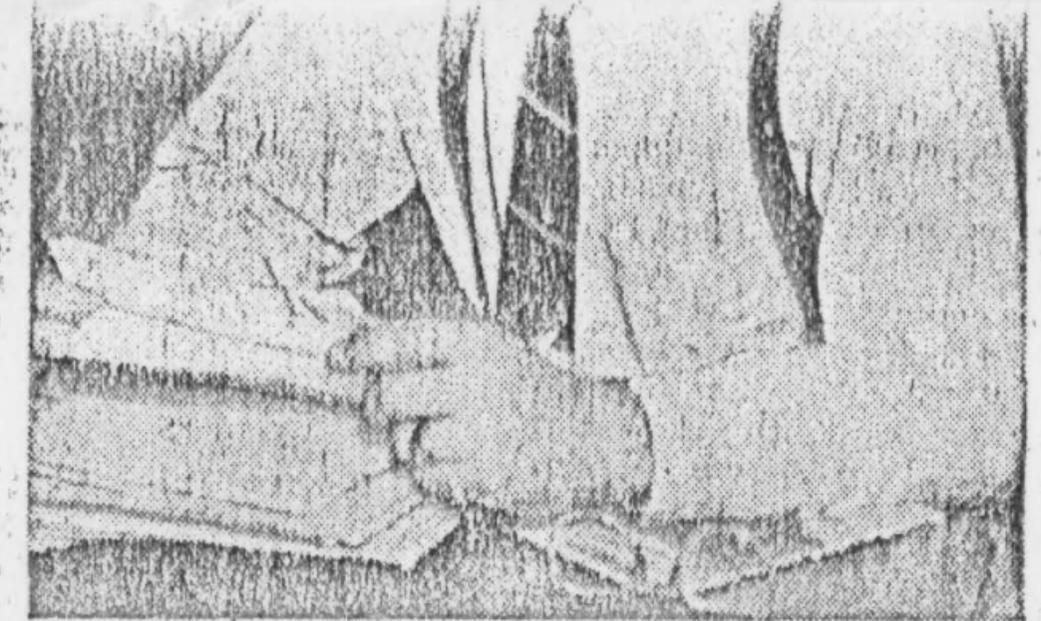
publicans to wonder about the survival of their party. In that crisis, Ford emerged

News Analysis

as the new leader of the embattled remnant of House Republicans.

The way in which he handled his job as Minority Leader, particularly in those years between 1965 and 1968 when he was calling the signals for congressional Republicans without guidance from a Republican President, was being re-examined yesterday as a guide to the qualities Ford brings to his new post, a heartbeat from the Oval Office.

On the positive side, Ford



"Always the 'President's Agent,' Ford Now to get the Title" W. Post, Oct 14, 1973

Points in Rep. Gerald R. Ford's career—reading mail in his office as freshman congressman, 1949, left; with wife, Elizabeth, at 1960 GOP convention center, and with the man he would succeed at a 1972 Inauguration, right. Associated Press

party that discouraged some of his original backers in the fight for Minority Leader. The "constructive Republican alternatives" he

night, set forth three criteria he had used in selecting Spiro T. Agnew's replacement. The new Vice President, he said, "must be qualified to be President

Hess said. "He doesn't want anyone on the scene who is going to upstage him. He was in the reverse position in the second Eisenhower administration and saw how

Illinois, Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois (now ambassador to NATO), and Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri (who recently served briefly as head of the Corporation for Public

for him as head of a "planning and research" committee. Despite these setbacks, Ford set out to create a more "positive image" for

to publicize Republican views on the television network news programs. In stepping out front, however, Ford suffered many a misstep. He engaged

House majority elect Speaker. Republicans hold only five more than they did in 1970 before his nomination as Vice President. The

16A

minority leader - similar to today's
class in Congress

meeting to discuss party policy and organizational matters. If a sufficient number responded, Ford would issue a call for such a session.

Many did respond. On December 16, 119 Republicans gathered behind closed doors for the stated purpose of discussing changes in House rules to give the minority a stronger voice in the shaping of legislation. But the question of Halleck's future cast a long shadow over the gathering. The veteran Hoosier talked gamely of party unity and of "going on from here," but many of his listeners were noticeably uncomfortable. "We had heard it all before and it never did work," one of them observed. Halleck and his Old Guard loyalists apparently felt the meeting had served to dampen the fires of revolt, but not so Griffin, Goodell, Laird, and Quie. They called a quick rump session of about sixteen Republicans—liberals, conservatives, House veterans, and younger members—in Goodell's office immediately after the caucus. Out of that intensive discussion came one key decision: Halleck must go. But the group was far from agreement on whom to run against him.

Ford, as Conference Chairman, was an important part of the picture. So was Laird—an aggressive and talented conservative—but his pro-Goldwater chairmanship of the 1964 Platform Committee had earned him the enmity of many moderates and liberals. John Lindsay was interested, but he was discounted as a New York City liberal whose following in the House probably consisted at most of two dozen like-minded easterners. In the end, the rebels saw Ford as their best alternative to Halleck—not because he possessed superior talent or leadership abilities but because he was the candidate with the broadest appeal among all factions of the House minority.

"It wasn't as though everybody was wildly enthusiastic about Jerry," Goodell observed later. "It was just that most Republicans liked him and respected him. He didn't have enemies."

The rebels' next task was to convince Ford to make the run for Halleck's job. Ford had hoped merely to remain "available" for the spot, but Griffin, Quie, and Cederberg convinced him that availability wasn't enough. Ford noted that his voting record was not precisely in stark contrast to Halleck's, and that there would not be any ideological advantage to his candidacy. Furthermore, Ford reminded the rebels that



NAMES TO NOTE

The YOUNG TURKS (They backed Ford for the role of House Minority

Leader in 1964)

Robert Griffin, Mich.

Albert Quie, Minn.

Charles Goodell, N. Y.

Thomas Curtis, Mo.

Melvin R. Laird, Wisc.

Wm. Broomfield, Mich.

Elfer⁵Cederberg, Mich.

Silvio Conte, Mass.

Samuel Devine, Ohio

John V. Lindsay, N. Y.

^{WA}
G. Lipscomb, Calif.

John Rhodes, Ariz.

A Washington Post article (October 14, 1973) also mentions Donald Rumsfeld as giving impetus to the campaign for Minority Leader.

Melvin Laird replaced Ford as Chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Chairmanship of the House Republican Policy Committee went to J. Rhodes in 1965.



Representative Peter Frelinghuysen of N. J., Ford's candidate failed to defeat veteran Representative Leslie Arends of Illinois for Whip and Ford's ally Goodell then backed away from challenging Representative John Rhodes of Arizona for the Policy Committee. Washington Post 10/14/73

In the Fall of 1965 in preparation for the 1966 mid-term elections representative of various political philosophies, Ford, Ronald Reagan, former V.P. Nixon, George Romney, and Nelson Rockefeller, concentrated their political attacks increasingly on the issues of inflation, Vietnam, crime in the streets, and the credibility of President Johnson. At the November 8, 1966 election the Republican party captured 8 new governorships, plus three new seats in the U.S. Senate and forty-seven additional seats in the House. Though still in a minority in Congress the Republican party had been elevated to a position of power. Ford had campaigned in 37 states and traveled 138,436 miles (Obviously, since assuming the Presidency it seems unlikely he would abandon his state-to-state, person-to-person approach)

His third term, 1952, was the ^{only} ~~first~~ time he was a member of the majority in Congress.



NAMES TO NOTE AT THE TIME OF THE VICE PRESIDENCY

At the time of the transition:

Senator Griffin, Mich.

Former Representative John W. Byrnes, Wisconsin

Bryce Harlow

ex-Governor William Scranton

Wm. Whyte, V.P. U.S. Steel

Albert Quie served as an informal adviser when the V.P. nominee went before the House Judiciary Committee.

Senator Griffin of Michigan, a member of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, was an invaluable help in keeping Ford advised of committee procedures and areas of concern to the committee related to Ford's background.

Vice President Ford traveled to California and publicly embraced his friend liberal Republican Paul "Pete" McCloskey, the anti-war Republican who ran vs. Nixon in 1972, thereby saving the California lawmaker from almost certain defeat in the June primary. In a way, Ford was returning a favor, McCloskey was one of the Republicans who extolled Ford before the Senate Rules Committee during the V.P. hearings.

RELATIONS WITH MINORITIES

Michigan had a topknotch black athlete during Ford's senior year, 1934. His name was Willis F. Ward. Georgia Tech delivered an ultimatum to Michigan. If Ward appeared Georgia Tech would not. Ford had roomed with Willis on the road. He considered staying out of the game but the team had already lost two games. Ford played, it was the only game the team won that season. One lineman taunted the team over the missing "nigger". Ford and a Michigan guard blocked the lineman so severely a few plays later he had to be carried from the field on a stretcher.

Jack Stiles, speaking of the 1948 primary, "You wouldn't believe the number of women who were out there working for Jerry. It was probably the first time they were ever called on to work in a Congressional race and, man, they really made the difference."

In late 1965, Ford had to cancel at the last minute an appearance at a big fund raising dinner in Natchez, Mississippi because the audience would be limited to whites. To emphasize his decision; Ford kept two speaking dates the same weekend on the University of Miss. campus because of assurances from school authorities and civil rights groups that the sessions were open to all citizens. Page 98, tH

Roger Wilkins, a black editorial writer for the N. Y. Times said,
 "How can he do naything but improve? He's a decent man, and honest."

Betty Ford and Governor Carter were the only two people who were
 not representatives of the civil rights movement attending Alberta King's
 funereal. Page 202, tH

Joseph I. Rauh, Jr., National Vice-Chairman of the Americans for
 Democratic Action, made one of the strongest attacks on Ford's record
 " a devisive influence on civil rights legislation at every turn. "

At the confirmation hearings, Clarence Mitchell, Di rector of the D. C.
 office of the NAACP said Ford had consistently "associated himself
 with groups in Michigan and across the country who want to turn
 back the clock on civil rights." Mitchell joined with Hugh Scott and
 Mark Hatfield, who hoped Ford might be able to "grow" in his views.

One black who spoke for Ford was ^{source} M. Dawkins; the Washington
 representative of the Opportunities Industrialization Center sponsored
 by a black "self-help" entreprenauer, Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia.
 Dawkins praised Ford for his support of minority enterprise programs
 and so-called "Black Capitalism".



When giving testimony before the House Judiciary Committee (before becoming Vice President) Ford insisted his civil rights record was good. He recalled that he had voted to abolish poll taxes as requirements for voting in 1949 before civil rights legislation was "fashionable". Ford stated his civil rights beliefs this way. "I believe every American regardless of race, creed, or color must be treated equally. I have lived that. If I hold a position of responsibility, I will insist that every person have equal opportunity in employment, housing, education and the like."

Washington Post, November 17, 1973

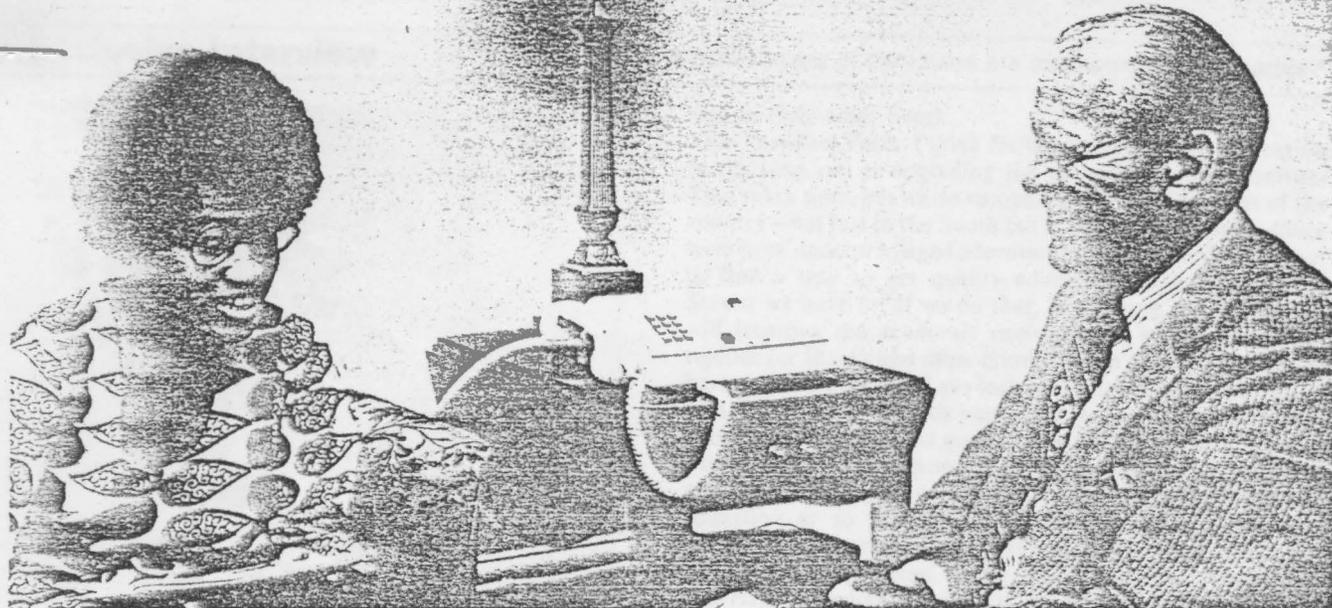
PAST PRESIDENTS TO NOTE

He admires:

Dwight Eisenhower--because he was considered a people's president, eschewed politics and preferred cooperation with Congress. Another is Lincoln, because he saved the Union, dealt gently with people and was unafraid to face tough questions.

Harry Truman, because he was direct, knew where the buck stopped and was not scared by the heat of the kitchen.





Ida Lewis and the vice-president in Ford's office

Bill Sparrow—ENCORE

Vice-President Gerald R. Ford: “Quality Education Key For Underprivileged”

Should government programs be centralized? Will the Republican Party encourage minority participation within its ranks? Can Gerald R. Ford's voting record stand the test in minority communities? Ida Lewis, ENCORE's Editor & Publisher, interviewed the Vice-President in his Washington office to find the answers.

Ida Lewis. Since Black political power is still growing as opposed to being fully grown and influential, and since local governments have historically been unresponsive to minority interests, do you believe that it will be beneficial to all communities to decentralize government programs and functions so that authority and control over them again reside with local officials?

Vice-President Ford. I am impressed, Miss Lewis, with several things that don't quite coincide with the assumption that local governments aren't responsive to minority needs. First, there has been an increase in Black elected officials at the local level. I am pleased that in my home state of Michigan, I think the latest figures show there are more locally elected Black officials than in any other state in the union, including a Black mayor in my home town of Grand Rapids who was reelected, Rev. Lyman Parker. In the areas I am most familiar with, minorities are getting much more equitable treatment, consideration, and influence. So it's not like it was 10, 20, or 40 years ago. Local units of government are much more responsive. That's my impression. So I am not as pessimistic that turning over federal dollars and programs to local units of government will end up with the wrong results. It's my general feeling that what we call general revenue sharing, which is the ultimate, so to speak—with very limited restriction—has resulted in a fair share of that money being spent in response to the legitimate programs that affect

minorities. Now the next question is do you want to go much further with special revenue sharing or block grants that give not as much local autonomy as general revenue sharing but a lot more than they have today? In some areas I think this would be desirable. I think it would be in the case of community development. I think that would be a big step forward. You would have far less overhead at the local level. You would have much more money to spend locally because you're getting away from this expensive overhead involved in federal processing and federal control. In the field of education, the Congress isn't going to go quite as far, and that's probably wise, although I hope there will be consolidation and more local flexibility. So, what I am really saying is that I am encouraged by local responsiveness to minorities.

Favors All-Volunteer Army

Ida Lewis. The administration has come down hard against granting amnesty to so-called draft dodgers. Without debating the merits of that stance, would it be wise in your view to initiate government programs that would in effect repatriate the thousands of minority G.I.s who did fight in the Vietnam war, but who were sent home with other than honorable discharges?

Vice-President Ford. Don't they call those “less than honorable”? There are several categories in there. For those who assumed their obligations, who participated in Vietnam or whatever their military assignment was, but who for one reason or another ended up with military discharges less than honorable, I think a rehabilitation program is important. You certainly can put those individuals in a different category than those who just fled the country and refused any obligation. A rehabilitation program in this area aimed at wiping out the stigma of a less-than-honorable discharge would be a very good investment.

Ida Lewis. Are you fearful of an all-volunteer army?

Vice-President Ford. Not at all. I strongly favor it. No draft, no selective service program can be completely equitable. The minute you start making exceptions, you add to discrimina-

The Cabinet Room had the portraits of past Presidents. Eisenhower's remained but Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were replaced with portraits of Lincoln and Truman.

LEFT -HANDED

Ford writes with his left had but plays sports with his right. supposedly, at State Dinners he eat~~s~~ with his right hand to avoid confusion.

Garfield was the last left-handed president.

Interestingly, Rockefeller was born left-handed but was taught to use his right hand.

The President has referred to this on three separate occasions:

August 21, signing of the Elementary, and Secondary Education Act
October 11, Energy Reorganization Act signing
Feb. 3, signing the Budget Message

ADDITIONAL ANECDOTES

Ford dated Phyllis Brown, after arriving at Yale, for four years. She introduced him to skiing. Later, Phyllis became a model. Together, they posed for a several page spread of clother for "Look" magazine.

Phyllis Brown, and Ford in his Navy uniform, posed for a patriotic cover for Cosmopolitan early in 1942.

His 1947 Campaign Card read, "Remember the name Ford -- If I get to Congress I'll remeber what you told me.

On his wedding day he wore a grey pin-striped suit, but forgot to change his shoes from the dirty brown ones he had been campaigning in all day.

Arriving late for the wedding, Mrs. Ford was quoted as saying, "If he had been five minute later, I'd have married the best man." New York Times 12/7/73

As Vice President, while teeing off in Menneapolis on June 24, 1974, he struck a spectator in the head with his golf ball at a celebrity golf tournament. Later in the 16th hole he hit a golf cart carrying a policeman. New York Times, 6/25/74

The President's hand rested on Provens^D_A III while he took the oath of office.

“... Betty had been a dancer, and she was divorced, so her romance with Ford was one of the few secrets of the Ford campaign ...”

niscent, sentimental kind of way, 'Why can't we have a congressman like old Carl of it W Rapi sion in n main Ford The The porti Jonk ragec came sight camp red, hut Ford thou Wor choi prese his t who Ford Th were Wur leadi burg head "N burg burg bers. set Wur favor his y hut? Ar mind deed aske "I k both tions move 'Exc you Th as a man Rept coun a w Jonk 23,6 took on his new opponent, Democrat Fred J. Barr Jr., and defeated him handily, 74,191 votes to Barr's 46,972. But in Grand Rapids on November 2, 1948,

the election of the new congressman was overshadowed by other political member 2 general election. Betty had a more immediate concern—October 15, dding. of the paign storian st de- cepts ls for Ford's wed- nances meeting n Mar- ig was brows goers. nd di- h Cal- 1948 cs. e hap- d. "On imary, to all d out l' and inten- danc- f tack i they hurch- abbath about Jerry's strict, Jonk- uldn't a big cently. Grace Grand Jerry's ne last hough d with y that a gray ng the worn Mother Betty. ef and ok his n foot- Satur- epubli- higan, lyweds of Sun- day in a Boston hotel, then hurriedly drove back to Grand Rapids so Ford could resume campaigning Monday morning.

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For immediate release

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary to Mrs. Ford

BACKGROUND ON FORD FAMILY

The Nation's First Family is an outdoor-sy, sports-loving family, close-knit and informal in their life-style.

The family consists of four children, ranging in ages from 17-25 and in interests from ranching to the ministry. Susan, the youngest, is a senior in high school and the only Ford offspring to live in the White House. Her three older brothers, Steve, Jack and Mike, have a variety of interests and are scattered in locale from the East Coast to the West.

Susan, 17, is a senior at Holton-Arms, a girls school in Bethesda, Md. A tall, blue-eyed blonde, she plans to attend Mount Vernon College in Washington, D.C. next year and is considering the possibility of a career in child care or fashion. She is a sports enthusiast and especially enjoys skiing, swimming, horseback riding and tennis. Among hobbies are photography, needlepoint and caring for a growing family of plants at the White House. Susan also has unofficial charge of the White House pets, a sealpoint Siamese named Shan and a golden retriever named Liberty.

The youngest son is Steve, 18, who graduated from T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Va., last year and decided to take a year off before starting college. He is a ranchhand on a cattle ranch near Missoula, Montana, and has also worked on a ranch in Utah and a dairy farm in Virginia. He is looking into studying agriculture when he returns to school.

Jack, 23, is a senior at Utah State University at Logan, Utah. Though his plans following graduation are uncertain at the moment, he is particularly interested in environmental affairs. Jack's interests range from reading to camping, from sports to music. He has been a member of the US Forest Service fire fighting crew and has been a park ranger for the National Park Service.

Mike, 25, and the oldest of the Ford offspring, is married and a student at the Gordon-Cornwell Theological Seminary in Essex, Mass. He is married to the former Gayle Brumbaugh of Catonsville, Md. Mike, a political science major as an undergraduate, is studying for a masters degree at the Seminary and is interested in a career working with young people. Gayle has a masters degree in social work.

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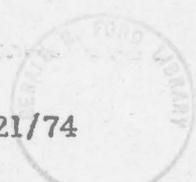
THE WHITE HOUSE

BIOGRAPHY OF THE PRESIDENT

GERALD R. FORD, Republican 38th President of the United States, was born in Omaha, Nebraska, July 14, 1913; attended public schools, Grand Rapids, Michigan; B. A., University of Michigan, 1935; L. L. B., Yale University Law School, 1941; won all-city and all-state football honors in Grand Rapids during high school; member of University of Michigan's national championship football teams, 1932, 1933; Michigan's most valuable player, 1934; assistant varsity football coach at Yale while law student there; in 1942 entered the U. S. Navy, serving 47 months during World War II; participated in 3rd and 5th Fleet carrier operations aboard the aircraft carrier U. S. S. Monterey for two years; discharged 1946 and resumed practice of law; elected to U. S. House of Representatives in 1948 and reelected every two years through 1972, serving 25 years in House; named in November 1963 to the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy; author (with John R. Stiles) of the book, "Portrait of the Assassin" (1965); permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican National Conventions; visited The People's Republic of China in late June and early July 1972 on behalf of President Nixon; recipient of American Political Science Association's Distinguished Congressional Service Award, 1961; recipient of American Good Government Society's George Washington Award, 1966; recipient of American Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award as "giant of accomplishment," 1971; recipient of AMVETS Silver Helmet Award, 1971; recipient of honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Western Michigan University, The Citadel, and numerous colleges; married Elizabeth Bloomer October 15, 1948; children: Michael Gerald, born March 14, 1950; John Gardner, March 16, 1952; Steven Meigs, May 19, 1956; and Susan Elizabeth, July 6, 1957; Chairman of the Republican Conference, 88th Congress; minority Leader, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd and 1st Session, 93rd Congresses; nominated Vice President on October 12, 1973, to succeed Spiro T. Agnew, who resigned, and confirmed December 6; succeeded to the Presidency August 9, 1974, following the resignation of Richard M. Nixon.

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9/21/74



January 1974

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL: VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD

BIRTH Known to his friends as "Jerry", Vice President Ford was born July 14, 1913, at Omaha, Nebraska, but spent his childhood in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

VICE PRESIDENCY Mr. Ford was nominated on October 12, 1973, to succeed Spiro T. Agnew as Vice President. His nomination was confirmed by the Senate on November 27, 1973, by a vote of 92 to 3, and by the House on December 6, 1973, by a vote of 387 to 35. Mr. Ford was sworn in as Vice President on December 6, 1973, the first person to be so selected according to provisions of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution.

CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE In November, 1972, he was re-elected to his thirteenth consecutive term as a Member of Congress, having served since January 3, 1949, resigning December 6, 1973 to become Vice President.

Chosen Minority Leader of the House of Representatives at the opening of the 89th Congress January 4, 1965. He served as a member of the Republican Leadership in Congress since January, 1963; was chairman of the Republican Conference of the House during the 88th Congress (1963-64) and had been a member of the House Republican Policy Committee for over nine years.

During his first term, was named to the House Public Works Committee. In 1951, was assigned to the Appropriations Committee where he served on the Army Civil Functions Subcommittee and the Emergency Agency Subcommittee. During the 83rd and 84th Congresses, was a member of the Subcommittees on Foreign Operations and the Department of Defense and was on the Army Panel serving as Panel chairman in the 83rd Congress. During the 85th Congress, was appointed to the Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration. Remained a member of both the Defense and Foreign Operations Subcommittees of the House Appropriations Committee throughout the 85th, 86th, 87th and 88th Congresses. Was senior Republican on the Defense Subcommittee before becoming Minority Leader.

Maintained an attendance record of over 90 per cent throughout his 25-year tenure.

EDUCATION Was graduated from the former South High School in Grand Rapids. Later earned a B.A. degree in 1935 from the University of Michigan where he was a member of Michigamua, top senior honor. Received his law degree from Yale University Law School in 1941. Admitted to the Michigan State Bar (1941) and has been admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court.

In 1965, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by Michigan State University and Albion, Aquinas and Spring Arbor Colleges; in 1968 by Buena Vista and Grove City Colleges; in 1972 by Belmont Abbey (N.C.) College; and in 1973 by Western Michigan University. Received a Doctor of Public Administration degree from American International College in 1968.

SPORTS Won all-city and all-state football honors in Grand Rapids during high school. While earning three varsity letters, was a member of the University of Michigan's undefeated national championship teams of 1932 and 1933, and was named Michigan's most valuable player in 1934, playing center.

(more)

On New Year's Day, 1935, participated in the Shrine East-West Crippled Children's benefit classic in San Francisco. That August, played in the All-Star game against the Bears in Chicago. While a Yale law student, was assistant varsity football coach.

In 1959, was selected by "Sports Illustrated" to receive its Silver Anniversary All-American Award as one of the 25 football players in the preceding quarter century who had contributed most to their fellow citizens.

In 1972, was awarded the National Football Foundation's gold medal for close association with the game.

MILITARY SERVICE In 1942, entered the U.S. Navy, serving 47 months on active duty during World War II. Participated in 3rd and 5th Fleet carrier operations aboard the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Monterey (CVL-26) for two years. Following shore duty with the Naval Aviation Training Program, was released to inactive duty with rank of Lieutenant Commander in January, 1946.

POST WW-II CIVILIAN LIFE Returning to Grand Rapids, resumed law practice. Received the Grand Rapids JayCees Distinguished Service Award in 1948 for work in various community projects. The following year was named one of "America's Ten Outstanding Young Men" by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, receiving its Distinguished Service Award.

FAMILY On October 15, 1948, married Elizabeth Bloomer of Grand Rapids. The Fords have four children: Michael Gerald (born March 15, 1950); John Gardner (born March 16, 1952); Steven Meigs (born May 19, 1956); and Susan Elizabeth (born July 6, 1957).

Congressman Ford is a member of Grace Episcopal Church, Grand Rapids. He maintains active membership in the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and AMVETS and is a 33rd Degree Mason.

FURTHER HONORS In November, 1963, was named by President Lyndon Johnson to the Warren Commission. Author (with John R. Stiles) of the book, "Portrait of the Assassin" (1965).

Served as permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican National Conventions. Since becoming Minority House Leader, has delivered some 200 speeches annually throughout the country.

Visited The People's Republic of China in late June and early July 1972 on behalf of the President.

Lauded as a "Congressman's Congressman" by the American Political Science Association when it conferred on him its Distinguished Congressional Service Award in 1961. Was presented the George Washington Award by the American Good Government Society in May 1966.

Chosen by the American Academy of Achievement to receive the Golden Plate Award as one of fifty "giants of accomplishment," presented during the Academy's 10th annual Salute to Excellence in June, 1971.

Selected to receive the AMVETS Silver Helmet Award, that group's highest recognition of Congressional service, at ceremonies in Washington in April, 1971.

(more)

ELECTIONS In the 1948 primary, Gerald Ford defeated the incumbent and went on to win his first term that November as Representative of Michigan's Fifth Congressional District. The district was then composed of Kent and Ottawa Counties. Due to reapportionment, which became effective with the 1964 election (for the following term), Ottawa was replaced by Ionia County. Another reapportionment slightly altered the district beginning with the 1972 election.

In the 1972 election, Ford received the highest vote total of any candidate in the area comprising the Fifth Congressional District.

5TH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>Election</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Opponents</u>	<u>Ford</u> <u>Majority</u>	<u>Winning</u> <u>Percentage</u>
1948 (Kent/Ottawa)-	74,191	-- 48,422	-- 27,219	--- 60.5
1950 -----	72,165	-- 36,303	-- 27,932	--- 66.7
1952 -----	109,807	-- 55,910	-- 54,660	--- 66.2
1954 -----	81,702	-- 47,453	-- 34,249	--- 63.3
1956 -----	120,349	-- 58,899	-- 61,450	--- 67.1
1958 -----	88,157	-- 50,203	-- 37,954	--- 63.7
1960 -----	131,461	-- 65,233	-- 66,228	--- 66.8
1962 -----	109,746	-- 54,044	-- 55,702	--- 67.0
1964 (Kent/Ionia)--	101,810	-- 64,488	-- 37,322	--- 61.2
1966 -----	92,794	-- 42,700	-- 50,094	--- 68.5
1968 -----	105,085	-- 62,219	-- 42,866	--- 62.8
1970 -----	88,208	-- 55,337	-- 32,871	--- 61.4
1972 -----	131,174	-- 81,573	-- 49,601	--- 61.7

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For further information, please contact:

Paul Miltich
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PHONE: (202) 456-2364



Ford's Record on Key Issues Votes in The House, 1949-1973

Agriculture

1953. Soil Conservation (HR 5227). Amendment to fiscal 1954 agriculture appropriations bill reducing funds for the soil conservation program from \$195-million to \$140-million. Rejected 196-201 (R 152-54; D 44-146), May 20. Ford VOTED FOR.

1955. Price Supports (HR 12). Bill replacing flexible price supports of 75 to 90 per cent of parity with rigid supports at 90 per cent of parity for five basic farm crops. Passed 206-201 (R 21-172; D 185-29), May 5. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1958. Price Supports (S J Res 162). Bill preventing reductions in price supports and acreage allotments for all farm commodities below 1957 levels. Passed 211-172 (R 44-41; D 167-31), March 20. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1959. REA Loans (S 144). Bill transferring from the secretary of agriculture to the administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) authority to approve or disapprove REA loans. Failed to pass over veto 280-146 (R 6-142; D 274-4), April 30. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1962. Farm Bill (HR 12391). Conference report on bill authorizing one-year programs to reduce corn, other feed grain and wheat surpluses and to establish a supply management program for wheat. Adopted 202-197 (R 2-160; D 200-37), Sept. 20. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1963. Cotton Subsidy (HR 6196). Bill authorizing subsidy program for domestic cotton mills in order to eliminate the competitive inequity between raw cotton prices on the world market and those on the domestic market. Passed 216-182 (R 34-134; D 182-48), Dec. 4. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1970. Farm Bill (HR 18546). Bill providing three-year price support program for wool, wheat, feed grains and cotton. Bill also provided for a dairy program and limited subsidy payments to \$55,000 per crop. Passed 212-171: R 86-88; D 126-85), Aug. 5. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. Emergency Loans (HR 1975). Amendment to emergency farm loan bill allowing eligible farmers in 555 counties designated by the secretary of agriculture to apply for emergency disaster loans. Adopted 196-190 (R 19-139; D 177-21), Feb. 22. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. Price Supports (HR 8619). Amendment to fiscal 1974 agricultural appropriations bill reducing 1974 price support ceilings from \$55,000 per crop to \$20,000 per person. Adopted 195-157 (R 109-50; D 86-107), June 15. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Civil Rights, States' Rights

1949. Poll Tax (HR 3199). Bill outlawing payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. Passed 273-116 (R 121-24; D 151-92), July 26. Ford VOTED FOR.

1956. School Desegregation (HR 7535). Amendment to a school construction aid bill prohibiting allotment of funds to states failing to comply with the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Adopted 225-192 (R 148-46; D 77-146), July 5. Ford VOTED FOR.

1957. Civil Rights Act (HR 6127). Amendment providing for jury trials in any criminal contempt action

arising under the legislation. Rejected 158-251 (R 45-139; D 113-112), June 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1959. Pre-emption Doctrine (HR 3). Bill permitting federal courts to strike down state laws under the federal pre-emption doctrine only if Congress specified its intention to pre-empt the field of legislation involved or if a state and a federal law were in irreconcilable conflict, and permitting state enforcement of laws barring subversive activities against the federal government. Passed 225-192 (R 114-30; D 111-162), June 24. Ford VOTED FOR.

1960. Civil Rights Act (HR 8601). Amendment authorizing court-appointed referees to help Negroes register and vote where a "pattern or practice" of discrimination existed. Adopted 295-124 (R 123-24; D 172-100), March 23. Ford VOTED FOR.

1964. Civil Rights Act (HR 7152). Bill enforcing the right to vote; preventing discrimination in access to public accommodations and facilities; expediting school desegregation. Passed 290-130 (R 138-34; D 152-96), Feb. 10. Ford VOTED FOR.

1965. Voting Rights (HR 6400). Bill suspending the use of literacy tests in certain states and areas; authorizing appointment of federal voting examiners to order the registration of Negroes in states and voting districts whose voter activity had fallen below certain specified levels, and imposing a ban on the use of poll taxes in any election. Passed 333-85 (R 112-24; D 221-61), July 9. Ford VOTED FOR.

1966. Civil Rights Act (HR 14765). Amendment deleting the open housing sections of the bill. Rejected 190-222 (R 86-50; D 104-172), Aug. 9. Ford VOTED FOR.

1968. Open Housing (H Res 1100, HR 2516). Resolution agreeing to Senate version of the bill which prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. Adopted 250-172 (R 100-84; D 150-88), April 10. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. Voting Rights (HR 4249). Amendment extending nationwide the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in place of the committee bill extending the law as enacted, which covered certain states and voting districts. Adopted 208-204 (R 129-49; D 79-155), Dec. 11. Ford VOTED FOR.

1970. School Desegregation (HR 16916). Vote on motion designed to retain provisions of the Office of Education appropriations bill prohibiting use of funds to force busing or closing of schools, and providing for freedom of choice plans. Motion agreed to 191-157 (R 107-35; D 84-122), June 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. EEOC Enforcement (HR 1746). Amendment allowing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to bring suit against recalcitrant discriminatory employers in federal court, rather than allowing the EEOC to issue cease and desist orders to such employers. Adopted 200-195 (R 131-29; D 69-166), Sept. 16. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. Busing (HR 7248). Amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1971 postponing effectiveness of any federal court order requiring busing for racial, sexual, religious or socio-economic balance until all appeals—or the time for all appeals—had been exhausted. Adopted 235-125 (R 129-17; D 106-108), Nov. 4. Ford VOTED FOR.



1972. Busing (HR 13915). Amendment—to a bill prohibiting busing of school children and allowing the reopening of past school desegregation court cases—providing that nothing in the act was intended to be inconsistent with or violate any provision of the Constitution. Rejected 178-197 (R 55-98; D 123-99), Aug. 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Defense

1952. Defense Spending (HR 7391). Amendment to the fiscal 1953 Defense Department appropriations bill limiting military spending to \$46-billion. Adopted 220-131 (R 160-11; D 60-120), April 9. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1969. Draft (HR 14001). Bill amending the Selective Service Act by removing a provision prohibiting the President from instituting a lottery system for induction into the armed forces. Passed 383-12 (R 175-1; D 208-11), Oct. 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. Draft (HR 6531). Amendment providing a one-year extension of the military draft instead of two. Rejected 198-200 (R 65-105; D 133-95), March 31. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. War Powers (H J Res 542). Bill requiring the president to report to Congress within 72 hours any commitment or increasing commitment of U.S. combat troops abroad; requiring the president to terminate any such action within 120 days of his report unless Congress authorized continuation, and allowing Congress to direct the termination of U.S. commitment at any time. Passed 244-170 (R 72-109; D 172-61), July 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Education

1956. School Construction (HR 7535). Bill authorizing \$1.6-billion over four years to state educational agencies for school construction. Rejected 194-224 (R 75-119; D 119-105), July 5. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1961. Emergency School Aid (HR 8890). Motion to consider the emergency education act, authorizing \$325-million for school construction assistance, continuation of National Defense Education Act loan authorizations and impacted areas school aid program. Rejected 170-242 (R 6-160; D 164-82), Aug. 30. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1962. College Aid (HR 8900). Amendment deleting section of bill authorizing loans and grants to students. Adopted 214-186 (R 130-30; D 84-156), Sept. 20. Ford VOTED FOR.

1963. Medical Schools (HR 12). Bill authorizing a three-year program of matching grants for construction and rehabilitation of teaching facilities for medical schools and providing a six-year loan program for medical students. Passed 288-122 (R 71-99; D 217-23), April 24. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1963. Higher Education Facilities (HR 6143). Bill providing a five-year program of federal grants and loans for construction or improvement of higher education academic facilities and authorizing \$1,195,000,000 for the program for three years. Passed 287-113 (R 107-56; D 180-57), Aug. 14. Ford VOTED FOR.

1965. School Aid (HR 2362). Bill providing a three-year program of grants to states for allocation to school

districts with large numbers of children from low-income families and providing grants for purchase of books and library materials. Passed 263-153 (R 35-96; D 228-57), March 26. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1968. Campus Disorders (HR 15067). Amendment to a higher education aid bill requiring colleges to deny federal funds to students who participated in serious campus disorders. Adopted 260-146 (R 134-43; D 126-102), July 25. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. Education Funds (HR 13111). Amendment to appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare adding \$894.5-million for elementary and secondary education, aid to impacted areas, higher education and vocational education. Adopted 294-119 (R 99-81; D 195-38), July 31. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1970. Office of Education Funds (HR 16916). Bill appropriating \$4.4-billion for the Office of Education in fiscal 1971. Passed over veto 289-114 (R 77-101; D 212-13), Aug. 13. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Foreign Policy

1950. Korean Aid (HR 5330). Bill authorizing \$60-million in aid to South Korea. Rejected 191-192 (R 21-130; D 170-61), Jan. 19. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1951. Trade Act Extension (HR 1612). Amendment directing the Tariff Commission to determine points below which tariffs could not be cut without "peril" to U.S. industries, and to recommend minimum rates to which tariffs should be raised to protect domestic industry. Adopted 225-168 (R 183-4; D 42-163), Feb. 7. Ford VOTED FOR.

1954. Trade Act Extension (HR 9474). Bill extending for one year the President's authority to enter into reciprocal trade agreements. Passed 281-53 (R 126-39; D 154-14), June 11. Ford VOTED FOR.

1951. Foreign Aid (HR 5113). Amendment cutting \$350-million from the fiscal 1952 foreign aid bill. Adopted 186-177 (R 149-14; D 37-162), Aug. 17. Ford VOTED FOR.

1956. Foreign Aid. (HR 12130). Bill appropriating \$3.4-billion for foreign aid in fiscal 1957. Passed 284-120 (R 124-70; D 160-50), July 11. Ford VOTED FOR.

1957. Foreign Aid (HR 9302). Amendment restoring \$715-million in foreign aid appropriations which had been cut from the bill by the House Appropriations Committee. Rejected 129-254 (R 86-83; D 43-171), Aug. 15. Ford VOTED FOR.

1961. Peace Corps (HR 7500). Bill giving the Peace Corps permanent status and authorizing \$40-million for it in fiscal 1962. Passed 288-97 (R 82-68; D 206-29), Sept. 14. Ford PAIRED FOR.

1962. Trade Expansion Act. (HR 11970). Bill authorizing the president to negotiate new tariff cuts and compensate injured industries and workers through financial aid or by raising tariffs. Passed 298-125 (R 80-90; D 218-35), June 28. Ford VOTED FOR.

1962. UN Bonds. (S 2768). Bill authorizing the president to match up to \$100-million in purchases of United Nations bonds by other UN members. Passed 257-134 (R 66-88; D 191-46), Sept. 14. Ford VOTED FOR.

1964. Foreign Aid (HR 11812). Amendment cutting funds in the fiscal 1965 foreign aid appropriations bill by

\$247.8-million. Rejected 198-208 (R 143-23; D 55-185), July 1. Ford VOTED FOR.

1965. **Foreign Aid** (HR 7750). Amendment to the fiscal 1966 foreign aid authorization reducing funds for development loans by \$130,958,000 and stipulating that labor unions participating in Latin American housing projects be "non-Communist-dominated" as well as "free." Rejected 178-219 (R 116-14; D 62-205), May 25. Ford VOTED FOR.

1965. **Immigration** (HR 2580). Bill amending the immigration laws to eliminate the national origins quota system and to set general priorities for the admission of immigrants to the United States. Passed 318-95 (R 109-25; D 209-70), Aug. 25. Ford VOTED FOR.

1970. **Cambodia** (HR 15628). Motion designed to prevent inclusion in the Foreign Military Sales Act language which would curb U.S. military operations in Cambodia (Cooper-Church amendment). Agreed to 237-153 (R 138-33; D 99-120), July 9. Ford VOTED FOR.

1972. **UN Funds** (HR 14989). Amendment restoring \$25,103,500 in funds for the United Nations, which was deleted from the fiscal 1973 Department of State appropriations bill by the House Appropriations Committee, and removing a committee provision limiting U.S. contributions to the UN to 25 per cent of their total annual assessment. Rejected 156-202 (R 56-99; D 100-103), May 18. Ford VOTED FOR.

1972. **Southeast Asia** (HR 16029). Amendment to foreign military aid authorization deleting provision terminating U.S. involvement in the Indochina war by Oct. 1, 1972, subject to release of U.S. prisoners of war, an accounting of men missing in action and a cease-fire to the extent required to protect U.S. withdrawal. Adopted 229-177 (R 149-23; D 80-154), Aug. 10. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. **Cambodia** (HR 7447). Amendment to fiscal 1973 supplemental appropriations bill deleting language authorizing the Defense Department to transfer funds from other defense programs for use in Southeast Asia, including the bombing of Cambodia. Adopted 219-188 (R 35-143; D 184-45), May 10. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. **Cambodia** (HR 7447). Amendment postponing until after Sept. 1, 1973, the prohibition against using any funds in the bill (second supplemental appropriations) or funds in any other previously enacted appropriations bill from being used to carry on military activities in or over Cambodia or Laos. Rejected 204-204 (R 147-37; D 57-167), June 25. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. **Foreign Aid** (HR 9360). Bill authorizing \$978.9-million in fiscal 1974 for foreign economic assistance, \$632-million for Indochina postwar reconstruction, \$1.15-billion for foreign military assistance and credit sales, and authorizing \$821-million for foreign economic assistance in fiscal 1975. Passed 188-183 (R 69-89; D 119-94), July 26. Ford PAIRED FOR.

Labor, Economic Policy

1952. **Steel Strike** (HR 8210). Amendment to the Defense Production Act amendments bill requesting the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to enjoin steel workers from striking. Adopted 228-164 (R 146-47; D 82-117), June 26. Ford VOTED FOR.

1959. **Labor Regulation** (HR 8342). Amendment substituting the Landrum-Griffin bill for the text of an

Education and Labor Committee bill. The Landrum-Griffin bill contained curbs on secondary boycotts and organizational and recognition picketing and gave the states power to handle "no man's land" labor disputes. Adopted 229-201 (R 134-17; D 95-184), Aug. 13. Ford VOTED FOR.

1961. **Minimum Wage** (HR 3935). Amendment to Education and Labor Committee bill reducing from \$1.25 to \$1.15 an hour the increase in the minimum wage for workers covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and extending coverage under the act to an additional 1,300,000 workers. Adopted 216-203 (R 142-26; D 74-177), March 24. Ford VOTED FOR.

1962. **Manpower Development and Training** (HR 8399). Bill authorizing a two-year, \$262-million program to train unemployed workers. Passed 354-62 (R 145-22; D 209-40), Feb. 28. Ford VOTED FOR.

1963. **Tax Cut** (HR 8363). Revenue Act of 1963, lowering personal and corporate income taxes by \$11.5-billion. Passed 271-155 (R 48-126; D 223-29), Sept. 25. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1965. **Right-to-Work** (HR 77). Bill repealing Section 14.(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, permitting state right-to-work laws under which the union shop is prohibited. Passed 221-203 (R 21-117; D 200-86), July 28. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1966. **Minimum Wage** (HR 13712). Motion designed to delay for one year—until Feb. 1, 1969—the final step of an increase in the minimum wage from \$1.25 to \$1.60 an hour. Rejected 163-183 (R 101-18; D 62-165), Sept. 7. Ford VOTED FOR.

1968. **Tax Surcharge** (HR 15414). Conference report on a bill imposing a 10 per cent surcharge on personal and corporate income taxes and imposing a limit on federal spending in fiscal 1969. Adopted 268-150 (R 114-73; D 154-77), June 20. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. **Tax Reform** (HR 13270). Bill reducing individual income taxes by an average of 5 per cent, extending the income surtax at 5 per cent through June 30, 1970, repealing the investment tax credit and reducing mineral and oil depletion allowances. Passed 395-30 (R 176-10; D 219-20), Aug. 7. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. **Lockheed Loan** (HR 8432). Bill authorizing a federal guarantee of bank loans for failing major businesses (Lockheed Aircraft Corporation). Passed 192-189 (R 90-60; D 102-129), July 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1972. **Revenue Sharing** (HR 14370). Bill providing assistance payments totaling \$29.6-billion over five years to states and local governments for high-priority expenditures, encouraging states to broaden their tax systems and authorizing federal collection of state personal income taxes. Passed 275-122 (R 122-42; D 153-80), June 22. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. **Wage-Price Controls** (HR 6168). Bill extending the president's authority to control wages and prices for one year, to April 30, 1974. Passed 293-114 (R 152-31; D 141-83), April 16. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. **Impoundment Control** (HR 8480). Bill setting a \$267.1-billion ceiling on federal spending in fiscal 1974, providing procedures for either the House or Senate to force the president to release impounded funds and directing the president to impound funds proportionately from controllable federal spending programs to meet the spending ceiling. Passed 254-164 (R 36-150; D 218-14), July 25. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Transportation

1956. Highways (HR 10660). Bill authorizing a \$30-billion, 13-year highway construction program and raising taxes on highway user items such as gasoline and tires over a 16-year period to finance the project. Passed 388-19 (R 188-4; D 200-15), April 27. Ford VOTED FOR.

1970. SST Development (HR 17755). Motion designed to retain in the Department of Transportation appropriations bill for fiscal 1971, funding of \$289.9-million for development of the supersonic transport (SST). Agreed to 213-175 (R 105-62; D 108-113), Dec. 8. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. Mass Transit. (S 502). Amendment to the Federal-Aid Highway Act permitting urban areas to use up to \$700-million in each of fiscal years 1974-76 from the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit projects or for roads. Rejected 190-215 (R 70-114; D 120-101), April 19. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. Mass Transit. (HR 6452). Bill authorizing \$800-million for fiscal 1974-75 grants to state and local agencies for urban mass transit operating subsidies and increasing the federal share of assistance for mass transit capital grant programs. Passed 219-195 (R 41-142; D 178-53), Oct. 3. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Welfare, Housing

1949. Low-Rent Housing (HR 4009). Amendment to Housing Act of 1949 deleting section providing low-rent public housing. Rejected 204-209 (R 140-24; D 64-184), June 29. Ford VOTED FOR.

1961. Housing (HR 6028). Bill authorizing a \$4.9-billion housing program over four years. Passed 235-178 (R 25-140; D 210-38), June 22. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1965. Medicare (HR 6675). Bill providing a basic compulsory health insurance program for the aged, financed primarily by a payroll tax; a supplementary voluntary health insurance program financed by general revenue and contributions from participants; increases in Social Security cash benefits, and expansion of the Kerr-Mills health program, child health-care programs and other federal-state public assistance programs. Passed 313-115 (R 65-73; D 248-42), April 8. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1965. Rent Supplements (HR 7984). Amendment to the Housing and Urban Development Act, deleting rent supplement payments to low-income families and home improvement grants to homeowners in urban renewal areas. Rejected 202-208 (R 130-4; D 72-204), June 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1966. War on Poverty (HR 15111). Motion to kill the bill providing \$1.75-billion for antipoverty programs in fiscal 1967. Rejected 156-208 (R 107-15; D 49-193), Sept. 29. Ford VOTED FOR.

1966. Urban Renewal (S 3708). Bill providing demonstration city grants for community renewal and other housing programs. Passed 178-141 (R 16-81; D 162-60), Oct. 14. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1967. Model Cities (HR 9960). Amendment to an appropriations bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development deleting \$225-million in model cities funds, leaving the program with only \$12-million in planning-funds. Rejected 193-213 (R 141-35; D 52-178), May 17. Ford VOTED FOR.

Times Poll on Ford

Two-thirds of the persons interviewed in a special survey for *The New York Times* approved President Nixon's choice of Gerald R. Ford for the vice presidency. But the survey indicated Ford is not well known nationally.

Among the 730 adults questioned in the telephone survey by the Gallup Poll, 66 per cent said they approved of Ford's nomination. Only 7 per cent expressed disapproval, and 27 per cent had no opinion—a clue to their unfamiliarity with the nominee. The survey was conducted on Oct. 13, the day after Nixon's nomination announcement at the White House and two days after the resignation of Vice President Agnew in a plea-bargaining arrangement with the Justice Department. (*Weekly Report p. 2695*)

Those interviewed were circumspect in their responses to questions about whether Ford would make a good president and whether they would like to see him become president in 1976. Fifty-five per cent said they had no idea how good a president Ford would make, and 32 per cent said they thought he would serve well. Forty-nine per cent withheld judgement on his possible candidacy in 1976, and 29 per cent said they would look favorably upon it.

Agnew's negotiated plea to avoid imprisonment was not popular with the persons surveyed. While 38 per cent described it as fair, 30 per cent said they thought the punishment was too lenient and that he should have been sent to prison.

1967. Antipoverty (S 2388). Amendment reducing funds in the bill authorizing antipoverty funds for fiscal 1968 from \$2.1-billion to \$1.6-billion. Adopted 221-190 (R 148-28; D 73-162), Nov. 15. Ford VOTED FOR.

1968. Housing Programs (S 3497). Conference report on the bill providing new programs of federal assistance for home ownership and rental housing for low-income families, federal reinsurance for insurance industry riot losses, flood insurance for homeowners, federal assistance for developers of entire new towns and new communities, and extending a number of existing housing and urban development programs. Adopted 228-135 (R 72-92; D 156-43), July 26. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. Antipoverty (HR 12321). Amendment to the Office of Economic Opportunity authorization bill for fiscal 1970, turning control of the antipoverty program over to the states. Rejected 163-231 (R 103-63; D 60-168), Dec. 12. Ford VOTED FOR.

1970. Family Assistance (HR 16311). Bill replacing the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program with a family assistance plan providing guaranteed federal payments to poor families. Passed 243-155 (R 102-72; D 141-83), April 16. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. Antipoverty (HR 8877). Amendment to the bill appropriating funds for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare reducing the appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity from \$333.8-million to \$141.3-million. Rejected 110-288 (R 90-90; D 20-198), June 26. Ford VOTED FOR.

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GERALD R. FORD: CLOSE SCRUTINY BEFORE CONFIRMATION

The initial cheers from Congress that greeted the nomination of Gerald R. Ford to become vice president faded by week's end into quiet but persistent questions about the man's qualifications, background and political beliefs.

A U.S. representative for 25 years and House minority leader since 1965, Ford has been respected and liked almost universally by his colleagues in his limited role as a legislative strategist and tactician. But as the implications of putting Ford a heartbeat away from succession to the most powerful post in the world became more apparent, Democrats in Congress became less willing to grant Ford an easy or quick confirmation.

There were indications that Congress might not act upon the nomination until early December, a time that could coincide with a U.S. Supreme Court decision on whether President Nixon must release tape recordings sought by investigators into the Watergate burglary and attempted cover-up.

Politically, Democrats had nothing to gain by early confirmation of Ford, a consistently conservative, party-line Republican. Democratic House Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma would succeed the President in the event of Nixon's death or disability as long as the vice presidency remained unfilled. "The speaker of the House is just as well qualified to stand around and wait as is House Minority Leader Ford. He, too, has 25 years of legislative experience..." said Rep. Bella Abzug (D N.Y.) in a blunt version of what some other Democrats appeared to be thinking.

Tapes Issue. In addition, some Democrats were demanding that Ford disavow the President's position on the Watergate tapes. Ford had said he felt that Nixon, from the standpoint of politics, should release the tapes but added that he also recognized "that serious legal and constitutional issues are involved."

Speaking on the Senate floor Oct. 18, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.) said congressional committees should ask Ford whether he believes the President must comply with a Supreme Court decision—if made—to



United Press International

Nixon and Ford after nomination announcement

disclose the tapes. "...if Mr. Ford refuses to acknowledge the obligation of the President to obey the Supreme Court, then Congress has the right and duty to refuse his confirmation," Kennedy said. He called the vice presidential nominee "...the man who may well become President if Mr. Nixon resigns or is impeached."

Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R Mich.), who spoke before Kennedy, called any attempt to delay Ford's confirmation until the tapes issue is resolved an "outrageous suggestion."

"Surely it would be an unconscionable frustration of the constitutional process if Congress were to stoop so low—to play political hanky-panky by holding the Ford nomination hostage."

Announced Opposition. There was relatively little announced opposition to Ford's confirmation, although many members of Congress remained uncommitted. Representatives Michael J. Harrington (D Mass.) and Abzug were the first to put themselves on record in opposition. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) asked Congress to reject the nomination. Rep. Donald M. Fraser (D Minn.), ADA national chairman, sent a letter to members of Congress announcing the organization's stand. An aide to Fraser, however, said the representative was writing as ADA chairman and had not made up his mind on how he himself would vote.

In this issue: *Televised announcement of Ford's selection, p. 2760; electing Ford's successor in House, p. 2761; minority leader contest, p. 2761; assessment of Ford, nominee's background, p. 2762; interest group ratings, p. 2763; Ford's ratings in Congressional Quarterly vote studies, p. 2764; 1972 campaign contributions, Winter-Berger book, p. 2765; Ford's election races, p. 2766; voting record on key issues, p. 2768; survey of Ford's popularity, p. 2771; texts of Nixon, Ford speeches, p. 2772; Agnew's farewell address, p. 2773.*

Public Record and Assessment of Nixon's Nominee

Gerald Rudolph Ford, nominated by President Nixon to become the 40th Vice President of the United States, is known to his colleagues in Congress as solid, dependable and loyal—a man more comfortable carrying out the programs of others than in initiating things on his own.

Rugged, even tough-looking in appearance, Ford's performance as House Minority Leader has revealed a much more gentle nature than his background as a college football lineman would suggest. "He doesn't twist arms," Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R Ill.) told Congressional Quarterly. "He looks at you with a sad look in his eye, as if to say, 'Pal, I need you.' Sometimes you go along just because it's to help an old pal.

"He's an open tactician," Derwinski added. "He doesn't look for clever ways to sneak in behind you. He does the obvious, which is usually common sense. He doesn't try to be gimmicky."

A Democratic assessment of Ford came from Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin, who was on the freshman boxing and football teams at Yale while Ford, a law student, was a part-time boxing and football coach in the 1930s. "In many ways (Ford) is the same kind of man now that he was then...solid and square," Proxmire told the Senate Oct. 13, the day after Nixon's announcement. "He is not a man of imagination and humor."

Presidential Future? Ford's Republican colleagues were generally effusive, and even Proxmire's left-handed compliments predicted future political success for Ford. "He is a man that the country may be looking for," said Proxmire. "As I have known him, he has always appeared to be a man of integrity and character. In spite of his present disclaimers, he may be the most likely Republican nominee for President in 1976. He could be a tough, strong candidate...because he has the kind of wholesome sincerity, the kind of loyal consistency that many voters may be looking for. Of course, I think he has been consistently wrong on almost every issue...(but)...he may come on like a tiger because of what the public perceives of his straightforward, reliable, direct character."

Ford told reporters Oct. 13 that he had no presidential ambitions. "I have no intention of being a candidate for any political office, president or vice president," he said. But Ford declined to say that he would not change his mind under any conditions whatsoever.

Ford, 60, is younger than two men often mentioned as Republican presidential possibilities in 1976—New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, 65, and California Gov. Ronald Reagan, 62. But he is older than two others—former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, 56, and Illinois Sen. Charles H. Percy, 54.

Even before the announcement of Ford's nomination, some Democratic senators—particularly those assumed to have presidential ambitions—were speculating that the man named might run for president. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.) said Oct. 10 that the nominee should be someone capable of gaining the support of all people, adding: "I'd be opposed to any pledge or indication that the person might not consider continued service to the country." However, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) said such a commitment might be desirable.

CQ Biography

Ford's Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: July 14, 1913, Omaha, Neb.

Home: Grand Rapids, Mich.

Religion: Episcopal.

Education: University of Michigan, B. A., 1935; Yale University Law School, LL. B., 1941.

Offices: House of Representatives since 1949.

Military: U.S. Navy in World War II.

Memberships: Interparliamentary Union, U.S.-Canadian Interparliamentary Group, American Legion, VFW, AMVETS, Masons, Elks, Rotary.

Family: Wife, Elizabeth; four children.



Committees: House minority leader since 1965; Appropriations Committee, 1951-65; Public Works Committee, 1949-50.

Career Highlights: Ford was a star of the University of Michigan's undefeated, national championship football teams of 1932 and 1933. In 1934, he was voted the Michigan Wolverines' most valuable player. As a law student at Yale, he served as assistant varsity football coach.

In 1949, the year he entered the House, he was selected by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the country's 10 outstanding young men.

The American Political Science Association gave Ford its distinguished congressional service award in 1961.

In 1963, he was chosen chairman of the House Republican Conference. In 1965, he was elected minority leader, defeating the incumbent, former Rep. Charles A. Halleck (R Ind.). He was permanent chairman of the 1968 and 1972 Republican national conventions.

Ford was appointed by President Johnson in November 1963 to serve on the Warren Commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy. Ford collaborated with John R. Stiles in 1965 to write a book, *Portrait of an Assassin*, about his findings while on the commission.

Voting Record

Ford's voting record during his 25 years in the House has been conservative, on some issues even more conservative than the 1973 stance of the Nixon administration. He has been almost unwaveringly loyal to Republican presidents and to the Republican Party. (*Record on key votes*, p. 2768, *CQ vote study ratings*, p. 2764, *special interest group ratings*, p. 2763)

Ford opposed minimum wage bills in 1960, 1966 and 1973. He voted against Medicare in 1965 and against creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1964. A consistent opponent of farm bills, Ford has a record of fiscal conservatism on other matters also. In 1963, for example, he voted against a tax cut pushed by President Kennedy to stimulate the economy.

Presidential Support. In 1973, Ford has been one of only 70 Republicans to vote to sustain all of President

Interest Group Ratings of Ford

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)—ADA ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the ADA position on selected issues.

National Farmers Union (NFU)—NFU ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the NFU position.

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE)—COPE ratings reflect the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position.

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA)—ACA ratings record the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with the ACA position.

Following are Ford's ratings since Congressional Quarterly began publishing them in 1960:

	ADA ¹	ACA	COPE ³	NFU ³
1972	6	68	11	20
1971	8	79	25	27
1970	12 ⁴	68	0	54
1969	7	53	33	40
1968	17	74	50	56
1967	13	85	8	11
1966	0	74	0 ²	22
1965	11	81	0 ²	19
1964	15	79	9 ²	21 ²
1963	0	89	9 ²	21 ²
1962	13	82 ²	0 ²	10 ²
1961	10	82 ²	0 ²	10 ²
1960	33	60	10 ²	20 ²
1959	22	88 ⁵	10 ²	20 ²

¹ Failure to vote lowers score.

² Scores listed twice indicate rating compiled for entire Congress.

³ Percentages compiled by CQ from information provided by groups.

⁴ ADA score includes some votes from December 1969.

⁵ ACA score covers years 1957, 1958, 1959.

Nixon's vetoes. A Congressional Quarterly tabulation made during Congress' August recess showed Ford had voted with the President 83 per cent of the time during the year. Only Rep. Barber B. Conable Jr. (R N.Y.) had a higher record of presidential support, and that was only 1 per cent higher. (*Weekly Report* p. 2344)

In the 92nd Congress, Ford had an 80 per cent presidential support record. In 1972, he voted to override the President's veto of a \$24.7-billion water pollution authorization bill, but there were only 23 votes cast to sustain the President's position. (*1972 Almanac* p. 34)

Split on Transit. Ford's most significant break with the Nixon administration in 1973—a decision apparently related to Ford's residence in the auto-producing state of Michigan—came on mass transit legislation. Ford voted against an administration-supported proposal to permit use of \$700-million a year in highway trust fund money for mass transit projects in urban areas. (*Weekly Report* p. 953, 949)

Vote Ratings. Ford has a high record of voting participation. In 11 of the last 20 years he has taken a position on 90 per cent or more of all House votes.

Predictably, Ford's voting record has been rated high by conservative groups and low by liberal organizations. The Americans for Conservative Action has given Ford high marks for every year since 1969, and even in that year he scored 53 per cent with the organization. The Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal group, rated Ford as voting with its positions less than 16 per cent of the time in every year since 1961.

A Congressional Quarterly tabulation shows Ford could be relied upon often by the conservative coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans, when this group formed against Democrats from other parts of the country. But Ford split away from the southern coalition on civil rights issues.

Mediocrity Issue

Democratic opposition to Ford generally focused on assessments—sometimes echoed anonymously by Republicans—that he is a man of limited depth and mediocre capability.

Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D Mass.), first member of Congress to announce opposition to the Ford nomination, said he based his stand on "my observation of Mr. Ford's limited intellectual qualities, his total and active support of the Nixon foreign policy on the Vietnam war; his staunch defense of the President's domestic program ...and his blanket defense—regardless of merit—of administration officials involved in the Watergate inquiry.

"In all of these areas, Mr. Ford has shown that he is not the kind of person who should serve as vice president," Harrington said in an Oct. 15 statement. He said President Nixon "...has preferred to surround himself with a collection of people best noted for their mediocrity."

This assessment of Ford was sharply disputed by Rep. James Harvey (R Mich.), who said anybody who underestimated Ford's intelligence was making a mistake. "Jerry Ford is a workhorse," Harvey told Congressional Quarterly in an interview Oct. 17. "There are better innovators in the House; he's not an innovator in the sense that Bradford Morse (R Mass. 1961-72) or Barber Conable (R N.Y.) or John Erlenborn (R Ill.) have been. But anybody who underestimates Jerry Ford's thinking power is making a grave error.

"I grant that he's not as articulate as John Anderson (R Ill.) or the late Hale Boggs (D La.)," Harvey continued. "But he gets out there on the floor and projects a sincerity those others don't have. He projects an awful lot of common sense."

Rep. John J. Rhodes (R Ariz.), the front-runner to replace Ford as minority leader, said Ford, who won the post in 1965, gradually developed into an excellent leader, able through his likable personality and close relations with all Republicans to establish a working party unity.

"He's become an effective speaker," said Derwinski. "The first term he left something to be desired as a debater and tactician."

Praise of Ford. Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (Pa.) called Ford's selection "a happy appointment" which met with widespread approval in Congress. "It is a very fortuitous selection, because...it would help toward the healing process and the recognition of the

Ford's Ratings in Congressional Quarterly Vote Studies

Listed below are the results of Congressional Quarterly voting studies on the record of Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R Mich.). The studies are defined as follows:

Voting participation—Percentage of recorded votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay."

Presidential support—Percentage of presidential-issue recorded votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the President's position. These votes are on specific legislative requests or stands by the President. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

Presidential opposition—Percentage of presidential-issue votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the President's position. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

Conservative coalition support—Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. (The conservative coalition occurs when a majority of voting southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans oppose the position of the majority of voting northern Democrats.)

Conservative coalition opposition—Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition.

Party unity—Percentage of recorded votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party. (Party unity votes are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.) Failures to vote lower both party unity and party opposition scores.

Party opposition—Percentage of party unity votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.

Bipartisan support—Percentage of bipartisan recorded votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with majorities of voting Democrats and votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement and opposition scores.

Bipartisan opposition—Percentage of bipartisan votes on which Ford voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with majorities of voting Democrats and voting Republicans. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

Year	Voting Participation ¹	Presidential		Conservative Coalition ³		Party Voting ¹		Bipartisan Voting ¹	
		Support	Opposition ²	Support	Opposition	Party Unity	Party Opposition	Bipartisan Support	Bipartisan Opposition
1973	92%	83%	14%	78%	13%	75%	19%	79%	10%
1972	84	70	8	73	17	73	16	75	7
1971	87	89	7	87	8	81	12	83	2
1970	90	89	8	64	18	69	26	85	3
1969	92	76	18	61	34	57	35	85	7
1968	90	63	28	63	25	66	24	82	7
1967	85	50	41	70	17	74	18	74	7
1966	81	40	46	70	16	69	10	74	9
1965	86	46	46	73	18	70	16	78	7
1964	88	38	56	67	33	84	10	71	12
1963	84	35	54	67	20	69	17	72	10
1962	90	52	40	37	44	72	21	78	8
1961	82	42	51	83	4	76	9	71	8
1960	97	84	12	84	16	84	14	84	11
1959	75	63	13	100	0	77	0	64	8
1958	99	76	24			70	27	91	9
1957	98	73	23			83	17	83	12
1956	100	94	6			84	16	90	10
1955	97	88	12			68	32	82	13
1954	96	89	11						
1953	99	94	6						

¹ Study began earlier but was compiled on a different basis.

² Study began in 1953.

³ Study began in 1959.

necessity for continued and constructive legislative progress."

Sen. Robert P. Griffin (Mich.), assistant minority leader, said Ford's nomination would "help greatly to heal some of the divisions that have developed and grown too wide as between the executive and legislative branches" and "do much to restore confidence in government at this time in our history when that is sorely

needed." He said Ford's record was an "open book" and predicted quick confirmation.

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R Md.) said Ford "has a positive record on legislative experience and political success."

On the Democratic side of the Senate aisle, Claiborne Pell (R.I.) said he was disappointed that Nixon had omitted character, honesty and integrity from his

Ford's 1972 Contributions

According to an analysis by Common Cause, committees backing Rep. Gerald R. Ford's re-election in 1972 raised a total of \$98,576 in contributions of more than \$100 and spent \$87,345 from April 25, 1972, through Jan. 22, 1973. The committees reporting receiving no loans of more than \$100.

Over \$24,000 of the total amount raised for the Michigan Republican came from individuals, with political party and special-interest groups contributing about \$59,000. Donations from Republican campaign committees totaled \$3,350.

The largest contribution from a special-interest organization was \$5,000 from a group representing the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, AFL-CIO. Another campaign committee associated with the Marine Engineers donated \$2,500.

Other contributions from special-interest groups listed by Common Cause included \$2,500 from the National Bankers' Group, \$2,000 from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and \$1,000 from the National Restaurant Association.

Contributions from individuals included \$2,500 from Richard Scaife, heir to the Mellon oil and banking fortune. Twenty-two employees of General Dynamics outside Michigan made small donations totaling \$1,130.

The Ford committees gave to other congressional candidates \$9,450 of the \$87,345 they reported spending, according to the analysis. The largest amount—\$3,000—went to Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R Mich.), who won re-election by a small margin.

criteria for Vice President, but added: "I believe that Mr. Ford has these qualities, and that he will be approved."

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) said, "Gerald Ford is the kind of man whom one would expect the President to nominate—an activist, not a caretaker; a loyal Republican; a man loyal to the President; but a man who is understanding of the attitude and the factors which motivate the other side as well."

The Winter-Berger Book

In the days after Ford's nomination, some attention gravitated to charges of influence-peddling raised just before the 1972 presidential primaries by a former lobbyist, Robert N. Winter-Berger. Winter-Berger claimed that Ford had routinely granted special favors for the lobbyist's clients and others in return for campaign contributions to various Republican organizations. He made his allegations in a controversial 341-page book, *The Washington Pay-Off: An Insider's View of Corruption in Government*.

Ford denied Winter-Berger's assertions in an interview with Congressional Quarterly Oct. 16. Ford added that he was prepared to answer any questions that might arise about the book during his confirmation hearings. Senate Rules Committee counsel Hugh Alexander declined to comment on whether Winter-Berger's charges

would be raised during the hearings or whether the author himself might be called to testify.

"We are certainly aware of the things that have been said in (the book)," Alexander said. "Let me put it this way: we are looking into all aspects that have to do with the nominee's qualifications."

Winter-Berger himself could not be reached for comment. Friends said he was traveling in Texas and working on a novel.

McCloskey Defense. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R Calif.), a frequent critic of Republican campaign funding practices, told Congressional Quarterly that he had gone over Winter-Berger's book with the author "point by point" and that he did not question Winter-Berger's factual accuracy. However, he said he disagreed with Winter-Berger's conclusion that Ford was guilty of misconduct. He said he disputed Winter-Berger's main charge, that Ford had granted favors in return for campaign contributions.

McCloskey had discussed the book in an hour-long meeting with Winter-Berger in McCloskey's office April 20, 1972, shortly after the book was published. McCloskey said he told Ford Oct. 16 that he would be willing to testify on Ford's behalf should Winter-Berger's charges come up during the hearings.

"I've debated Jerry on (political issues) as strongly as any Republican in the House," McCloskey said. "But I've never questioned his integrity and his judgment and his leadership abilities, and I'm sure that any mistakes he's made have been honest mistakes.... I continue to have complete faith in Jerry."

Author's Charges. In his book, Winter-Berger wrote that Ford was "a good example of power corrupting what had been, in my estimation, one of the few honest and sincere men in Washington." Winter-Berger asserted that Ford was eager to repay contributors by using his influence in their behalf. "...once the money issue was settled, Jerry Ford probably worked harder to carry out his end of the bargain—that is, to pay a favor for value received—than anyone else I knew in Washington."

Winter-Berger claimed that Ford laid down "ground rules" to govern their relationship when the two men first met in April 1966—after Winter-Berger had paid a \$1,000 fee to a friend of Ford for a letter of introduction. These rules included not having lunch together. Winter-Berger quoted Ford as saying he would "tell people I don't even know you" if Winter-Berger made "a mistake." The ex-lobbyist pictured himself as subsequently developing a close and steady contact with Ford and members of his staff.

According to Winter-Berger, Ford was instrumental in getting a special ambassadorial job in the State Department for Francis Kellogg, former president of the International Mining Corporation, after Kellogg had pumped \$125,000 into Republican campaigns. In another instance, Winter-Berger charged that Ford's membership on the board of directors of the Old Kent Bank and Trust Company of Grand Rapids, Mich., constituted a conflict of interest because of Ford's potential influence in the House on federal banking legislation. Ford later resigned from the bank, Winter-Berger noted.

Ford Denial. Ford, in a press release May 17, 1972, emphatically denied that any quid pro quo existed

Ford's Election Results: Big Victories Since 1948

The table below shows the results of Ford's 13 general election races for the House and the results of the 1948 Republican primary, the only one in which he

was opposed and in which he defeated incumbent Bartel J. Jonkman (1940-49). In all the contests, the votes of minor-party candidates have been omitted.

1972			1958		
Ford (R)	118,027	61.1%	Ford (R)	88,156	63.6%
Jean McKee (D)	72,782	37.7%	R. F. Vander Veen (D)	50,203	36.2%
Plurality: 45,245			Plurality: 37,953		
1970			1956		
Ford (R)	88,208	61.4%	Ford (R)	120,349	67.1%
Jean McKee (D)	55,337	38.5%	George E. Clay (D)	58,899	32.9%
Plurality: 32,871			Plurality: 61,450		
1968			1954		
Ford (R)	105,085	62.7%	Ford (R)	81,702	63.3%
Laurence E. Howard (D)	62,219	37.2%	R. S. McAllister (D)	47,453	36.7%
Plurality: 42,866			Plurality: 34,249		
1966			1952		
Ford (R)	88,108	68.5%	Ford (R)	109,807	66.3%
James M. Catchick (D)	40,435	31.5%	Vincent E. O'Neill (D)	55,147	33.3%
Plurality: 47,673			Plurality: 54,660		
1964			1950		
Ford (R)	101,810	61.2%	Ford (R)	72,829	66.7%
William G. Reamon (D)	64,488	38.8%	J. H. McLaughlin (D)	35,927	32.9%
Plurality: 37,322			Plurality: 36,902		
1962			1948		
Ford (R)	110,043	67.0%	Primary		
William G. Reamon (D)	54,112	33.0%	Ford	23,632	62.2%
Plurality: 55,931			Bartel J. Jonkman*	14,341	37.8%
1960			Plurality: 9,291		
Ford (R)	131,461	66.8%	General		
William G. Reamon (D)	65,064	33.1%	Ford (R)	74,191	60.5%
Plurality: 66,397			Fred J. Barr (D)	46,972	38.3%
			Plurality: 27,219		

* Incumbent

for campaign contributions and called Winter-Berger's comments about him "a bunch of innuendoes and fabrications." The only case he remembered assisting Winter-Berger with, Ford said, was in helping a Dutch-born doctor gain legal entry into the United States. Ford argued that the case, which had the favorable recommendation of the dean of the Harvard University Medical School, was decided on its merits, not on the basis of campaign fund payoffs.

"He said one thing that is very accurate," Ford told Congressional Quarterly,—"that he never gave me one penny, which he says himself. And the other things...if

they are true—and a good many of them are inaccurate—he has woven a story that just isn't founded on facts. He's taken something that may or may not be right, and he extends it well beyond any reasonable and honest limit. Of course, let me add this, he damns me by faint praise...because what he says about most of the other people in public office is really scurrilous; but that doesn't make it any better for me."

Ford said the Kellogg case was also decided on its merits and not on the basis of campaign contributions. "That's not unusual for a person to make contributions (to a campaign such as Nixon's 1972 race) and

then seek an ambassadorship....(Kellogg) finally got some relatively minor job."

Ford did not recall warning Winter-Berger that he would disavow him if he made a "mistake." But, Ford added, "I recall several times...telling him that under no circumstances did I want to get involved in the handling of any money.... I think I told him, and I think he says in the book, 'Any contributions you make, I want it by check.' Which, if he did it, that's not a very smart way to try to hide anything." Investigative reporter Jack Anderson first identified Winter-Berger publicly in a column Jan. 27, 1970. Anderson called Winter-Berger an "influence-peddling Washington lobbyist" who operated "out of Ford's office."

Winter-Berger's name came up June 23, 1970, during the trial of Martin Sweig, the former chief administrative aide of the late John W. McCormack, then speaker of the House, on charges of influence peddling. One of the witnesses told the court that a lobbyist working out of Ford's office—who later was identified as Winter-Berger—had sent him to Nathan Voloshen for help in getting a suspended sentence in the witness' own conviction of swindling and looting corporate accounts. Voloshen, a lawyer-lobbyist who had been indicted with Sweig, already had pleaded guilty.

Political Career

Elected to Congress in 1949, Ford first won national attention in 1963, when he was elected chairman of the House Republican Conference. That election was a victory for "young Turks" of Republican ranks in the House, who ousted 67-year-old Charles B. Hoeven (R Iowa 1943-65) from the post. (1963 *Almanac* p. 24)

Ford's election was engineered by three representatives who have gone widely separate ways since: Melvin R. Laird (Wis. 1953-69), a counselor to President Nixon; Charles E. Goodell (N.Y. 1959-68), named a senator in 1968 but defeated in an election bid in 1970, partly because of White House opposition, and Sen. Griffin of Michigan.

In 1965, Ford was elected House minority leader, ousting Charles A. Halleck (Ind. 1935-69). Again, Ford's election was engineered by Laird, Goodell and Griffin. The secret ballot vote was close: 73 to 67. (1965 *Almanac* p. 25)

"The southerners really loved Charlie Halleck," Rep. Rhodes recalled. "When Jerry came in, there was a kind of stand-offish attitude. For the first few years, he (Ford) didn't have too kindly an attitude toward them. But in recent years, there have been closer relations on some issues."

"I had many sharp differences of opinion with him when he first became minority leader," Harvey said. "In recent years, he has shown more of a mellowness in accepting differences of opinion within the party. Now he knows some people have to vote differently."

The growth of Ford's tolerance for differing opinions also was reflected by the comment of Speaker Carl Albert (D Okla.), who has enjoyed a close personal relationship with Ford. "I think I was the first in Congress to tell the President that Jerry would be the easiest candidate to sell to the House," he said. "He's a very fine man to work with. I think he earned this."

Albert holds the job to which, according to many accounts, Ford has long aspired. But he had been mentioned in years past as a possible vice presidential candidate. His name was suggested in 1960, for example, when Nixon ran the first time and settled on Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate.

Ford has remained a strong administration loyalist. In 1971, in response to bitter criticism of Agnew by Rep. William Clay (D Mo.), he defended the then Vice President by denouncing Clay's language in a House speech.

Ford was permanent chairman of the Republican national conventions of both 1968 and 1972.

Campaign Contributions

Since his nomination as Vice President, Ford has been quizzed by reporters about the way campaign contributions were handled in his 1970 and 1972 House re-election campaigns.

Ford told reporters he had nothing to hide and said he hoped congressional hearings on his confirmation would be "the most open and in depth" ever held by Congress.

1970 Campaign. In his 1970 race, Ford filed what could be interpreted to be an inaccurate sworn statement failing to list \$11,500 in campaign contributions by Wall Street money men, bankers, an oil man, physicians and a labor union.

Ford told newsmen that although checks from these sources were made out to him, he had endorsed them over to the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee for use by other candidates. However, another Republican fund sent \$12,233 into Ford's district to pay some of his campaign advertising and printing bills.

The Michigan representative denied that this exchange of funds was planned or that the actions had been used to "launder" the contributions. "There was absolutely no connection between the two," he told *The Washington Post*.

The issue could be of particular importance in the confirmation hearings, since Ford served as his own treasurer during the campaign and filed sworn statements with the House which failed to list the contributions.

Contributions received by Ford and endorsed over to the congressional campaign committee included these: from the Securities Industry Campaign Committee, \$5,000; oil tycoon John M. Shaheen, \$3,000; the Bankers Political Action Committee, \$2,000; the Boilermakers-Blacksmiths union of Kansas City, Kan., \$1,000, and a Michigan physicians' fund, \$500.

1972 Campaign. Ford's latest campaign was financed in large part by a secret fund-raising setup which concealed the names of the donors. The arrangement was legal. The money was funneled through a loophole—since plugged—in federal campaign financing laws which did not require full public reports by fund-raising groups in the District of Columbia.

A total of \$38,216—more than one-third of what Ford spent in the 1972 campaign—was handled through such a committee: the Committee to Re-elect Jerry Ford, in Washington. "I don't know who contributed to the committee, and I think it's better that I don't know," Ford told *The Washington Star-News*. (Box on Ford's 1972 contributions, p. 2765)

Sports Illustrated
7/8/74



IN DEFENSE OF THE COMPETITIVE URGE

by GERALD R. FORD
with JOHN UNDERWOOD

Vice-President reflects fondly on his "halcyon days" as a Michigan football star and Yale coach, and ponders the current state of sport, arguing that winning is a necessary goal; that international athletic victories serve nations well; and that the preoccupation with money may end up alienating the fan

One lesson to be learned in reaching an age where you are both a viable politician and a washed-up line-man is that past glories are not negotiable in the open market. When you stop winning they not only start booing, they start forgetting.

I used to think of myself as a pretty dashing figure on the ski slopes of the East and in northern Michigan, and could at least count on outstripping my children on the various runs we tried. Nowadays, when the family gets together at Vail for our annual Christmas ski reunion, my sons and my daughter go zooming by, usually with just the encouragement to make me boil. Such as: "Hurry up, Dad." They see themselves getting faster and faster as I get slower and slower. They forget all the times I picked them out of the snowbank.

When I was House Minority Leader and a regular adversary of Lyndon Johnson's, he once said—with minimum affection—"There's nothing wrong with Jerry Ford except that he played football too long without his helmet." Lyndon got a lot of mileage out of that quote, and I used it myself one year when I addressed the Gridiron Club in Washington. I said he was wrong, that I always wore my helmet on any gridiron, and I picked up my old leather bonnet and put it on, right on top of my white tie and tails. It had been a while, though. I had a hard time getting it down over my ears. Of course, heads do have a tendency to swell here in Washington.

My playing days at Michigan are now a standard introduction in magazine stories such as this, usually accompanied by a picture (page 19) of a rugged-looking hairy young man (me) hunched over a ball in the center's position, and the notation that Ford was "the most valuable player on a losing Michigan team." I always feel damned with faint praise when I read that. I'd much rather have been the "least valuable player on a winning Michigan team," the kind we had my sophomore and junior years when we were undefeated and won national championships.

Those were what sportswriters up on their clichés would call my "halcyon days." Certainly they offer brighter memories than my efforts to stay competitive—and fit—since. Today I am a habitual exerciser—a 15-minute swim twice a day in the backyard pool, slower-and-slower skiing near our place in Vail, and an occasional round of golf with fellow hackers around Washington.

The reason I make reference to those winning seasons at Michigan is that we have been asked to swallow a lot of

home-cooked psychology in recent years that winning isn't all that important anymore, whether on the athletic field or in any other field, national and international. I don't buy that for a minute. It is not enough to just compete. Winning is very important. Maybe more important than ever.

Don't misunderstand. I am not low-rating the value of informal participation. Competing is always preferable to not competing, whether you win or not, and one reason is as good as another for getting involved. Swimming laps, for example, is preferable to doubling your waistline. As a young man I took up skiing in order to get to know a certain young lady better. She happened to be a devotee, and I an eager beginner. I lost the girl but I learned to ski. The subject used to be a sensitive one with my wife, who came along afterward, but I have reminded her that that was instructive athletics, not competitive athletics. The important thing was I learned to ski.

If you don't win elections you don't play, so the importance of winning is more drastic in that field. In athletics and in most other worthwhile pursuits first place is the manifestation of the desire to excel, and how else can you achieve anything? I certainly do not feel we achieved very much as a Michigan football team in 1934. And I can assure you we had more fun on those championship teams in 1932-33.

Broadly speaking, outside of a national character and an educated society, there are few things more important to a country's growth and well-being than competitive athletics. If it is a cliché to say athletics build character as well as muscle, then I subscribe to the cliché. It has been said, too, that we are losing our competitive spirit in this country, the thing that made us great, the guts of the free-enterprise system. I don't agree with that; the competitive urge is deep-rooted in the American character. I do wonder sometimes if we are adjusting to the times, or if we have been spoiled by them.

For one, do we realize how important it is to compete successfully with other nations? Not just the Russians, but many nations that are growing and challenging. Being a leader, the U.S. has an obligation to set high standards. I don't know of a better advertisement for a nation's good health than a healthy athletic representation. Athletics happens to be an extraordinarily swift avenue of communication. The broader the achievement the greater the impact. There is much to be said for Ping-Pong diplomacy.

With communications what they are, a sports triumph can be as uplifting to a nation's spirit as, well, a battlefield victory. And surely no one will argue that it is not more

continued

healthful. The Africans were terrific in the last two Olympics, and their stars have become national heroes. These countries were tasting the first fruits of international achievement, and their pride was justified. In a wink of the eye they caught us in some areas, passed us in others.

When I was in China a few years ago I was astounded by the number of basketball courts. They were everywhere—in school yards, outside factories and farms. Boys and girls were playing basketball at age three and four, with miniature balls and undersized baskets. The sizes and heights were graded to coincide with the age group, something we might consider here, even up to the professional level. The agricultural and factory communes were alive with competition, in conjunction with their mandatory calisthenics.

In 1972, when I received the college Football Hall of Fame award at the Waldorf in New York, I remarked on this new Chinese passion for the old American game, and I said that one day soon we would have to cope with a seven-foot Chinese Wilt Chamberlain. Sure enough, last year the Chinese had a touring team that featured some real giants, and they did all right. In five years they will be competitive. Of course, the Chinese do things we would never find acceptable in a free society. Completely regimented, state-supported, state-manipulated athletic programs are not for us. It is a matter of style as well as philosophy. But if we want to remain competitive, and I think we do, we owe it to ourselves to reassess our priorities, to broaden our base of achievement so that we again present our best in the world's arenas. From a purely political viewpoint, I don't know of anything more beneficial in diplomacy and prestige. I don't think we really want to be booted or forgotten.

For that reason I am in favor of doing all we can, as quickly as we can, to resolve the jurisdictional differences which hurt our Olympic effort, which hinder at the grass-roots level the development of athletes. It is a disgrace in this country for anyone not to realize his or her potential in any sport. The petty conflict between the NCAA and the AAU is, as Mike Harrigan of the President's Council on Physical Fitness outlined recently, just the most visible symptom of an overall organizational problem.

I leave the details to Congressman Bob Mathias, the former decathlon champion, and those more acquainted with the specific difficulties, but certain things proposed in the recent flurry of congressional activity have my support. No one will deny that the United States Olympic Committee, a federally chartered organization and therefore a legitimate area of federal concern, needs to be restructured. The Administration has under advisement a plan—Mr. Harrigan's—to accomplish this with minimal federal involvement and control, and therefore at minimal cost to the taxpayer. This would include the creation of a President's Commission on Olympic Sports, composed of prominent interested Americans who are not partisan to either of the conflicting organizations. Two members of the Senate and two of the House would serve on the commission and it would have a fixed life of 15 months—eight to examine the USOC and report, and seven to make proposals and iron out the problems in time for the 1976 Olympics, and beyond.

The Amateur Athletic Act of 1974, sponsored by Sen-

ator Jim Pearson, is anathema to most governing athletic bodies because it implies too much federal control, including the formation of a permanent sanctioning federal amateur sports body. Congressman Mathias' amendment to the federal Olympic charter would remove some of the onus by providing that the American Arbitration Association act as a binding arbiter in settling disputes. But regardless of how it is achieved, something should be achieved—and soon—to improve the systems for developing our athletes.

Even if there were no other nations to impress, even if there were no international events to prepare for, the value of competitive athletics in this country would still be boundless. Consider what an athletic field does for a depressed neighborhood, or a successful sports program for a college—the spirit it breeds on campus and the moneys it generates to provide a broader intramural base. The whole school benefits. I don't know anything that gave a greater boost to Michigan than our football teams in 1932 and 1933 (but not necessarily 1934).

A winning pro football team like the Dolphins can galvanize an entire metropolitan area. Washington rallied around the Redskins. I found myself identifying with their success. George Allen's principles are consistent with mine (his dedication to hard work, his personal habits), and the Redskins were extraordinarily unified. The man holding an end-zone season ticket—or, if he is like me, the three-game-a-Sunday armchair quarterback watching at home while trying to get some work done (at about 50% capacity)—not only identifies, he feels a part of the effort.

I am beginning to wonder, however, if that vital relationship might not have taken a turn for the worse in recent months. Or been given a shove in the wrong direction. I refer to what seems to be a growing appetite—an apparently insatiable one—for money in sports, a preoccupation with "how much" instead of "how good," with cost instead of value. If I read my sports pages correctly, and I read them every day, the age of benevolent ownership is over. The emerging super figures of the '70s are the dollar-oriented athlete and the profit-oriented owner, usually in conflict. Neither side trusts the other. And neither is particularly attractive. The sports news is glutted with salary disputes and threats of strike, of demands and contractual harangues, of players jumping from one league to another, or owners threatening to pull their franchises out of this or that city unless demands are met or profits improve.

I have mixed emotions about much of this. On the one hand I would not deny an athlete his opportunity for maximum compensation. A professional athletic career is short-lived at best, and in the free enterprise system a man should be able to realize his worth. By the same token, management can handle just so much. Professional sport has a history of failing ownerships, of bankrupt franchises. The balance is often delicate and Congress has, in the past, been very sympathetic with its anti-trust legislation.

I take neither side. But I do pose a few questions on behalf of the man in the middle: the fan. I'm one myself, and what scares me is that the fan may ultimately be abused, if he has not been already. The money has to come from somewhere. Traditionally, the somewhere is the fan's pocket-

book—and in the electronic age in which we live, the advertiser's. At what point will the fan become disillusioned? When he comes to the conclusion that the team he is supporting has no reciprocal interest in his affection, I think there will be a withdrawal of support. It might not come today, or this season, but it will surely come.

It will be interesting to see how the fans react to the players who are now jumping to the new World Football League. It will be interesting to see how the Miami fans react this season to Csonka, Kiick and Warfield, who are committed to the Memphis franchise in 1975. I personally wish them well, because they are fine athletes who are fun to watch. From the rival Redskins' point of view, goodbye will no doubt be good riddance.

I wonder, too, what the preoccupation with money is doing to the athletes themselves. When a pitcher throws a no-hitter and is quoted that from the fifth inning on he was thinking about the bonus he would get, how does this affect the young athlete reading the story? When a college basketball senior drafted by the NBA in the first round talks about being worth "at least three million," what clicks in the mind of the freshman on that team?

There must be some serious clicking going on because I am told that the colleges are experiencing the worst run of recruiting violations since World War II. Whether or not the super-paid athlete begets the super-paid-under-the-table athlete I would not venture to say, but I was shocked when I heard that. I was under the impression the colleges were in a saner period, were better controlled, with safeguards at both conference and national levels.

When honesty and integrity suffer nationally, they no doubt suffer in athletics. And vice versa. It would be difficult to measure what effect scandalous behavior in sport has on the nation as a whole, but I do not doubt there is one. The last thing we need is to be cynical about it.

I don't think the fan is unaware. In their rush to get his money promoters have often tried to sell him labels rather than contents, figures rather than pedigrees, and as often as not he turns up his nose. It will be interesting to see how the World Football League fares in that respect. It will not be the NFL's equal for some time, but it is going to ask the fan to consider it major league. If it is major league, the fan will recognize it as such and support it.

I have my doubts about the advisability of the WFL telecasting games on week nights, in effect invading the time and territory of the high schools. We already have legislation preventing Friday night NFL telecasts. I don't know if the Congress will sit still for Thursday night telecasts that might cut the revenue of high school sports.

I have to admit to a certain empathetic thrill in reading about all the money being tossed around today in sports. It takes me back to the time I was offered a big-money deal to play for the Green Bay Packers: \$200 a game, with a 14-game schedule and a 10-day contract cancellation provision.

There was a lot happening to me then to turn my head. In 1931, when I was being recruited out of South High in Grand Rapids, Harry Kipke himself, the famous Michigan coach, brought me to Ann Arbor for a visit. I had made two All-State teams—one of which I captained—and must

have been worth rushing because Michigan State, Northwestern and Harvard also expressed interest, and in those days recruiting wasn't as widespread as it is today.

The Kipkes took me to their home for the weekend, and to several sports events, and then to the bus on Sunday night. I had to be impressed by the personal attention.

So the hotshot center from Grand Rapids came to live at Michigan, in a third-floor 10-by-10 room way in the back of the cheapest rooming house I could find. I shared the rent (\$4 a week) with a basketball player from my hometown. We each had a desk and a bed, which pretty much exhausted the floor space, and there was one small window between us.

The Big Ten did not give athletic scholarships then. My tuition was paid by a scholarship from South High, and Coach Kipke got me a job waiting on tables in the interns' dining room at University Hospital and cleaning up in the nurses' cafeteria. My aunt and uncle sent me \$2 a week for Depression-day extravagances. My father's paint factory was going through a depression of its own, and since there were three other Fords to raise he couldn't send anything.

When I pledged Delta Kappa Epsilon my sophomore year, I moved into the fraternity

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ILLUSTRATION BY DICKRAN PALULIAN



house and got a job washing dishes. There were four of us at the sink, including Herman Everhardus, an outstanding Michigan football player. As dishwashers I would say we showed good early foot but uncertain technique. I doubt we would pass today's sanitation codes.

I know I am guilty of leaning heavily on football jargon in speeches and off-the-cuff remarks, but for two reasons I think this is understandable. First, there is obviously a deep American involvement in and a great social significance to the game. No game is like football in that respect. It has so many special qualities, among them the combination of teamwork involving a large number of people, with precise strategies and coordination that are essential if anyone is going to benefit. The athletes are highly skilled, but subservient to the team. Yet if they do their job, they give an individual an opportunity for stardom. I know of no other sport that demands so much, and returns so much.

The experience of playing the game can be applied to the rest of your life, and drawn from freely. I know it is easy to find similarities in politics. How you can't make it in either field without teamwork and great leadership. How you attract grandstand quarterbacks by the droves. In football you hear them during and after the game. In politics we hear them 30 seconds after our last speech. Or during it. Most grandstand quarterbacks have never played either game, yet are the loudest and most knowledgeable critics. The thick skin developed in football pays off.

The second reason is that I truly enjoyed my football experience, and just don't want to forget it. Under Harry Kipke, Michigan used the short-punt formation, which was popular then, and as the center I fancied myself the second-best passer in the lineup. If I'm dating you, the center in the short punt or single wing is not just a guy who sticks the ball in the quarterback's hands. Every center snap must truly be a pass (between the legs), often leading the tailback who is in motion and in full stride when he takes the ball. I don't mean to be critical, but I think that is why you now see so many bad passes from center on punts and field goals. They don't have to do it enough. I must have centered the ball 500,000 times in high school and college.

Football was probably more enjoyable for us then because the pressures were not as great as they seem to be now. What made it less enjoyable was that we labored under limited-substitution rules, which reads out as total exhaustion after every game. In a close one no more than 15 or 16 men would play. If you left the game at any point during either half you couldn't go back during that half. The rule was modified my senior year to allow you to return to play in the next period. It didn't help much.

I averaged about a fourth of a game my first two years. Kipke had superb teams, so a lot of guys played. I got the "best prospect" award after the 1932 season, but the next fall I hurt a knee and was out of the running early. Chuck Bernard not only kept the job at center but made All-America.

My senior year, when I played regularly and was voted Most Valuable, the team, as I've mentioned, was not as good, and we didn't run up any scores. We were too busy trying to keep them from being run up on us. The starters

were usually the finishers. We held Minnesota, the Big Ten champion that year with such stars as Pug Lund, Phil Bengtson and Bud Wilkinson, scoreless in the first half, and missed two good scoring opportunities ourselves. Then we ran down and were overwhelmed 34-0. (Having been worn out once too often, I would say that today's unlimited substitution is better. More people get to play, and the game is less a test of stamina and more of skill.)

But though we weren't very good, we weren't very exciting, either. Kipke's style was written up in *The Saturday Evening Post* under the headline "A Punt, A Pass and A Prayer." As far as I know that was the origin of the phrase, and it bespoke the Michigan system: Play tough defense. Punt when in doubt. Force the other guy into mistakes. Then score on a pass. And pray for deliverance. We always kicked off. We always punted on third down inside our own 25, unless we had about a yard to go. We played tough defense—a straight 6-2-2-1, with none of the sliding and stunting you see today. We ran the short punt to death. We were dull.

That last year we had an excellent passer named Bill Renner, who broke his leg before the season started. Our punter was the best I ever saw in pro or college, John Regeczki, and he got hurt in the third game. If your system depends on a punt, a pass and a prayer, and all you have left is a prayer—well, that might put you in good hands, but you better not count on any favors. We lost seven out of eight.

Despite our humble record I was invited to play in the East-West Shrine Game in San Francisco on Jan. 1, 1935, primarily on the recommendation of Dick Hanley, the Northwestern coach. I had had a pretty good day against his star guard, Rip Whalen. According to Hanley, when he asked Whalen why Michigan made so much ground up the middle that day, Whalen said, "Ford was the best blocking center I ever played against." I still cherish that remark.

The Shrine signed two centers for the East, a boy from Colgate named George Akerstrom, and me. On the train ride from Chicago to California, curly Lambeau, the coach of the Packers, went from player to player, plying the good ones about their pro football interest. He ignored me. Then in the first two minutes of the game Akerstrom got hurt. I played the rest of the way—58 minutes, offense and defense. After the game a group of us were given the option of a train ride home or a free trip to Los Angeles to see the movie studios. Being a conservative Midwesterner unacquainted with glamour, I naturally chose Hollywood.

On the train from San Francisco to Los Angeles, curly Lambeau sat with me the whole way. He suddenly knew my name. And he asked me to sign with the Packers. I told him I'd think about it.

That August I played in the All-Star game in Chicago, the second in which the college stars played a pro team. We had Don Hutson and a number of outstanding players, but the Bears beat us 5-0. Shortly after that I got curly's offer in writing: \$200 a game for the 14 games. Patsy Clark of the Lions matched the bid.

But pro football did not have the allure it has now, and though my interest was piqued I didn't lose any sleep over my decision. When Ducky Pond, the Yale coach, came to

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an Arbor at Kipke's bidding to ask me to be on his staff
New Haven, I saw the chance to realize two dreams at
once—to stay in football and to pursue a long-nurtured
aspiration for law school. Pond's offer was \$2,400 for the
next 12 months, as his assistant line coach, jayvee coach and
out—and to coach the boxing team in the winter. Of box-
ing I knew next to nothing. No, that's not right. I knew
absolutely nothing.

So that summer while working in my father's paint fac-
tory I slipped off to the YMCA three times a week to get
inched around by the Y's boxing coach. I didn't get good,
but I got good enough to fool the Yale freshmen, one of
whom was Bill Proxmire.

I coached at Yale for six football seasons, from 1935
through 1940. My scholastic advisers were convinced I
couldn't handle law school and a full-time job, so they
couldn't let me try until 1938 when, with reluctance, they
consented for two courses. I was warned that of the 125 stu-
dents entering law school that year, 98 were Phi Beta Kappa,
and that was clearly another league from the one I had
been in. Somehow I got by, and that spring, without telling
Lucky Pond, I began taking a full load of law courses.

In the fall of 1938 Pond made me head jayvee coach in
charge of scouting and raised my pay to a fabulous \$3,600
a year. One of the teams I scouted that year was my alma
mater, Michigan, starring the great Tom Harmon. Mich-
igan beat Yale, but barely—15-13.

The Yale staff was excellent. Greasy Neale was on it, and
Ray Williamson, who had played at Michigan before me
and was my roommate one summer when I took a couple
of law courses there. He was going for his master's in ed-
ucation. Williamson later became a winning head coach at
Wisconsin.

By January of 1941 I had completed my law requirements
and I received my degree in June. World War II ended my
football career. I was in Tom Hamilton's V-5 program for
two years, working as athletic officer with responsibilities
as an assistant ship's navigator on an aircraft carrier in the
Pacific, but I never went back to coaching, except vicar-
iously on Sunday afternoons at RFK Stadium. I doubt
George Allen notices.

I spoke earlier of the lessons to be learned from football.
The reverse is also true: football learns. Or at least its prac-
titioners do. Of all our sports I think football best reflects
the nation's tastes, and is constantly adjusting to meet them.
I know of none that changes as often, or as radically.

I don't think anyone—except the coaches and the place-
kickers—would argue that the changes in the pro game that
were adopted this winter were not in answer to public taste.
There had been a growing conservatism in pro football,
and by nature Americans are not conservative—at least not
in sports. The last several Super Bowl games were played
by highly competent teams, maybe the best ever, but they
were so competent within the framework of their own re-
strictions that the Super Bowl lost the spontaneity and the
sparkle the public likes. They were almost too good for
their own good, if that's possible. The fan likes to see an
error as a very real threat, as a possible sudden turn to rev-
ersing a game. Right or wrong he likes his heroes to take gam-

bles now and then, to make mistakes. Interestingly enough,
the impact of the new rules brings the pro game closer to
the college game, and as far as I'm concerned that's for the
better. The colleges have had that spontaneity. Their coach-
es have been more daring. Two or three of the most recent
college bowl games were far more interesting than the Su-
per Bowl.

As I think back on my own football days, I find myself
marveling at today's athletes—in all sports. They are better
in every respect; bigger, stronger, faster and better cared
for. I think it is true that they have had much to divert their
attention from the drive to excel—affluence can be discon-
certing, and there was the war in Vietnam. But these are
hardly insurmountable handicaps. Affluence should be an
asset. It helps provide the facilities that broaden the base
we need now. And, of course, all wars end.

The fact remains that these athletes *do* excel. And to-
gether with our international programs, I would like to see
our national institutions reflect that excellence. I would pre-
fer, to mention one example, that the service academies be
in the forefront of college football instead of in the rear. Or
at least be above average.

The reason for their current slump is obvious and for-
givable: the five-year service commitment a cadet or mid-
shipman has after graduation. Proposals have been made
to get around that commitment, to balance the need for
good intercollegiate representation by the academies against
the requirements of the services. One idea is to allow acad-
emy graduates who have a chance for a professional ath-
letic career to postpone their military duty for X number of
years. The argument is that they will wind up being more
valuable to the service at an older, more settled age, when
they will be looking for the post-athletic career so many
pros fail to establish. And, of course, they would still be
young men.

My surface judgment is that it might be workable for an
athlete to spend, say, five years after his academy class grad-
uates in a reservist's role, meeting once a week for training
and two weeks a year on active duty, and then fulfill his
service obligation. There well may be an Arnold Tucker or
a Doc Blanchard or a Pete Dawkins out there waiting for
such a chance. All three were All-Americans, and all became
outstanding career military men.

I think this, too: that our better athletes today, despite
the times and all the terrible crises, are really the vanguard
of our young leadership. I know that in terms of spiritual
awareness they are way out in front.

A friend of mine from my old Congressional District,
Billy Zeoli, does a lot of ministerial work for the Dallas
Cowboys, and over the years—at various group meetings
and breakfasts and banquets—I have come to know men
like Norm Evans, Bobby Richardson, Stan Smith and Bill
Glass, and each time I meet another one like them I am
reassured.

Three years ago Billy took me to his services for the Cow-
boys when they were in Washington to play the Redskins. I
can't tell you how impressed I was. But my son Jack was
really impressed. Jack got to sit next to Jethro Pugh. He
didn't tell his old man to hurry up that day.

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TOP OF THE NEWS

June 14, 1974

Portrait of the next president as a young man

Jerry Ford was a very headstrong little boy

By Terence Sheridan

It's Holy Week and, appropriately, I'm waiting to see the 38th President of the United States. The 37th is in trouble. After 105 years of restless sleep a damn rough beast, presidential impeachment, slouches towards the capital. Richard Nixon is attempting to flee, but his ship, battered by tax problems, withheld tapes, erased tapes and tapes with dirty words upon them, is going down in uncharted waters, sinking with Old Glory flying and a band playing on a burning deck.

So I'm sitting in a small red-carpeted anteroom in the Executive Office Building next to the White House waiting to see Gerald Ford the Wednesday before Easter Sunday, during the last gasps of the cherry blossoms, while Nixon is snuffling around the fastness of Bad Axe, Michigan, helping an immaculate Republican lose the Eighth Congressional District race. (Bad day in Bad Axe. The following Tuesday the blameless Republican lost by 3,000 votes despite a large banner that convincingly asserted GOD LOVES NIXON.)

"It will be a minute," Paul Miltich, press secretary, says pleasantly. Miltich, a former reporter, is a dark-haired middle-aged man with a bad back. He tells me that he and the Vice President will soon be leaving for Palm Springs, a vacation, and I ask, "Will he be golfing with Frank Sin-

atra?" It's a joke, a compulsory jab at a press secretary; but Miltich eyes me closely, searching my face for signs of incipient insanity before replying, cordially but firmly, "No, we have no Mafia connections." This is good to hear, for Jerry Ford has often been the butt of inconsiderate jokes, the victim of random insults and outrageous roorbacks, as irritatingly persistent as a loose pebble in a shoe. They have called him, among other things, a genial naif from up in Michigan, and made it sound as though he were personally responsible for reducing spoken English to an endangered species. For the most part, however, the blunders have been insignificant misconceptions, such as his question after receiving a Paul Revere souvenir lantern from the Middlesex Republican Club in Boston last March: "My history is a little faulty, but didn't Paul Revere say one if by day and two if by night?"

The robust Vice President, looking like a retired pipefitter in a well-tailored blue suit, is holding a pipe, a meerschaum, in his left hand, and he uses it like a hammer, driving home points as he talks. Splendid platform deportment, spontaneity akin to abandon, never repeating the same gesture until it becomes monotonous, according to the precepts of venerable Dale Carnegie. "You said not too long ago that the 'prophets of doom and gloom' are not going to bring down either Nixon or GOP candidates in 1974. Do you still feel the same way?" I ask. The pipe is now a pistol, the stem a barrel pointed at me. "Well, let me put it this way. . . . I think the President is innocent, I

don't think he'll be impeached, I am confident he will not be convicted. But if impeached, the . . . uh . . . impact on Republican congressional and senate candidates. . . . Well, it's too early to tell. We might have an answer Tuesday."

"You're talking about—"

"—The Eighth District race, Michigan."

"And if that's a loser?"

"Well, it will certainly indicate that there are many who are disillusioned. On the other hand, there are these underlying factors: there is high unemployment in Michigan, inflation is bad, there has been an energy shortage. . . ." Now the pipe is in an ashtray on a table between his chair and my sofa and he is going for it again when I ask, "How do the folks back in Grand Rapids view Watergate and impeachment?" Grand Rapids, the conservative heart of his old Fifth Congressional District, a Dutch-dominated district with a city of 200,000 surrounded by smug suburbs and celery farms—where voting Republican was a way of life for more than half a century—recently fell to a Democrat.

"Undoubtedly there were a number of people—how many no one knows—in this election for my successor who apparently wanted to send down a message, and their way of doing it was to vote Democratic for the first time. I'm surprised how many apparently did, but in that instance you also have these other factors: unemployment, energy. . . ."

At 60 he's too old to kick the habit. He's still the good soldier, the happy hired gun riding the garbage truck the summer

Terence Sheridan is a very headstrong free-lance writer from Cleveland.

of '36. It was a memorable summer, working as a park ranger at Yellowstone. Everything properly in its place. The bears roamed free and ate the garbage while the tourists, fenced in, watched in awe. And young Jerry Ford, armed with a high-powered rifle, stood guard. At 60 he's still the dedicated donzel, an aging page awaiting knighthood. When he arrived in 1948, he pledged his troth, swearing to his elders: "I will do what I am told to do." ("Okay, okay," says a Capitol Hill Democrat reasonably close to Ford. "So he's

bombs in Cambodia, the antiballistic missile system, the supersonic transport plane and no-knock police entries—and against busing, minimum wage, food for strikers, funds to fight water pollution and unemployment compensation for migrant workers.

I ask him to try to speculate on being the next president of the Republic, but he says that he cannot. No romancer, he will not, cannot, even hazard a guess, wing a vision. Besides, it would be unseemly. "The President is going to be in

the windows of their hearts and prayed: *Let it happen, by night or by day.* When he came home last January, they were waiting for him with signs that said ALL-AMERICAN BOY and WE ARE FOR-EVER FORD, a homecoming dry run for the big one yet to come. Jerry, a long-distance runner among dashmen, is almost there. Even if the other guy digs in and beats impeachment, there is always '76, and they know in their hearts that an Eagle Scout from Grand Rapids couldn't turn down a draft in 1976. So they practice sucking in air and popping out the plosive P, then quickly move the lower lip against upper teeth to form the fricative F, the OR tarrying neutrally as the tongue touches the back of the teeth to make the D: *President Ford.*

"President Ford—it's not at all hard to say," says Marian Steketeer Horning. Long ago she forgave Jerry Ford for stepping on her twin sister Alice's hand. A six-year-old towheaded boy, built like a box, sitting in a sweet cherry tree in his backyard, daring anyone to climb it. "He was a strong-willed little boy," she recalls. Marian was 12 when Jerry was six and the Steketees, a prominent Grand Rapids family, lived on Madison across the street from the Fords. "If he didn't want you to climb his cherry tree at the particular moment, no one did. He would climb up it and say, 'My tree.' There would be perhaps six or seven of us, older than he was, but he could hold his own. Yes, indeed. But Alice went up anyway, so he stepped on her hand. Actually," Mrs. Horning laughs, "he stood on her hand, until she screamed. Then he took his foot off. A very headstrong little boy."

Looking back, she feels it was "dumb" playing with a six-year-old boy at her age, 12, wearing an Indian maiden's fringed dress, Jerry with a dyed turkey feather stuck in a headband. "But those were different days," she says, a tough-minded little woman, the mother of two sons who never looked back after walking out of divorce court 41 years ago. "Times were simpler when we were children," she says. "We all played together, and a big thing for us was to go for a Sunday ride in Mr. Ford's car. There were no better people than Jerry's parents, Dorothy and Jerry Ford."

"Of course," says Mrs. Horning, "at that time we didn't know that Mr. Ford was Jerry's stepfather, but neither did Jerry. They were very close, those two. Young Jerry was mischievous, as little boys are, but he always made it up. He had a little wagon, like a farmer's wagon, and he would load two or three in it and pull them. A stocky, square-built little boy



carried the water for a long time. But he's got a lot of friends in Congress and they are telling him that now is the time to move away from the White House, to prepare himself to be president. He's the grateful beneficiary of a bolt of lightning.") Nonetheless, he is what he seemed to be, an up-front Warren Harding intoning platitudes, a helluva nice guy whose principles have been obscured by ardent pragmatism, freeing him to retell the story of America from Plymouth Rock to Mount Suribachi. Freeing him, the pragmatic patriot, to be for prayers in schools,

office until January 20, 1977," he says, making it sound plausible. "I think the possibility of me being faced with that situation is so remote that it really doesn't concern me at the present time."

"Thank you, Mr. President," I say, trying not to sound offensive. Love the office, not the man. But he laughs heartily, a placable man winking at churlish insensitivity. Still, it does have a wonderful ring to it, a ring as audible as a sonic boom in Grand Rapids, where constituents are not only perceptive voters but dear friends, friends who have hung lanterns in

a good boy. I remember that it was an excellent Boy Scout. And then," she says, "he grew up to be a good congressman. I voted for him last time, but not for Nixon. I had mixed emotions when Jerry was named vice president. That damn Nixon! Jerry is too honest to get mixed up in this mess. Nixon thinks he's God. So damn stubborn! I'll never forgive him for that Checkers speech. I just hope Jerry doesn't get burned like the rest of them." Then, brightly, she remembers something else. "His mother," she says. "Jerry's mother was a wonderful lady. She used to let me come in and help her set the table for lunch. She had lovely things, china and silver and glass. And she made cookies . . . molasses cookies. They were very big then, you know, molasses cookies."

Yes, the cookies. . . stirring the dark viscid syrup into the achromatic batter. . . She was making them in Omaha, too, a tall, kindly Daughter of the American Revolution, the genteel mother of Jerry Ford, abandoned when she was pregnant with the son she would name Leslie. (And even now sexagenarian friends of the Fords band needlessly together, protecting the honor of a genuinely fine woman, whispering *you know?*)

Divorced, Dorothy Gardner King came home to Grand Rapids with a baby boy. She married Gerald Ford, a popular young salesman for a wood-finishing firm who later founded a paint and varnish company, became an influential member

of the Kent County Republican organization and fathered three sons of his own after renaming his stepson Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr. And thus Jerry Ford gained a superior father but lost a noble logo for presidential papers: Leslie Lynch King. But memories of the molasses cookies live on. . . canonized cookies certifying that one knew Jerry Ford—"Junie," for Junior—before he was famous.

"Hell," says Byrd Garel, "I think I was the first colored person Jerry Ford was ever exposed to. I used to go up that short sidewalk and go in the side door and me and Jerry would sit in the kitchen and his mother would give us cookies, molasses cookies, and milk." The Fords' home, a three-story frame, was now on steep Union Street, and Jerry was 13 years old. Byrd, called "Burt," the son of a chauffeur, would walk down Thomas to Union and whistle for his buddy "Junie," and they would walk a mile to South High School. "Jerry's house was really nice," says Garel, a retired auto worker. "That was a nice neighborhood then. Colored people were in that house recently, but it's empty now. Someone should buy it. It's going to be historic. When we were kids, I lived on Bates, the first colored family. The city used to barricade Union and we would slide down in homemade bobsleds in the winter. In those days there was no better place to raise or educate your kids. I've been a lot of places and I used to say that the alleys of Grand Rapids were

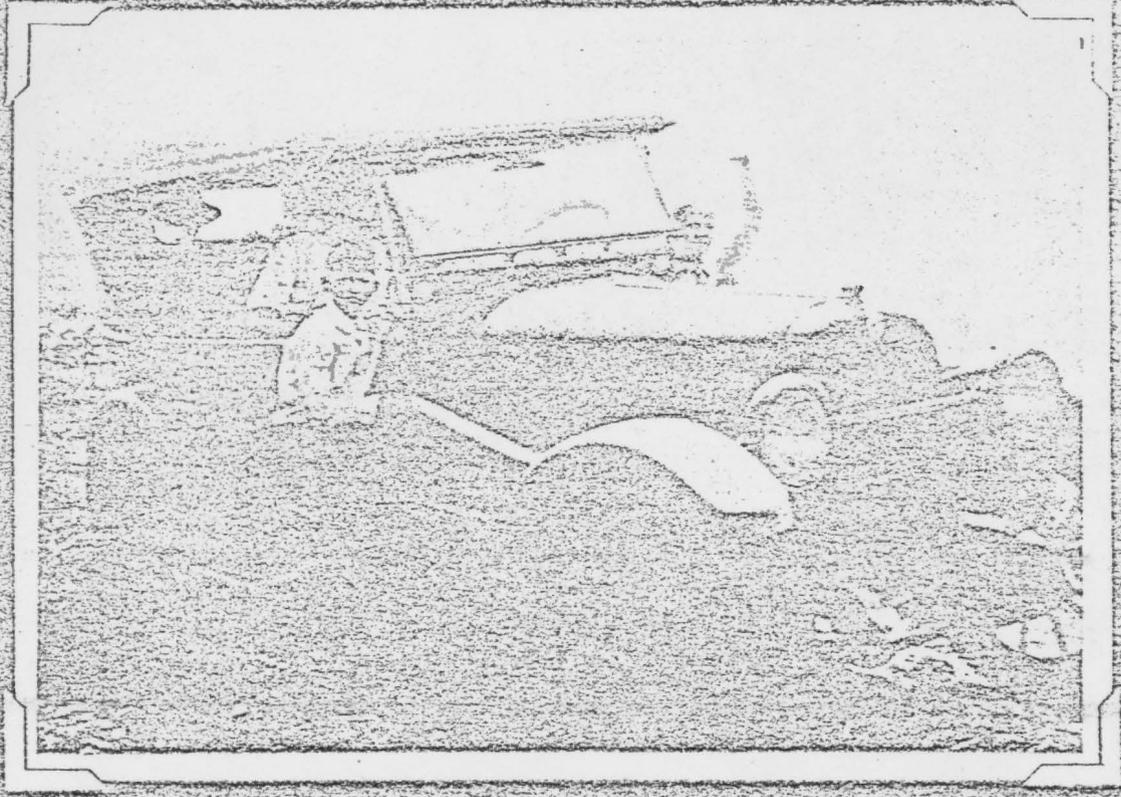
In the winter the benevolent city, a furniture center, would water down Madison Park and the kids would play fierce games of ice tag, like pom-pom pullaway, Garel in his fleet key skates, runners attached to street shoes, and Ford in real hockey skates. "For what it was like in those days, Jerry was a rich boy," Garel says. "But a regular guy. . . he didn't smell himself, if you know what I mean. So we were always going at it, going to be the *best* in the games. I was pretty fast in those days and he was kind of clumsy. But with that blond hair and those blue eyes, the girls were always shooting at him. It didn't seem to buzz him, though. He was kind of shy.

"I'm still his friend, and I hope he's mine, you know," Garel says. "And that isn't easy for a colored person to say. . . colored, black, Negro—whatever they're calling it today. Also, I'm a labor man and I never did like him hobnobbing with those Dixiecrats and kowtowing to Nixon. I take a lot of kidding for sticking up for Ford, friends saying, 'You a white folks' nigger?' But I like a guy who sticks by his convictions. I think that Jerry, in his way, is a great American, the greatest since Abraham Lincoln. They talk a lot about Lincoln, but I wasn't there. I was with Jerry, though, and it gives me chillbumps to think we played together as kids. I never thought old Junie would be president someday, but I sure want him to be now . . . and I think he will be. I'm a gambler man and I'll bet a bale on it!"

Garel, four years old when his father drowned in a fishing accident, didn't see Ford after their sophomore year at South High. The Fords moved on to an even nicer neighborhood in East Grand Rapids; and Garel, working as a bellhop from 11 at night to 7 in the morning at the Rowe Hotel, walked briefly to school from a different direction before dropping out to work full time at various jobs in a city where "those Hollanders didn't want to hear about no colored boy working in their furniture companies."

In 1935, the year Jerry Ford, football player and fraternity boy, graduated from the University of Michigan, Garel was a \$5-a-day auto worker in Detroit, waiting for the UAW to convince Henry Ford in 1941 that he needed a closed union shop—then, doing good, right up to the day a plant flake they called "Joe Wafer" goosed him at the water fountain and Garel, a full-grown six-foot-three, was fired for nearly fracturing the white man's skull. Beyond the plant gates, the numbers racket beckoned, and Garel went gladly. His mother had four sons, three preachers and a numbers man, but, thought Garel,





Mammy ain't doing too bad. . . she's battin' about .750. In 1941, the year Ford received his degree from Yale Law School, Garel was already into his new career, doing a little of all of it, including, later, backing some of the action and paying \$700 a month for police protection, living it as he made it: clothes, cars, booze, broads, high-stake card games and big-time tracks, until he tapped out in 1957 and came home to Grand Rapids. He worked at Kelvinator for 11 years, the first black chief shop steward, retiring as an inspector in 1971.

In all that time, Garel's thoughts were not much with Jerry Ford, except for once in 1969. A downhome acquaintance, a wiseass who thought he knew northern politics, bet Garel \$40 that U.S. Representative Adam Clayton Powell would be reelected with full seniority on the Education and Labor Committee. Garel told his cousin to hold the money and called Congressman Ford's Grand Rapids office. The answer, in a letter dated Sept. 26, 1969, said Powell was considered the "newest member" without restoration of seniority privileges.

Garel was already laughing when his eye caught the personal note in Ford's hand at the bottom of the letter, a query: "P.S. Are you my old friend from South High?" Now Garel is not a man who

accepts the gift and forgets the giver, but he *had* won the bet and there was no reason, he felt, to bother the Congressman with a reply. So he pocketed the \$40 and forgot about him. And possibly they would never have met again except for Watergate, which made imperative Ford's return to Grand Rapids, the glory road lighted by adoration.

Something big had to be done, and the best brains in Grand Rapids started clicking out stunning ideas. The result was a gala fete—"Jerry Ford, Our Vice President, Comes Home"—with heartfelt testimonials from people who could unblushingly bear witness to the man's inherent decency. The theme was the number "48"—the year Jerry was first elected to Congress and, marvelous irony, his football jersey number at Michigan. The rest fell neatly into place: a \$12.50 ham dinner for 1,500 at the Calvin College fieldhouse. . . red, white and blue bunting, dozens of flags, six-foot foam cores bearing profiles of the former Congressman as he looked in '48 and '72, and pretty coeds. . . waitresses wearing blue and maroon sleeveless jerseys with "48" on the back and the two faces of Jerry silk-screened across the critical points of their breasts. . . the Friars singing, the Shrine Band playing, and the testimonials at two

podiums bathed in soft light as Jerry sat at the head table, venting sincere emotion and honest tears.

And that's where Garel came in. Marba Perrott, a member of the Vice President's staff, remembered the letter. She wrote out a draft, merely embryonic, of what she thought Garel should say, he added some of his own words, and Insight, Inc., an ad agency that helped plan the event, pulled it all together and inserted it in a script (PERSONAL REMINISCENCE OF FRIEND WHO WALKED TO SCHOOL WITH GRF, AT PODIUM #1).

Garel's turn at the podium would come after that of Cliff Gettings, the old coach of the South High School football team. In the audience were members of the famed 30-30 Club, which began with 30 members of the 1930 state championship team captained by All-State Center Jerry Ford. Though seven players have died and surviving chests have collapsed into stomachs and eyes have dimmed and hair has fallen out, they continue to meet annually for a Thanksgiving Day breakfast in memory of that championship season during the Depression when they were exceptionally good-looking kids who could run faster and hit harder than any other high-school football players in Michigan.

Unfortunately, Insight, Inc. screwed up the dinner program, using a picture of the 1929 team. In 1929 the Trojans were second-best, runners-up, and the captain, for part of the season, was little Joe Russo, a blue-eyed Sicilian, a no-neck tackling terror with certain radar for finding and ruining ball carriers. But he turned 20 in the middle of the season, too old to play high-school ball. In Joe Russo's last game, at halftime in the locker room, Ford, the new team leader, said: "We got to win this one for Joe."

"I had hurt my left arm," Russo remembers. "I couldn't lift it up and I was backing up the line. But listen to this, I didn't have to make a tackle! Every time one of them crossed the line of scrimmage old Jerry or one of the other guys smacked him. They won it for Joe." Joe Russo couldn't afford \$12.50 for a ham dinner. A five-foot-five beachball of a man with sad eyes and sagging trousers, considered by some to be the town's strange one because he used to go from bar to bar happily playing snare drums for small change, Russo sits in his pizza shop on Division Street, a few houses from where he was born and raised and still lives. There is a picture of the '29 team on the greasy pale-green wall. Joe Russo is holding the ball and Jerry Ford is kneeling behind him.

"I don't do no business here," he

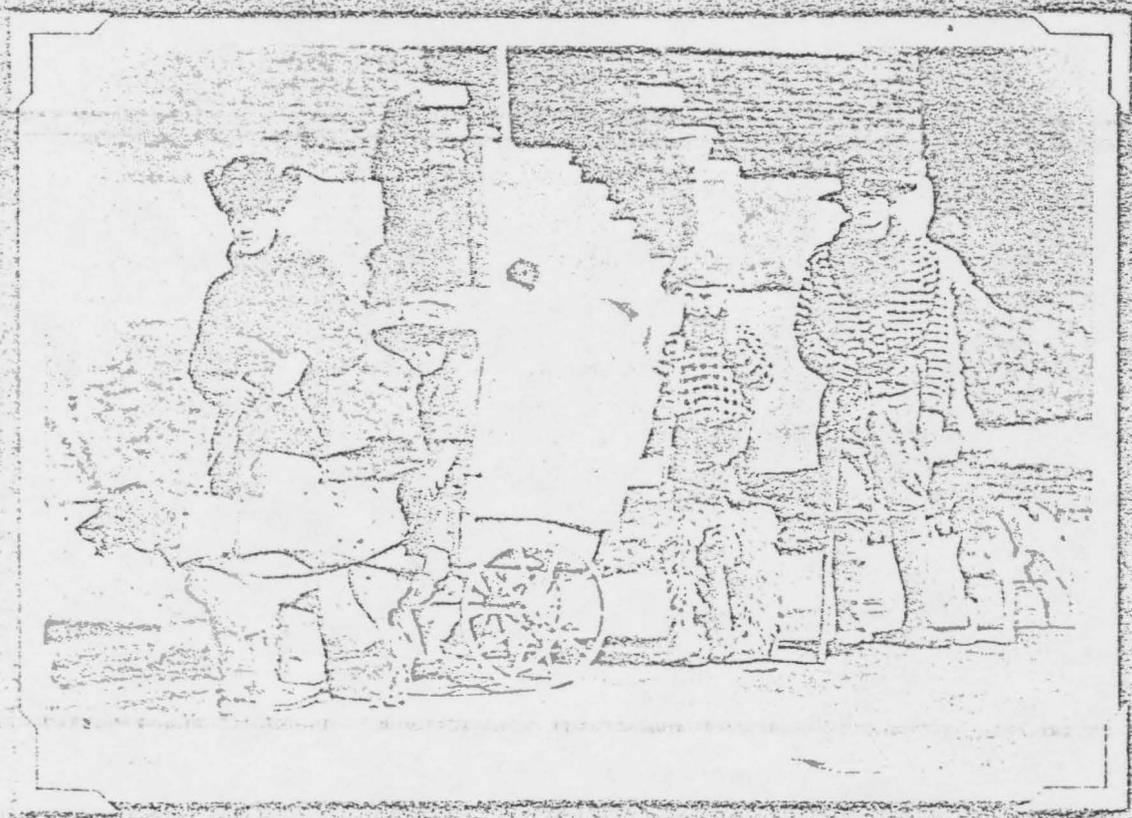
says, "but it gives me something to do, even if I come over here and just stare at the walls. You know, when I was at South I was like a hero. They say I was the only boy ever to play four years of varsity. Jerry used to come around me all the time. He was always carrying this football and he wanted to practice passing it to me, even in the hallway outside the gym. Pretty soon he was better than the center on the varsity. Pretty soon he was on the varsity. I guess I'm still the closest football friend he has."

Four years ago Russo was in the hospital for an ailment he still does not clearly understand, other than that it had something to do with "minus blood" and bleeding ulcers. One day he looked up and Jerry Ford was there. "He always sends me a Christmas card, but that was something, to come and see me," says Russo. "When I used to drive a cab and was at the airport, he would walk right by big shots to say hello to me. When he came to see me, we talked about South High. He asked me if I remembered the Union game and I said yes. He was thrown out of it for kneeing a guy in the head. He said, 'Joe, I didn't knee the guy.' When he was leaving, I called to him. I said, 'Hey, hey! I know you didn't knee the guy. The ref blew it. You're still a good friend of mine.' You see, it had bothered him all those years.

Him thinking that I thought he kneed the guy."

Russo's pizza shop is about 40 steps from an empty and locked building that used to house Fletcher's Drug Store. Jerry, our vice president, used to hang on the corner in front of the drugstore. His best friend, Art Brown, a 220-pound tackle, the biggest kid on the team, worked in Fletcher's, skillfully concocting "buffaloes"—three huge scoops of ice cream, chocolate syrup, chopped nuts, marshmallow and a maraschino cherry—for 15 cents. Jerry used to tool over in his father's car, looking sharp in plus-four tan knickers with matching coat, an elegant golf outfit that his friends kiddingly put down as "bur-lap" because they couldn't afford to buy one.

"Our knickers were the straight ones," says Brown. "But his were real wide and came down over the stockings. That outfit probably cost \$30, and in those days you had it made if you had a dime in your pocket. Sometimes he would drive over in his dad's LaSalle. But Jerry never lorded it over anyone. On or off the football field, he was well liked." As Brown, a "leader" in the tool and die department of GM's Fisher body plant, a man in charge of other men, told the FBI agent who interviewed him: "Jerry was a team leader." A tall, bald man with a strong jaw, Brown is



The 1929 team photo. Joe Russo is holding the ball and Jerry Ford is kneeling behind him.

secretary-treasurer of the 30-30 Club, which, he gleefully notes, recognized Ford's qualities before Capitol Hill did. "We made him vice president, by acclamation, before the guys in Washington did it by confirmation.

"Over the years," Brown says, "I've kept a lot of things written about Jerry, more on Jerry than myself. I always knew that he was good, but not quite how good. But now he's almost there—next door to the White House."

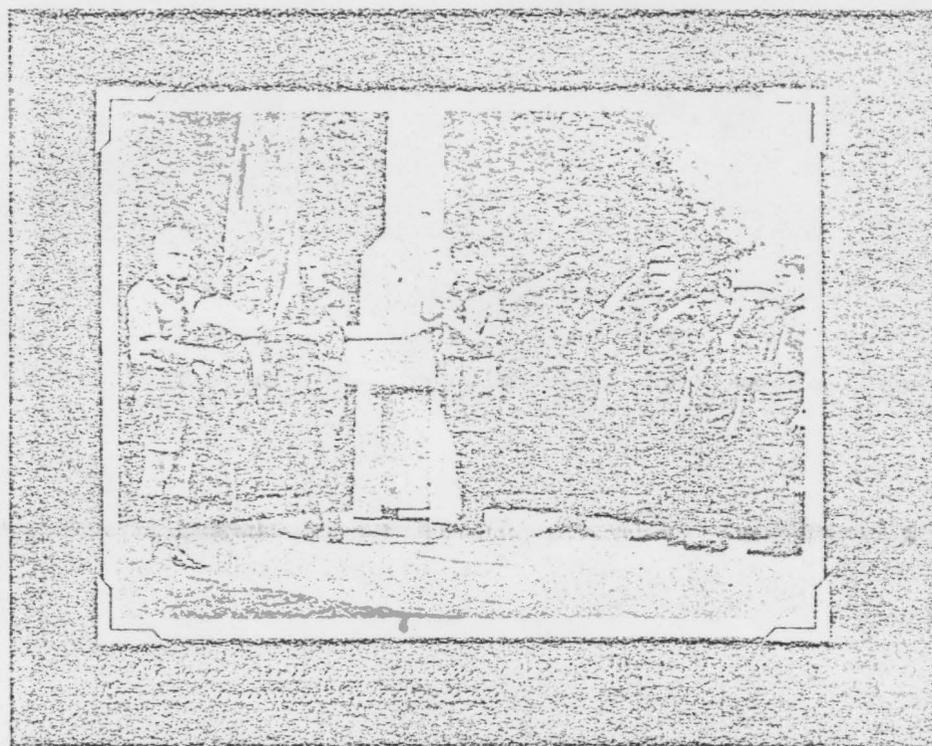
If it weren't for Ford, there might not be a 30-30 Club, which this year will hold its reunion in Washington. In 1929 South lost its first game to Ottawa, 10-6, the first time Ottawa beat South at anything. They cried all the way back to South High and Jerry vowed "never again." He and his father organized a football camp that summer for 15 regulars at a cabin owned by Ford and other sportsmen on the Pere Marquette River 75 miles north of Grand Rapids. With Jerry dispassionately in charge (the senior class "Dictionary" under the letter P: "Policeman—that's what Gerald Ford wants to be when he grows up"), they worked a week on such things as pass defense and blocking, the camp an illegal but crafty end run around state rules forbidding organized summer workouts.

"We returned with excellent rapport, excellent spirit," says Dr. Allan Elliott, the 130-pound quarterback who is now a professor of psychology at Clarion State College, Clarion, Pennsylvania. "The camp functioned well. Jerry was very serious about it. We had work details, the guys pitching in, and then we worked on drills. When we came out of it, we were together and respected one another." And they beat hell out of Ottawa, 18-6, the first game of the 1930 season. It was a great season, with lightweight Elliott staggering back to the huddle after being jarred, stunned, croaking to Jerry: "This is the play, what's the number?" And Jerry would call it, making sure that one of the other backfield men, Johnny Heinzelman of Dick Zylstra or the late Louie Cooley, carried the ball until Elliott's head cleared sufficiently to say, "77" or "78," which meant the quarterback would be moving left or right off-tackle behind a driving line, scoring at will, as the cheerleaders sang (the 30-30 survivors hear it still), *Men of South High on to victory! Every man, every play! South High School expects the football team to win today! Rah! Rah! Rah! Rah!! Win for South High School.*

"I really think that Jerry would make a good president," says Professor Elliott. "I really do. He understands the very basic fundamentals, that loyalty is a two-way street. I think that is one of his

strong points. And I think that those values were manifesting themselves at South High. I believe it. . . implicitly."

So after all those years, Coach Gettings, still a square-shouldered hulk of a man, stood at a podium in the Calvin College fieldhouse and buried for all time



Lyndon Johnson's caustic but mortal comment: that Jerry Ford played football without a helmet on.

"I'm glad I taught Jerry to fight clean—and with his football helmet on," Coach Gettings said. "Because in this day of in-fighting and dirty tricks it must come as a surprise to find a man who can deliver a knockout punch just playing it straight and clean. The characteristics I saw 45 years ago in Jerry Ford are the same characteristics which the people of the United States are seeing today. And just as I needed what that boy possessed then, so does our nation need what the man has to offer now."

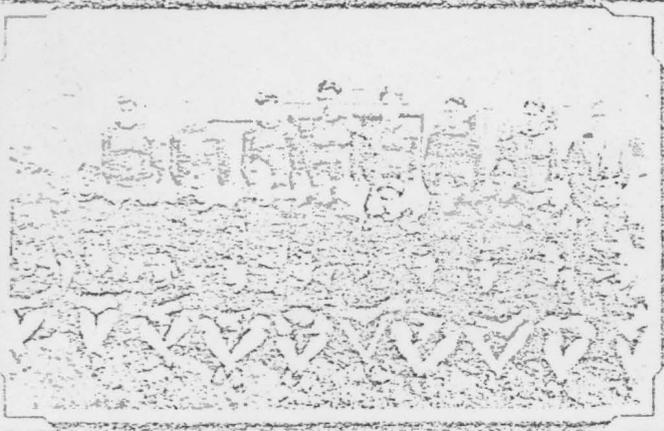
Coach Gettings had been hard on his boys at times, getting right down with them, kicking asses and taking names, growling at the Dutchies on the team: "I would give three of you Hollanders for one good fighting Polack." That was meant to fire them up to take on Union High, South's cross-town rivals. It worked, too. Ford and Brown and the other linemen would sneer into those Slavic faces, make a crack about the Pope, then ask the mackerel snappers: "Whaddya gonna do about it, light the pumpkin and wear the sheets?" Rude maybe, but not precisely illegal, as then expressed in the "cheaptalk" paragraph of South High athletic guidelines: "Talking to your opponent, if

it falls short of being abusive and insulting, is not prohibited by rules, partly because no rule can make a gentleman out of a mucker. . . ."

Then the light flashed on podium #1 and Garel walked towards it, a tall handsome man limping horribly. Every-

one, including Ford, wondered, *Who is that colored man and why is he limping?* He limps because he has only six inches of right leg, a stump connected to expensive wood wearing a shoe, replacing his right leg for which he received \$28,500 in an out-of-court settlement. In January 1945 a car stopped abruptly on West Warren Avenue in Detroit and a truck loaded with tons of food for the House of Corrections swerved into four parked cars. Smashed together, with Garel, a pedestrian on his way to the Draft Board, trapped in the mangled mess, the cars were launched 197 feet down the street. When he was cut loose with an acetylene torch, his right leg was gone. As the Shrine Band did a stirring play-off number for Coach Gettings, and Garel was being helped up on the podium, the emcee was already talking: "Jerry answered all letters written to him, signing each personally. We single out just one of those thousands. For even after a lapse of many years in Jerry's association with this letter writer, he added a *personal* note in reply to Byrd Garel."

And Garel, fervently believing in the speaking lines they had suggested and he had written and they had polished, told all those people who see Jerry as Everyman, assuaging aching inferiority complexes, that he, Garel, knew Junie back in 1928—"from the time I first walked to



school with a buddy until he heard from me with a letter.

"My tribute to our newly chosen Vice President is simple," Garel said, his sonorous voice breaking. "It's a tribute of heartfelt thanks for remembering me. May God bless you and keep you, Junie, our Vice President." Then Ford was beside him, his arm around Garel's shoulders, and somebody was taking a picture of them together. "How are you, Burt," the Vice President asked; and, of course, he had no way of knowing that his old buddy was a one-legged ex-numbers man. "I mean, really, how are you?"

"I'm fine, really fine, Mr. Vice President," Garel said. And he was. He felt better than he had all night. All through the dinner he had studied this "little Jew," a spiffy little man in a dark suit and white-on-white shirt, wearing a five-carat diamond ring on a finger of his left hand. He knew the man but he just couldn't place him. The little Jew was a Greek, Alex Demar—born Alex Demarelos 71 years ago in Almyros, Thessaly. He is the retired owner of Demar's Cocktail Bar & Cafe and former operator of the food and beverage concession at old Ramona Park, the largest amusement park in western Michigan. In his time Demar, whom the tailor at Klein's Clothes admiringly calls "Little Caesar" when he cuts down the Kuppenheimer suits to fit the trim, hard body, knew all the famous entertainers, from Rudy Vallee to Nat King Cole, from Bunny Berigan to Stan Kenton. He has photographs of himself with all of them. And he has two photographs of himself with his favorite politicians, Jerry Ford and Col. George Papadopoulos of Greece.

Demar was at Calvin College because he gave Jerry Ford a summer job at Ramona Park 43 years ago. Perceiving the boy's obvious attributes, Demar promptly put him in charge of supplies. On the Fourth of July, the park's biggest day, he saw Jerry sweating his way through the midway throng, carrying a case of Coca-Cola under one arm and a case of Crackerjacks under the other. His two helpers were nowhere to be seen, which made Demar very angry. Figuring that Jerry could handle the job alone, they had bugged out. Demar found them sitting slack-jawed in the back row of the Ramona Theater watching the *Marcus Girl Revue*.

Demar, beaming at the podium, turned to the Vice President and said: "One can proudly say that this gathering is a manifestation of love and respect for one of its sons, Gerald Ford Jr. To me, Mr. Vice President, having the rare privilege to know you and play an iota of a part in your life is the highlight of my lifetime."

And now, yes! Garel knew who he was, had him placed—his old boss at Ramona Park! While Ford was working a sunlight job in charge of supplies, Garel was in a dank lavatory under the stands, skipping across the piss-stained floor with a towel draped over his wrist, singing a management-approved jingle: "Join the squatters on the right, let the dew drop from your lily on the left, but don't forget the porter, boys."

In the old days, such a homecoming would have been orchestrated by Jack Stiles, Ford's first campaign manager and national field director for Nixon in

1960. But Stiles, as time went on, rubbed some people the wrong way. He's not your average Grand Rapids Republican, Jack Stiles. He's the charming but sometimes unruly son of a late pioneer in prefabricated homes who has had, as one lawyer put it, "a little woman trouble." There was, for instance, the time he handcuffed his wife, Mary, a talented club singer, to the urban renewal wrecking ball that was about to demolish city hall, a Grand Rapids landmark. Later, in 1967, before filing for a divorce, Mary Stiles called the cops, and Jack raked a water glass across patrolman Steve Spangenberg's head and was fined \$100 and sentenced to ten days in jail. Before the rage had cleared his windpipe, Stiles told the judge, "It was boot-heeled authority in the oldest continuously lived-in home in Grand Rapids—built in 1841, when people knew what rights were!"

"Woman trouble?" Stiles, twice divorced, laughs now, his long silver hair lapping over the collar of a sports shirt that has a cigarette burn hole in the side. "Let me put it this way. You know how the FBI checked Jerry out? Well, not many guys could stand that sort of scrutiny. I know I couldn't. They would ask me why I screwed that brunette in Louisville and I would say it seemed like a good idea at the time. I don't apologize. But the point is, Jerry wouldn't have that problem. He doesn't do things like that."

Stiles, late for a date with a woman wearing so much costume jewelry she sounds like a Chinese wind chime, laughs again and shakes his head. "Hell, I think I know every girl Jerry ever slept with. When he was at college he brought a gal down to Ann Arbor and registered her in a hotel as 'Mrs. Anderson.' He took a lot of razzing for that one. Ahhhhh yes, and there was Phyllis, a *fantastic* looking gal, a New York model. He dated her when he was going to Yale Law School, but when he was in the Navy she passed him by—married somebody else. So when he met Betty he was ready, you know. He was about 34 and every time he took a girl out he asked me what I thought of her." Jack thought a lot of Betty Bloomer, a divorcee married four years to a former sales rep for a Grand Rapids furniture company. Stiles's advice in 1943 to the girl with the superb legs, a dancer, before she married Ford was: "Betty, it's a very tough thing I have to say to you, but if you can accept the fact that politics comes first and marriage second and live with it, then I think it can be a good marriage, a good partnership." It was, and today Jack is the satisfied godfather to Steven Ford, one of the Vice President's four children.

Stiles' friendship with Ford goes

back to when they were fraternity brothers at Michigan, Dekes. Like Ford, Stiles, a heavy-shouldered man of 57, was a lieutenant commander in the Navy. He and Ford co-authored a book in 1965, *Portrait of the Assassin*, for those who felt underfed after having read the Warren Report, a single-minded distillation of 25 volumes of hearings. Ford, a member of the Warren Commission, and Stiles, a staff assistant, split a \$10,000 advance with small hope of further profit. "People were sick and tired of that son of a bitch Oswald," Stiles now says sourly. "They say I was his first campaign manager," says Stiles, "but I'll tell you something. I've always been his campaign manager, his adviser, one of his advisers. Titles don't mean a goddamn thing. Jerry knows if he needs me I'm as near as the phone."

In 1948 Stiles directed the campaign out of a surplus Quonset hut painted red, white and blue and beat incumbent Barney Jonkman. "Everyone was after the veterans' vote then," he says. "That was the angle—get the vote but don't overplay it." After the election, Stiles and Ford toured the district in a red, white and blue house trailer. "That trip told me something about Jerry Ford," Stiles says. "One day a pig farmer, a Dutchman, came in. He was mad as hell about a quota on raising pigs. I mean this guy was a real clodhopper. And now one thing Jerry ain't, he ain't no farmer. He doesn't know his ass from third base about pigs. So this guy goes back there and talks to Jerry about pigs. He's back there for 30 minutes, and when he comes out he's smiling. He says, 'I vote for dot Jerry Ford every time. He knows all about pigs!' Hell, all Jerry did was listen to him."

"But see," Stiles says, "that's how Jerry is. People say that Jerry doesn't have the grey matter, but I'll tell you something. It's true he isn't a reader of books, that he's no academic, but he has a computer between his ears. He listens well and he retains it. I guess you might say he's good at picking brains."

"It burns me up when people call Jerry a mediocrity," says U.S. Attorney John Milanowski of Grand Rapids, a 56-year-old former high-school speech teacher. "Okay, so maybe he wasn't even a good speaker when he started, but he's a good one now. I used to take him into a room and actually practice gestures with him. That's the key, using the right gestures and being a conversationalist." The crew-cut prosecutor, a rotund ex-Marine captain, was Ford's first administrative assistant in Washington.

That appointment turned out to be

No sooner had he chosen Milanowski as his administrative assistant than the hate mail began to rain down, telling Ford to get rid of that fish-eating Polack bastard or else. Congressman Ford, a dependable Episcopalian, brushed aside the epistolary crap, put his hand soothingly on Milanowski's shoulder and said: "Forget it, John. We'll kill them with love."

Milanowski still likes to tell the story about how he used to go out and buy Kielbasa, rye bread and a little beer for his fellow aides and the other members of the Chowder and Marching Club, a bold band of Republican congressmen, originally like-minded irregulars, who met weekly to set their legislative traps.

Now, the hate mail and the Kiel-

States calls you, especially in Polish, you come."

Milanowski, who was appointed U.S. attorney by Richard Nixon back in 1969, resigned his post last December, five days after Ford was confirmed as vice president. The resignation will be effective June 1, after which Milanowski says he will go back into private practice. But there is no question that if Ford calls, Milanowski will answer. And if that happens, the last 120-pound quarterback ever to lead the football team at Catholic Central High has his own top priority to impress on President Ford—accessibility. "The people have to have access to you," he says. "You can't isolate yourself the way Nixon did. But on the other hand, you



basa have gone, but the friendship has survived. This March Jerry sent Milanowski a pair of vice-presidential cuff links and a photograph of the Fords and Nixons. The following month Milanowski and Stiles were invited to Ford's house in Virginia.

The Vice President heaved himself dripping from the swimming pool and strongly suggested to Milanowski and Stiles that they help him and son Steve, a husky 17-year-old, move a massive slab patio table a dozen feet. "Come on, Jasiu," Ford urged Milanowski, calling him "John" in Polish. "Damn," says Milanowski laughing, "I was having a nice cool drink and relaxing in the family room, but

can't let everybody around you. We—and I say we because of our longstanding relationship—have always been impeccable. You can't let anybody mess that up."

Stiles, too, has tried to figure out what triggered Watergate so that his old fraternity brother Ford can avoid it. "This is damn important to prevent a recurrence of a Watergate type thing, and I think I know exactly how it came about. It came about through the reliance by Nixon on a young, energetic, enthusiastic bunch of guys that didn't have the supervision they should have had in the acts they took. It could have happened to anybody. But," Stiles paused, "don't worry about it. No matter what happens, Jerry Ford can cut

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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University Relations & Development

Office of the Vice President

Administration Building
Telephone A.C. 313 754

February 27, 1975

Ms. Susan Gregory
The White House
116 Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Susan:

Enclosed are some additional materials in response to your request for information about President Ford's years at The University of Michigan.

I wish to correct an item in my letter of February 25. One sentence read, "Rather, he was named Most Valuable Player on the 1934 freshman Wolverine team." This sentence should be corrected to read, "Rather, he was named Most Valuable Player on the 1934 Wolverine team." In other words, in his senior year, Mr. Ford played first string center and was voted the Most Valuable Player by his 1934 teammates.

As for period of time in attendance, the Alumni Records Office informs me that Mr. Ford was enrolled for the academic years 1931-32, 1932-33, 1933-34 and 1934-35. He spent 10 1/2 weeks at Law School during the summer session of 1937, June-September. He received his undergraduate degree from the U-M College of Literature, Science and the Arts June 17, 1935. He was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws May 4, 1974.

You expressed interest in events and activities that would help recall the "flavor" of the campus in the 1930's. From a history of the University I have rounded up some notes about life on the campus. These items are from Howard H. Peckham's book, The Making of The University of Michigan, 1817-1967, published in 1967 by The University of Michigan Press.

Items:

Woman Regent. When Mr. Ford enrolled at U-M in September, 1931, he enrolled at a University which had a woman regent. Late in 1929 Benjamin Hanchett's failing health forced his resignation, and Governor Green appointed Mrs. Esther Marsh Cram, '98 U-M graduate, of Flint, a former teacher, as the first woman regent. She quieted apprehension among her masculine colleagues by firmly announcing at the first meeting: "Gentlemen, I expect to be a woman regent, not a women's regent."

The Ruthven Era. Mr. Ford enrolled during the presidency of Alexander Grant Ruthven, who served as president from 1929 to 1951. Historian Peckham described the early years of the Ruthven presidency as follows: "Hardly had Ruthven been in office a month before the stock market crash of 1929 set off what was called a temporary financial crisis. . . . But the panic did not subside; it deepened into a general economic depression. Trade contracted, employees lost jobs, businesses failed, more workers were let out, savings were used up, taxes could not be paid or mortgage payments met, and state and local relief funds were doled out. University enrollment remained virtually the same in 1929-30 and 1930-31 at a little more than 10,000. Then a decline set in, and 1933-34 was the year of lowest enrollment--8,713."

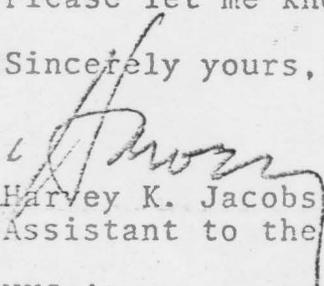
Energy. "As great a change as any in the appearance of the campus was the installation in 1930 of fifty-one lamp posts around the forty acres, affording much-needed illumination of sidewalks. Hitherto, only the porch and front door lights of buildings ringed the glow emanating from the General Library windows."

Fad. In the late spring of 1933 "a handful of students bought or rented roller skates and began using them one evening on the campus sidewalks. Next night they were joined by other skaters. Within a week hundreds of students were on roller skates, and the whirr of their wheels on the Diagonal penetrated the General Library. The pasttime was encouraged by the city's having resurfaced several streets, making it possible to skate all over the east side of town. As quickly as it caught on, the fad subsided in the face of approaching exams."

Tone of Times. "Aside from the financial hardships of the Depression, the decade was exciting and significant for students. There were all the New Deal agencies, the repeal of prohibition, kidnappings, the debate on neutrality and pacifism, teacher oaths, industrial unions and sit-down strikes, chain letters, and rabble rousers like William Randolph Hearst, Senator Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and Dr. Francis Townsend. Abroad the decade witnessed the rise of Hitler, diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia, the Italo-Ethiopian War, the Spanish Civil War, the Chino-Japanese War, the Munich episode, and finally World War II. It was a wilderness for students to find their way through."

Please let me know if you desire additional materials.

Sincerely yours,


Harvey K. Jacobson
Assistant to the Vice President

HKJ:jc
Encs.



GERALD FORD AT MICHIGAN

1. Sports

- A. Lettered three years in football, including 1934 when he was elected as team's most valuable player. In 1934 Michigan was 1-7, but was 7-0-1 in 1933, including winning Big Ten and national championships. In 1932, Michigan was 8-0.
- B. He was chosen to play in the San Francisco east-west Shrine game on New Year's Day.
- C. When Michigan lost to Illinois 7-6 in 1934, the Michigan Daily had this to say about Jerry Ford's play:

"Jerry Ford played a great game at center yesterday and returned to the form which caused many to nominate him for all-american fame before the start of the season.

"Handling a ball made elusive by sleet and hail, his passes from center were consistently good and gave Michigan backs no trouble. Ford played a great game in backing up the line and came in fast enough to bring down Lindberg, Beynon and Theodore after they sped through the line. He was particularly effective in stopping wide end sweeps around his side of the line for little or no gain."
- D. 1934 was the season that WWJ Radio, with Ty Tyson, began broadcasting Michigan football.
- E. The 1934 World Series was won by the Cardinals four games to three with the deciding contest coming in Detroit against the Tigers. The seventh game was the famous one in which the contest had to be stopped and Ducky Medwick removed from the field for his own safety.
- F. This was also the football season in which Michigan decided not to play Negro halfback Willis Ward against Georgia Tech (the only game Michigan won that year) because of the racial unrest in Atlanta at the thought of a Negro playing against their team.
- G. As everyone must have expected (based on a few published scores), Gerald Ford did not play golf in college.
- H. On May 5, 1935, Jesse Owens set three world records competing in the Big Ten track and field meet at Ferry Field. But Michigan won the team championship.

II. Activities

- A. Ford was a committee man for the "Senior Ball" in 1935. He was in charge of programs along with a coed named Jane Brucker. The Senior Ball was the big social affair for that class, while the J-Hop, Sophomore Prom and Frosh Frolic were the big dances for the juniors, sophomores and freshmen, respectively.
- B. Ford was a member of Michigamua, the senior honorary, and his Indian name was "Flippum Back" Ford.
- C. Ford was, for four years, a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity.
- D. The total enrollment at Michigan in 1935 was 8,224, which was an increase of 1,162 students from the year before.

III. World and National News Events During Gerald Ford's Senior Year

- A. Bruno Hauptmann is convicted and condemned to die in the electric chair for the kidnaping and murder of Baby Lindbergh.
- B. The "New Deal" congress is elected as the Democrats sweep the national elections and gain control of 22 seats for the first time ever.
- C. Public enemies "Baby Face" Nelson and "Pretty Boy" Floyd are slain by federal agents while attempting to avoid capture.
- D. King Alexander of Yugoslavia is assassinated in Marsailles only moments after stepping on French soil for a state visit.
- E. Building unrest in the Balkan states as Serbian troops invade Hungary. Also, Japan and China are having periodic military skirmishes.
- F. U.S. Senator Gerald Nye (R-N.D.), chairman of the senate Munitions Investigation Committee, speaks at the Michigan Union here in Ann Arbor and tells the nation that countries can make war impossible by eliminating the profit from it. He calls "national defense" a vicious racket and proposes a special wartime tax on industry. He claims 22,000 new millionaires were made by WWI.



Information Services
The University of Michigan
February 27, 1975

RAMBLINGS CONCERNING THE GERALD FORD YEARS
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
(From The Michigan Daily)

Kay Kayser played at the Senior Ball on June 14, 1935. Ford was co-chairman of the program committee.

#

The Michigan Daily editorialized in the 1934-35 year's final issue (June 2, 1935) concerning America's going through change: "Today, families and institutions that will be the new American culture are to be founded. Today's graduate faces a difficult task. Life will not be as easy as it has been, but the rewards will be greater."

#

September 22, 1931, the first issue of the year in which Ford was on campus --- reported: Delta Kappa Epsilon (which Ford was to join) was ranked 56th out of 60 fraternities on the University's campus in average grade standings; Wally Weber begins his coaching duties (he retired recently after a lifetime of coaching and spreading good will for Michigan's athletic program).

#

October 7, 1931 --- "The general run of the (football) squad is about the same as it has been in past seasons --- a wealth of mediocre material with a few outstanding players." Beckwith, Patchin and Ward were mentioned, Ford was not.

#

October 10, 1931 --- First mention of Ford in the Daily. Headline: "Freshman Grid Lineup Numbers 60; Ten from 1930 All-State Eleven." "Another All-State man is Ford from Grand Rapids, who held center position in the mythical eleven. Hutcheson also is being tried in that position."

#

October 29, 1931 --- Ford starts at center in scrimmage against the Junior Varsity team.

#

November 20, 1931 --- Ford's first real game is against the Physical Education squad. Ford's team won 2-0 on a safety.

#

November 21, 1931 --- "The opposing backfields were of almost equal ability. . .while the edge on punting goes to the Phys Eds. Regezci's boots, topped by a beautiful punt of 60 yards, averaged slightly higher than Ford's kicks. . .Whitmore and Ford showed ability in backing up the line in the Michigan system of defense."

#

December, 1931 --- Ford named to receive numeral.

#

May 13, 1932 --- Headline: "Ford Receives Award as Most Valuable Freshman; Husky Lineman Is Named By Coaches." "Gerald Ford, '35, of Grand Rapids, last night was made recipient of football's most coveted award of the Michigan spring training session --- the Chicago Alumni Trophy. . .The new recipient is on the first step of the road that leads to the glory which has made Michigan pivot men among the best in the game. . .Ford is a tow-headed youth of 18, six feet tall and tipping the scales at 187 pounds."

#

September 28, 1932 --- "Ford replaced Bernard for part of the practice at center. The Grand Rapids South's star may fool the dopesters by playing a great part of the Michigan State game in the center of the line."

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October 1, 1932 --- Ford substitutes in the Michigan State game, which Michigan won 26-0. He goes into the game in the third quarter.

#

November 12, 1932 --- Ford receives a varsity letter.

#

May 26, 1935 --- Ford also named to Lit School Senior Class "Honor Guard" for 1935 commencement

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May 28, 1935 --- Ford receives Senior Blanket

#

June 1933

A.B.

1st sem. 1931-1932
 Engl. 1 Composition
 French 1 Elementary
 Math. 5 Trig. & Sol. Euclid. Geom.
 Hist. 11 Decline of Rome to 1648
 Phys. Ed.

Total

2nd sem. 1931-1932
 Engl. 2 Composition contd.
 French 2 Elementary contd.
 Math. 3 Alg. & Anal. Geom.
 Hist. 12 Civil. from 1648
 Phys. Ed.

Total

1st sem. 1932-1933
 Engl. 31 Introd. Engl. Lit.
 French 31 Second year Fr.
 Math. 51 Finance
 Econ. 51 Prin. of Econ. I
 Hist. 143 Pol. & Const. Hist. U.S.

Total

2nd sem. 1932-1933
 Engl. 32 Shakespears
 Psych. 31 Elementary Gen.
 Econ. 51 Principles II
 Geogr. 33 Commercial Prod.
 Hist. 144 Pol. & Con. U. States

Total

June 1933 First half of program completed with

Transferred to second half of program

Sept. 1933 Admitted to Candidate for a Degree. Field of Concentration, Economics. Forwarded

1st sem. 1933-1934
 Econ. 101 Money & Credit
 Econ. 121 Labor I
 Econ. 171 Prin. Accounting I
 Hist. 137 Hist. South, since Bellum
 Pol. Sci. 107 Amer. Government

Total

2nd sem. 1933-1934
 Psych. 122 Psych. of Management
 Econ. 122 Labor II
 Econ. 172 Prin. of Account. II
 Hist. 138 Hist. of South since 1860
 Pol. Sc. 108 American Govern.
 Soc. 51 Principles

Total

1st sem. 1934-1935
 Bus. Ad. 101 Organiz. of Prod.
 Bus. Ad. 121 Business Statistics
 Econ. 125 Indust. Incentives
 Econ. 197 Soc. Econ Reform
 Econ. 221 - Seminar in Labor

Total

2nd sem. 1934-1935
 Econ. 131 Corporations
 Econ. 222 Seminar in Labor
 Hist. 140 U.S. Recent Decades
 Bus. Ad. 102 Personnel
 Bus. Ad. 122 Business Statistics

Total

LAW SCHOOL BRIEFS

- . University of Michigan Law School graduates have become responsible private practitioners and have distinguished themselves at every level of government. More than 300 alumni presently are judges, 100 are state senators and representatives, and at least 10 are serving in Congress. And one is serving as President!
- . Michigan Law graduates are officers at 60 of the Fortune 500 corporations.
- . Michigan Law School professors are serving their government in many ways: Tom Kauper (kōyper) is on leave and is presently assistant attorney general - Antitrust; Frank Kennedy recently completed his service as Executive Director of the Commission on Bankruptcy Laws; John Jackson was on leave to serve as general counsel of the Special Trade Office; Joe Sax continues to serve on state and national environmental law advisory boards; and your Dean, Ted St. Antoine, was named by Governor Milliken to head a workmen's compensation advisory commission.
- . 1975 marks the 50th anniversary of the University of Michigan's Cook Law Quadrangle, a beautiful complex of four Gothic buildings made possible by a gift from William W. Cook, law class of 1882. When the Quadrangle opened its doors 50 years ago, Mr. Cook said, "Law schools make the lawyers and lawyers weave the fabric of our government. Law schools are of supreme importance...to the future institutions, beliefs and conduct of life in America." Mr. Cook went on to say, "The greatness of a people consists not altogether in its laws, art, science, literature, religion, philosophy, inventions, wealth or power, nor in its great men alone, but in the average character of its citizens. Raise this and you raise the nation."

Law School
Feb. 1975

President Gerald R. Ford's days at
The University of Michigan Law School

- . Received his BA from Michigan in June 1935
- . Residence listed as 1011 Santa Cruz, Grand Rapids. No local address
- . Spent 10½ weeks at Law School during summer session of 1937 -- from June 21 to September 1) Henry M. Bates was Dean.
- . Enrolled in Judicial Administration, taught by Professor Edson Sunderland, and Criminal Law and Procedure, taught by Professor John Barker (Jabby) Waite. Received "B" in both courses.
- . Semester fee of \$45 included a subscription to The Michigan Daily and membership in the Michigan Union.
- . Met Philip Buchen during 1937 summer session, later became associated with Buchen's Grand Rapids law firm and named partner in January 1951.
- . One of Ford's history professors during undergraduate days at Michigan, L. G. Vander Velde, sent a letter of recommendation to the Law School in Ford's behalf, saying that his former student "is able, conscientious, industrious, and is of apparently excellent character." June 1937
- . Ford requested his Michigan Law School transcript be sent to Yale's Law School in December 1937 for his admission there.
- . More than 500 Michigan Law Alumni currently practicing in the Nation's capital.

Law School
Feb. 1975