

A Rothbardian Power Elite Analysis
Of Modern American History

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Introduction

Murray N. Rothbard is best known as an economist. Rothbard, however, was also a prolific and innovative historian. In his volume, The Case Against the Fed (1994), he suggested a re-examination of modern American history based on a power elite or ruling class analysis. In this "all the analyst or historian need do is assume, as an hypothesis, that people in government . . . may be at least as self-interested . . . as people in business or everyday life, and then investigate the significant and revealing patterns that he will see before his eyes. This method, applied to a study of the members of the Warren Commission, brought forth many revealing patterns. Nowhere were the patterns more revealing than in the career of the Commission's sole surviving member, Gerald R. Ford, representative from Michigan and president from 1974-1977. Most important for Ford was his good-guy public image as an honest and hardworking, if dull, Midwestern congressman. The other side of Ford, as revealed by Rothbardian analysis, was quite different. Ford was a bona fide member of the American political elite, a shrewd internationalist with an assiduously developed Establishment resume. This paper will trace Ford's rise within the power elite and will discuss Rothbard's method as a path toward a new interpretation of modern American history.

Analysis

Murray N. Rothbard is best known for his role as an economist working in the tradition of the Austrian School. He dedicated his life and career to the dissemination of free market ideas articulated by his mentor Ludwig von Mises. Rothbard produced an astounding body of economic theory in his own right, publishing his treatise Man, Economy, and State in 1962. He also applied his free market worldview to the study of history, which he wrote with a frankness and clarity that defied convention. My own introduction to the Austrian School and the ideas of Murray Rothbard came in 1990. I had completed doctoral coursework and exams in American history and had taken a job teaching at a private college preparatory school. As luck would have it, my office mate was an ex-Marxist that had been converted to the libertarian philosophy. He passed along to me several back issues of The Free Market. This monthly newsletter opened up new vistas. I contacted the Ludwig von Mises Institute, and soon I was on their mailing list. In addition to The Free Market, I received other Mises publications -- The Mises Memo, The Mises Review, and the Austrian Economics Newsletter. I was struck by the Austrian idea and by the vitality of the interaction among the scholars working in the field.

My education in the Austrian School continued with more Rothbard, especially Power and Market. Reading Mises took me into Socialism, The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality, Omnipotent Government, and Theory and History. I listened to the book-on-tape version of Liberalism (the only Austrian publication in the audio collection of my local library) at least a half dozen times on my daily commute.

From there I delved into the works of others within the Austrian tradition, including Albert J. Nock, Henry Hazlitt, and John T. Flynn. With the arrival of an office Internet connection I gained regular access to Mises.org and LewRockwell.com. I also became a member of the Mises e-mail discussion and distribution list. Through this outlet I received a daily Austrian analysis of current issues and a close view of the academic debate among such Austrian scholars as Thomas J. DiLorenzo, Robert Higgs, Joseph Salerno, and William Anderson.

This Austrian education came at a critical juncture in my career. I was losing interest in the field of American history as the discipline splintered into politically correct sub-fields of class, race, ethnicity, and gender. As I began to question the basic interpretation of American history I realized that, despite the best efforts of professors like Clyde Wilson, I had left graduate school largely ignorant of the significance of

individual human action. What my education needed was a new theoretical framework.

As I worked my way through the Austrian literature I began to reflect on the nature of twentieth century American historiography. Why was there so consistent a continuity to basic programs, and overall ideology, despite the frequent changes in the party holding power? Why did historians always seem to cite large, unseen forces, or "fate" as the determining factors of history? Why did such state-building eras as the Progressive movement, the New Deal, and the Great Society generally repeat the same timeworn pro-government shibboleths? Why did historians concentrate on shallow outward appearances and the self-serving cant of career politicians? Why did historians appear to be academic cheerleaders for the policies of war abroad and the vast increase of government power at home? Why did historians consistently applaud the abandonment of principle whenever such activity furthered the aggrandizement of government?

My Austrian education coincided with a keen new interest in a subject considered taboo by mainstream historians -- the circumstances surrounding political assassinations, particularly that of John F. Kennedy. I had been fascinated by JFK since my boyhood. (I was in the third grade when news of his death caused school to be immediately dismissed). My interest was

revived with the publicity surrounding the release of Oliver Stone's JFK in the fall of 1991, my first semester as assistant professor of history at a small liberal arts college.¹ That fall I was teaching a new course on contemporary American history. I never got past the events of November 1963 and, as a result, I began reading Kennedy assassination materials. What began as a diversion from the dissertation grind soon took up a greater share of my time as I read everything I could find that was related to Kennedy's murder.² This reading, of course, raised even more questions. Why did historians consistently downplay, or ignore entirely, the significance of violence and murder in American politics? Why has Kennedy's assassination, and others in American history, been mainly attributed to "hate," "right wing extremism," or the demented aberrations of the "lone nut?"

I came away astounded by the mass of JFK assassination material and the myriad conflicting "theories" from the gaggle of supposed experts in the field. If any pattern held true, it

¹My research since 1991 convinces me that Stone's interpretation of the Kennedy assassination has no bearing on reality.

²Substituting the word "murder" for the word "assassination" has enabled me to keep in mind the true nature of this crime. To define Kennedy's broad daylight shooting as an assassination places the crime on a different plane. It gives JFK undeserved sanctity and justifies an investigation by a higher, supposedly disinterested, panel in what was an unconstitutional federal usurpation of local and state jurisdiction.

was the prevalence of undisguised scorn heaped upon the so-called Warren Report.³ By this time my reading in the Austrian School, especially Rothbard, had made me much more alert to the presence of a political smokescreen. I noticed that throughout the Kennedy assassination literature, the Warren Commission itself had eluded serious scrutiny. As I began to research the lives and careers of the men who signed their names to the Warren Report, it became evident that the Warren Commission was anything but a disinterested, blue-ribbon panel. I was still bogged down, however, by the traditional academic mindset that counted such inquiry as dangerously close to the third rail of American historiography -- the dreaded "conspiracy theory" idea. I finally completed my dissertation and received my Ph.D. in December 1994, just one month shy of my fortieth birthday. I turned my full research attention to the Austrian School and the Warren Commission, vaguely unsettled by the thought of pursuing an interest so far from acceptable mainstream history. My Austrian education and new interest in the Warren Commission finally came together with the ideas and methods of Murray Rothbard. I found my theoretical framework, not in the pages of Rothbard's scholarly economic treatises, but in publications

³Known formally as The Official Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

clearly intended to present Austrian concepts to a wider lay audience, myself included.⁴ The first was a brilliant article in The Free Market published in 1995. In this article, Murray Rothbard offered a vigorous assessment of the American political scene. The subject immediately at hand was the Republican victory in the 1994 midterm elections. This was the year of the so-called Republican Revolution and Newt Gingrich's "Contract for America." Rothbard maintained that the electorate expressed an "intense and widespread loathing of President Clinton" that "fused with an ideological hatred of Washington, D.C., the federal Leviathan, and centralized statism."⁵ Little change actually occurred as the result of the 1994 elections, however. To Rothbard "the basic problem [was] the lavishly over-praised 'duopoly' two-party system." Here "the only way that the electorate . . . could express its revolutionary desire to throw

⁴I took two semesters of freshman economics, with its bewildering array of graphs and mathematical models, in 1978-79. No further "econ" was required for the B.A. degree, nor was any required in the history program at the graduate level. Even as an undergraduate, however, I noticed serious inconsistencies. Much of the course content centered on the immutable laws of supply and demand and the failure of government-sponsored efforts designed to circumvent these laws. I could not understand how mainstream academic economists could, nonetheless, openly advocate such efforts.

⁵Murray N. Rothbard, "The Revolution Comes Home," The Free Market, January 1995, p. 4.

out the hated Democrats was to vote Republican. Unfortunately, the controlling elites of the Republican Party have long had views very similar to those of the Democrats, thus depriving the American public of any genuine philosophical choice."⁶ Rothbard saw little difference in the common labels of "liberalism" or "conservatism" because "the ideology common to the elites of both parties [was] Welfarist, Corporatist, Statism." Either way, the "alleged alternative turns out to [be] more of the same." Here "the corporate and media elites have long been engaging in a shell game in which the American public are the suckers."⁷ This unvarnished evaluation of American politics as a duopoly furthered my understanding of the Warren Commission mindset. My research had clearly indicated that the Warren Commissioners, regardless of party label, displayed remarkably similar attitudes on the central political issues of their day.

This article in The Free Market was one of the final salvos in Murray Rothbard's long and distinguished career. In 1995 he saw little evidence that the Republicans would actually reduce the income tax, repeal gun control or affirmative action, eliminate other equally onerous federal regulations, or abolish foreign aid. Indeed, to Republicans, these issues remained

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

outside the realm of serious political debate. Here the GOP joined the Democrats in order to maintain an atmosphere of "bipartisanship." A word with a positive connotation in the political mainstream, to Rothbard "bipartisan" was "a dread word that itself signifies duopoly and a sellout of principle." This was especially true in foreign affairs where such entities as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund were at the heart of an "American foreign policy of global intervention, economic and military," that "both parties have pursued since World War II." The end result was "almost identical major parties" run by "professionally bipartisan elites." Therefore, the GOP "leadership's alleged embrace of small government [would] continue to be a fraud and a hoax."⁸

Rothbard's conception of bipartisanship as nefarious, rather than beneficial, turned traditional political analysis upside down. It brought, for me, a new understanding of the nature of American history, especially the circumstances surrounding the investigation of Kennedy's murder. Established by a Democratic president and chaired by a Republican chief justice, the Warren Commission was itself a product of the

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

bipartisan mentality. This mentality reigned as the Warren Commission conducted the investigation, drew the "lone nut" conclusions, and resisted all further attempts at serious scrutiny. In addition, Murray Rothbard presented his ideas in a take-no-prisoners literary style. Clearly, this was not the sort of language that would appear in the American Historical Review. What a welcome relief from the stolid prose of mainstream historians!

Murray Rothbard died unexpectedly in 1995, just as my Austrian education and Warren Commission research began to jell. My great regret is that I never had a chance to meet him personally.⁹ Fortunately, the Ludwig von Mises Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies helped spark a renewed interest in Rothbard's work as a historian with the release of two remarkable paperbacks. The first, The Case Against the Fed, detailed the rise of the Federal Reserve System. Rothbard's analysis posed a question rarely addressed by mainstream historians, who benefits? With this question at the forefront, he traced the history of the Fed from the point of view of those who pushed for its creation -- the banking firms controlled by

⁹In 1998 I had the privilege of meeting his widow, JoAnn Rothbard, at the Mises Institute's "Reassessing the Presidency" Conference at Callaway Gardens, Georgia. Though in declining health and in obvious discomfort, she was, nonetheless, charming and gracious and encouraged me to continue my research.

J.P. Morgan and the Rockefellers. Rothbard challenged the traditional evaluation of the Federal Reserve as a check on an inflationary decentralized banking system. He determined that the Fed was, instead, a government-enforced banking cartel that placed the mechanism of inflation into the hands of big banks, precisely the institutions that the Fed was supposed to regulate.

Rothbard's history of the Fed detailed the role of a new intellectual class, without whom the bankers could not have been successful. To Rothbard, the system that hoodwinked the American public into accepting the Fed represented a "new alliance of State and Opinion-Molder" that was "a partnership of government, business leader, intellectual, and expert." Within this alliance, the intellectuals served two functions "(a) to help run and plan the new statist system; and (b) to apologize for the new order."¹⁰ If historians were among this group of intellectuals that helped create the Fed, it is little wonder that the self-interest of the Morgans and the Rockefellers is not widely understood today.

In The Case Against the Fed, Rothbard also dismissed traditional academic aversion to the dreaded "conspiracy theory

¹⁰Murray N. Rothbard, The Case Against the Fed (Auburn, Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1994), pp. 87-88.

of history." Here the question was "not some sort of 'theory of history,' but a willingness to use one's common sense. All that the analyst or historian need do is to assume, as an hypothesis, that people in government or lobbying for government policies may be at least as self-interested and profit-motivated as people in business or everyday life, and to investigate the significant and revealing patterns that he will see before his eyes."¹¹ To Rothbard, the most significant pattern was that, after 1900, "much of American political history, of programs and conflicts, can be interpreted not so much as Democrat versus Republican, but as the interaction or conflict between the Morgans and their allies on the one hand and the Rockefeller . . . alliance on the other."¹² Those historians not themselves party to obscuring the true workings of the Fed missed the significance of the Morgan/Rockefeller model because they were not "geared to power elite or ruling class analysis."¹³ Mainstream historians thus remained focused on the traditional, but acceptable route of inquiry -- superficial party divisions. Rothbard's power elite concept had a direct impact on my study

¹¹Ibid., p. 89. Emphasis in the original.

¹²Ibid., p. 92.

¹³Ibid., p. 122.

of the JFK assassination. By this time my research had already revealed numerous Morgan/Rockefeller connections in the lives and careers of the Warren Commissioners, especially that of Wall Street lawyer John J. McCloy.

In 1995 the Center for Libertarian Studies issued Wall Street, Banks, and American Foreign Policy, a reprint of two articles Rothbard had written in 1977 and 1984. This book extended Rothbard's treatment of the Fed into a wider analysis of modern U.S. foreign affairs. Dominant again were the Morgans and the Rockefellers and, again, "the name of the party in power [was] far less important than the particular regime's financial and banking connections."¹⁴ Rothbard's extended power elite analysis examined the lives and careers of dozens of well-placed foreign policy insiders. Most prominent among these insiders was John J. McCloy, a man with both Morgan and Rockefeller connections. Rothbard described McCloy as "perhaps the most powerful single figure in foreign policy since World War II."¹⁵ My research indicated that John J. was also the most powerful single figure on the Warren Commission. McCloy had all the

¹⁴Murray N. Rothbard, Wall Street, Banks, and American Foreign Policy (Burlingame, California: The Center for Libertarian Studies, 1995), p. 29.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 29.

connections. All the other Warren Commissioners, at some point or another well before November 1963, spun into his orbit.

Wall Street, Banks, and American Foreign Policy was published just after Rothbard's death. The book contained an afterword by Justin Raimondo of The Center for Libertarian Studies. He wrote "Murray Rothbard's analysis of modern American history as a great power struggle between economic elites . . . was the culmination of a lifetime devoted to methodological individualism . . . and the economic principles of the Austrian School . . . which attributes all human action to individual actors." Raimondo further maintained that Rothbard's "trenchant overview of the American elite" cried out "to be updated and applied to current events."¹⁶ To me, the assassination of John F. Kennedy was frozen in time by the "lone nut" conclusions of the Warren Commission. Speculation and theory-mongering has continued ever since, making JFK's murder the longest-running current event in American history. Raimondo's call for an update inspired me to press on with my investigation of the Warren Commission, with Murray Rothbard's power elite analysis and the free market principles of the Austrian School as the central theoretical framework.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 83-84. Emphasis in the original.

Michigan Congressman Gerald R. Ford, a lawyer and career politician, was a perfect choice for the Warren Commission. Most important was Ford's good-guy public image, that of Jerry Ford, honest and hardworking, if dull, Midwestern Congressman. "During his twenty-five years in Congress . . . Ford had acquired a reputation among his colleagues as an amicable, reasonable, accessible man, politically conservative, thoroughly public-spirited, and innately decent."¹⁷ This image persists to the present day.¹⁸ The other side of Gerald Ford, largely unknown outside of the American political elite, was that of a shrewd internationalist with an assiduously-developed Establishment resume.¹⁹

¹⁷Current Biography Yearbook, 1975, s.v. "Ford, Gerald R(udolph, Jr.) July 14, 1913 - President of the United States."

¹⁸As of this writing, Gerald Ford is the sole surviving Warren Commissioner. On Ford's persistent good-guy image, see New York Times, 8 October 1998.

¹⁹Henry Kissinger, National Security Adviser and Secretary of State under Presidents Nixon and Ford, praised Ford for being a lifelong "defense hawk" and for steadfastly supporting the U.S. Cold War effort through "a permanent American participation depending more on the ability to accumulate nuances than on engineering final outcomes in a brief period." See Henry A. Kissinger, "Between the Old Left and the New Right," Foreign Affairs, May/June 1999, pp. 111-112.

Gerald Ford was very much like his House counterpart on the Warren Commission, Democrat Hale Boggs of Louisiana. Both had stellar Congressional careers, and both played prominent roles in bipartisan circles. Though Ford and Boggs wore different political labels, they were so close, personally and ideologically, that the labels were rendered meaningless.²⁰ Like Hale Boggs, Gerald Ford also has been ignored in the Establishment literature. An examination of Ford's career will show that he, too, brought solid credentials to the Warren Commission.²¹

²⁰According to his wife Betty, Gerald Ford was a close associate of LBJ and Hale Boggs. "Lyndon and Jerry had worked together so much, ironing out kinks, compromising here, there, and everywhere, and Lyndon always kidded Jerry: 'You're a great man, but you belong to the wrong party.'" She and Jerry were the only Republicans present at a dinner in the White House private dining room shortly after JFK's funeral. Present also were Hale and Lindy Boggs. See Betty Ford with Chris Chase, The Times of My Life (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), pp. 105-106.

²¹Kai Bird mentions Gerald Ford only within the context of the Warren Commission. See The Chairman, pp. 548, 556, 565. During the Watergate scandal, however, John J. McCloy may have had someone like Ford in mind. According to Bird, McCloy "seemed to be thinking that if only one could surround the president with a few good 'Stimsonians,' and thereby reassure the country that the Establishment, not Richard Nixon, was at the helm, then perhaps this distasteful Watergate business would go away." See p. 638. Isaacson and Thomas do not mention Ford, even within the context of the Warren Commission. See The Wise Men, pp. 645.

Gerald Ford followed a career path unique in American political history. He won his first election in 1948 as the underdog challenger to an entrenched incumbent. Ford served his Grand Rapids, Michigan, district without interruption from 1949 to 1973 when he was named Vice-President after the Watergate-related resignation of Spiro T. Agnew. Ford assumed the presidency when Richard Nixon resigned in 1974.²² As president, Ford sought to counteract the "grim accumulation of scandals known as Watergate" and "made the restoration of confidence in the executive branch of the government the foremost goal of his administration."²³

More recently, in 1998, Ford assumed the role of elder statesman and further cemented his reputation as a level-headed, bipartisan political healer. In October of that year, in a New York Times Op-Ed piece, Ford, a life-long Republican, weighed in on the side of Democratic President Bill Clinton in the Monica Lewinsky Affair. In doing so, Ford "broke his silence on the White House scandal . . . and suggested that the most fitting punishment would be a rebuke in the well of the House." The

²²Press coverage of these events was staggering, see New York Times, 11 October 1973, 13 October 1973, 9 August 1974.

²³CBY, 1975.

Times saw this as "an important boost for Mr. Clinton's search for a way to short-circuit the impeachment process." Ford maintained that "more is at stake than the President's fate." Far worse, he wrote, was the possibility of "a protracted and increasingly divisive debate over the deliberately imprecise words 'high crimes and misdemeanors,'" and the concomitant "partisan exploitation" and "mean spiritedness."²⁴

Less than one year later, Bill Clinton awarded Gerald Ford the Medal of Freedom.²⁵ The New York Times ran only a photograph with a caption listing Ford and seven other medal recipients. The Spartanburg Herald-Journal, a New York Times Company regional affiliate, ran a more extensive account. "Twenty-five years to the week after he was thrust into the presidency by Watergate, Gerald Ford returned to the White House . . . to be praised as the steady hand that helped America heal." President Clinton, by this time having survived House impeachment and Senate trial over the Monica Lewinsky Affair, held that "steady,

²⁴New York Times, 4 October 1998. According to this same article, among those urging punishment less harsh than impeachment was West Virginia Senator John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV, who "had become one of Mr. Clinton's staunchest internal defenders." Gerald Ford chose Jay's uncle, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, as vice-president in 1974. See New York Times, 21 August 1974.

²⁵New York Times, 12 August 1999.

trustworthy, Gerald Ford ended a long national nightmare. . . .
When he left the White House after 895 days, America was
stronger, calmer, and more self-confident. . . . America was, in
other words, more like President Ford himself."²⁶ "Steady,
trustworthy" Gerald Ford was more than a half-century in the
making. Along the way, he proved his mettle with service to,
and membership in, the American Establishment.²⁷

Gerald Ford spent his formative years in Grand Rapids,
Michigan. However, he was not born in Grand Rapids, nor was he
born Gerald R. Ford, Jr. Ford started life as Leslie Lynch

²⁶Spartanburg Herald-Journal, 12 August 1999. The Medal of Freedom, the article went on, was "established by President Harry S. Truman as a wartime honor [and] was reintroduced by President John F. Kennedy as a way to honor civilian service."

²⁷At least one Watergate-era pundit took exception to the prevailing image of Ford. Unreconstructed Nixon-hater Bob Woodward, in Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate, implied that Ford diminished the presidency when he brought to the White House "a Congressional lifestyle, which included alcohol at lunch." Further, wrote Woodward, "the octogenarian Ford spends so much time on private jets and playing golf that he has become `woefully out of touch with millions in poverty, children hungry, the wrenching despair and horror of life for many.'" Woodward quoted in Frank Rich, "All the Presidents Stink," The New York Times Magazine, 15 August 1999, pp. 42. According to Rich, a New York Times Op-Ed columnist, Shadow "can't be topped as a comprehensive, up-to-date, inside look at the Washington establishment." See p. 44. Frank Rich spells establishment with a lower-case `e.' Rich's Washington establishment consists primarily of Op-Ed columnists, television "journalists," and Sunday news talk-show pundits.

King, Jr., born 14 July 1913 in Omaha, Nebraska. His parents, Leslie Lynch King and Dorothy King, divorced before their only child's second birthday. Dorothy King moved to Grand Rapids in 1915 where she met and married Gerald R. Ford. The Fords later took out formal adoption papers for the boy and renamed him for his stepfather.²⁸

If anyone on the Warren Commission grew up as the All-American boy, it was Gerald Ford. By all accounts, he was the model son and a good student in school. As a college football player, he was a bona fide All-Star. Though later a member of the Eastern Establishment, Ford's roots were in the Midwest.

²⁸Jerald F. terHorst, Gerald Ford and the Future of the American Presidency (New York: The Third Press, 1974), pp. 27-28. The terHorst biography was rushed into print during Watergate's so-called "Final Days." terHorst credits assistants, printing companies, "and countless others without whose sacrifices it would have been impossible to manufacture this book in under two weeks." Jerald F. terHorst was a long-time Detroit newspaperman who had first covered Ford in the Michigan Congressman's 1948 debut. Ford named terHorst White House press secretary in 1974 in order to defuse the "the angry and bitter relationship with the press" that had developed during the Nixon years. At the time terHorst was described as "a talented and responsible reporter of impeccable standards." Within thirty days terHorst resigned in disgust after Ford pardoned Richard Nixon. See Contemporary Authors, Volume 107, s.v. "terHorst, J(erald) F(ranklin) 1922- ." In 1963 terHorst was the Detroit News Washington bureau chief. He was in Dallas on 22 November 1963 and "during the next week, he filed as many as three stories a day on different aspects of the assassination." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1975, s.v. "terHorst, Jerald F(ranklin), July 11, 1922 - Journalist; author."

According to biographer Jerald F. terHorst, Ford grew up in the heart of America's heartland. Grand Rapids was a "city of tree-lined streets, comfortable homes, good schools, many churches and parks, thriving furniture factories, two daily papers, two radio stations, and a populace that took its civic responsibilities seriously."²⁹ Here, Gerald Ford thrived in the Grand Rapids middle class.

The elder Ford, a paint salesman in his early career, formed the Ford Paint and Varnish Company in 1929. The firm "slowly prospered and enabled its founder to raise his children in modestly comfortable circumstances." The father set the tone for his sons -- Jerry and his three half-brothers Tom, Richard, and James -- with a dedication to the Grand Rapids community and the Episcopal Church. He held leadership positions in the local GOP and the Boy Scouts, in which Jerry attained the rank of Eagle.³⁰ Gerald Ford's own description of his stepfather suggests a character straight out of Sinclair Lewis. Gerald, Sr. "was a

²⁹terHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 47.

³⁰CBY, 1975.

vestryman at church, a devoted Mason, a Shriner, [and] an active Elk."³¹

Gerald Ford grew up with the guidance of this "authoritarian father" who closely monitored the lives of his four sons.³² His mother also provided guidance and discipline. Ford described her as "selfless" and continually involved in "one church or civic activity after another. And when she wasn't attending meetings, she was busy baking bread or sewing clothes for needy families." Ford maintained that his parents, though not secure financially, provided him with a lasting sense of emotional security.³³

Gerald Ford, Sr. never finished high school. He nonetheless "had an instinctive appreciation for education, for

³¹Gerald R. Ford, A Time to Heal (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979), p. 45. Ford credited journalist Trevor Armbrister and editor Erwin Glikes with assistance in compiling these memoirs. Armbrister began his career in 1958 as a public relations assistant at J. Walter Thompson Company. In 1979 he was senior editor at Reader's Digest. See Contemporary Authors, Volumes 89-92, s.v. "Armbrister, Trevor 1933 - ." Glikes "was noted in the publishing world for his ability to market non-fiction books and make them bestsellers." In 1964 Glikes edited Of Poets and Power: Poems Occasioned by the Presidency and Death of John F. Kennedy. See CA, Volume 145, s.v. "Glikes, Erwin (Arno) 1937-1994."

³²CBY, 1975.

³³Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 44-45.

good manners, character, fair dealing, and hard work."³⁴ He and Mrs. Ford pushed Jerry to excel in academics and athletics and insisted that the young man work both at home and in part-time jobs. Indeed, Jerry Ford had little time for anything else. He later recalled that "besides sports and schoolwork, I had jobs to do." He worked weekends and summers in the family paint factory, where, under his father's tutelage, he learned "the values of discipline."³⁵ In addition to his time in the paint factory, he ran the concession stand at a local amusement park, and worked a lunchtime shift at a diner across the street from his school, South High.³⁶ At home, he mowed the lawn, shoveled snow, tended the coal furnace, and did myriad other jobs around his neighborhood.³⁷

Mr. and Mrs. Ford believed that athletics "built a boy's character," but in their household academics came first. Jerry's focus on his studies paid off handsomely. He excelled in such subjects as history and government and he did well

³⁴terHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 34.

³⁵CBY, 1975.

³⁶Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 47.

³⁷terHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 37.

enough overall to be inducted into the National Honor Society during his junior year at South High School. Ford ranked in the top five percent of his 220-member class, hardly the stuff of the "dumb jock" media treatment he received as president decades later.³⁸

³⁸Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 37. As president, Gerald Ford endured withering satire. Perhaps the most widely-known Ford parody was that by comedian Chevy Chase, whose "clumsy pratfalls and deadpan outrage" were showcased on the live television program "Saturday Night." The show, described as "subversively funny," premiered on NBC in October 1975 and was an instant success. "Saturday Night" was that network's "sole smash hit of 1975-76, with an estimated viewership of 10,000,000." The show proved wildly popular among college students and other young adults. Chase led the topical sketch comedy of the Not-Ready-for-Prime-Time Players, the piece de resistance of the program. "Among Chase's specialities were regular pratfalls, slow, artful, acrobatic feats, many of which were done in mimicry of an allegedly accident-prone President Ford." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1979, s.v. "Chase, Chevy Oct. 8, 1943 - Comedian; actor; writer." Central to Ford's success was his ability to withstand such treatment. Yet Ford was hardly the hapless victim. On the contrary, Ford proved to be a shrewd media manipulator who allowed his own press secretary, Ron Nessen, successor to Jerald F. terHorst, to appear as a guest on "Saturday Night." Ford later wrote a book on the subject in which he maintained that, for a president, "self-deprecating humor is probably the most effective kind." Ford acknowledged discomfort at being portrayed as an "oafish ex-jock." He was astute enough, however, to realize that the gag made "good copy . . . [and that] it was also funny." Ford knew very well that "avoiding an adversarial relationship with the media . . . [paid] rich dividends." See Gerald R. Ford, Humor and the Presidency (New York: Arbor House, 1987) pp. 17, 33, 47-48, 161. Ford's media manipulation did not escape the practiced eye of House doorkeeper "Fishbait" Miller, an experienced judge of political talent. Miller saw self-effacing humor as Ford's key asset. Jerry Ford, he wrote, "didn't mind . . . all those jokes. He knew he would always fail safe." See William "Fishbait" Miller as told to Frances Spatz Leighton, Fishbait: The Memoirs

With his strict regimen of study, sports, and work, Ford "did not go out for debate or dabble in school politics, the usual gambit of budding lawyers and politicians." While Jerry Ford never ran for class office, he did win an impressive election victory as a youth. Ford, an excellent student and football star, was well-liked in the Grand Rapids community. In 1930 he won a popularity contest sponsored by the city's finest movie house, the Majestic Theater, in a balloting procedure that required movie patrons to write names on blank sheets of paper. Ford joined forty-nine other winners from cities across the Midwest on a five-day trip to Washington, D.C. that included tours of Congress and the Hoover White House.³⁹

Though he bypassed the traditional political rites of passage, Ford learned at home, in school, and on the playing field the vital skills of self control he would employ as a career politician. He later recalled that

of the Congressional Doorkeeper (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), pp. 292-95, 305. Years later, as elder statesman, Ford could rest assured that the general public would remember the Chevy Chase pratfalls, but would not recall that Ford had once served on the Warren Commission. Ron Nessen was himself no stranger to television. Prior to signing on with Ford, Nessen was the on-camera White House correspondent for NBC. See CBY, 1976, s.v. "Nessen, Ron(ald H.) May 25, 1934 - White House press secretary; broadcast journalist."

³⁹terHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 37-38.

"as a child I had a hot temper, which Mother taught me to control -- most of the time. A strict disciplinarian, she would ridicule me and show how foolish I looked when I got angry. . . . Even more effective was her habit of sending me to my room with orders to stay there until I was ready to come downstairs and discuss rationally whatever I had done wrong."⁴⁰

In high school Ford became aware of the "deep emotions that rivalries can stir." The young man saw that this tended to separate his classmates into mutually-loathing groups. In his memoirs, Ford recalled that he made great efforts to get along well with everyone, including those on both sides of a bitter rivalry. He decided early-on that most people had more good qualities than bad. "If I understood and tried to accentuate those good qualities in others," he recalled, "I could get along much better."⁴¹ Ford honed this talent to perfection, becoming

⁴⁰Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 44.

⁴¹Ibid, p. 46. Ford proved to be a master of this political gambit in his 1965 election to the position of House minority leader. See Larry L. King, "The Road to Power in Congress," Harper's Magazine, June 1971, p. 44.

the very embodiment of bipartisanship in his career as a politician.

Another early and invaluable experience for Ford was the intense glare of national publicity. On the playing field at the University of Michigan, Ford quickly became aware of the "critics in the stands and the critics in the press," and learned to place sportswriters and armchair quarterbacks into perspective. He noted that "few of them [had] ever centered a ball, kicked a punt, or thrown a touchdown pass with 100,000 looking on." From this Ford developed the "thick hide" that "let their jibes roll off my back." To this quality Ford owed his later success as a politician at the center of two of the most bitterly controversial events in modern American history -- the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the Watergate affair.⁴²

As good a student as he was, Gerald Ford was an even more accomplished athlete. He excelled in all sports, especially football, the sport that eventually thrust him into the national limelight. Ford was a star center from his sophomore year on, winning All-City and All-State honors at South High School.⁴³ In Ford's day, football was a much more fluid game, played by lithe

⁴²Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 53.

⁴³CBY, 1961.

and agile men in a style much like today's rugby. In the football game of the 1930s, the center actually directed the plays. As center, Ford not only had to block opposing linemen, he had to make accurate passes, through his legs, to running backs often already in motion. He played center on offense and linebacker on defense, in an era when "football was a test of stamina as well as skill." In 1930 South High was undefeated and won the state championship with Jerry Ford as standout on both sides of the line of scrimmage. As a result, he came to the attention of recruiters from several prominent universities, including Michigan State, Northwestern, and Harvard. Ford, however, chose the University of Michigan, then "riding high in the Big Ten."⁴⁴

At Michigan, Ford continued his earlier pattern of athletics, academics, and part-time jobs, leaving him little time for traditional college high jinks. Accordingly, he continued to pile up the honors. Though he maintains that college work was a struggle, he managed to finish in the top 25% of his class, no mean feat for a student-athlete who completed a double-major in economics and political science.⁴⁵ Decades

⁴⁴terHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁵Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 53.

later, Ford's biographical write-ups listed him as a "pre-law student."⁴⁶ According to terHorst, Ford made `A's' in four courses during his years at Michigan: American Government, Money and Credit, European History, and Organized Labor.⁴⁷ These would be perfect subjects to prepare him for his next step -- law school.

Meanwhile, Ford continued his mastery of football at the University of Michigan. During his first season he won the Meyer Morton Trophy awarded annually for outstanding performance in Spring practice.⁴⁸ Ford was a member of Michigan's 1932 and 1933 national championship teams and emerged as starting center in 1934. During his senior season he won the most valuable player award "but the team won no plaudits." Despite his playing for a Michigan squad that lost seven of its eight games, Ford garnered national post-season honors. On 1 January 1935 he played both offense and defense in the East-West Shrine Game in San Francisco. His performance was so impressive that Green Bay Packers coach Curly Lambeau offered him a professional

⁴⁶CBY, 1961.

⁴⁷terHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 43

⁴⁸Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 51.

contract.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1935 Ford played on the College All-Star team in the then-traditional game against the National Football League champions. The 1935 NFL title-holders were the Chicago Bears, a team that included the legendary Bronko Nagurski.⁵⁰ Ford recalled that "both the Detroit Lions and the Green Bay Packers offered me \$2,800 to play for them that fall. That was big money, but pro football wouldn't lead me anywhere. What intrigued me most was the possibility of studying law."⁵¹

Football took Gerald Ford far beyond his Grand Rapids origins. In 1935 he took a job as an assistant football coach at Yale University and in 1938 he entered Yale Law School.⁵² True to form, Ford excelled as a law student. More importantly,

⁴⁹terHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰CBY, 1961. Ford reaped decades of personal and political benefit from his playing days. Twenty-five years after his final game at Michigan, Sports Illustrated named Ford to its 1959 Silver Anniversary All-American Team for having "made a telling contribution to American professional, business, and community life this past quarter-century." The magazine described Ford's post-football career as "all wins, no losses" during which "a thriving law practice in the Grand Rapids area led, in 1948, to his election to a Congressional seat which he has yet to relinquish." See "1959 Silver Anniversary All-America," Sports Illustrated, 21 December 1959, p. 86.

⁵¹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 53.

⁵²CBY 1975.

Yale brought Gerald Ford into contact with the Eastern Establishment a full six years before Pearl Harbor. He traveled from Michigan to New Haven, Connecticut, with a salary just \$400.00 shy of the "big money" offered by the National Football League. Ford held several positions on the Yale staff. He was varsity line coach, head coach of the Yale freshman team, and boxing coach.⁵³

At Yale, Ford saw "the chance to realize two dreams at once -- to stay in football and to pursue a long-nurtured aspiration for law school."⁵⁴ To Ford, the "Yale campus, an attractive place today [1979], was even more beautiful then. The tall Gothic towers were inspiring, the long sweeping lawns refreshing and clean. Everywhere I went, I discerned an atmosphere of scholarship, dignity, and tradition." Coaching, however, was a full time job and it was not until 1938 that Ford convinced Yale officials that he could handle both coaching and law school.⁵⁵

The Yale experience was an incalculable boon to the political career of Gerald Ford. According to terHorst, Ford "benefited immensely from rubbing elbows with men of such caliber. They lifted his intellectual horizon and broadened his

⁵³TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 43.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 54, 56.

understanding of global and national issues."⁵⁶ Ford's time at Yale also provided him with extraordinary connections within the American Establishment. Two of the young men that Ford coached, "a tackle named Bob Taft, and a thin but very gutsy end named Bill Proxmire, entered the U.S. Senate."⁵⁷ Both became prominent

⁵⁶TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 44.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 55-56. Robert Taft, Jr. was the son and namesake of the rock-ribbed "isolationist" Senator from Ohio. Born in Cincinnati, Taft completed his Yale B.A. in 1939 and received his LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1942. Taft entered politics in 1954 and served seven years in the Ohio legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1962 and to the U.S. Senate in 1970. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Taft, Robert, Jr. U.S. Senator." William Proxmire was described in 1978 as "an idiosyncratic gadfly who . . . practiced a kind of pick-and-choose politics that defies pigeonholing." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1978, s.v. "Proxmire, (Edward) William Nov. 11, 1915 - United States Senator from Wisconsin." The son of a wealthy physician, Proxmire grew up in the exclusive Lake Forest suburb of Chicago. He attended the Hill Preparatory School and finished Yale in 1938 with a major in English literature. A scrub in football, he managed to earn his 'Y' when "a sympathetic coach put him in the Princeton game in the closing days of his college career." Proxmire, however, was Yale's lightweight boxing champion. After Yale, he attended Harvard, earning an M.B.A. in 1940. He moved to New York, took a job as a clerk at J.P. Morgan & Company, and studied public speaking at Columbia University. In 1941 Proxmire enlisted in the U.S. Army and remained stateside for the duration of the war. For a time he was stationed in Chicago, where he studied acting and radio broadcasting at Northwestern University. Discharged in 1946, Proxmire returned to New York for another stint with J.P. Morgan & Company, finding time to complete a Harvard master's degree in public administration in 1948. He then set his sights on a political career and headed to Wisconsin. There he worked as a labor reporter for the Madison Capital Times, and produced radio programs for the American Federation of Labor. Proxmire entered the Wisconsin legislature in 1950, beating a six-term incumbent.

career politicians who served in the U.S Congress with Ford in later years. Ford's law school teachers were also solid Establishment types. They included "such renowned lawyers" as Harry Shulman, Thurmond Arnold, and future JFK adviser Eugene Rostow.⁵⁸

As an assemblyman, he "earned a reputation as a severe critic of Senator McCarthy." When McCarthy died in 1957, Proxmire, "a master of television campaigning," won the race to fill the remainder of the late Senator's term. Proxmire was the first Democratic senator from Wisconsin in a quarter-century. His political agenda included such issues as "quick, strong action to boost farm incomes, build-up of the United Nations, [an] end to 'tight' money policy," and a \$2 billion federal public works program. In 1953 Proxmire became president of Artcraft Press, publishers of several labor newspapers and The Progressive, the magazine founded by Robert LaFollette. Proxmire's first wife was Elsie Rockefeller, a great-grandniece of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. See CBY, 1958, s.v. "Proxmire, (Edward) William Nov. 11, 1915 - U.S. Senator from Wisconsin; business executive."

⁵⁸TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 44. Harry Shulman was born in Russia in 1903 and came to the U.S. as a boy in 1912. He earned an A.B. at Brown University in 1923 and an LL.B. at Harvard in 1926. Before joining the faculty of Yale Law School in 1930, Shulman practiced law in New York City and served as law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis. During World War II Shulman was an active labor arbitrator and served as umpire on cases involving the United Auto Workers and the aviation industry. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 3, s.v. "Shulman, Harry, univ. prof., dean." Shulman co-authored books on federal jurisdiction and procedure with "his friend and former Harvard professor, Felix Frankfurter." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1952, s.v. "Shulman, Harry Mar.14, 1903 - Labor-management arbitrator; college professor." As noted above, Frankfurter was a mentor for both John J. McCloy and "Wise Man" Dean Acheson. Thurman Arnold was a native of Wyoming who came east to study at Ivy League institutions. He earned his A.B. at Princeton in 1911 and LL.B. at Harvard in 1914. After World War I service as an artillery officer in France, Arnold practiced law and was a law professor in Chicago, Wyoming, and West Virginia before joining

Within this Yale group, William Proxmire is the most significant. A brief examination of Proxmire's gadfly tendencies during the Kennedy years brings to light the personal and political ties among key JFK insiders and the John J. McCloy ambit. In 1961 Proxmire, by then widely-known as a political maverick, created a stir when he challenged the impartiality of three Kennedy appointees -- all oil men. In a Senate speech, Proxmire criticized the Kennedy Administration saying that its "otherwise fine record" was "blackened by oil influence." Proxmire maintained that the "impartiality of the Administration on matters affecting oil" had been "severely shaken" by the appointment of oil executives to key government posts: Jerome J. O'Brien, of Humble Oil and Refining Company, as director of the Interior Department's Office of Oil and Gas; Lawrence O'Connor, of Goldston Oil, as a member of the Federal Power Commission; and John B. Connally, "executor of one of the biggest private oil estates in the world," as Secretary of the Navy, which

the Yale faculty in 1931. During the New Deal, Arnold served as assistant attorney general in charge of anti-trust. See WWWA, Volume 5, s.v. "Arnold, Thurman Wesley, lawyer." A diligent government lawyer and bureaucrat, Arnold was also a zealous promoter of the U.S. war effort. He created a stir during World War II when he tagged both oil companies and labor unions with "restraint of trade." He was described as "a cross between Voltaire and a cowboy with the cowboy predominating." See CBY, 1940, s.v. "Arnold, Thurman Wesley June 2, 1891 - United States Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division."

Proxmire described as "the county's largest buyer of petroleum fuels."⁵⁹ Proxmire was unable to derail these nominations. John B. Connally was a protégé of Vice-President Lyndon Johnson. A first-rate political operator in his own right, Connally was also an oil company lawyer with extensive connections within the McCloy ambit. In 1963 Connally emerged as a central figure in the Kennedy assassination story when, as governor of Texas, he had the misfortune of riding with JFK in the Dallas motorcade. Connally was himself severely injured in the gunfire at Dealey Plaza.⁶⁰

⁵⁹New York Times, 9 September 1961. Jerome J. O'Brien was vice-president of Humble Oil and Refining Company. See New York Times, 6 September 1961. Humble was an oil production affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey. See Yergin, The Prize, pp. 222, 225. Lawrence O'Connor was vice-president of Goldston Oil from 1945-1958. During the Eisenhower Administration he served as assistant director of the Interior Department's Office of Oil and Gas. He served on the Federal Power Commission from 1961-1971 before becoming vice-president of Standard Oil of Ohio. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 12, s.v. "O'Connor, Lawrence Joseph, Jr.; energy consultant." Goldston Oil "carried on joint operations with Humble Oil and Refining Company." See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 43, s.v. "Goldston, Walter Leon, geologist and oil operator."

⁶⁰John B. Connally was born in 1917 in Floresville, Texas. He attended the University of Texas at Austin and received his LL.B. in 1941. Connally entered the Navy as an ensign and was assigned to the headquarters of the Chief of Naval Operations. Connally served as legal assistant to Undersecretary of the Navy James B. Forrestal, and was on General Eisenhower's staff in Algiers before seeing combat duty on aircraft carriers in the Pacific. Though largely unknown outside Washington until 1961, Connally's career paralleled that of Lyndon Johnson, whom he

served as campaign aide. Connally was Johnson's campaign manager in 1948 during the "bitterly contested" race for the Senate against former Texas governor Coke Stevenson. In 1949 Connally served as Senator Johnson's Washington chief-of-staff. In 1960 Connally managed Johnson's run for the presidency, losing to Kennedy on the convention's first ballot. Johnson accepted the party's nomination as vice-president. According to a 1961 write-up, "politically, Connally can only be described as a 'Johnson Democrat.' He has the same talent for political maneuver as Johnson, but those who observed him during the political infighting at [the 1960 Democratic convention in] Los Angeles believe that he showed a great deal more self-discipline." Connally was a skilled lawyer who was admitted to the Texas bar in 1938, three years before he completed law school. As a lawyer, Connally was "attorney for, as well as director in, and officer of, the vast enterprises of the late Sid W. Richardson, Texas oil tycoon." These included the Richardson Foundation, with assets of \$400 million, and the Richardson estate, thought then to total \$1 billion. When Kennedy nominated Connally as Navy Secretary, William Proxmire saw Connally's ties to Richardson as a possible conflict of interest. On the other hand, Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and future Warren Commissioner, said, "we are fortunate to have a man who knows something about the oil business. It will be a distinct advantage for the United States." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1961, s.v. "Connally, John B(owden, Jr.) Feb. 27, 1917 - United States Secretary of the Navy; corporation lawyer." According to Kai Bird, Sid Richardson and John J. McCloy met during the Eisenhower years. Richardson "took an instant liking to McCloy and invited him to visit his farm in Texas. In a very short time, their friendship would include some business dealings." McCloy joined hunting parties on the Richardson estate, supervised Chase Manhattan loans held by Richardson, and served as Richardson's attorney when the tycoon engaged in a late 1950s proxy battle over the New York Central Railroad. Like McCloy, Richardson was close to Eisenhower. The Texan was "then one of America's wealthiest individuals" and Ike "counted the oil magnate as one of his closest friends." As president, "Eisenhower consulted Richardson on oil and economic matters and used the Texan to influence . . . Senator Lyndon B. Johnson." See The Chairman, pp. 409, 429, 431-32. Recall that, according to Bird, "McCloy served as Ike's private political counselor" and "hidden vizier." Recall, also, that McCloy counted among his hunting companions another Texas oil man, Clint Murchison. See pp. 429, 542. Murchison and

At Yale, Gerald Ford proved, once again, that he could compete with the very best. As he had in high school and college, Ford excelled academically. Nonetheless, he later downplayed his Yale Law School accomplishments, maintaining that he "somehow . . . got by."⁶¹ He did much more than that. Ford graduated in the top one-third of the Yale Law School Class of 1941. There were 125 members in this class, of which ninety-eight held Phi Beta Kappa keys from their undergraduate days.⁶²

More important than his academic performance was the mother lode of old-school connections that Gerald Ford developed among his Yale Law School classmates. Many of these men emerged after World War II as junior partners in the American Establishment, with experiences much like that of John J. McCloy's World War I generation. These included education at the Eastern university and/or law school, a stint in the wartime military, steady rise through the elite law firm or major corporation, and, of course, "government service." Gerald Ford and his fellow Yale men played key roles, sometimes at center stage, sometimes behind the scenes. Though they represented both the Democratic and

Richardson first teamed up in the oil business in 1919. See Sid Richardson obituary, New York Times, 1 October 1959.

⁶¹TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 43.

⁶²Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 55-56.

Republican parties, in the postwar years they formed what Murray N. Rothbard described as a "duopoly" with a common ideology -- the aggrandizement of the "federal leviathan" and "centralized statism."⁶³ On foreign policy matters they were frankly bipartisan.⁶⁴ Like McCloy's generation, the generation of Gerald Ford proved to be amazingly fluid, its members moving in and out of government. Ford's generation was also characterized by connections within John J. McCloy's overarching ambit.

Given Gerald Ford's later ex-jock public persona, his political connections are astonishing. Yale Law School provided an extraordinarily charmed circle of Eastern Establishment friends for the Midwestern-born Gerald Ford. In 1966, Life magazine ran a photograph and brief story on the 1940 members of Yale's Phi Delta Phi law school fraternity. Pictured in the last innocent days before America's entry into the Second World War, these men "would have boggled the most effusive of class prophets." According to the accompanying article, this was "one club that [would] not need name tags at its reunion."⁶⁵

⁶³Murray N. Rothbard, "The Revolution Comes Home," The Free Market, January 1995, pp. 4-5."

⁶⁴To Rothbard, "bipartisan" was a "dread word that itself signifies duopoly and a sellout of principle." See Ibid.

⁶⁵"Brothers in a Law Fraternity and How They Have Bloomed," Life, 20 May 1966, pp. 48-48A. See also terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 44.

Several of these Yale Law men bear further scrutiny. Their curricula vitae can shed further light on little-known aspects of Gerald Ford's career as a member of the Establishment.

Classmates Louis Hector, Walter Lord, Peter Frelinghuysen, and Peter Dominick all achieved Establishment status. Louis Hector studied at Oxford in 1939 before serving with the OSS in China during World War II. He was a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board during the Eisenhower Administration.⁶⁶ Walter Lord was the author of the 1955 bestseller A Night to Remember, an account of the sinking of the Titanic. Lord earned a B.A. from Princeton in 1939 and his Yale LL.B. in 1946. His studies were interrupted by a hitch in the OSS during World War II.⁶⁷ Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, a native of New York City, graduated magna cum laude from Princeton in 1938 and completed his Yale LL.B. in 1941. After U.S. Navy service in World War II, he entered the investment business. He was elected to Congress from New Jersey as a Republican in 1952.⁶⁸ Peter H. Dominick earned his A.B. at Yale in 1937 and his LL.B. in 1940. Between

⁶⁶Who's Who in America, 1966-1967, s.v. "Hector, Louis Julius, lawyer."

⁶⁷Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, Volume 22, s.v. "Lord, Walter 1917 - ."

⁶⁸Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Frelinghuysen, Peter H.B., congressman."

1940 and 1942 Dominick was an associate with Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, the Wall Street law firm noted above for its connections to both the Morgans and the Rockefellers. He served from 1942 to 1946 with the U.S. Army Air Force, earning the Air Medal and the Distinguished Flying Cross. After the war Dominick moved to Colorado where he practiced law. He served in the Colorado state legislature from 1955 to 1961 and was elected to Congress in 1960. He entered the U.S. Senate in 1963.⁶⁹

Two of Ford's Yale Law classmates, Potter Stewart and Byron White, rose to the very pinnacle of the American legal system -- the U.S. Supreme Court. Both, however, were appointed to these positions only after forging solid Establishment credentials. Potter Stewart was born in Jackson, Michigan in 1915 and was raised in Cincinnati. He moved East to attend the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut. At Yale, Stewart completed his B.A. in 1937 and his LL.B. in 1941, earning cum laude distinction for both. He won the Yale Law School moot court competition, served as editor of the Yale Law Review, and was elected to the Order of the Coif, a legal honor society. He studied at Cambridge University in 1937. Just before and just after U.S. Navy service in World War II, Stewart worked as an

⁶⁹Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Dominick, Peter Hoyt, U.S. senator."

associate in the Rockefeller-associated New York law firm of Debevoise, Stevenson, Plimpton & Page. He then returned to Cincinnati where he practiced law and entered local politics, serving as city councilman and vice-mayor. Stewart was named U.S. Circuit judge in 1954. A Republican, Potter Stewart at first supported his fellow Ohioan, the "isolationist" Robert Taft. He converted to the Eisenhower standard in 1952. Eisenhower appointed Stewart to the Supreme Court in 1959.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Current Biography Yearbook, 1959, s.v. "Stewart, Potter, Jan. 23, 1915 - Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States." Stewart was one of several of Ford's Yale Law School classmates who served as associates in the Debevoise firm. The firm's lead partner, Thomas M. Debevoise, was the personal attorney of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Representing the firm's second generation was Eli Whitney Debevoise, who served in Germany as John J. McCloy's general counsel in the Office of High Commissioner. See Bird, The Chairman, pp. 274, 437. Thomas Debevoise was a Yale undergrad, Class of 1895. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 3, s.v. "Debevoise, Thomas (McElrath), lawyer." Eli Whitney Debevoise had both Morgan and Rockefeller connections. He earned his A.B. at Yale in 1921 and his Harvard LL.B. in 1925. After six years with Morgan-affiliated law firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner & Reed, he joined his father's firm where he remained until his death in 1990. He served as an artillery officer during World War I and during World War II was chairman of the Alien Enemy Hearing Board. He was, throughout his career, also active in numerous international legal societies and was considered an authority on the development of post-World War II Germany. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See WWWA, Volume 10, s.v. "Debevoise, Eli Whitney, lawyer." The lead partner in the Davis firm was John W. Davis, solicitor general and ambassador to England during the Wilson Administration. Davis was the Democratic Party candidate in 1924. The firm's "clients included the Guaranty Trust Company of New York and certain corporations in which the J.P. Morgan banking interests held stock." John W.

Byron "Whizzer" White was "the first New Frontier appointee to the United States Supreme Court." Like Ford, White was a top-notch student and a football star who gained a national reputation before entering law and politics. In high school White was a straight "A" student and valedictorian of his class. All the while, he worked as a railroad section hand or sugar beet picker. He entered the University of Colorado, earned Phi Beta Kappa honors, and was valedictorian of the Class of 1938.⁷¹

Byron White earned his nickname as star halfback at the University of Colorado. During his senior season, in 1937, he led the nation in rushing, scoring, and total offense. White took Colorado to the 1938 Cotton Bowl and was named to the elite Grantland Rice All-America team. His plans to study law at Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship were put on hold for a year when

Davis was a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a board member of the Rockefeller Foundation. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 45, s.v. "Davis, John William, lawyer and diplomat." From 1921 to 1925, John W. Davis was a partner in Stetson, Jennings, Russell & Davis. This firm's founding partner, Francis Lynde Stetson, was J.P. Morgan's personal lawyer and was known on Wall Street as "Morgan's attorney general." Morgan reportedly paid Stetson \$50,000 per annum "merely to insure first call on his services." See Dictionary of American Biography, Volume 17, s.v. "Stetson, Francis Lynde (Apr. 23, 1846 - Dec. 5, 1920), lawyer."

⁷¹Current Biography Yearbook, 1962, s.v. "White, Byron R(aymond) June 8, 1917 - Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States."

he accepted a \$15,800 offer to play for the NFL team known today as the Pittsburgh Steelers.⁷²

After a year as a high-profile professional football player, White travelled to England in 1939. There he met twenty-two year old John F. Kennedy, whose father was then U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James's. When war broke out in Europe, White returned to the U.S. and entered Yale Law School. Incredibly, while a student at Yale, White also played professional football with the Detroit Lions. In 1940 he was the team's leading rusher and was named All-Pro.⁷³

White's Yale Law experience was interrupted by World War II. He entered the Navy and served as an intelligence officer in the South Pacific. There he once again ran into Kennedy, who was a PT boat skipper and soon-to-be-famous war hero. After the war, White returned to Yale where he completed his LL.B. magna cum laude in 1946 and was admitted to the Order of the Coif. White served as law clerk for Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson during the Court's 1946-47 term. He also renewed his friendship with fellow Navy veteran John Kennedy, by then the freshman Congressman from Massachusetts.⁷⁴

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

Completing his Supreme Court clerkship, White returned to Colorado to practice law. He maintained his close ties to JFK and is credited with rallying Colorado Democrats to the Kennedy/Johnson ticket in 1960. In doing so, "he impressed the Kennedy brothers with his drive and ability." Subsequently, he was appointed Deputy Attorney General. As the Kennedy Administration's civil rights point man, he "directed Federal marshals sent to Montgomery, Alabama, to quell race riots touched off by the Freedom Riders."⁷⁵

Though Byron White had never served as a judge, Kennedy nominated him to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962. White drew media praise for his "adherence to principle, sense of fairness, and intellectual capacities," and he received Senate confirmation despite having had "no judicial experience and [the fact] that experienced and qualified judges had been passed over."⁷⁶

Among Ford's Yale Law School classmates, William W. Scranton, J. Richardson Dilworth, Raymond Shafer, and Stanley Resor, eventually rose to the highest levels of the Eastern Establishment. William Scranton was a descendant of George

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

Whitfield Scranton, iron manufacturer and founder of Scranton, Pennsylvania. William Scranton attended elite private schools, Fessenden and Hotchkiss, before entering Yale in 1935. At Yale he wrote political columns for the Yale Daily News alongside future JFK special assistant McGeorge Bundy. Like many of his classmates Scranton remained to attend Yale Law School only to have his education interrupted by World War II, where he served in the U.S. Army Air Corps ferrying aircraft across the Atlantic. Along the way, he earned the nickname "Wild Bill." Scranton returned to Yale, earned his LL.B. in 1946, and returned to his hometown to practice law and enter business. In 1959 his "interest in history, law, and politics produced a desire to participate in public service." Scranton then went to Washington to serve in the Eisenhower Administration.⁷⁷

In Washington, Scranton served as press assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. He served Dulles's successor, Christian Herter, in the same capacity and also represented the State Department at NATO and the UN. In 1960 Scranton was elected to Congress from Pennsylvania. There he "proved to be an independent-minded and vocal Representative." Though he was a Republican, he supported Kennedy's foreign

⁷⁷Current Biography Yearbook, 1964, s.v. "Scranton, William W(arren) July 19, 1917 - Governor of Pennsylvania."

policy. Regarding federal aid, Scranton's position was to "try and figure out . . . whether there's a need to be met by Government and if so, to vote 'yea' regardless of party." In 1962, Scranton was elected governor of Pennsylvania, running as the "harmony candidate" endorsed by all 67 of the state's GOP county chairmen.⁷⁸

Two years as governor of Pennsylvania thrust Scranton into national prominence. By 1964 he was "self-described as a liberal on civil rights, a conservative in fiscal policy, and an internationalist in foreign affairs." This certainly brought him to the attention of John J. McCloy and the GOP elite. "When liberal Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York was knocked out of the battle for the Republican Presidential nomination in June 1964, Governor Scranton stepped in to carry the standard of the liberal-moderate wing of the party against the front-running conservative Senator Barry Goldwater." At the 1964 Republican National Convention, Scranton lost the nomination to Goldwater on the first ballot, 883-214.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid. According to Kai Bird, during the 1964 campaign John J. McCloy worked "backstage" for "Goldwater's strongest remaining opponent, Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania." McCloy, however, denied he was part of a "stop-Goldwater" campaign. See The Chairman, pp. 562-63. Scranton went on to serve with McCloy as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament from 1969-1976. During

J. Richardson Dilworth took the Wall Street route and became a key associate within the McCloy ambit. Dilworth was born in Hewlett, New York, in 1916. He earned his Yale LL.B. in 1942. After serving in the Navy during World War II, Dilworth entered the buying department of Kuhn, Loeb, the Wall Street banking firm of longtime McCloy crony Benjamin Bittenweiser. By 1951 Dilworth was a partner in the firm. In 1958 he became president of Rockefeller Brothers, Inc. He also served as director of Chase Manhattan Bank and as trustee of the Rockefeller Institute. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.⁸⁰

the Ford years, Scranton was Ambassador to the UN from 1976-77. He was a member of the executive committee of the Trilateral Commission. See Who's Who in America, 1984-1985, s.v. "Scranton, William Warren, former ambassador to United Nations, former governor of Pennsylvania." Isaacson and Thomas describe the Trilateral Commission as "David Rockefeller's elite international meeting group." See The Wise Men, p. 726. Scranton figured prominently as a key aide to President Gerald Ford. In 1974 Ford selected him to help with the transfer of power after Richard Nixon's resignation. Scranton served as White House chief of personnel. As a member of Ford's "kitchen cabinet," Scranton was "the most liberal on social issues." See terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 183, 38, 188-89, 261, respectively. During his years as Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger found Scranton to be "selfless and able." See Henry Kissinger, White House Years (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1979), p. 50.

⁸⁰Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Dilworth, J(oseph) Richardson, investment banker." According to Harr and Johnson, "Dick" Dilworth eventually emerged as the Rockefeller family's "senior manager and financial adviser." See The Rockefeller Conscience, p. 469.

Raymond P. Shafer was born in New Castle, Pennsylvania, in 1917. He was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Allegheny College in 1938 and finished his Yale LL.B. in 1941. After Navy service in the South Pacific, Shafer was an associate in the Wall Street law firm of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts. He returned to Pennsylvania to practice law and enter state politics. Shafer served in the state legislature from 1959 to 1963 and as lieutenant governor from 1963 to 1967. Shafer succeeded his Yale Law School classmate William Scranton as governor of Pennsylvania, serving from 1967 to 1971.⁸¹

Stanley Rogers Resor was born in New York City in 1917. His father, Stanley Resor, Sr., president of the J. Walter

⁸¹Who's Who in America, 1974-1975, s.v. "Shafer, Raymond Philip, lawyer, business exec." The founding partner of the Winthrop, Stimson firm was Bronson Winthrop, a true American blueblood who traced his ancestry to John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 33, s.v. "Winthrop, Egerton Leigh, lawyer and financier." Bronson Winthrop was born in Paris in 1863 to parents "sojourning abroad at the time." He received a thoroughly English education at Eton and later attended Trinity College, Cambridge, where he earned a B.A. in 1886 and M.A. in 1889. He then entered Columbia University Law School, earning his law degree in 1891. Bronson Winthrop began his legal career with a brief stint at Carter, Ledyard, & Milburn. Later in 1891, he and future McCloy mentor Henry Stimson joined the law firm of Elihu Root. Within two years Winthrop and Stimson were partners in the firm and by 1901 their names were on the letterhead. When Elihu Root left to become Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of state, the firm became known as Winthrop, Stimson. See NCAB, Volume 33, s.v. "Winthrop, Bronson, lawyer."

Thompson advertising agency, was also a Yale man, Class of 1901. Resor attended the Groton School and finished his Yale B.A. in 1939. His Yale Law School experience was interrupted by World War II and he served as an Army officer in Europe, where he earned the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, and the Purple Heart. After completion of his Yale LL.B., he went to Wall Street where he eventually became a partner in the Debevoise law firm. In 1965 Resor was named Secretary of the Army by Lyndon Johnson. Resor was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.⁸²

Gerald Ford's Yale Law connections included three members of the JFK inner circle, Sargeant Shriver, Cy Vance, and Najeeb Halaby. R. Sargeant Shriver served as JFK's Peace Corps director. He was born in Westminster, Maryland, in 1915, attended the Canterbury School, and completed his Yale B.A., with honors, in 1938. He received his Yale LL.B. in 1941 and was admitted to the New York bar. Shriver served briefly as an associate in the Winthrop, Stimson firm before World War II service in the Navy. After the war, he went to work for Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., and became a member of the family when he married the boss's daughter, Eunice, in 1953. Shriver directed Kennedy business affairs from Chicago before being named

⁸²Who Was Who in America, Volume 4, s.v. "Resor, Stanley;" Who's Who in America, 1968-1969, s.v. "Resor, Stanley Rogers, govt. ofcl."

director of the Peace Corps by his brother-in-law, President John F. Kennedy. He was a member of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.⁸³

Cyrus R. Vance served as JFK's Secretary of the Army.⁸⁴ Vance was born in Clarksburg, West Virginia, in 1917, attended the Kent School in Connecticut, and earned his Yale B.A. in 1939. After completing his Yale law degree in 1942, Vance entered the Navy, where he saw combat duty as a gunnery officer in the Pacific. Discharged in 1946, Vance worked briefly for the Mead Corporation before joining the Wall Street law firm of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett in 1947. Vance remained with the firm until 1961, when he resigned to become general counsel to the Kennedy Department of Defense.⁸⁵

⁸³Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Shriver, Robert Sargeant, Jr., dir. Peace Corps."

⁸⁴Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Vance Cyrus Roberts, lawyer, govt. ofch."

⁸⁵Current Biography Yearbook, 1962, s.v. "Vance, Cyrus R(ober)ts) Mar. 27, 1917 - Secretary of the Army." The blue-blood law firm of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett had its beginnings in the late nineteenth century. A key principal in the firm was Thomas Thacher, a dyed-in-the-wool Yale man. His father was a Yale Latin professor, and his mother was the daughter of a Yale president. Thacher attended the Hopkins School and graduated from Yale in 1871. He studied law at Columbia University and was admitted to the New York bar in 1875. Thacher soon became the attorney for the Equitable Trust Company and in 1884 he joined the law firm that came to be known as Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume

Vance was perhaps the most charmed of Gerald Ford's charmed circle. Described at age sixty as "a courtly West Virginian cast from a classic Establishment mold," Vance was the son of a "well-to-do insurance executive" and a "civic-minded activist from Philadelphia's Main Line." Vance was a distant cousin of the aforementioned John W. Davis, J.P. Morgan lawyer and Democratic candidate for president in 1924. As a youth Vance read the books in Davis's library and received from "Uncle" John "his first tutelage in law and politics."⁸⁶

Cyrus Vance was schooled among America's elite. "As a student at the exclusive Kent School . . . Vance served as senior prefect, played football and ice hockey, and rowed with a crack crew that competed in the Henley Regatta in England." At Yale, Vance played varsity hockey and was a member of the Torch Honor Society. Decades later, his Yale Law School professors remembered him as a "brilliant student" with a mind "adept at storing information."⁸⁷

14, s.v. "Thacher, Thomas, lawyer." The Equitable Trust was the banking firm headed by Nelson Aldrich, father-in-law of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The Equitable Trust eventually merged with Chase National Bank. See Bird, The Chairman, p. 274.

⁸⁶Current Biography Yearbook, 1977, s.v. "Vance, Cyrus R(oberts) Mar. 27, 1917 - United States Secretary of State."

⁸⁷CBY, 1977.

At the Simpson firm, Vance specialized in civil litigation and was named partner in 1956. While still a partner in the firm, he entered government service in 1957 when "Senator Lyndon B. Johnson called Vance to Washington to serve as special counsel for his Senate Armed Services preparedness subcommittee." Vance served as LBJ's point man during the Senate's investigation of the Eisenhower Administration in the period following the launch of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union. In 1958 Vance was chief counsel for the Senate Special Committee on Space and Aeronautics. This committee pushed through the legislation that established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Soon, Vance took the lead in Democratic Party-dominated investigations into Eisenhower Defense Department budgeting and nuclear attack preparedness. Throughout, Vance was "unobtrusive in his approach" and "earned a reputation as a tireless worker and skilled negotiator."⁸⁸

In 1961 Vance resigned from the Simpson firm and, at Johnson's recommendation, became general counsel in the JFK Defense Department. Vance was now like John B. Connally -- an LBJ man ensconced in the Kennedy Administration. Vance was principle legal adviser to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. Between them, Vance and McNamara reorganized the nation's

⁸⁸Ibid.

"defense establishment." They created an organizational and management planning department, centralized supply and intelligence agencies, and forced through the designation of the Air Force as the lead agency in space research and development.⁸⁹

Cyrus Vance was sworn in as Secretary of the Army on 5 July 1962. Vance's top priorities here were to ensure "cost effectiveness" and to maintain "an amicable modus vivendi" between McNamara and the military brass. Vance also took personal control in 1962 when Kennedy sent Army paratroopers to quell rioting at the University of Mississippi during the James Meredith controversy. At the time of Kennedy's murder, Vance was "helping the Army to achieve a strike force mobility to match the missiles and bombers of the Air Force and the Polaris submarines and super-carriers of the Navy." This he achieved during the Vietnam War.⁹⁰

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid. The Vietnam War and its ugly legacy were in large measure the creations of Cyrus Vance. Early-on, Vance was "overwhelmingly in favor of prosecuting the war with more men and material, with intensified bombing of North Vietnam, and with increased efforts to create a viable government in the South." Vance and Yale classmate McGeorge Bundy personally selected bombing targets. At that time, Vance was a proponent of "retaliatory strikes in response to Communist attacks on American installations." Later, "Vance joined those who advised a cease-fire in Indochina" and was the principal American negotiator at the Paris Peace Talks that began in 1968. Still later, "Vance admitted that in the light of hindsight it was a

Najeeb E. Halaby was JFK's director of the Federal Aviation Administration.⁹¹ Among Gerald Ford's Yale Law School classmates, none had a more exotic resume. Halaby was born in Dallas in 1915, the son of an immigrant from Syria. Halaby developed an early interest in flying and obtained his pilot's license at age seventeen. He earned a B.A. at Stanford in 1937 and studied law for a time at the University of Michigan. He transferred to Yale and completed his LL.B. in 1940. Halaby was admitted to the California bar and practiced in the firm of O'Melveny & Myers in Los Angeles.⁹²

mistake to intervene in Vietnam." Despite this appalling record, Vance was confirmed as Secretary of State in the Carter Administration by a voice vote in the Senate on 20 January 1977. See CBY, 1977. Vance had connections to at least three of the "Wise Men." According to Isaacson and Thomas, Vance belonged to Scroll and Key, the same Yale secret society as Dean Acheson. At Paris, Vance was second only to Averell Harriman, who saw Vance as the "right sort, a product of the inner sanctums of Yale and Wall Street." During the Paris Peace Talks, "it was widely assumed that Vance was Johnson's spy." See The Wise Men, pp. 707, 726. In addition, Vance was among the dignitaries listed as attending John J. McCloy's funeral. See Bird, The Chairman, p. 16.

⁹¹Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Halaby, Najeeb E., lawyer, government ofcl."

⁹²Current Biography Yearbook, 1961, s.v. "Halaby, Najeeb E(lias) Nov. 19, 1915 - - United States government official; former lawyer and business executive. O'Melveny & Myers had its beginnings in Los Angeles in 1885. Key principal in the firm was Henry W. O'Melveny, born in Illinois in 1859 of Irish immigrant stock. O'Melveny attended public schools in Los Angeles and completed his A.B. at the University of California in 1879. From 1879 to 1881 he was a trader in Hawaii. He was admitted to the

Najeeb Halaby also had his legal career interrupted by World War II. He left O'Melveny & Myers in 1942 and for two decades moved effortlessly from the government to the private sector and vice versa. He served first as an Army Air Force flight instructor, then as a test pilot for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. In 1943 he joined the Navy and organized that service's first test pilot school. He later served as the chief instructor at the Naval Air Test Center in Patuxent River, Maryland.⁹³

After the war Halaby went to Washington and entered the intelligence field. In 1948 he joined the Truman State

California bar in 1881 and practiced in Los Angeles until his death in 1941. O'Melveny's legal practice centered on the vital issues of a burgeoning California -- probate and corporate law, real estate, water rights, and public utilities. The firm's client list included Shell Oil, Fullerton Oil, Bank of America, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Proctor and Gamble, Southern California Edison, Paramount Pictures, and the Union Pacific Railroad. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 44, s.v. "O'Melveny, Henry Williams, lawyer." Averell Harriman was head of Union-Pacific. The father of author Paul Fussell was a partner in the firm of O'Melveny & Myers. Fussell noted in his 1996 memoir that in the early days of the firm "there was a great deal of incorporating to be done, of such new enterprises as the real estate business and soon the film industry, and, later, the aircraft-building companies. And always, of course, oil." See Paul Fussell, Doing Battle: The Making of a Skeptic (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996), p. 12. On Fussell as critic of the warfare side of the welfare-warfare state, see Fussell, "The Culture of War," in Denson, ed., The Costs of War, pp. 351-358.

⁹³CBY, 1961.

Department as aviation intelligence officer, where he headed the intelligence co-ordination division. From 1948 Halaby held several key positions -- foreign affairs adviser in the Department of Defense, adviser on international security and military assistance matters for the Economic Cooperation Administration, the above-mentioned money pipeline of the Marshall Plan. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for international security affairs, Halaby was "in charge of placing armaments contracts for NATO with foreign governments in the 'offshore procurement' program."⁹⁴

When Halaby left the government at the end of the Truman Administration he entered the McCloy ambit as an employee of Rockefeller Brothers, Inc. While on the Rockefeller payroll, Halaby, a Democrat, worked as a consultant to the Eisenhower Defense Department. In addition, Halaby was a member of an Eisenhower-appointed task force that recommended the formation of the Federal Aviation Administration, which was established by Congress in 1958.⁹⁵

In 1960 Halaby was named secretary-treasurer and chief counsel to the Aerospace Corporation, an outfit organized "to serve as principle technical adviser for the Air Force on

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid.

missile and space programs." He also found time to practice law in Los Angeles with his own firm, N.E. Halaby & Associates. John F. Kennedy appointed Halaby to head the FAA in 1961. A contemporary write-up of the occasion noted that "it seldom happens that a man whose background includes the piloting of fighter planes, the practice of law, and service as a corporation executive finds his way to a government post that makes use of all of his qualifications."⁹⁶

⁹⁶Ibid. Najeeb Halaby went on to become head of Pan American Airways. He later established Halaby International, an aerospace consulting firm with business ties to the Middle East. In 1978 he became the father-in-law of a key pro-American Arab monarch when his daughter, Elizabeth "Lisa" Halaby, married King Hussein of Jordan. Lisa Halaby grew up in Washington and New York City and "numbered among her friends the children of prominent public officials, including Grace Vance, the daughter of Cyrus R. Vance." As a teenager, Lisa worked on the 1964 LBJ campaign. She studied architecture at Princeton University, enrolling in the institution's first co-educational class in 1969. Her first job in the Middle East was in 1975 with the architectural firm Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, "which had been commissioned to replan the city of Teheran." Lisa went to Jordan in 1976 to work for Arabair Services, a joint venture set up by Najeeb Halaby and the Jordanian government to construct an airline pilot's school. In 1977 Lisa took a job with the Royal Jordanian Airline, where at age twenty-six, she was director of facilities planning and design. It was while working with the airline that she met the then recently-widowed King Hussein. See Current Biography Yearbook, 1991, s.v. "Noor al-Hussein, Queen of Jordan, Aug. 23, 1951 - ." The June 1978 wedding was a low-key affair, with no foreign royalty and only 500 invited guests. Among those in attendance was a longtime family friend, the wife of then-Secretary of State Cy Vance, who was also named Grace. Miss Halaby, after professing adherence to Islam, became Queen Noor al-Hussein, or "Light of Hussein." See New York Times, 16 June 1978. "There [was] little doubt in the minds of most Middle East

These, then, were Gerald Ford's old school pals -- Yale Law School students poised, on the eve World War II, to begin their professional careers in the American political and social elite. That is exactly where they ended up. In later years they played key roles as OSS men, investment bankers, Wall Street lawyers, and retainers for major oil companies. Several went on to become members of the Council on Foreign Relations and Trilateral Commission. Others served as behind-the-scenes operators in the State and Defense Departments. Most importantly, many became career politicians serving in state legislatures, as governors, and in both houses of the U.S. Congress as contemporaries of Gerald Ford. Within this elite group, Ford proved to be no slouch as he developed an Establishment resume of his own.

Gerald Ford had not completed law school when he found his attention diverted by war and politics. In 1940 the Germans were on the march in Europe as Franklin Roosevelt ran for a third term against newcomer Wendell Willkie. It was during this campaign that Ford began his journey toward a career in politics. In doing so, entered the McCloy ambit himself when he travelled from New Haven to New York to stump for the Willkie

watchers," noted the New York Times, that his daughter's marriage to the King "[would] serve to enhance Mr. Halaby's role in that part of the world." See NYT, 23 May 1978.

ticket. According to terHorst, Willkie was "anathema to the so-called Republican professionals, a fact that boosted his standing among independents, college students, and 'good government' Republicans." Soon, Ford "was thoroughly committed to Willkie, inspired by the Hoosier's pledge to beat the party bosses and capture the Republican nomination." After "a few weekends" in New York, Ford spent the summer on the Willkie campaign in his home state of Michigan.⁹⁷

Wendell Willkie was also the candidate of choice among the GOP internationalist elite. As mentioned above, Kai Bird maintains that John J. McCloy ran a back room Willkie fundraising operation from his office in the Cravath law firm. In 1940, McCloy was Cravath's managing partner. One of his duties in this capacity was to keep the firm supplied with associates. It is safe to assume that, among his skills as a big-time lawyer, McCloy was a keen judge of talent, always on the lookout for a bright new prospect.⁹⁸ No new prospect was brighter than Gerald Ford -- top notch student, nationally-prominent football star, and Yale Law man. In his memoir, Ford did not mention McCloy or Cravath, but maintained that he later "received

⁹⁷TerHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁸On McCloy as Cravath managing partner, see Bird, The Chairman, p. 96. On McCloy as Willkie money channel, see p. 111.

tentative offers from law firms in Philadelphia and New York."⁹⁹ Ford would eventually practice law, but not in the East. His legal career took him back to Grand Rapids, after World War II.

Unlike some of his classmates, Gerald Ford earned his Yale LL.B. and practiced law for a year before the Second World War interrupted his life. Spurning offers from Eastern law firms, Ford instead returned to Grand Rapids and opened a practice with Phil Buchen, a fraternity brother from the University of Michigan. "Impatient and ambitious," the two soon attracted clients with pension and divorce cases. Pearl Harbor, though, brought an end to Ford's fledgling law firm. He later recalled that "there was no doubt in my mind that the United States would go to war, that the war would be long, and that everything would change very quickly for me."¹⁰⁰ Sure enough, Gerald Ford was in uniform within four months.

In April 1942 Ford, still unmarried at age 29, entered the Navy as an ensign. After indoctrination at Annapolis, he was sent to Chapel Hill, N.C., as physical education instructor for cadets undergoing pre-flight training. He found himself

⁹⁹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 57.

¹⁰⁰Ibid. Phil Buchen became a lifelong Ford adviser and later made the secret preparations for Ford's transition to the presidency upon the resignation of Richard Nixon. See terHorst, p. 180.

alongside another sports celebrity, former boxing champion Gene Tunney. Ford, however, chafed under this "easy shore duty" routine.¹⁰¹ There was "a war going on," Ford later wrote, "and I wanted desperately to be a part of it." He began a letter-writing campaign to Navy superiors that landed him, in spring 1943, aboard the U.S.S. Monterrey. The ship arrived in the Pacific in 1943 and took part in the sea battles that wore down the Japanese fleet by December 1944. Ford, as gunnery officer and assistant navigator, saw serious combat action but managed to make it home to Grand Rapids for Christmas in 1945. He remained in the Navy until the following year.¹⁰² When finally discharged, Ford added an outstanding combat service record to his burgeoning resume. All told, he "served forty-seven months on active duty with the Navy, returning home to Grand Rapids with the reserve rank of lieutenant commander, ten battle stars on his chest . . . and excellent marks on his service record from his superior officers."¹⁰³

By 1946 Gerald Ford had the perfect background for a favored political career. He quickly turned his attention in this direction and in less than two years he was elected to

¹⁰¹TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 47.

¹⁰²Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 58-60.

¹⁰³TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 48.

Congress from Grand Rapids, Michigan. Once there, he proved to be a master of the art of incumbency. Ford directed a flawless constituent-service operation that kept him in the House of Representatives for a quarter-century. As a Congressman Ford served on key finance, foreign policy, and intelligence committees in a manner that earned him a reputation for bipartisanship and a place on the Warren Commission. His assiduous courting of Congressional power brokers assured his steady rise through the GOP hierarchy. Ford seemed destined to become Speaker of the House when, nearly a decade after the Warren Commission issued its report, he left Congress to become vice-president during the Watergate era. Only then did Gerald Ford truly enter the political limelight.

The crucial years for Ford were those immediately following World War II. Like millions of other young Americans, his first order of business was to resume civilian life. Again, Ford did more than simply pick up where he left off. He also managed to bolster his Establishment connections, this time in the unlikely locale of Grand Rapids. When he came home to practice law, Ford joined Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg, the city's leading firm.¹⁰⁴ Here, 500 miles from Washington, and seemingly a world away from

¹⁰⁴Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 61-62. Ford's own Warren Commission-era writeup in Who's Who lists only the short-lived prewar Buchen & Ford. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965.

the emerging postwar internationalist consensus, Gerald Ford found his way into a law firm whose senior partner, Julius H. Amberg, had served within the Henry Stimson-John J. McCloy War Department inner circle.

At first glance, Ford's new employer seemed to have little in common with the Eastern Establishment. Founding partners Roger W. Butterfield and Willard F. Keeney were Michigan men of long standing. They formed the partnership in 1887 and rose to prominence as attorneys and businessmen. Both served as directors of local banks, lumber companies, and furniture manufacturing firms. They also assumed leadership roles in numerous church groups and civic organizations in the Grand Rapids vicinity.¹⁰⁵ In 1919 the two expanded the firm, taking in

¹⁰⁵Butterfield was born in Onondaga County, N.Y. in 1844, the son of a Baptist minister who moved his family to New Jersey and Iowa before settling in Michigan. "Known as a man of intellect and eloquence," Butterfield attended Griswold College in Iowa and Adrian College in Michigan before going east to complete an LL.B. at Princeton in 1868. During his career Butterfield became the director of no less than nine local companies. He died in 1920. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 8, s.v. "Butterfield, Roger Williams, lawyer." The son of a farmer, Keeney was a product of the Midwest. He was born in Arcola, Illinois, in 1862. He attended public schools in Grand Rapids and studied law at the University of Michigan before joining Roger W. Butterfield as a clerk in 1882. Here Keeney's legal training was in the classic style. He "read" law and was admitted to the Michigan bar in 1883. Within four years he was a partner in the firm. Keeney was considered an authority on trust, real estate, and timber law. Like Butterfield, Keeney was a director of local banks and businesses. He died in 1946. See NCAB, Volume 37, s.v. "Keeney, Willard Franklin, lawyer."

Butterfield's son, Roger C. Butterfield, and Grand Rapids native Julius H. Amberg.¹⁰⁶

Closer examination reveals that the addition of Julius Amberg brought the Grand Rapids law firm a partner with solid Eastern Establishment credentials. Amberg was born in 1890, the son of a local merchant. He received his early education in the public schools of Grand Rapids but traveled east to attend Colgate University. He received his B.A. in 1912 and entered Harvard Law School. There he edited the Harvard Law Review and completed his LL.B. in 1915. Returning to Grand Rapids, Amberg practiced law and held interests in numerous furniture manufacturing firms and lumber companies. In this respect his activities paralleled those of his law partners. In public service, however, his activities paralleled those of John J. McCloy. During the First World War Amberg served as "special assistant" to Felix Frankfurter, an adviser at the War Department. Recall that Frankfurter was a Harvard Law School professor and longtime mentor to McCloy. Similarly, during the Second World War, Amberg served as "special assistant, 1941-1945, to Henry Stimson, then U.S. secretary of war." Recall,

¹⁰⁶The history of the Butterfield firm is related in Willard F. Keeney's NCAB writeup.

too, that McCloy ran the Stimson War Department as assistant secretary of war.¹⁰⁷

Julius Amberg died in 1951 at age sixty. Though his death occurred in Grand Rapids, the New York Times acknowledged Amberg's Establishment status in an obituary that described him as "an attorney who was prominent in state and Federal affairs." According to the Times, Amberg actually served as assistant to Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson, who became Secretary of War upon Henry Stimson's resignation in 1945. The Times also noted that Amberg and Patterson were Harvard Law School classmates who worked together as editors of the Harvard Law Review.¹⁰⁸

These connections, all found in readily available library reference materials, place Julius Amberg at the heart of the McCloy ambit. According to Isaacson and Thomas, John J. McCloy and Robert Lovett, described by Henry Stimson as the "Imps of Satan," had two other co-assistants in the War Department. The first was Harvey Bundy, Stimson's "personal assistant and aide-de-camp." Bundy was a Yale Skull and Bones man and father of

¹⁰⁷National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 39, s.v. "Amberg, Julius Houseman, lawyer." On McCloy's Frankfurter and Stimson connections, see Bird, The Chairman, Chapters 3 and 7.

¹⁰⁸Julius Amberg obituary, New York Times, 25 January 1951.

future JFK advisers William and McGeorge Bundy. The younger Bundys "in their own time would become heirs to the Stimsonian tradition." The second was Robert Patterson, whose task in the War Department was to "procure equipment." Patterson was "a lawyer and former judge who wore the belt of a German soldier he had killed during World War I as a constant reminder of the critical nature of his work." Like McCloy and Lovett, Bundy and Patterson helped "set the bipartisan tone for the postwar period."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Isaacson and Thomas, The Wise Men, pp. 191-192. Today the Bundy name is synonymous with the Eastern Establishment. Harvey Bundy, however, was a native of Grand Rapids, Michigan. He was born in 1888, just two years before future War Department colleague Julius Amberg. Bundy attended the Hackley School in Tarrytown, N.Y., finished Yale in 1909, and received his Harvard LL.B. in 1914. After a Supreme Court clerkship with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bundy joined a Boston law firm and married the senior partner's daughter. "Urbane, scholarly, and erudite, Bundy began a successful legal practice that was interrupted by calls to government service." He served in such Progressive-era bureaucracies as the Food Administration and the Sugar Equalization Board where he "earned a reputation for quiet, intelligent, and adroit administration, and became familiar with complex economic matters." In 1931 Henry Stimson, then Secretary of State under Hoover, appointed Bundy as assistant secretary and the two "developed a close and lasting relationship." In 1941, Stimson, by now FDR's Secretary of War, called Bundy to the War Department. Stimson "relied heavily on Bundy for advice on the most urgent administrative, personnel, and policy matters." According to the DAB, Bundy "exerted considerable influence through his involvement in sensitive matters and his closeness with the secretary." Bundy was also described as a "prime mover in coordinating the rapid development of scientific projects, in particular, the atom bomb." See Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 7, s.v.

"Bundy, Harvey Hollister (Mar. 30, 1888 - Oct. 7, 1963), lawyer, assistant secretary of state, and special assistant to the secretary of war." After World War II, Bundy served as director of the World Peace Foundation. From 1952 to 1958 he was chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, succeeding John Foster Dulles. See Harvey H. Bundy obituary, New York Times, 8 October 1963. Two of Harvey Bundy's sons rose to prominence in the Kennedy inner circle. McGeorge Bundy was a Yale man, Class of 1940. He joined JFK in 1961 as "special assistant to the President for national security." He was a political analyst for the Council on Foreign Relations from 1948 to 1949. In 1949 he joined the political science faculty at Harvard and remained there until 1961. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Bundy, McGeorge, govt. ofcl." William Bundy finished Yale in 1939. He joined JFK in 1961 as "deputy assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs." He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See WWA, 1964-1965, s.v. "Bundy, William Putnam, govt. ofcl." The Bundy family had very close relations with the "Wise Men." According to Isaacson and Thomas, "when [Dean] Acheson's daughter Mary married Harvey Bundy's son Bill, it was Jack and Ellen McCloy who hosted the wedding breakfast." See The Wise Men, p. 193. In addition, a Bundy sister, Katherine, was Mrs. Hugh D. Auchincloss, Jr. As such she was "related by marriage to Jacqueline Kennedy." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1962, s.v. "Bundy, McGeorge Mar. 30, 1919 - United States government official; author; educator." McGeorge Bundy's 1962 CBY write-up also described him as part of a "small coterie of insiders" known as "the unofficial cabinet of President John F. Kennedy." Recall that McGeorge Bundy was a close associate of Gerald Ford's Yale Law School classmate Cyrus R. Vance. Robert P. Patterson was born in Glen Falls, N.Y., in 1891. He finished Union College with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1912. Upon completion of his Harvard law degree he joined the law firm headed by pioneer internationalists Elihu Root and Grenville Clark. World War I quickly interrupted Patterson's law career. He joined up early, serving first in Pershing's 1916 campaign against Pancho Villa. He later attended the Plattsburgh training camp before going to France as an artillery officer in 1917. He earned a Distinguished Service Cross and promotion to major before his discharge in 1919. Between the wars, Patterson founded his own law firm and was appointed to judgeships by both Hoover and Roosevelt. Patterson resigned from the bench in July 1940, a full eighteen months before Pearl Harbor, to become undersecretary of war under Stimson, then seventy-two years old.

Association with Harvey Bundy and Robert Patterson placed Julius Amberg within an elite circle. In short, the Grand Rapids-born Amberg was a high level functionary in the Establishment-dominated War Department. In 1948, as the ranking partner in the firm of Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg, he played a crucial role in Gerald Ford's first campaign for Congress.

Closer examination of Grand Rapids reveals that it was not a political backwater. In 1948 the city provided the backdrop for significant Cold War developments and it was within this

Patterson "keenly felt the need to prepare for war and worked hard to achieve that goal." Like McCloy and Lovett, Patterson was a staunch advocate for an all-out American war effort. He "supported increased production by streamlining contracts for expansion of facilities, and by shelving the cautious, legalistic approach of peacetime in favor of rapid buildup." At war's end, Truman offered Patterson a position on the Supreme Court. Patterson chose instead to succeed Stimson as Secretary of War. He served until 1947 and resigned to resume the practice of law. Patterson died in a plane crash in Elizabeth, N.J., in 1952. He was president of the Council on Foreign Relations. See DAB, Supplement 5, s.v. "Patterson, Robert Porter (Feb. 12, 1891 - Jan. 22., 1952), lawyer, judge, and secretary of war." At his death Patterson was described as "the strong right arm of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson." The New York Times hailed Patterson as a statesman whose "voice was raised many times to call for universal military training and to ask that the Western democracies form a genuine political and economic union." In addition to heading up the Council on Foreign Relations, Patterson was president of Freedom House. See Robert P. Patterson obituary, New York Times, 23 January 1952. Among those associated with Freedom House were such internationalist leading lights as Wendell Willkie and Eleanor Roosevelt. See Elsworth Barnard, Wendell Willkie: Fighter for Freedom (Marquette, Michigan: Northern Michigan University Press, 1966), p. 337; Donald Bruce Johnson, The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 250.

milieu that Gerald Ford entered national politics. Ford established a routine in which the practice of law quickly took a back seat to his political aspirations. By his own account a "compulsive joiner," Ford plunged into community affairs and began gearing up for a Congressional campaign against Michigan's entrenched Republicans. Ford maintains that he relished the opportunity to take on the now-familiar twin bogeys of the GOP: the "well-oiled machine," and Old Guard isolationism. The machine boss was a "crusty old millionaire" named Frank D. McKay. "A strong believer in patronage, he was powerful, arrogant, and dictatorial." McKay's man in Michigan's Fifth District was Congressman Bartel J. Jonkman, "a fervent isolationist . . . doing everything he could to torpedo constructive foreign aid legislation." Jonkman was first elected to Congress in 1940 and had become the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Ford, defying Jonkman's solid position within the Michigan Dutch community, announced his candidacy in June 1948, just before the filing deadline.¹¹⁰

In his memoir, Ford suggests that he developed internationalist sentiments on his own and that he sought to unseat the isolationist Jonkman as the first step in a political

¹¹⁰Ford, A Time to Heal, pp. 62-65.

career. Before the war, he wrote, "I'd been an isolationist. Indeed, while at Yale, I had expressed the view that the U.S. ought to avoid entangling alliances abroad. But now I had become an ardent internationalist. My wartime experiences had given me an entirely new perspective."¹¹¹ In his campaign, Ford ignored local issues and concentrated instead on foreign policy.

TerHorst's assessment was similar. Ford's "long months overseas had made it philosophically impossible for him to slip back comfortably into the isolationism that still characterized western Michigan's conservative outlook on the world." TerHorst, however, suggests that Ford was part of a wider effort to unseat a Congressman deemed unacceptable to the Establishment. As an aspiring politician, Ford must have been aware of the career of Michigan Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who "had made a dramatic switch from isolationism to internationalism during World War II." As an undoubtedly astute observer, Ford could hardly have failed to notice the enormous political benefits of foreign policy bipartisanship.

Arthur Vandenberg, a Republican and a native of Grand Rapids, took a leading role in the establishment of the UN and provided crucial GOP support for the Truman Doctrine. By 1948 Senator Vandenberg and Congressman Jonkman were locked in a

¹¹¹Ibid. p. 61.

spirited intrastate battle over the future of American foreign policy. To Vandenberg's horror, and to the intense interest of radio listeners and newspaper readers in Michigan, Jonkman assailed the Marshall Plan as a "boondoggle" and "a flagrant waste of tax dollars, likely to be subverted by socialistic leaders in Britain, Germany, and France." To Jonkman, the Marshall Plan was "a colossal monument to fuzzy thinkers in the White House, the State Department, and Congress." Thus, TerHorst maintains, Vandenberg, from a discreet distance, began the search for a candidate to run against Bartel Jonkman. That candidate was, of course, Yale Law School graduate and Navy combat veteran Gerald R. Ford.^{112\}

¹¹²TerHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 14-15. Arthur H. Vandenberg was born in Grand Rapids in 1884, the same year as Bartel Jonkman. Vandenberg began the study of law at the University of Michigan in 1901 but left after a year to take a job as office boy at the Grand Rapids Herald. He soon rose to editor and served in that capacity until 1928. In the latter year Vandenberg was appointed to a vacant seat in the U.S. Senate. He won the 1928 election and remained in the Senate until his death in 1951. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 3, s.v. "Vandenberg, Arthur Hendrick, senator." Few public figures have made such an abrupt and highly-acclaimed about-face on core political principles. In 1940 Vandenberg's philosophy was described as "natural Midwest isolationism." In this vein, the Senator from Michigan "accused the New Deal of jeopardizing the nation's peace by meddling internationally where it is none of our concern." He also opposed the 1940 selective service act. "Say what you please . . . something precious goes out of the American way of life and something sinister takes its place under conscription." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1940, s.v. "Vandenberg, Arthur Hendrick Mar. 22, 1884 - United States

The year 1948 was pivotal in the political life of Gerald Ford. His election to Congress in that year launched him on his

Senator from Michigan." By 1948 Vandenberg was "credited by many observers with having taken politics out of American foreign policy." Vandenberg's January 1945 address to the Senate "renouncing his isolationism has come to be regarded as one of the most celebrated speeches in American history because [unlike the Republican-led sinking of the League of Nations] it was the first signal that there would be no Republican opposition to President Roosevelt's plan for a United Nations organization." Vandenberg's switch was described as "bipartisan unity and . . . high level statesmanship." In 1948 Vandenberg was an enthusiastic supporter of the GOP ticket that included Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren, then governor of California. See CBY, 1948, s.v. "Vandenberg, Arthur H(endrick) Mar. 22, 1884 - United States Senator from Michigan." At his death in 1951, the New York Times noted the vast political significance of Vandenberg's reversal. "Many Senators, more on the isolationist side than he had been, found it possible to shift their positions, without loss of face, after the action of the Michigan Senator." See Arthur H. Vandenberg obituary, New York Times, 19 April 1951. In an editorial in the same edition, the Times praised Vandenberg's "uncanny sense of timing" in which "he switched in 1945 at precisely the moment of national decision, when his conversion had maximum political effect." Arthur Vandenberg's public conversion to internationalism should be no surprise, given his status as a career politician. In 1940 he was described as a "trimmer," an "opportunist," a "liberal conservative," and as one who "stood squarely on both sides of every issue of the past ten years." See CBY, 1940. Later, Vandenberg denied being a "straddler" and maintained that his "lifelong role" had been "to resolve opposing extremes into workable government." See CBY, 1948. According to Isaacson and Thomas, "Wise Man" Dean Acheson played a role in the effort to turn Vandenberg. Early on, Acheson saw Vandenberg as "just emerging from his isolationist chrysalis" and learning "to manage his new wings." For Acheson, Vandenberg's "long day's journey into our times" was completed with the "dramatic confession on the Senate floor of the errors of isolationism and [Vandenberg's] realization that our oceans have ceased to be moats which automatically protect our ramparts." See The Wise Men, p. 220.

journey as a career politician. Ford remained in the House of Representatives for a quarter century. In his 1948 election to Michigan's Fifth District, Ford clearly was the Establishment's man. Here party label meant nothing as both Republicans and Democrats exerted influence on his behalf. Gerald Ford helped to push aside an incumbent who dared to challenge America's Cold War orthodoxy. But, in a prelude to the coming "McCarthy Era," Bartel Jonkman was a doubly dangerous man. He was not simply an "isolationist." Jonkman also led a public effort to remove communists from the State Department. With the assistance of powerful Establishment mentors, Gerald Ford won the seat in Congress and forced Jonkman into retirement. The year was also pivotal in Gerald Ford's personal life. Despite the whirlwind of activity associated with his first run for Congress, Ford paused long enough to get married. His new wife, Betty, became his lifelong political helpmate. With Betty stoically tending the home fires, Ford worked his way through the ranks of the House. He carefully built a solid bipartisan resume and by 1964 was in a perfect position to claim the highest of Establishment honors -- a place on the Warren Commission.

Gerald Ford's 1948 Congressional campaign is a case study in Rothbard's dreaded duopoly. The GOP contingent itself spanned the political spectrum and included the professionals and business people most often identified with the post-World

War II Republican Party. Impatient with the McKay-Jonkman Old Guard, they flocked to Ford's standard.³³⁹-A Among Gerald Ford's Republican supporters in Grand Rapids was an Establishment-connected lawyer named John B. Martin, a Rhodes scholar with extensive government service in Washington.³³⁹ More significant,

³³⁹-A William A. Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford: Anti-Bossism, Internationalism, and the Congressional Campaign of 1948," Presidential Studies Quarterly, Winter 1990, pp. 127-142. This academic study stresses Gerald Ford's reform activism, supposedly nurtured in the 1940 GOP campaign. Eight years later "the reform impulses learned in Jerry Ford's initial political experience with the Willkie presidential campaign of 1940 still burned bright." Syers, pp. 131-132. Presidential Studies Quarterly is the journal of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. Among the forty-four scholars listed on the masthead of the Winter 1990 edition is historian Henry F. Graff. Professor Graff earned his B.S. in Social Studies at New York's City College in 1941 and completed an A.M. at Columbia University in 1942. From 1942-46 Graff served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army and earned a citation from the McCloy-era War Department. After his wartime service, Graff returned to Columbia, completed his doctorate, and remained at that institution until his retirement in 1991. From 1993 to 1998 Graff served on the JFK Assassination Records Review Board. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See Who's Who in America, 2000, s.v. "Graff, Henry Franklin, historian, educator." Another biographical write-up lists Graff's military service as "U.S. Army, Security Agency, 1942-1946." See Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, Volume 17, s.v. "Graff, Henry F(ranklin)1921-."

³³⁹terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 17-18. Though a Republican, Martin had an Oxford background and served with staunch Democrats in the New Deal. Martin was born in Grand Rapids in 1909. He finished Dartmouth in 1931 and earned a Litt.B. from Oxford in 1933 before completing law school at the University of Michigan in 1936. That same year he served as legal secretary to the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, James M. Landis. Martin followed Landis to the National Office of Civilian Defense and returned to Grand Rapids in 1946 to

practice law. In the following decade Martin emerged as a leader in the Michigan GOP. In 1957 he was appointed to the Republican National Committee. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Martin, John Butlin, lawyer." Martin later boosted Ford for the vice-presidency in 1960. See terHorst, p. 73. John B. Martin was among the thousands lured to Washington by the New Deal. According to the biographer of SEC chairman Joseph P. Kennedy, "a concerted effort was made by the [SEC] commissioners to attract able young men, accountants and attorneys, to the government service. Kennedy was always known for the unusual competence of the men under him; his underlings at the SEC attest to it." See Koskoff, Joseph P. Kennedy: A Life and Times, p. 62. James M. Landis, immediate successor to Joseph P. Kennedy at the SEC, provides a link both to the McCloy ambit and the Kennedy family inner circle. According to William O. Douglas, former office mate of John J. McCloy at the Cravath firm, SEC member, and U.S. Supreme Court justice, Landis was "a protégé of Frankfurter," and "was long a protégé of Joe Kennedy." See William O. Douglas, Go East Young Man, The Early Years: The Autobiography of William O. Douglas (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 263. Landis was born in Japan in 1899, the son of a Presbyterian missionary. He graduated at the top of his class at both Princeton in 1921 and Harvard Law School in 1924. He served in 1926 as secretary to Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis before returning to Harvard as a law professor. At Harvard Landis collaborated on legal research with McCloy mentor Felix Frankfurter. Brought to Washington in 1933 as a member of FDR's Brain Trust, Landis drafted the legislation for what became the SEC. He emerged as "a leader in the group of young lawyers and journalists who used to meet . . . and talk late and early of the New Deal and its problems. The public knew him as one of Frankfurter's little hot dogs." Landis held the SEC chairmanship from 1935 to 1937. For Landis, the SEC was "both a crackdown and a cooperating agency, depending on the circumstances." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1942, s.v. "Landis, James M(cCauley) Sept. 25, 1899 - Director of the Office of Civilian Defense; dean of the Harvard Law School." Joseph P. Kennedy pioneered the bipartisanship that became the post-World War II political norm. Universally lambasted as an archconservative, he nonetheless had little difficulty working with such New Deal types as Landis. Kennedy was described as a "competent man with common sense." Thus, "because there was nothing doctrinaire about him, Kennedy was generally able to work for the common goal in harmony with those who had different philosophical orientation." Kennedy "always had friends of widely differing political opinions" and

however, were the Democrats who threw their support behind Gerald Ford. These included A. Robert Kliener, a Grand Rapids attorney with a reputation as an "ardent liberal Democrat," and, of course, Julius Amberg.³⁴⁰

Julius Amberg cut an impressive figure in the political circles of western Michigan. Described by terHorst as "a very formidable man," Amberg was "as brilliant as he was prosperous. For years, he held the highest academic record in the history of Harvard Law School." The Grand Rapids legal fraternity "marveled at the functioning of his facile mind, his lightning grasp of the complicated points of law, and the ease with which he expressed himself."¹¹³ From terHorst's account, it was Julius Amberg who "summoned the most junior member of his firm to talk about running for Congress." Here Amberg told Ford "that he felt it very important that someone like Jonkman be beaten and retired."¹¹⁴ Ford himself put Amberg's position even more

"was equally at ease with the men he attacked politically." Koskoff, pp. 71, 86. Landis later edited Joseph Kennedy's diplomatic papers for a proposed volume of the ambassador's memoirs. "The project was abandoned short of completion . . . because [Landis] concluded that publication would cause [political] embarrassment to John Kennedy." Koskoff, p. 514.

³⁴⁰terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 17, 21.

¹¹³Ibid. , pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

bluntly, writing later that "Amberg despised Jonkman's isolationist views. He wanted Jonkman out of there."¹¹⁵ In an episode that further blurs the distinctions between America's mainstream political parties, Julius Amberg, Democrat, offered Gerald Ford, Republican, a full-time salary for part-time work, requiring the candidate to put in just one hour per day at Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg. Ford did not waste this opportunity. He campaigned like a man possessed, and was "on the trail from early morning until late at night, up and down the two counties of the Fifth District."¹¹⁶

Other Democrats with a keen interest in the anti-Jonkman campaign were prominent labor union officials who, in supporting Ford, also ignored traditional party labels. Ford himself had noted that the burgeoning labor movement had transformed the political climate of his home state. Upon returning to Michigan after World War II, he saw that "Grand Rapids had changed significantly" and that "labor unions were attracting new

¹¹⁵Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 66.

¹¹⁶terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 20, 50. Syers presents conflicting information on Ford's decision to run in the 1948 campaign. First is his statement from Phil Buchen that "Jerry had been harboring electoral ambitions as early as '46" in response to Jonkman's isolationism. Syers later quotes terHorst who states that Ford "was asked to run against Jonkman." See Syers, pp. 131-132. Syers makes no reference as to who did the asking. He does not mention Julius Amberg or the Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg law firm in this article.

members and becoming a potent force."¹¹⁷ In Michigan the most potent force in the labor movement was the United Auto Workers union. The UAW's man in Grand Rapids was Leonard Woodcock, who in 1948 was director of the union's Region 1D, an area that covered all of western Michigan.¹¹⁸ In his memoir, Ford wrote that Jonkman "alienated Woodcock" and "Woodcock and his men decided to support me."¹¹⁹ According to Syers, Michigan was a "solidly Republican state." Democrats were "so limited that organized labor groups were in the habit of endorsing a candidate in the Republican primary." Ford also benefited from an open primary system that allowed crossover voting. Party label mattered little in this circumstance because Ford "could get the votes of a lot of labor people from the auto plants in Grand Rapids and other Democrats."^{347-A}

Gerald Ford's association with labor leaders runs directly counter to his later conservative reputation. Here, in an experience similar to that of Hale Boggs a decade earlier,

¹¹⁷Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 61.

¹¹⁸Current Biography Yearbook, 1970, s.v. "Woodcock, Leonard (Freel) Feb. 15, 1911 - Labor union official."

¹¹⁹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 67.

^{347-A} Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford," p. 132. Syers discusses "organized labor groups" and "labor people" but never mentions either the UAW or Leonard Woodcock.

Gerald Ford found himself in the company of America's leftist elite. By 1948, Leonard Woodcock had spent nearly two decades as a front-line labor union activist and had compiled an extraordinary resume. Woodcock was born in Rhode Island in 1911. His father, a millwright, took his family to England and Germany where he supervised the installation of factory machinery. The elder Woodcock sent his son to British schools, "including Chipsey, a prep school ranking a cut below Eton." The family returned from Europe in 1926. Leonard Woodcock later entered Detroit's Wayne State University but broke off his studies in 1933 to take a job as a mechanic in an auto assembly plant. For Woodcock, and a host of others, the actual assembly of automobiles became a secondary concern. He entered the ranks of labor activism, joined the UAW, and by 1940 was on the union's payroll as a staff member in the Grand Rapids regional office. In 1946 Woodcock was named first administrative assistant to UAW founder Walter Reuther. The following year Woodcock was elected director of UAW Region 1D, where he remained until 1955.¹²⁰

¹²⁰CBY, 1970. Leonard Woodcock spent most of his career as acolyte to Walter Reuther who, with his brother Victor Reuther, was one of the prime movers in American labor. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Reuther, Victor G., labor union exec.;" s.v. "Reuther, Walter Philip, labor leader." The two received early indoctrination from their father, a West Virginia

union man. "To me," he once wrote to them, "socialism is the star of hope that lights the way" and "unless you boys would at least . . . recognize the existence of a class struggle and take your place on the side of labor politically, I should be keenly disappointed." See Victor G. Reuther, The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW: A Memoir (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), p. 62. The Reuther boys did not disappoint their father. They began their labor union activity in 1930 while students at Detroit City College. Here Walter, in particular, "got all steamed up about the Socialist movement." As a result, the brothers organized a housing cooperative for working students. Victor cooked and cleaned house while Walter worked as a machinist at Ford Motor Company. Through their activity they formed a lasting friendship with Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas. Later they founded a Social Problems Club and with this group "sought and obtained affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy, which actually had its roots as a campus service organization [in] 1905, when it was called the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists. The name was changed in 1921," wrote Victor, "because of American antipathy to the Russian Revolution." See Brothers, pp. 57, 59. At this early stage, the Reuthers concluded that capitalism "was a dying social order." From this they developed their lifelong core philosophy. In a rude parody of the Gettysburg Address, they mocked a nation "conceived of the policies of laissez-faire and dedicated to the proposition that private profit is the sole incentive to progress. Now we are engaged in a great economic struggle, testing whether this nation or any other nation so deceived and so dedicated to rugged individualism can long endure." See Brothers, p. 62. During the 1932 election, they stumped for Norman Thomas, not FDR, seeing the former's campaign as a training ground for "trade union and political battles ahead." According to Victor, Walter's activism cost him his job at Ford. The brothers then spent the next two years on a bicycle tour of Europe and Asia. In an example of sublime historical irony, this world tour included sixteen months working in a Ford Motor Company plant in Gorky. The Gorky plant produced the Model T, discontinued in the U.S., with machines sent lock, stock, and barrel to Soviet Russia. See Brothers, p. 66. According to Walter Reuther's final write-up in Who's Who, the brothers left the Soviet Union and returned to the U.S. "to organize auto workers." See WWA, 1970-1971. Over a lifetime of union work, the Reuther brothers gained international reputations. They were founding members of the Committee (later Congress) of Industrial Organizations, which Victor maintained was an outgrowth of an

organization called the Socialist Auto Council. See Brothers, p. 125. Of the two, it was Walter that assumed the most prominent role, especially in his leadership of the famous sit-down strikes of the 1930s. Photographs of his beating by Ford Motor Company "goons" were widely published and made Reuther almost synonymous with the labor turmoil of the Great Depression. His sit-down strikes -- flagrant violations of the property rights of auto manufacturers -- were hailed as revolutionary and were ultimately successful in making the UAW a permanent fixture in U.S. industry. By 1949, however, Reuther had softened his left wing stance. He denounced Communist Party influence in the UAW and allowed his membership in the Socialist Party to lapse. Nonetheless, he advocated "an increasingly mixed economy as the pattern of the American future -- a society where there is a far wider degree of public ownership but in which no wholesale liquidation of private industry is contemplated." To Reuther, "the mixture" would depend on "the social responsibility of industry." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, s.v. Reuther, Walter (Philip) Sept. 1, 1907 - Labor union official." Walter Reuther's real struggle, however, came against rival unionists. In the drive for absolute power within the UAW, he fought with the Communist Party and the more conservative American Federation of Labor, which eventually merged with the CIO in 1955. Here Reuther proved to be a public relations genius. He ultimately drove out his union rivals and at the same time gained an invaluable reputation in the press as an "anti-communist." See CBY, 1941, s.v. "Reuther, Walter (Philip) Sept. 1, 1907 - Director of General Motors Department of the United Automobile Workers of America." Walter Reuther was a forthright advocate of the welfare-warfare state. In December 1940, a full year before Pearl Harbor, he called for all-out war production as an antidote for Depression-era unemployment. He suggested converting auto assembly plants into aircraft factories. "If the idle men and the idle machines . . . were fully mobilized and private interests temporarily subordinated, we could turn out 500 modern planes a day." See CBY, 1941. Reuther believed that the labor movement played a wide-ranging role in society. Unions "should attempt to integrate the problems of the factory worker with those of the rest of the community." See CBY, 1949. He further held that "the theory that a union's only job was to raise wages and improve working conditions was obsolete. Through the years he was busy with production and pricing problems, consumer projects, cooperative movements, civil rights, politics, and world affairs, all of which he believed were the legitimate concerns of a modern union." He died in 1970, to an

No ordinary working stiff, Leonard Woodcock moved easily within Establishment circles. In 1955 he was elected to an international vice-presidency within the UAW. Here, in a dark suit, white shirt, and necktie -- and with traces of a British accent -- Woodcock ran the union's General Motors division. He also headed the UAW's aerospace department, an area that included Cyrus Vance and Najeeb Halaby, Harvard Law School classmates of Congressman Gerald R. Ford. Under Reuther's guidance, Woodcock wrung numerous concessions from the auto industry in the areas of remuneration and benefits. By the 1960s he had won a union-shop arrangement for aerospace workers. Along the way, he gained the attention of the Kennedy White

international outpouring of grief, when his private plane crashed near Detroit. See Walter Reuther obituary, New York Times, 11 May 1970. A same-day editorial hailed Reuther as the man "principally responsible for making [the UAW both] . . . economically powerful [and] a fountainhead of beneficial ideas for all labor." Despite his renunciation of communism, Reuther never disavowed the central tenets of socialism. "If fighting for a more equal and equitable distribution of the wealth of this country is socialistic," he said, "I stand guilty of being a Socialist." See New York Times, 11 May 1970. Later, friends and associates held a memorial service at the Washington National Cathedral. The service concluded with the singing of the radical anthem "Joe Hill." Among those delivering personal tributes was retired Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren. See Brothers, p. 470. It was within this leftist trade union milieu that Leonard Woodcock emerged as Walter Reuther's heir apparent. By 1970 he was the leading candidate for the UAW's top job. Woodcock, after a brief power struggle, was elected president of the UAW on 22 May 1970. He "immediately pledged that the UAW's direction -- for social causes and economic goals -- would not change." See New York Times, 23 May 1970.

House. In 1961 JFK offered him several ambassadorial posts and sub-cabinet positions in the new Administration. Woodcock, however, declined the offers, choosing instead to remain a full-time union man.¹²¹

Having Leonard Woodcock on board his initial campaign gave Gerald Ford untold political clout. Circumstances in Michigan Rapids had changed, indeed. By 1948 the Great Lakes State was the UAW's home base, if not its thoroughly entrenched fiefdom. As perhaps the prime example of Big Labor, the UAW was a solid member of the coalition welded into place by the New Deal. With the support of "Leonard Woodcock and his men," Gerald Ford had the backing of Michigan's most powerful constituency.

Julius Amberg and Leonard Woodcock did more than simply elect Gerald Ford to Congress and send Bartel Jonkman into early

¹²¹CBY, 1970. As to Woodcock's own political leanings, Victor Reuther described him as one of a cadre of "militant trade unionists" within the UAW's "socialist component." Here Woodcock "and many others were affiliated with the Socialist Party." See Brothers, p. 188. According to Syers, Bartel Jonkman did not exploit Ford's UAW connection until very late in the 1948 campaign. "In a surprise move on the eve of the election," Jonkman "suggested that Ford was an errand boy for the forces of organized labor and urged the voters to support him [Jonkman] if they didn't want the CIO to run the Fifth Congressional District." This, however, was to no avail. Ford, "allowed to bask in the shadow [sic] of the popular Senator Vandenberg," was not harmed by Jonkman's "wily assortment of smear tactics" and "questionable personal attacks." Revealing his own bias, Syers describes Jonkman only in negative terms, such as "McKay henchman" and "hanger-on." See Syers, pp. 131, 135-136.

retirement. They also rid Congress of a "McCarthyite" who predated the advent of Joe McCarthy by two full years. Further examination of Jonkman's career reveals that "isolationism" was not his only political liability. In a situation equally irksome to the Establishment, Jonkman had focused his attention on the issue of communism within the U.S. government, specifically targeting the State Department.¹²² According to the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Jonkman made frequent speeches declaring his fear "that the U.S Department of State was exercising insufficient vigilance with regard to the infiltration of members of the Communist Party, or of persons under its influence, into the department."¹²³ Jonkman, it

¹²²American liberals spent decades discrediting opponents of domestic communism. In his memoirs, Victor Reuther included an appendix in the form a memo to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Entitled "The Radical Right in America Today," the memo urged the Kennedy Administration to crack down on "radical right organizations" which claimed that "the danger to America is domestic Communism." According to the Reuther memo, "what are needed are deliberate Administration policies to contain the radical right from further expansion and in the long run to reduce it to its historic role [on] the impotent lunatic fringe." See Brothers, pp. 493-494. Emphasis added.

¹²³See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 46, s.v. "Jonkman, Bartel, lawyer and congressman." In 1948 Bartel Jonkman, pronounced Yunk-mon, seemed to have a safe seat in Congress. He came from solid Dutch stock and was Old Guard GOP. Jonkman was born in 1884, the son of a clergyman who had settled in Grand Rapids in 1882. After receiving his LL.B. at the University of Michigan in 1914, Jonkman alternated between private law practice and service as an elected prosecutor in

appears, had little company in these early efforts. He "was eventually appointed as a committee of one to look into the matter." Jonkman avoided grandstanding but by the time of the 1948 Michigan GOP primary "the issue had been sensationalized by others, who, in his opinion, were arousing an unreasonable public reaction to the problem, and, in consequence, he worked to achieve a satisfactory resolution in such a way as to avoid unnecessary publicity."¹²⁴

Gerald Ford's 1948 election to Congress must be examined within the context of developments taking place at the national level. The cryptic allusions in Bartel Jonkman's NCAB write-up belie the fervid public debate on communism during the 1948

Grand Rapids. He won his seat in Congress in 1940. When Jonkman arrived in Washington as a freshman Congressman in 1941, the GOP constituted a distinct minority. Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 106 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee before his 1948 defeat. See NCAB, Volume 46.

¹²⁴Ibid. By late summer 1948 Jonkman himself seemed to backpedal on the issue. He declared the State Department free from communists and credited Assistant Secretary of State John E. Peurifoy with rooting out 134 employees suspected of disloyalty. See New York Times, 3 August 1948. This was just one day before the eruption of the celebrated Hiss Case. Even those observers not entirely hostile to McCarthy ridiculed Jonkman's efforts to fight domestic communism. See William F. Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and It's Meaning (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954), pp. 13, 19. Buckley and Bozell described Jonkman's 1948 statement declaring the State Department free of communists as "amusing." See p. 164.

campaign season. Among those working to sensationalize the issue and arouse public reaction was Richard M. Nixon. The California Congressman was a central figure in the celebrated Hiss Case, in which Alger Hiss, a New Dealer and Establishment stalwart, was accused of being a communist agent. Hiss's accuser was Whittaker Chambers, then senior editor at Time, and himself a confessed former communist. The Hiss story broke on 4 August 1948 and remained front page news into the second week of September.^{352-A} After a dramatic and highly publicized confrontation largely orchestrated by Nixon, Alger Hiss went on trial for perjury. According to Chambers biographer Sam Tanenhaus, the Hiss trial was "a referendum on the political changes sweeping through the nation. Hiss was on trial, but so were the New Deal and Yalta, and so were Chambers and the feverish hunt for Reds."^{352-B} Both terHorst and Ford ignore the

^{352-A} New York Times, 4 August 1948 and August-September 1948, *passim*. In his biography, terHorst ignores the Hiss Case. Ford mentions Alger Hiss only in a passing reference. See A Time to Heal, p. 69.

^{352-B} Sam Tanenhaus, Whittaker Chambers: A Biography (New York: The Modern Library, 1998), p. 351. Tanenhaus received an Establishment imprimatur from historian Arthur Schlesinger. In a New York Times review, Schlesinger described Tanenhaus's approach to Chambers as "sympathetic but not hagiographic. . . . His book will not please all readers, but even the remaining defenders of Alger Hiss must acknowledge it, I believe, as a serious and absorbing work." See Book Review Digest, 1997, s.v. "Tanenhaus, Sam."

Hiss Case which the New York Times described as "one of the most dramatic and anger-provoking in the country's history."^{352-C}

Alger Hiss was tried twice. His first trial ended in a hung jury. Hiss was convicted of perjury in a second trial in 1950 and served forty-four months in prison. Nearly a half-century later the New York Times maintained that the Hiss Case "catapulted Richard M. Nixon to national attention and helped lay the groundwork for McCarthyism." Alger Hiss maintained his innocence for the rest of his life. He died in 1996 at the age of ninety-two.^{352-D}

^{352-C} See Whittaker Chambers obituary, New York Times, 12 July 1961.

^{352-D} See Alger Hiss obituary, New York Times, 16 November 1996. Despite having run roughshod over one of the brightest stars of the Establishment, Nixon's political career took off. Nixon, however, would never gain full acceptance from those who considered Alger Hiss an innocent victim. Gerald Ford, however, never exploited the domestic communism issue for personal gain. When Nixon's political downfall finally came, it was Ford who stepped into the White House. Elected to Congress on the red baiting issue, Nixon's "first Congressional action" was "the citation in February of 1947 of Gerhart Eisler for contempt of Congress." Eisler, described by Nixon as the "key man of the Communist Party in the United States," had refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Later, "Representative Nixon spent much of August 1948 participating in the Congressional investigation of Communist espionage in the United States, and it was he who insisted upon the confronting of Alger Hiss with Whittaker Chambers, as a means of determining who was committing perjury." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1948, s.v. "Nixon, Richard M. Jan. 9, 1913 - United States Representative for California; lawyer." Born in 1897, Gerhart Eisler was a Communist Party political commissar in Austria, Germany, China, and Spain. In 1933, Eisler "traveling under

forged passports, entered the United States. He reputedly became the top Communist agent in America." In 1947 Eisler received a one year jail sentence for contempt of Congress. He fled the U.S. in 1949 while his case was on appeal. See Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 8, s.v. "Eisler, Gerhart (Feb. 20, 1897 - Marr. 21, 1968), Soviet espionage agent and East German Communist party official." In 1952 Nixon was elected vice-president on the Republican ticket. Current Biography returned to chronicle his political success. "During his terms in the House, Nixon became nationally known for his work as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities" whose "stubborn persistence brought about the now-famous confrontation of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, which led to Hiss's conviction of perjury." See CBY, 1958, s.v. "Nixon, Richard M(ilhous) Jan. 9, 1913 - Vice-President of the United States; lawyer." Alger Hiss was the very embodiment of the Eastern Establishment and by 1948 he had compiled impeccable credentials. Hiss was born in Baltimore in 1904. He graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1926 and entered Harvard Law School. There "he attracted the attention of Felix Frankfurter." The professor adopted Hiss as his "protégé" and "recommended him for the much coveted post of secretary to Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes." In 1933, after private law practice in Boston and New York, Hiss entered "government service." Hiss spent the next fifteen years behind the scenes in various bureaucratic agencies. He served first from 1933-1935 as counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. After a brief stint at the Justice Department, Hiss joined the Department of State where he was clearly marked for future success. He served in low-profile but influential posts, mainly concerning Far Eastern affairs. In May 1944 Hiss joined the newly formed Office of Special Political Affairs, "which was responsible for the development and coordination of American policy with respect to the United Nations." Subsequently, Hiss was executive secretary at the Dumbarton Oaks conference that set up the UN. "All matters relating to the proposed United Nations security organization thus came under his supervision." Hiss was FDR's close assistant at the soon-to-be controversial Yalta conference in February 1945. At the UN's 1945 conference in San Francisco, Hiss served as secretary-general and personally hand delivered the UN Charter to the U.S. Senate for ratification. By now Hiss was head of the Office of Special Political Affairs, "which had, within three years, developed from a nucleus of experts to a staff of more than two hundred, one of the largest and most active offices of the State Department." In 1946 Hiss was

elected president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He used his position there to urge "that the endowment concentrate upon support of the United Nations by publicizing its objectives . . . and by recommending policy to the United States Government." See CBY, 1947, s.v. "Hiss, Alger Nov. 11, 1904 - Lawyer; peace organization president." The Hiss Case received considerable attention from the Establishment. McCloy mentor Felix Frankfurter, by then a Supreme Court Justice, testified as a character witness for Alger Hiss. "There was no precedent for Frankfurter's appearance, a member of the nation's highest tribunal taking the stand in a criminal trial." See Tanenhaus, pp. 374-375. Establishment lawyers appeared for both sides. At least three of these attorneys had ties to the McCloy ambit. Whittaker Chambers's employer, Henry R. Luce, hired Harold Medina, Jr., "of the prestigious firm of Cravath, Swain." See Tanenhaus, p. 224. The Hiss team brought in even bigger guns. Edward McLean, Alger's Harvard classmate, was a senior partner at the Rockefeller-affiliated firm of Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean. See Tanenhaus, p. 281. On the sidelines was Hiss's brother Donald, "an attorney at the prestigious Washington law firm of Covington & Burling." That firm supplied William Marbury, Alger's "long-time friend" and "a distinguished attorney and member of the five-man Harvard Corporation." Marbury stepped in "after Hiss's first choice, former Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson," also a Covington & Burling partner, "declined to appear." See Tanenhaus, pp. 224-225. Marbury was born in 1901 and earned his B.A. at the University of Virginia in 1921. After earning his Harvard LL.B. in 1924 he set up practice in Baltimore. During World War II, Marbury served five years in the McCloy-era War Department, first as "expert consultant" on procurement and then as chief counsel for the War Department's procurement program. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 9, s.v. "Marbury, William Luke, lawyer." See also New York Times, 3 April 1943. For his work in the War Department, Marbury received the Presidential Medal for Merit, "the nation's highest civilian award." See Tanenhaus, p. 281. Though he declined to appear as either character witness or trial counsel, Dean Acheson did not stay away from the Hiss case entirely. According to Isaacson and Thomas, "as a favor to Donald, Acheson . . . secretly helped Hiss prepare his defense before the House Un-American Activities Committee." See The Wise Men, p. 491.

Richard Nixon weathered the political turmoil of 1948 and numerous others throughout his career. He went on to the U.S. Senate and won the presidency in 1968. Nixon's Republican colleague Gerald Ford had equal political success. In 1948 Bartel Jonkman, however, could do little more than stare into his own political grave. Jonkman not only lost his seat in Congress, he was relegated to political obscurity, ousted by men with solid Establishment, internationalist, and leftist connections.¹²⁵ Of the four Grand Rapids men central to Gerald

¹²⁵Gerald Ford's 1948 campaign bears remarkable similarity to the 1946 election of Richard Nixon. Both men were hard driving and ambitious. Both signed on to defeat an incumbent that held a political stance anathema to the Establishment. Ford challenged Bartel Jonkman on the issue of isolationism. Less well-known are Jonkman's efforts to expose communists in the State Department. Similarly, Nixon's 1946 California Congressional campaign is remembered primarily for his unseemly willingness to "red bait" his way past popular Democratic incumbent Jerry Voorhis. In 1943 Voorhis published Out of Debt, Out of Danger. The book sharply criticized the Federal Reserve System, and, like Jonkman's short-lived quest to root out State Department communists, could well have been the real cause of Voorhis's political demise. Voorhis was born in 1901 in Ottawa, Kansas. He went East to attend Yale, where he earned his B.A., Phi Beta Kappa in 1923. After a YMCA-sponsored goodwill tour of Germany, Voorhis went to Illinois and Montana as a teacher of underprivileged boys. He returned to California where he earned an M.A. from Claremont College. "In the days before the New Deal, Mr. Voorhis was a registered Socialist, and he lectured on social problems at California's Pomona College" from 1930 to 1935. "In those days, he advocated nationalization of both industry and land -- although not the organization of collective farms or anything of the sort." Voorhis won his seat in Congress in 1936. In 1941, five years before Nixon's arrival on the scene, Voorhis downplayed his Socialist Party background. Perhaps sensing a shift in the political winds, he "explained

his former socialism" as "the only way I could vote my protest against the reactionary leadership of both major parties. I was never," he maintained, "a full fledged socialist, and Mr. Roosevelt has made it possible for me to be a Democrat with a clear conscience." According to Current Biography Yearbook, Voorhis "seemed to be a full fledged New Dealer at any rate." Ironically, Jerry Voorhis served, in the pre-McCarthy days, on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then chaired by Texas Congressman Martin Dies. There Voorhis "eschewed red baiting." But, "having come to [the Dies Committee] to check and scoff, the new member remained to respect the work, if not the chairman." In this period, Voorhis actually built up his own anti-communist bona fides. He favored the publication of membership lists of recognized political parties and advocated "deportation of aliens who preached giving fealty to any foreign government." See CBY, 1941, s.v. "Voorhis, Jerry April 6, 1901 - United States Representative from California." In his book, Out of Debt, Out of Danger, Voorhis called unwanted attention to the basic framework of fractional reserve banking. Here Voorhis emphasized the following principle: "No government any place, at any time, ever should borrow credit created by a private agency." See Out of Debt, p. 109. Voorhis also frankly pointed out a crucial fallacy of the Fed. "Millions of people believe [that the term] Federal Reserve Banks means what it says . . . but the central Federal Banks are private institutions." See Out of Debt, p. 152. Alarmed at the vast increase in American debt fueled by the massive war economy, Voorhis drafted legislation flatly stating that "no interest bearing obligations of the United States shall be sold to any bank or financial institution except for cash." See Out of Debt, p. 238. Such an arrangement would have upset not only the free spending economic climate of World War II, it would have hobbled the financial structure built and maintained by the Establishment. Voorhis, however, was no advocate of free banking. His proposed legislation called for continuation of the Federal Reserve System under direct government ownership. See Out of Debt, p. 237. Nonetheless, Voorhis had strayed into forbidden territory. From the Establishment point of view, he clearly had to go. Ousted by Richard Nixon in 1946, Jerry Voorhis spent the remainder of his career as an anti-Fed Cassandra. In 1947 he described his efforts in this regard as "My Big Crusade" and reiterated his trenchant argument against the Federal Reserve. See Confessions of a Congressman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1947; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: 1974), pp. 161-182. In this volume Voorhis described a speech he made on

Ford's 1948 election to Congress -- Arthur Vandenberg, Harvey Bundy, Julius Amberg, and Jonkman himself -- only Bartel Jonkman failed to rate a New York Times obituary. Gerald Ford, for his part, learned well the lessons of 1948. Fully aware of the power of those who helped elect him, and the issues that sank his opponent, Ford never strayed from his bipartisan, internationalist roots.

With the backing of Julius Amberg and Leonard Woodcock, Gerald Ford conducted his 1948 campaign with the deep self-assurance that comes with having powerful friends. When necessary, he employed the down home touch, milking cows while

the floor of the House in April 1940 in which he denounced the Fed's inflationary "open-market" operations. Voorhis maintained that he made the same argument in a brief meeting at the White House with FDR. See Confessions, pp. 173, 175. "In October 1945," he later wrote, "the representative of a large New York financial house made a trip to California." The representative "called on a number of influential people in southern California. And I know that he bawled them out . . . for permitting Jerry Voorhis . . . one of the most dangerous men in Washington, to continue to represent a part of the state of California in the House of Representatives. This . . . obviously had to do with my views and work for changes in the monetary system." See Confessions, p. 331. Twenty-five years later, Voorhis produced an anti-Nixon diatribe in time for the 1972 election. This volume, too, contains an amazingly frank assessment of the Fed. In this book, however, Voorhis attributes Nixon's 1946 victory and subsequent political success to the latter's skill at red baiting. See The Strange Case of Richard Milhous Nixon (New York: Paul S. Eriksson, Inc., 1972), pp. 3, 16. Jerry Voorhis died in 1984. At that time, the New York Times described the Nixon-Voorhis battle as a "vigorous campaign," but failed to mention either red baiting or Voorhis's lifelong

making the rounds of dairy farms in the Fifth District. He also revealed a shrewd appreciation for modern politics as he hammered away at his single issue -- Jonkman's alleged isolationism.¹²⁶ When Ford played up his status as a war veteran by constructing a Quonset hut as his Grand Rapid headquarters, the property owners, supporters of Bartel Jonkman, tried to have Ford evicted. Julius Amberg intervened, and the hut remained.¹²⁷

In the later stages of the 1948 campaign, Ford received another key boost from Democrats. According to his own account, "luck intervened on my behalf. President Truman called the Congress back into session. While Jonkman had to remain in Washington, I had an open field to run all over the district, turning up at plant gates, picnics and county fairs, shaking hands and making speeches everywhere I went."¹²⁸ The result was

campaign against the Federal Reserve. See Jerry Voorhis obituary, New York Times, 12 September 1984.

¹²⁶terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 1-4.

¹²⁷Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 66.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 65. Gerald Ford's "luck," of course, came in the form of human action. The special session of Congress "and much of the strategy of the 1948 [Democratic Party] campaign" was the work of a coterie of Truman advisers known as the Monday-Night Group. According to self-styled "Wise Man" Clark Clifford, these "sub-Cabinet level" men were "liberals . . . who felt that new circumstances required new solutions. They believed that the basic tenets of the New Deal should be adapted to the postwar environment, not abandoned." For the Monday-Night Group, pragmatism was the byword. Clifford noted in his memoirs

that "we did not include . . . professional liberals whose ardor and search for ideological purity outweighed their discretion and their judgement." See Clifford, Counsel to the President, pp. 84-85. The Monday-Night Group concocted the special session in order to jump start the then-ailing Truman presidential campaign. "We needed something," wrote Clifford, "to bring the [1948 Democratic National] convention to life and put pressure on the Republicans." The result was pure political genius. Truman's charge to the GOP-controlled 80th Congress was specifically designed to embarrass the Republicans. He told Congress to stop inflation, an impossible task given the very nature of the Federal Reserve System. Truman also told Congress to solve the postwar housing shortage, impossible due to such government-induced restrictions as rent control. This was an audacious political strategy. "Not since 1856 had an emergency session been called in a Presidential election year and . . . never before had a special session been introduced at a party convention." See Clifford, pp. 215, 223. Emphasis in the original. The special session fueled Harry Truman's now-legendary whistle-stop harangues against the "do-nothing" 80th Congress and helped bring about a complete reversal in the U.S House of Representatives. In 1948 the Republicans held a fifty-eight seat majority. In the 81st Congress, seated in January 1949, the Democrats enjoyed a ninety-eight seat advantage. Despite Clark Clifford's claim of pragmatism, the Monday-Night Group was comprised of men wholly dedicated to New Deal ideological purity. Clifford listed six men as members of the Monday-Night Group -- Oscar R. Ewing, Charles F. Brannon, C. Girard Davidson, Leon Keyserling, J. Donald Kingsley, and David Morse. See Clifford, p. 84. Of these, only Davidson cannot be located in readily available biographical sources. Oscar R. Ewing was the one who "decided that liberals within the [Truman] Administration needed some sort of informal network to discuss issues and influence policy." See Clifford, p. 84. Ewing finished Harvard Law School in 1913. He later served as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Ewing was the first head of the Federal Security Agency, later renamed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 7, s.v. "Ewing, Oscar Ross, lawyer, philanthropist." Charles F. Brannon, a "career man in Government service," was "one of the few New Dealers left in the Department of Agriculture." He was a native of Denver and earned his LL.B. at the University of Colorado in 1929. In the 1948 campaign he urged "farmers to guard against forces attempting to destroy Federal farm aid programs." See Current Biography Yearbook,

1948, s.v. "Brannon, Charles F(ranklin) Aug. 23, 1903 - United States Government official; lawyer." Clifford described Leon Keyserling as "the intellectual of our circle, a respected but refreshingly controversial economist." See Clifford, p. 85. Born in South Carolina, Keyserling was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Columbia University. He attended Harvard Law School and was admitted to the New York bar in 1931. Keyserling spent a year at the Rockefeller-endowed General Education Fund before joining the Columbia University economics faculty. After "participating in an interdepartmental course on social and industrial problems . . . he soon left for Washington as one of the glittering flight of bright young men." Keyserling landed at the newly-created Agricultural Adjustment Administration. He next joined the staff of Senator Robert Wagner and was instrumental in drafting the seminal National Labor Relations Act. In 1947 Keyserling's policy wish list included "voluntary price reductions, moderate wage adjustments upward, maintenance of rent control, expansion of social security and minimum wage legislation, a Government-aided housing program, a surplus of Government revenues over expenditures, and improved management-labor relations." Described as "admittedly brilliant," Keyserling advised Truman "to ask for [postwar] price controls, rationing, and wage controls." See CBY, 1947, s.v. "Keyserling, Leon H. Jan. 22, 1908 - United States Government official; economist; lawyer." J. Donald Kingsley was born in Cambridge, N.Y. He earned a Ph.D. in Public Administration from Syracuse University in 1933. He taught at Syracuse and spent 1936-1938 at the London School of Economics as a fellow of the Social Science Research Council. Dr. Kingsley greatly feared a postwar repudiation of the New Deal. His solution to this threat was the unabashed advocacy of even more Keynesian economic policies. Kingsley advised Truman "that government purchases used as a compensatory and stabilizing device would provide a flexible means of maintaining a given level of employment." Kingsley also served as U.S. representative to the International Labor Organization. See CBY, 1950, s.v. "Kingsley, J(ohn) Donald Feb. 25, 1908 - United Nations official." David A. Morse was a native of New York City. An All-American in football, Morse graduated from Rutgers University in 1929. He completed his LL.B. at Harvard Law School in 1932 and was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1933. Soon, however, Morse answered the siren song of the New Deal bureaucracy and took a job as counsel to the Petroleum Labor Policy Board within the Department of the Interior. Morse joined the U.S. Army Air Corps in 1942 and was sent to Europe in 1943. Morse spent his Air Corps time behind a desk drafting

victory over Jonkman in the August primary. This, for Ford, was tantamount to victory. The November general election in predominantly Republican western Michigan was a mere formality.

During his 1948 campaign, Ford noted another change in post-World War II Grand Rapids, the weakening of the "once powerful grip that the early Dutch immigrants had held over the community."¹²⁹ As a politician, Ford realized that he no longer faced the moral constraints imposed on Grand Rapids by strait-laced Dutch tradition. With this in mind, Ford got married and, in the process, audaciously defied standard conventions. Despite a brutal schedule of speeches and campaign events, Ford met, and eventually married Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer. As a potential political wife, Betty had three strikes against her. First, she was a divorcee, a traditional taboo nationwide, let

government labor policy for American-occupied areas in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. Under Morse's guidance, "the Allied organization abandoned its original idea of trying to foist Anglo-Saxon labor principles upon the Italians and instead [retained] some of the best features of the Fascist setup making it possible for a resumption of the syndical movement which had been the basis of the Italian labor movement since the beginning of the [20th] century." In 1944 Morse was in Germany as chief of the labor section of the U.S. Group Control Council. Later, as a delegate to the International Labor Organization, Morse favored the internationalization of such programs as collective bargaining, a guaranteed wage, and free government employment agencies. See CBY, 1949, s.v. "Morse, David A(bner) May 31, 1907 - International organization official."

¹²⁹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 61.

alone in Grand Rapids. Second, she had pursued an independent career in New York City, a course considered scandalous in Dutch-dominated western Michigan. Third, back home as a single woman, she held a full-time job at a Grand Rapids department store. Under ordinary circumstances any one of these conditions would have ruled her out as the wife of a rising politician. Perhaps sensing that Dutch taboos were not entirely erased, the two kept their engagement a secret until after Ford's victory over Jonkman in the September GOP primary. Gerald and Betty were married on 15 October 1948, three weeks before Ford coasted to victory in the general election. Their wedding day was on a Friday. In an episode that would come to typify their relationship, the newlyweds spent the next day at the Michigan-Northwestern football game.¹³⁰ Betty, however, understood from the outset that politics came first. She went on to become that most valuable of political assets, the faithful, long suffering helpmate. For a quarter century, Betty Ford endured her husband's nonstop political schedule. She worked tirelessly in his Congressional office and raised four children as Ford climbed the political ladder.

Betty Ford, though, was much more. She herself had an extraordinary curriculum vitae. As a girl, she dreamed of being

¹³⁰terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 50.

a dancer. "Dance was my happiness," she wrote in her memoirs. Betty studied dance at Bennington College and even managed to land a brief stint with the famed Martha Graham troupe in New York City. Blessed with stunning good looks, Betty also sought modeling jobs in the city. Her dreams, however, went unfulfilled and she returned to Grand Rapids. Betty soon married a man named William Warren but her marriage, too, ended in disappointment. Betty, a divorcee at age twenty-nine, went to work as a buyer and fashion coordinator at a large Grand Rapids department store.¹³¹ Seemingly down on her luck, her life changed forever when she met Jerry Ford in 1947. Ford, however, was not wholly unknown to her. "Since he'd been a football hero . . . everybody in town pretty much knew who he was." To Betty, the thirty-four year old lawyer was clearly on his way to the top. "In 1947, Gerald R. Ford was probably the most eligible bachelor in Grand Rapids. He was good-looking, smart, and from a fine family."¹³²

¹³¹Betty Ford, The Times of My Life, pp. 17, 23-24, 36-43.

¹³²Ibid., pp. 44-45. Over the years, Betty Ford developed a keen sense of political observation and her memoirs, written after her 1974-1977 stint as First Lady, provide a shrewd assessment of Gerald Ford's political career. Here Betty Ford further undermines her husband's ex-jock public persona. For example, "smart" is rarely used to describe Gerald Ford. Similarly, "good looking" is hardly the term that comes to mind for those who first saw Ford -- with his sagging jowls and a

In her memoir, Betty noted that as a politician on the stump, Ford had no equal. Here Jerry was "inexhaustible . . . He took to campaigning like a starving man to a roast beef dinner." Betty saw Ford's campaign against Bartel Jonkman as "symbolic of the changes which had taken place in the world and were taking place even in Grand Rapids." Within this scenario, Jonkman, in her estimation, was hopelessly out of touch. The incumbent was "going around making speeches about Communists in the State Department" and "filing his [constituent] mail in the

receding hairline -- in the overwhelming media coverage of the 1970s. Photographs from his youth show an entirely different man with a full head of blond hair and an easy, confident smile. In Ford's memoir, illustrations follow p. 150. In terHorst, illustrations follow p. 245. In another untold episode of his extraordinary career, Gerald Ford not only had the looks of a fashion model, he was a fashion model. Under the direction of agent Harry Conover, Ford posed for pictures with a top model named Phyllis Brown. In 1940 and 1941 photographs of Ford appeared in such national magazines as Look and Cosmopolitan. Ford invested \$1000.00 in Conover's modeling agency but their association ended when Ford entered the Navy. See terHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 45-46. Even in this brief venture, Ford moved in the highest circles. Harry Conover went on to a brilliant career and is credited with revolutionizing the fashion industry. His "Cover Girl" concept employed models "selected for a natural, well-scrubbed beauty, rather than glamour and sophistication." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, s.v. "Conover, Harry (Sayles) Aug. 29, 1911 - Model agency executive." With his fashion model episode, Gerald Ford was uncannily Kennedyesque as a modern, physically attractive political candidate. According to Betty Ford, "ladies followed [Jerry] wherever he went." Betty herself signed up female volunteers in the 1948 campaign. See The Times of My Life, pp. 50, 56. Ford's fashion model background created a stir in 1974 when several pictures from a 1940 issue of Look were published in Newsweek. See "Newsmakers," Newsweek, 3 June 1974, p. 48.

waste basket." Even the conservatives in Grand Rapids, she maintained, were ready for change, a change represented by the young internationalist Gerald Ford. As a result, "Jerry took the Fifth District by storm."¹³³ After defeating Bartel Jonkman in GOP primary, Ford won handily over the Democratic candidate, Fred J. Barr, with a vote total of 74,191 to 46,972. Michigan's Fifth District was Gerald Ford's safe seat until he resigned to assume the vice-presidency in 1973. Ford even survived a redistricting in 1964 that exchanged Michigan's Ottawa County for Ionia County.^{361-A}

In 1948, Gerald and Betty Ford stood on the verge of an experience unmatched in American political history. Not everyone, however, was happy. According to Syers, the "isolationist Chicago Tribune openly lamented Ford's victory in the primary." With Gerald Ford and Democrat Fred J. Barr in the general election, "the voters are left . . . to choose their own poison." For the GOP in general, the 1948 election was an "unmitigated disaster." Contrary to the now-famous early edition of the Tribune, Truman defeated Dewey. The Democrats thus kept the presidency. The Republicans lost control of the

¹³³Ibid., pp. 55-57.

^{361-A} CBY, 1975.

House, the Senate, and the governorship of Michigan.¹³⁴ Gerald Ford, though, was in Washington. There he set out to forge the political resume that landed him on the Warren Commission. The year 1948 was pivotal in the political life of Gerald Ford. His election to Congress in that year launched him on his journey as a career politician. Ford remained in the House of Representatives for a quarter century. In his 1948 election to Michigan's Fifth District, Ford clearly was the Establishment's man. Here party label meant nothing as both Republicans and Democrats exerted influence on his behalf. Gerald Ford helped to push aside an incumbent who dared to challenge America's Cold War orthodoxy. But, in a prelude to the coming "McCarthy Era," Bartel Jonkman was a doubly dangerous man. He was not simply an "isolationist." Jonkman also led a public effort to remove communists from the State Department. With the assistance of powerful Establishment mentors, Gerald Ford won the seat in Congress and forced Jonkman into retirement. The year was also pivotal in Gerald Ford's personal life. Despite the whirlwind of activity associated with his first run for Congress, Ford paused long enough to get married. His new wife, Betty, became his lifelong political helpmate. With Betty stoically tending the home fires, Ford worked his way through the ranks of the House.

¹³⁴Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford," pp.

He carefully built a solid bipartisan resume and by 1964 was in a perfect position to claim the highest of Establishment honors -- a place on the Warren Commission.

Gerald Ford's 1948 Congressional campaign is a case study in Rothbard's dreaded duopoly. The GOP contingent itself spanned the political spectrum and included the professionals and business people most often identified with the post-World War II Republican Party. Impatient with the McKay-Jonkman Old Guard, they flocked to Ford's standard.³³⁹-A Among Gerald Ford's

133-134.

³³⁹-A William A. Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford: Anti-Bossism, Internationalism, and the Congressional Campaign of 1948," Presidential Studies Quarterly, Winter 1990, pp. 127-142. This academic study stresses Gerald Ford's reform activism, supposedly nurtured in the 1940 GOP campaign. Eight years later "the reform impulses learned in Jerry Ford's initial political experience with the Willkie presidential campaign of 1940 still burned bright." Syers, pp. 131-132. Presidential Studies Quarterly is the journal of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. Among the forty-four scholars listed on the masthead of the Winter 1990 edition is historian Henry F. Graff. Professor Graff earned his B.S. in Social Studies at New York's City College in 1941 and completed an A.M. at Columbia University in 1942. From 1942-46 Graff served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army and earned a citation from the McCloy-era War Department. After his wartime service, Graff returned to Columbia, completed his doctorate, and remained at that institution until his retirement in 1991. From 1993 to 1998 Graff served on the JFK Assassination Records Review Board. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See Who's Who in America, 2000, s.v. "Graff, Henry Franklin, historian, educator." Another biographical write-up lists Graff's military service as "U.S. Army, Security Agency, 1942-1946." See Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, Volume 17, s.v. "Graff, Henry F(ranklin)1921-."

Republican supporters in Grand Rapids was an Establishment-connected lawyer named John B. Martin, a Rhodes scholar with extensive government service in Washington.³³⁹ More significant,

³³⁹terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 17-18. Though a Republican, Martin had an Oxford background and served with staunch Democrats in the New Deal. Martin was born in Grand Rapids in 1909. He finished Dartmouth in 1931 and earned a Litt.B. from Oxford in 1933 before completing law school at the University of Michigan in 1936. That same year he served as legal secretary to the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, James M. Landis. Martin followed Landis to the National Office of Civilian Defense and returned to Grand Rapids in 1946 to practice law. In the following decade Martin emerged as a leader in the Michigan GOP. In 1957 he was appointed to the Republican National Committee. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Martin, John Butlin, lawyer." Martin later boosted Ford for the vice-presidency in 1960. See terHorst, p. 73. John B. Martin was among the thousands lured to Washington by the New Deal. According to the biographer of SEC chairman Joseph P. Kennedy, "a concerted effort was made by the [SEC] commissioners to attract able young men, accountants and attorneys, to the government service. Kennedy was always known for the unusual competence of the men under him; his underlings at the SEC attest to it." See Koskoff, Joseph P. Kennedy: A Life and Times, p. 62. James M. Landis, immediate successor to Joseph P. Kennedy at the SEC, provides a link both to the McCloy ambit and the Kennedy family inner circle. According to William O. Douglas, former office mate of John J. McCloy at the Cravath firm, SEC member, and U.S. Supreme Court justice, Landis was "a protégé of Frankfurter," and "was long a protégé of Joe Kennedy." See William O. Douglas, Go East Young Man, The Early Years: The Autobiography of William O. Douglas (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 263. Landis was born in Japan in 1899, the son of a Presbyterian missionary. He graduated at the top of his class at both Princeton in 1921 and Harvard Law School in 1924. He served in 1926 as secretary to Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis before returning to Harvard as a law professor. At Harvard Landis collaborated on legal research with McCloy mentor Felix Frankfurter. Brought to Washington in 1933 as a member of FDR's Brain Trust, Landis drafted the legislation for what became the SEC. He emerged as "a leader in the group of young lawyers and journalists who used to meet . . . and talk late and early of

however, were the Democrats who threw their support behind Gerald Ford. These included A. Robert Kliener, a Grand Rapids attorney with a reputation as an "ardent liberal Democrat," and, of course, Julius Amberg.³⁴⁰

Julius Amberg cut an impressive figure in the political circles of western Michigan. Described by terHorst as "a very formidable man," Amberg was "as brilliant as he was prosperous. For years, he held the highest academic record in the history of Harvard Law School." The Grand Rapids legal fraternity "marveled at the functioning of his facile mind, his lightning grasp of the complicated points of law, and the ease with which

the New Deal and its problems. The public knew him as one of Frankfurter's little hot dogs." Landis held the SEC chairmanship from 1935 to 1937. For Landis, the SEC was "both a crackdown and a cooperating agency, depending on the circumstances." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1942, s.v. "Landis, James M(cCauley) Sept. 25, 1899 - Director of the Office of Civilian Defense; dean of the Harvard Law School." Joseph P. Kennedy pioneered the bipartisanship that became the post-World War II political norm. Universally lambasted as an archconservative, he nonetheless had little difficulty working with such New Deal types as Landis. Kennedy was described as a "competent man with common sense." Thus, "because there was nothing doctrinaire about him, Kennedy was generally able to work for the common goal in harmony with those who had different philosophical orientation." Kennedy "always had friends of widely differing political opinions" and "was equally at ease with the men he attacked politically." Koskoff, pp. 71, 86. Landis later edited Joseph Kennedy's diplomatic papers for a proposed volume of the ambassador's memoirs. "The project was abandoned short of completion . . . because [Landis] concluded that publication would cause [political] embarrassment to John Kennedy." Koskoff, p. 514.

³⁴⁰terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 17, 21.

he expressed himself."¹³⁵ From terHorst's account, it was Julius Amberg who "summoned the most junior member of his firm to talk about running for Congress." Here Amberg told Ford "that he felt it very important that someone like Jonkman be beaten and retired."¹³⁶ Ford himself put Amberg's position even more bluntly, writing later that "Amberg despised Jonkman's isolationist views. He wanted Jonkman out of there."¹³⁷ In an episode that further blurs the distinctions between America's mainstream political parties, Julius Amberg, Democrat, offered Gerald Ford, Republican, a full-time salary for part-time work, requiring the candidate to put in just one hour per day at Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg. Ford did not waste this opportunity. He campaigned like a man possessed, and was "on the trail from early morning until late at night, up and down the two counties of the Fifth District."¹³⁸

¹³⁵Ibid. , pp. 19-20.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 66.

¹³⁸terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 20, 50. Syers presents conflicting information on Ford's decision to run in the 1948 campaign. First is his statement from Phil Buchen that "Jerry had been harboring electoral ambitions as early as '46" in response to Jonkman's isolationism. Syers later quotes terHorst who states that Ford "was asked to run against Jonkman." See Syers, pp. 131-132. Syers makes no reference as to who did the

Other Democrats with a keen interest in the anti-Jonkman campaign were prominent labor union officials who, in supporting Ford, also ignored traditional party labels. Ford himself had noted that the burgeoning labor movement had transformed the political climate of his home state. Upon returning to Michigan after World War II, he saw that "Grand Rapids had changed significantly" and that "labor unions were attracting new members and becoming a potent force."¹³⁹ In Michigan the most potent force in the labor movement was the United Auto Workers union. The UAW's man in Grand Rapids was Leonard Woodcock, who in 1948 was director of the union's Region 1D, an area that covered all of western Michigan.¹⁴⁰ In his memoir, Ford wrote that Jonkman "alienated Woodcock" and "Woodcock and his men decided to support me."¹⁴¹ According to Syers, Michigan was a "solidly Republican state." Democrats were "so limited that organized labor groups were in the habit of endorsing a candidate in the Republican primary." Ford also benefited from an open primary system that allowed crossover voting. Party

asking. He does not mention Julius Amberg or the Butterfield, Keeney & Amberg law firm in this article.

¹³⁹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 61.

¹⁴⁰Current Biography Yearbook, 1970, s.v. "Woodcock, Leonard (Freel) Feb. 15, 1911 - Labor union official."

¹⁴¹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 67.

label mattered little in this circumstance because Ford "could get the votes of a lot of labor people from the auto plants in Grand Rapids and other Democrats."^{347-A}

Gerald Ford's association with labor leaders runs directly counter to his later conservative reputation. Here, in an experience similar to that of Hale Boggs a decade earlier, Gerald Ford found himself in the company of America's leftist elite. By 1948, Leonard Woodcock had spent nearly two decades as a front-line labor union activist and had compiled an extraordinary resume. Woodcock was born in Rhode Island in 1911. His father, a millwright, took his family to England and Germany where he supervised the installation of factory machinery. The elder Woodcock sent his son to British schools, "including Chipsey, a prep school ranking a cut below Eton." The family returned from Europe in 1926. Leonard Woodcock later entered Detroit's Wayne State University but broke off his studies in 1933 to take a job as a mechanic in an auto assembly plant. For Woodcock, and a host of others, the actual assembly of automobiles became a secondary concern. He entered the ranks of labor activism, joined the UAW, and by 1940 was on the

^{347-A} Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford," p. 132. Syers discusses "organized labor groups" and "labor people" but never mentions either the UAW or Leonard Woodcock.

union's payroll as a staff member in the Grand Rapids regional office. In 1946 Woodcock was named first administrative assistant to UAW founder Walter Reuther. The following year Woodcock was elected director of UAW Region 1D, where he remained until 1955.¹⁴²

¹⁴²CBY, 1970. Leonard Woodcock spent most of his career as acolyte to Walter Reuther who, with his brother Victor Reuther, was one of the prime movers in American labor. See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965, s.v. "Reuther, Victor G., labor union exec.;" s.v. "Reuther, Walter Philip, labor leader." The two received early indoctrination from their father, a West Virginia union man. "To me," he once wrote to them, "socialism is the star of hope that lights the way" and "unless you boys would at least . . . recognize the existence of a class struggle and take your place on the side of labor politically, I should be keenly disappointed." See Victor G. Reuther, The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW: A Memoir (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), p. 62. The Reuther boys did not disappoint their father. They began their labor union activity in 1930 while students at Detroit City College. Here Walter, in particular, "got all steamed up about the Socialist movement." As a result, the brothers organized a housing cooperative for working students. Victor cooked and cleaned house while Walter worked as a machinist at Ford Motor Company. Through their activity they formed a lasting friendship with Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas. Later they founded a Social Problems Club and with this group "sought and obtained affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy, which actually had its roots as a campus service organization [in] 1905, when it was called the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists. The name was changed in 1921," wrote Victor, "because of American antipathy to the Russian Revolution." See Brothers, pp. 57, 59. At this early stage, the Reuthers concluded that capitalism "was a dying social order." From this they developed their lifelong core philosophy. In a rude parody of the Gettysburg Address, they mocked a nation "conceived of the policies of laissez-faire and dedicated to the proposition that private profit is the sole incentive to progress. Now we are engaged in a great economic struggle, testing whether this nation or any other nation so deceived and so dedicated to rugged individualism can long

endure." See Brothers, p. 62. During the 1932 election, they stumped for Norman Thomas, not FDR, seeing the former's campaign as a training ground for "trade union and political battles ahead." According to Victor, Walter's activism cost him his job at Ford. The brothers then spent the next two years on a bicycle tour of Europe and Asia. In an example of sublime historical irony, this world tour included sixteen months working in a Ford Motor Company plant in Gorky. The Gorky plant produced the Model T, discontinued in the U.S., with machines sent lock, stock, and barrel to Soviet Russia. See Brothers, p. 66. According to Walter Reuther's final write-up in Who's Who, the brothers left the Soviet Union and returned to the U.S. "to organize auto workers." See WWA, 1970-1971. Over a lifetime of union work, the Reuther brothers gained international reputations. They were founding members of the Committee (later Congress) of Industrial Organizations, which Victor maintained was an outgrowth of an organization called the Socialist Auto Council. See Brothers, p. 125. Of the two, it was Walter that assumed the most prominent role, especially in his leadership of the famous sit-down strikes of the 1930s. Photographs of his beating by Ford Motor Company "goons" were widely published and made Reuther almost synonymous with the labor turmoil of the Great Depression. His sit-down strikes -- flagrant violations of the property rights of auto manufacturers -- were hailed as revolutionary and were ultimately successful in making the UAW a permanent fixture in U.S. industry. By 1949, however, Reuther had softened his left wing stance. He denounced Communist Party influence in the UAW and allowed his membership in the Socialist Party to lapse. Nonetheless, he advocated "an increasingly mixed economy as the pattern of the American future -- a society where there is a far wider degree of public ownership but in which no wholesale liquidation of private industry is contemplated." To Reuther, "the mixture" would depend on "the social responsibility of industry." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, s.v. Reuther, Walter (Philip) Sept. 1, 1907 - Labor union official." Walter Reuther's real struggle, however, came against rival unionists. In the drive for absolute power within the UAW, he fought with the Communist Party and the more conservative American Federation of Labor, which eventually merged with the CIO in 1955. Here Reuther proved to be a public relations genius. He ultimately drove out his union rivals and at the same time gained an invaluable reputation in the press as an "anti-communist." See CBY, 1941, s.v. "Reuther, Walter (Philip) Sept. 1, 1907 - Director of General Motors Department of the United Automobile Workers of America." Walter Reuther was a forthright

No ordinary working stiff, Leonard Woodcock moved easily within Establishment circles. In 1955 he was elected to an international vice-presidency within the UAW. Here, in a dark suit, white shirt, and necktie -- and with traces of a British

advocate of the welfare-warfare state. In December 1940, a full year before Pearl Harbor, he called for all-out war production as an antidote for Depression-era unemployment. He suggested converting auto assembly plants into aircraft factories. "If the idle men and the idle machines . . . were fully mobilized and private interests temporarily subordinated, we could turn out 500 modern planes a day." See CBY, 1941. Reuther believed that the labor movement played a wide-ranging role in society. Unions "should attempt to integrate the problems of the factory worker with those of the rest of the community." See CBY, 1949. He further held that "the theory that a union's only job was to raise wages and improve working conditions was obsolete. Through the years he was busy with production and pricing problems, consumer projects, cooperative movements, civil rights, politics, and world affairs, all of which he believed were the legitimate concerns of a modern union." He died in 1970, to an international outpouring of grief, when his private plane crashed near Detroit. See Walter Reuther obituary, New York Times, 11 May 1970. A same-day editorial hailed Reuther as the man "principally responsible for making [the UAW both] . . . economically powerful [and] a fountainhead of beneficial ideas for all labor." Despite his renunciation of communism, Reuther never disavowed the central tenets of socialism. "If fighting for a more equal and equitable distribution of the wealth of this country is socialistic," he said, "I stand guilty of being a Socialist." See New York Times, 11 May 1970. Later, friends and associates held a memorial service at the Washington National Cathedral. The service concluded with the singing of the radical anthem "Joe Hill." Among those delivering personal tributes was retired Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren. See Brothers, p. 470. It was within this leftist trade union milieu that Leonard Woodcock emerged as Walter Reuther's heir apparent. By 1970 he was the leading candidate for the UAW's top job. Woodcock, after a brief power struggle, was elected president of the UAW on 22 May 1970. He "immediately pledged that the UAW's direction -- for social causes and economic goals -- would not change." See New York Times, 23 May 1970.

accent -- Woodcock ran the union's General Motors division. He also headed the UAW's aerospace department, an area that included Cyrus Vance and Najeeb Halaby, Harvard Law School classmates of Congressman Gerald R. Ford. Under Reuther's guidance, Woodcock wrung numerous concessions from the auto industry in the areas of remuneration and benefits. By the 1960s he had won a union-shop arrangement for aerospace workers. Along the way, he gained the attention of the Kennedy White House. In 1961 JFK offered him several ambassadorial posts and sub-cabinet positions in the new Administration. Woodcock, however, declined the offers, choosing instead to remain a full-time union man.¹⁴³

Having Leonard Woodcock on board his initial campaign gave Gerald Ford untold political clout. Circumstances in Michigan

¹⁴³CBY, 1970. As to Woodcock's own political leanings, Victor Reuther described him as one of a cadre of "militant trade unionists" within the UAW's "socialist component." Here Woodcock "and many others were affiliated with the Socialist Party." See Brothers, p. 188. According to Syers, Bartel Jonkman did not exploit Ford's UAW connection until very late in the 1948 campaign. "In a surprise move on the eve of the election," Jonkman "suggested that Ford was an errand boy for the forces of organized labor and urged the voters to support him [Jonkman] if they didn't want the CIO to run the Fifth Congressional District." This, however, was to no avail. Ford, "allowed to bask in the shadow [sic] of the popular Senator Vandenberg," was not harmed by Jonkman's "wily assortment of smear tactics" and "questionable personal attacks." Revealing his own bias, Syers describes Jonkman only in negative terms, such as "McKay henchman" and "hanger-on." See Syers, pp. 131, 135-136.

Rapids had changed, indeed. By 1948 the Great Lakes State was the UAW's home base, if not its thoroughly entrenched fiefdom. As perhaps the prime example of Big Labor, the UAW was a solid member of the coalition welded into place by the New Deal. With the support of "Leonard Woodcock and his men," Gerald Ford had the backing of Michigan's most powerful constituency.

Julius Amberg and Leonard Woodcock did more than simply elect Gerald Ford to Congress and send Bartel Jonkman into early retirement. They also rid Congress of a "McCarthyite" who predated the advent of Joe McCarthy by two full years. Further examination of Jonkman's career reveals that "isolationism" was not his only political liability. In a situation equally irksome to the Establishment, Jonkman had focused his attention on the issue of communism within the U.S. government, specifically targeting the State Department.¹⁴⁴ According to the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Jonkman made frequent

¹⁴⁴American liberals spent decades discrediting opponents of domestic communism. In his memoirs, Victor Reuther included an appendix in the form a memo to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Entitled "The Radical Right in America Today," the memo urged the Kennedy Administration to crack down on "radical right organizations" which claimed that "the danger to America is domestic Communism." According to the Reuther memo, "what are needed are deliberate Administration policies to contain the radical right from further expansion and in the long run to reduce it to its historic role [on] the impotent lunatic fringe." See Brothers, pp. 493-494. Emphasis added.

speeches declaring his fear "that the U.S Department of State was exercising insufficient vigilance with regard to the infiltration of members of the Communist Party, or of persons under its influence, into the department."¹⁴⁵ Jonkman, it appears, had little company in these early efforts. He "was eventually appointed as a committee of one to look into the matter." Jonkman avoided grandstanding but by the time of the 1948 Michigan GOP primary "the issue had been sensationalized by others, who, in his opinion, were arousing an unreasonable public reaction to the problem, and, in consequence, he worked to achieve a satisfactory resolution in such a way as to avoid unnecessary publicity."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 46, s.v. "Jonkman, Bartel, lawyer and congressman." In 1948 Bartel Jonkman, pronounced Yunk-mon, seemed to have a safe seat in Congress. He came from solid Dutch stock and was Old Guard GOP. Jonkman was born in 1884, the son of a clergyman who had settled in Grand Rapids in 1882. After receiving his LL.B. at the University of Michigan in 1914, Jonkman alternated between private law practice and service as an elected prosecutor in Grand Rapids. He won his seat in Congress in 1940. When Jonkman arrived in Washington as a freshman Congressman in 1941, the GOP constituted a distinct minority. Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 106 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee before his 1948 defeat. See NCAB, Volume 46.

¹⁴⁶Ibid. By late summer 1948 Jonkman himself seemed to backpedal on the issue. He declared the State Department free from communists and credited Assistant Secretary of State John E. Peurifoy with rooting out 134 employees suspected of disloyalty. See New York Times, 3 August 1948. This was just one day before the eruption of the celebrated Hiss Case. Even those

Gerald Ford's 1948 election to Congress must be examined within the context of developments taking place at the national level. The cryptic allusions in Bartel Jonkman's NCAB write-up belie the fervid public debate on communism during the 1948 campaign season. Among those working to sensationalize the issue and arouse public reaction was Richard M. Nixon. The California Congressman was a central figure in the celebrated Hiss Case, in which Alger Hiss, a New Dealer and Establishment stalwart, was accused of being a communist agent. Hiss's accuser was Whittaker Chambers, then senior editor at Time, and himself a confessed former communist. The Hiss story broke on 4 August 1948 and remained front page news into the second week of September.^{352-A} After a dramatic and highly publicized confrontation largely orchestrated by Nixon, Alger Hiss went on trial for perjury. According to Chambers biographer Sam Tanenhaus, the Hiss trial was "a referendum on the political

observers not entirely hostile to McCarthy ridiculed Jonkman's efforts to fight domestic communism. See William F. Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and It's Meaning (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954), pp. 13, 19. Buckley and Bozell described Jonkman's 1948 statement declaring the State Department free of communists as "amusing." See p. 164.

^{352-A} New York Times, 4 August 1948 and August-September 1948, passim. In his biography, terHorst ignores the Hiss Case. Ford mentions Alger Hiss only in a passing reference. See A Time to Heal, p. 69.

changes sweeping through the nation. Hiss was on trial, but so were the New Deal and Yalta, and so were Chambers and the feverish hunt for Reds."^{352-B} Both terHorst and Ford ignore the Hiss Case which the New York Times described as "one of the most dramatic and anger-provoking in the country's history."^{352-C} Alger Hiss was tried twice. His first trial ended in a hung jury. Hiss was convicted of perjury in a second trial in 1950 and served forty-four months in prison. Nearly a half-century later the New York Times maintained that the Hiss Case "catapulted Richard M. Nixon to national attention and helped lay the groundwork for McCarthyism." Alger Hiss maintained his innocence for the rest of his life. He died in 1996 at the age of ninety-two.^{352-D}

^{352-B} Sam Tanenhaus, Whittaker Chambers: A Biography (New York: The Modern Library, 1998), p. 351. Tanenhaus received an Establishment imprimatur from historian Arthur Schlesinger. In a New York Times review, Schlesinger described Tanenhaus's approach to Chambers as "sympathetic but not hagiographic. . . . His book will not please all readers, but even the remaining defenders of Alger Hiss must acknowledge it, I believe, as a serious and absorbing work." See Book Review Digest, 1997, s.v. "Tanenhaus, Sam."

^{352-C} See Whittaker Chambers obituary, New York Times, 12 July 1961.

^{352-D} See Alger Hiss obituary, New York Times, 16 November 1996. Despite having run roughshod over one of the brightest stars of the Establishment, Nixon's political career took off. Nixon, however, would never gain full acceptance from those who considered Alger Hiss an innocent victim. Gerald Ford, however, never exploited the domestic communism issue for personal gain.

When Nixon's political downfall finally came, it was Ford who stepped into the White House. Elected to Congress on the red baiting issue, Nixon's "first Congressional action" was "the citation in February of 1947 of Gerhart Eisler for contempt of Congress." Eisler, described by Nixon as the "key man of the Communist Party in the United States," had refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Later, "Representative Nixon spent much of August 1948 participating in the Congressional investigation of Communist espionage in the United States, and it was he who insisted upon the confronting of Alger Hiss with Whittaker Chambers, as a means of determining who was committing perjury." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1948, s.v. "Nixon, Richard M. Jan. 9, 1913 - United States Representative for California; lawyer." Born in 1897, Gerhart Eisler was a Communist Party political commissar in Austria, Germany, China, and Spain. In 1933, Eisler "traveling under forged passports, entered the United States. He reputedly became the top Communist agent in America." In 1947 Eisler received a one year jail sentence for contempt of Congress. He fled the U.S. in 1949 while his case was on appeal. See Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 8, s.v. "Eisler, Gerhart (Feb. 20, 1897 - Marr. 21, 1968), Soviet espionage agent and East German Communist party official." In 1952 Nixon was elected vice-president on the Republican ticket. Current Biography returned to chronicle his political success. "During his terms in the House, Nixon became nationally known for his work as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities" whose "stubborn persistence brought about the now-famous confrontation of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, which led to Hiss's conviction of perjury." See CBY, 1958, s.v. "Nixon, Richard M(ilhou) Jan. 9, 1913 - Vice-President of the United States; lawyer." Alger Hiss was the very embodiment of the Eastern Establishment and by 1948 he had compiled impeccable credentials. Hiss was born in Baltimore in 1904. He graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1926 and entered Harvard Law School. There "he attracted the attention of Felix Frankfurter." The professor adopted Hiss as his "protégé" and "recommended him for the much coveted post of secretary to Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes." In 1933, after private law practice in Boston and New York, Hiss entered "government service." Hiss spent the next fifteen years behind the scenes in various bureaucratic agencies. He served first from 1933-1935 as counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. After a brief stint at the Justice Department, Hiss joined the Department of State where he was clearly marked for future success. He served

in low-profile but influential posts, mainly concerning Far Eastern affairs. In May 1944 Hiss joined the newly formed Office of Special Political Affairs, "which was responsible for the development and coordination of American policy with respect to the United Nations." Subsequently, Hiss was executive secretary at the Dumbarton Oaks conference that set up the UN. "All matters relating to the proposed United Nations security organization thus came under his supervision." Hiss was FDR's close assistant at the soon-to-be controversial Yalta conference in February 1945. At the UN's 1945 conference in San Francisco, Hiss served as secretary-general and personally hand delivered the UN Charter to the U.S. Senate for ratification. By now Hiss was head of the Office of Special Political Affairs, "which had, within three years, developed from a nucleus of experts to a staff of more than two hundred, one of the largest and most active offices of the State Department." In 1946 Hiss was elected president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He used his position there to urge "that the endowment concentrate upon support of the United Nations by publicizing its objectives . . . and by recommending policy to the United States Government." See CBY, 1947, s.v. "Hiss, Alger Nov. 11, 1904 - Lawyer; peace organization president." The Hiss Case received considerable attention from the Establishment. McCloy mentor Felix Frankfurter, by then a Supreme Court Justice, testified as a character witness for Alger Hiss. "There was no precedent for Frankfurter's appearance, a member of the nation's highest tribunal taking the stand in a criminal trial." See Tanenhaus, pp. 374-375. Establishment lawyers appeared for both sides. At least three of these attorneys had ties to the McCloy ambit. Whittaker Chambers's employer, Henry R. Luce, hired Harold Medina, Jr., "of the prestigious firm of Cravath, Swain." See Tanenhaus, p. 224. The Hiss team brought in even bigger guns. Edward McLean, Alger's Harvard classmate, was a senior partner at the Rockefeller-affiliated firm of Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean. See Tanenhaus, p. 281. On the sidelines was Hiss's brother Donald, "an attorney at the prestigious Washington law firm of Covington & Burling." That firm supplied William Marbury, Alger's "long-time friend" and "a distinguished attorney and member of the five-man Harvard Corporation." Marbury stepped in "after Hiss's first choice, former Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson," also a Covington & Burling partner, "declined to appear." See Tanenhaus, pp. 224-225. Marbury was born in 1901 and earned his B.A. at the University of Virginia in 1921. After earning his Harvard LL.B. in 1924 he set up practice in Baltimore. During World War II,

Richard Nixon weathered the political turmoil of 1948 and numerous others throughout his career. He went on to the U.S. Senate and won the presidency in 1968. Nixon's Republican colleague Gerald Ford had equal political success. In 1948 Bartel Jonkman, however, could do little more than stare into his own political grave. Jonkman not only lost his seat in Congress, he was relegated to political obscurity, ousted by men with solid Establishment, internationalist, and leftist connections.¹⁴⁷ Of the four Grand Rapids men central to Gerald

Marbury served five years in the McCloy-era War Department, first as "expert consultant" on procurement and then as chief counsel for the War Department's procurement program. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 9, s.v. "Marbury, William Luke, lawyer." See also New York Times, 3 April 1943. For his work in the War Department, Marbury received the Presidential Medal for Merit, "the nation's highest civilian award." See Tanenhaus, p. 281. Though he declined to appear as either character witness or trial counsel, Dean Acheson did not stay away from the Hiss case entirely. According to Isaacson and Thomas, "as a favor to Donald, Acheson . . . secretly helped Hiss prepare his defense before the House Un-American Activities Committee." See The Wise Men, p. 491.

¹⁴⁷Gerald Ford's 1948 campaign bears remarkable similarity to the 1946 election of Richard Nixon. Both men were hard driving and ambitious. Both signed on to defeat an incumbent that held a political stance anathema to the Establishment. Ford challenged Bartel Jonkman on the issue of isolationism. Less well-known are Jonkman's efforts to expose communists in the State Department. Similarly, Nixon's 1946 California Congressional campaign is remembered primarily for his unseemly willingness to "red bait" his way past popular Democratic incumbent Jerry Voorhis. In 1943 Voorhis published Out of Debt, Out of Danger. The book sharply criticized the Federal Reserve System, and, like Jonkman's short-lived quest to root out State Department communists, could well have been the real cause of

Voorhis's political demise. Voorhis was born in 1901 in Ottawa, Kansas. He went East to attend Yale, where he earned his B.A., Phi Beta Kappa in 1923. After a YMCA-sponsored goodwill tour of Germany, Voorhis went to Illinois and Montana as a teacher of underprivileged boys. He returned to California where he earned an M.A. from Claremont College. "In the days before the New Deal, Mr. Voorhis was a registered Socialist, and he lectured on social problems at California's Pomona College" from 1930 to 1935. "In those days, he advocated nationalization of both industry and land -- although not the organization of collective farms or anything of the sort." Voorhis won his seat in Congress in 1936. In 1941, five years before Nixon's arrival on the scene, Voorhis downplayed his Socialist Party background. Perhaps sensing a shift in the political winds, he "explained his former socialism" as "the only way I could vote my protest against the reactionary leadership of both major parties. I was never," he maintained, "a full fledged socialist, and Mr. Roosevelt has made it possible for me to be a Democrat with a clear conscience." According to Current Biography Yearbook, Voorhis "seemed to be a full fledged New Dealer at any rate." Ironically, Jerry Voorhis served, in the pre-McCarthy days, on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then chaired by Texas Congressman Martin Dies. There Voorhis "eschewed red baiting." But, "having come to [the Dies Committee] to check and scoff, the new member remained to respect the work, if not the chairman." In this period, Voorhis actually built up his own anti-communist bona fides. He favored the publication of membership lists of recognized political parties and advocated "deportation of aliens who preached giving fealty to any foreign government." See CBY, 1941, s.v. "Voorhis, Jerry April 6, 1901 - United States Representative from California." In his book, Out of Debt, Out of Danger, Voorhis called unwanted attention to the basic framework of fractional reserve banking. Here Voorhis emphasized the following principle: "No government any place, at any time, ever should borrow credit created by a private agency." See Out of Debt, p. 109. Voorhis also frankly pointed out a crucial fallacy of the Fed. "Millions of people believe [that the term] Federal Reserve Banks means what it says . . . but the central Federal Banks are private institutions." See Out of Debt, p. 152. Alarmed at the vast increase in American debt fueled by the massive war economy, Voorhis drafted legislation flatly stating that "no interest bearing obligations of the United States shall be sold to any bank or financial institution except for cash." See Out of Debt, p. 238. Such an arrangement would have upset not only the free spending economic

Ford's 1948 election to Congress -- Arthur Vandenberg, Harvey Bundy, Julius Amberg, and Jonkman himself -- only Bartel Jonkman failed to rate a New York Times obituary. Gerald Ford, for his part, learned well the lessons of 1948. Fully aware of the

climate of World War II, it would have hobbled the financial structure built and maintained by the Establishment. Voorhis, however, was no advocate of free banking. His proposed legislation called for continuation of the Federal Reserve System under direct government ownership. See Out of Debt, p. 237. Nonetheless, Voorhis had strayed into forbidden territory. From the Establishment point of view, he clearly had to go. Ousted by Richard Nixon in 1946, Jerry Voorhis spent the remainder of his career as an anti-Fed Cassandra. In 1947 he described his efforts in this regard as "My Big Crusade" and reiterated his trenchant argument against the Federal Reserve. See Confessions of a Congressman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1947; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: 1974), pp. 161-182. In this volume Voorhis described a speech he made on the floor of the House in April 1940 in which he denounced the Fed's inflationary "open-market" operations. Voorhis maintained that he made the same argument in a brief meeting at the White House with FDR. See Confessions, pp. 173, 175. "In October 1945," he later wrote, "the representative of a large New York financial house made a trip to California." The representative "called on a number of influential people in southern California. And I know that he bawled them out . . . for permitting Jerry Voorhis . . . one of the most dangerous men in Washington, to continue to represent a part of the state of California in the House of Representatives. This . . . obviously had to do with my views and work for changes in the monetary system." See Confessions, p. 331. Twenty-five years later, Voorhis produced an anti-Nixon diatribe in time for the 1972 election. This volume, too, contains an amazingly frank assessment of the Fed. In this book, however, Voorhis attributes Nixon's 1946 victory and subsequent political success to the latter's skill at red baiting. See The Strange Case of Richard Milhous Nixon (New York: Paul S. Eriksson, Inc., 1972), pp. 3, 16. Jerry Voorhis died in 1984. At that time, the New York Times described the Nixon-Voorhis battle as a "vigorous campaign," but failed to mention either red baiting or Voorhis's lifelong

power of those who helped elect him, and the issues that sank his opponent, Ford never strayed from his bipartisan, internationalist roots.

With the backing of Julius Amberg and Leonard Woodcock, Gerald Ford conducted his 1948 campaign with the deep self-assurance that comes with having powerful friends. When necessary, he employed the down home touch, milking cows while making the rounds of dairy farms in the Fifth District. He also revealed a shrewd appreciation for modern politics as he hammered away at his single issue -- Jonkman's alleged isolationism.¹⁴⁸ When Ford played up his status as a war veteran by constructing a Quonset hut as his Grand Rapid headquarters, the property owners, supporters of Bartel Jonkman, tried to have Ford evicted. Julius Amberg intervened, and the hut remained.¹⁴⁹

In the later stages of the 1948 campaign, Ford received another key boost from Democrats. According to his own account, "luck intervened on my behalf. President Truman called the Congress back into session. While Jonkman had to remain in Washington, I had an open field to run all over the district,

campaign against the Federal Reserve. See Jerry Voorhis obituary, New York Times, 12 September 1984.

¹⁴⁸terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 1-4.

¹⁴⁹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 66.

turning up at plant gates, picnics and county fairs, shaking hands and making speeches everywhere I went."¹⁵⁰ The result was

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 65. Gerald Ford's "luck," of course, came in the form of human action. The special session of Congress "and much of the strategy of the 1948 [Democratic Party] campaign" was the work of a coterie of Truman advisers known as the Monday-Night Group. According to self-styled "Wise Man" Clark Clifford, these "sub-Cabinet level" men were "liberals . . . who felt that new circumstances required new solutions. They believed that the basic tenets of the New Deal should be adapted to the postwar environment, not abandoned." For the Monday-Night Group, pragmatism was the byword. Clifford noted in his memoirs that "we did not include . . . professional liberals whose ardor and search for ideological purity outweighed their discretion and their judgement." See Clifford, Counsel to the President, pp. 84-85. The Monday-Night Group concocted the special session in order to jump start the then-ailing Truman presidential campaign. "We needed something," wrote Clifford, "to bring the [1948 Democratic National] convention to life and put pressure on the Republicans." The result was pure political genius. Truman's charge to the GOP-controlled 80th Congress was specifically designed to embarrass the Republicans. He told Congress to stop inflation, an impossible task given the very nature of the Federal Reserve System. Truman also told Congress to solve the postwar housing shortage, impossible due to such government-induced restrictions as rent control. This was an audacious political strategy. "Not since 1856 had an emergency session been called in a Presidential election year and . . . never before had a special session been introduced at a party convention." See Clifford, pp. 215, 223. Emphasis in the original. The special session fueled Harry Truman's now-legendary whistle-stop harangues against the "do-nothing" 80th Congress and helped bring about a complete reversal in the U.S House of Representatives. In 1948 the Republicans held a fifty-eight seat majority. In the 81st Congress, seated in January 1949, the Democrats enjoyed a ninety-eight seat advantage. Despite Clark Clifford's claim of pragmatism, the Monday-Night Group was comprised of men wholly dedicated to New Deal ideological purity. Clifford listed six men as members of the Monday-Night Group -- Oscar R. Ewing, Charles F. Brannon, C. Girard Davidson, Leon Keyserling, J. Donald Kingsley, and David Morse. See Clifford, p. 84. Of these, only Davidson cannot be located in readily available biographical sources. Oscar R.

Ewing was the one who "decided that liberals within the [Truman] Administration needed some sort of informal network to discuss issues and influence policy." See Clifford, p. 84. Ewing finished Harvard Law School in 1913. He later served as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Ewing was the first head of the Federal Security Agency, later renamed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 7, s.v. "Ewing, Oscar Ross, lawyer, philanthropist." Charles F. Brannon, a "career man in Government service," was "one of the few New Dealers left in the Department of Agriculture." He was a native of Denver and earned his LL.B. at the University of Colorado in 1929. In the 1948 campaign he urged "farmers to guard against forces attempting to destroy Federal farm aid programs." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1948, s.v. "Brannon, Charles F(ranklin) Aug. 23, 1903 - United States Government official; lawyer." Clifford described Leon Keyserling as "the intellectual of our circle, a respected but refreshingly controversial economist." See Clifford, p. 85. Born in South Carolina, Keyserling was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Columbia University. He attended Harvard Law School and was admitted to the New York bar in 1931. Keyserling spent a year at the Rockefeller-endowed General Education Fund before joining the Columbia University economics faculty. After "participating in an interdepartmental course on social and industrial problems . . . he soon left for Washington as one of the glittering flight of bright young men." Keyserling landed at the newly-created Agricultural Adjustment Administration. He next joined the staff of Senator Robert Wagner and was instrumental in drafting the seminal National Labor Relations Act. In 1947 Keyserling's policy wish list included "voluntary price reductions, moderate wage adjustments upward, maintenance of rent control, expansion of social security and minimum wage legislation, a Government-aided housing program, a surplus of Government revenues over expenditures, and improved management-labor relations." Described as "admittedly brilliant," Keyserling advised Truman "to ask for [postwar] price controls, rationing, and wage controls." See CBY, 1947, s.v. "Keyserling, Leon H. Jan. 22, 1908 - United States Government official; economist; lawyer." J. Donald Kingsley was born in Cambridge, N.Y. He earned a Ph.D. in Public Administration from Syracuse University in 1933. He taught at Syracuse and spent 1936-1938 at the London School of Economics as a fellow of the Social Science Research Council. Dr. Kingsley greatly feared a postwar repudiation of the New Deal. His solution to this threat was the unabashed advocacy of even more Keynesian economic policies.

victory over Jonkman in the August primary. This, for Ford, was tantamount to victory. The November general election in predominantly Republican western Michigan was a mere formality.

During his 1948 campaign, Ford noted another change in post-World War II Grand Rapids, the weakening of the "once powerful grip that the early Dutch immigrants had held over the community."¹⁵¹ As a politician, Ford realized that he no longer

Kingsley advised Truman "that government purchases used as a compensatory and stabilizing device would provide a flexible means of maintaining a given level of employment." Kingsley also served as U.S. representative to the International Labor Organization. See CBY, 1950, s.v. "Kingsley, J(ohn) Donald Feb. 25, 1908 - United Nations official." David A. Morse was a native of New York City. An All-American in football, Morse graduated from Rutgers University in 1929. He completed his LL.B. at Harvard Law School in 1932 and was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1933. Soon, however, Morse answered the siren song of the New Deal bureaucracy and took a job as counsel to the Petroleum Labor Policy Board within the Department of the Interior. Morse joined the U.S. Army Air Corps in 1942 and was sent to Europe in 1943. Morse spent his Air Corps time behind a desk drafting government labor policy for American-occupied areas in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. Under Morse's guidance, "the Allied organization abandoned its original idea of trying to foist Anglo-Saxon labor principles upon the Italians and instead [retained] some of the best features of the Fascist setup making it possible for a resumption of the syndical movement which had been the basis of the Italian labor movement since the beginning of the [20th] century." In 1944 Morse was in Germany as chief of the labor section of the U.S. Group Control Council. Later, as a delegate to the International Labor Organization, Morse favored the internationalization of such programs as collective bargaining, a guaranteed wage, and free government employment agencies. See CBY, 1949, s.v. "Morse, David A(bner) May 31, 1907 - International organization official."

¹⁵¹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 61.

faced the moral constraints imposed on Grand Rapids by strait-laced Dutch tradition. With this in mind, Ford got married and, in the process, audaciously defied standard conventions. Despite a brutal schedule of speeches and campaign events, Ford met, and eventually married Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer. As a potential political wife, Betty had three strikes against her. First, she was a divorcee, a traditional taboo nationwide, let alone in Grand Rapids. Second, she had pursued an independent career in New York City, a course considered scandalous in Dutch-dominated western Michigan. Third, back home as a single woman, she held a full-time job at a Grand Rapids department store. Under ordinary circumstances any one of these conditions would have ruled her out as the wife of a rising politician. Perhaps sensing that Dutch taboos were not entirely erased, the two kept their engagement a secret until after Ford's victory over Jonkman in the September GOP primary. Gerald and Betty were married on 15 October 1948, three weeks before Ford coasted to victory in the general election. Their wedding day was on a Friday. In an episode that would come to typify their relationship, the newlyweds spent the next day at the Michigan-Northwestern football game.¹⁵² Betty, however, understood from the outset that politics came first. She went on to become that

¹⁵²terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 50.

most valuable of political assets, the faithful, long suffering helpmate. For a quarter century, Betty Ford endured her husband's nonstop political schedule. She worked tirelessly in his Congressional office and raised four children as Ford climbed the political ladder.

Betty Ford, though, was much more. She herself had an extraordinary curriculum vitae. As a girl, she dreamed of being a dancer. "Dance was my happiness," she wrote in her memoirs. Betty studied dance at Bennington College and even managed to land a brief stint with the famed Martha Graham troupe in New York City. Blessed with stunning good looks, Betty also sought modeling jobs in the city. Her dreams, however, went unfulfilled and she returned to Grand Rapids. Betty soon married a man named William Warren but her marriage, too, ended in disappointment. Betty, a divorcee at age twenty-nine, went to work as a buyer and fashion coordinator at a large Grand Rapids department store.¹⁵³ Seemingly down on her luck, her life changed forever when she met Jerry Ford in 1947. Ford, however, was not wholly unknown to her. "Since he'd been a football hero . . . everybody in town pretty much knew who he was." To Betty, the thirty-four year old lawyer was clearly on his way to the

¹⁵³Betty Ford, The Times of My Life, pp. 17, 23-24, 36-43.

top. "In 1947, Gerald R. Ford was probably the most eligible bachelor in Grand Rapids. He was good-looking, smart, and from a fine family."¹⁵⁴

In her memoir, Betty noted that as a politician on the stump, Ford had no equal. Here Jerry was "inexhaustible . . .

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 44-45. Over the years, Betty Ford developed a keen sense of political observation and her memoirs, written after her 1974-1977 stint as First Lady, provide a shrewd assessment of Gerald Ford's political career. Here Betty Ford further undermines her husband's ex-jock public persona. For example, "smart" is rarely used to describe Gerald Ford. Similarly, "good looking" is hardly the term that comes to mind for those who first saw Ford -- with his sagging jowls and a receding hairline -- in the overwhelming media coverage of the 1970s. Photographs from his youth show an entirely different man with a full head of blond hair and an easy, confident smile. In Ford's memoir, illustrations follow p. 150. In terHorst, illustrations follow p. 245. In another untold episode of his extraordinary career, Gerald Ford not only had the looks of a fashion model, he was a fashion model. Under the direction of agent Harry Conover, Ford posed for pictures with a top model named Phyllis Brown. In 1940 and 1941 photographs of Ford appeared in such national magazines as Look and Cosmopolitan. Ford invested \$1000.00 in Conover's modeling agency but their association ended when Ford entered the Navy. See terHorst, Gerald Ford, pp. 45-46. Even in this brief venture, Ford moved in the highest circles. Harry Conover went on to a brilliant career and is credited with revolutionizing the fashion industry. His "Cover Girl" concept employed models "selected for a natural, well-scrubbed beauty, rather than glamour and sophistication." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, s.v. "Conover, Harry (Sayles) Aug. 29, 1911 - Model agency executive." With his fashion model episode, Gerald Ford was uncannily Kennedyesque as a modern, physically attractive political candidate. According to Betty Ford, "ladies followed [Jerry] wherever he went." Betty herself signed up female volunteers in the 1948 campaign. See The Times of My Life, pp. 50, 56. Ford's fashion model background created a stir in 1974 when several pictures from a 1940 issue of Look were published in Newsweek. See "Newsmakers," Newsweek, 3 June 1974, p. 48.

He took to campaigning like a starving man to a roast beef dinner." Betty saw Ford's campaign against Bartel Jonkman as "symbolic of the changes which had taken place in the world and were taking place even in Grand Rapids." Within this scenario, Jonkman, in her estimation, was hopelessly out of touch. The incumbent was "going around making speeches about Communists in the State Department" and "filing his [constituent] mail in the waste basket." Even the conservatives in Grand Rapids, she maintained, were ready for change, a change represented by the young internationalist Gerald Ford. As a result, "Jerry took the Fifth District by storm."¹⁵⁵ After defeating Bartel Jonkman in GOP primary, Ford won handily over the Democratic candidate, Fred J. Barr, with a vote total of 74,191 to 46,972. Michigan's Fifth District was Gerald Ford's safe seat until he resigned to assume the vice-presidency in 1973. Ford even survived a redistricting in 1964 that exchanged Michigan's Ottawa County for Ionia County.^{361-A}

In 1948, Gerald and Betty Ford stood on the verge of an experience unmatched in American political history. Not everyone, however, was happy. According to Syers, the

¹⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 55-57.

^{361-A} CBY, 1975.

"isolationist Chicago Tribune openly lamented Ford's victory in the primary." With Gerald Ford and Democrat Fred J. Barr in the general election, "the voters are left . . . to choose their own poison." For the GOP in general, the 1948 election was an "unmitigated disaster." Contrary to the now-famous early edition of the Tribune, Truman defeated Dewey. The Democrats thus kept the presidency. The Republicans lost control of the House, the Senate, and the governorship of Michigan.¹⁵⁶ Gerald Ford, though, was in Washington. There he set out to forge the political resume that landed him on the Warren Commission.

The election of Eisenhower was indeed a benchmark for Gerald Ford. From that point forward he closely identified with the liberal, internationalist wing of the GOP. Here, Ford not only backed the winning presidential candidate, he also added fourteen more influential men to his burgeoning network of elite associates. Supporting Eisenhower early on was an audacious political move that marked Ford's emergence as a junior partner in the American Establishment. It is a testament to his enduring political ability that, all the while, he was able to maintain a conservative Republican image.

In 1948 Ford made internationalism the single issue in his first campaign for public office. Four years later he was a

¹⁵⁶Syers, "The Political Beginnings of Gerald R. Ford," pp.

member of the Eisenhower-for-President vanguard. In his autobiography, Ford noted that Robert Taft's "foreign policy views were too isolationist for my taste. Furthermore, I was convinced that Ike could win in November and after twenty years of Democratic Presidents the country needed a change."¹⁵⁷ Here

133-134.

¹⁵⁷Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 69. Robert A. Taft was an unlikely Establishment bugbear whose background included an impeccable pedigree. He was the son of William Howard Taft and nephew of Henry Taft, partner in the pivotal Wall Street law firm of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft. The Ohioan also had the requisite Ivy League qualifications. He finished his Yale B.A. in 1910 and his Harvard Law School LL.B. in 1913. Rejected for military service due to poor eyesight, Taft went to work in European food relief with future president Herbert Hoover. Taft was in Paris during the peace negotiations but, unlike a host of other young Americans, came away from this experience with a "deep hostility for government planning" that he retained until his death four decades later. "Big government," he believed, "was inefficient, costly, and injurious to individual liberty and equality of opportunity -- the keys to the American way of life." To Taft, the New Deal was "socialistic" and war, he insisted, "would destroy civil liberty and promote socialism in the United States." See Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 5, s.v. "Taft, Robert Alphonso (Sept. 8, 1889 - July 31, 1953), lawyer, United States Senator, and three times unsuccessful candidate for the Republican presidential nomination." With these core beliefs, Taft was a considerable liability to the continuation of Establishment foreign policy. Taft's GOP rival, however, was the consummate internationalist. Though not an avowed candidate, General Dwight D. Eisenhower enjoyed immense public prestige in the years immediately following World War II. While serving as president of Columbia University he took leave to command NATO forces in Europe. As 1952 approached, "Eisenhower became increasingly prominent as a possible candidate for the presidency of the United States. Though he refused to give serious consideration to the subject and sought to discourage mention of it, nevertheless a strong movement for his nomination developed despite his dislike for politics and public office. . . . Before Eisenhower's entry into

the [1952] contest, Robert A. Taft, senator from Ohio, was the leading Republican nominee, with strong support in the South and Midwest and from conservative business and political interests. However, within a short time newspaper and public opinion polls began to show a strong trend for Eisenhower." Ike's support came also from "Northeastern and West Coast Republican leaders who were interested in continuation of some of the New Deal domestic policies of the Democrats and in supporting international organizations such as the United Nations." See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 56, s.v. "Eisenhower, Dwight David, 34th President of the United States." Eisenhower did not return from Europe until June 1952. He won the GOP nomination in July. Eisenhower is sometimes portrayed as dim-witted war hero shanghaied by the GOP elite to serve as a non-controversial figurehead. Ike's DAB write-up indicates otherwise. "Far from being a captive hero, he seemed the man who converted the Republican party from a befuddled collection of 'outs' dominated by conservatives of the Hoover era into a party that was close to the center of American opinion. Eisenhower . . . transformed the GOP . . . by flattering the conservatives, who basked in his company, and by giving actual power to middle-of-the-roaders." See DAB, Supplement 8, s.v. "Eisenhower, Dwight David (Oct. 14, 1890 - Mar. 28, 1969), army officer and president of the United States." Recent scholarship indicates that Eisenhower actively sought the presidency. See William B. Pickett, Eisenhower Decides to Run: Presidential Politics and Cold War Strategy (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), pp. xiv-xv. Pickett also documents Eisenhower's close association with various projects sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. See pp. 29, 55, 166. Pickett's research included interviews with men, still living, who were key figures in the Eisenhower foreign policy apparatus. "General Andrew J. Goodpaster, Eisenhower's White House staff secretary, adviser on international and security affairs, and later himself Supreme Allied Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, allowed an interview, read the manuscript, offered suggestions for improvement, and supported . . . efforts to find a publisher. Abbott Washburn, deputy director of the USIA during the Eisenhower presidency and a participant in the 1952 campaign, also provided helpful context." See p. x. Goodpaster and Washburn are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. See Who's Who in America, 2000, s.v. "Goodpaster, Andrew Jackson, retired army officer;" s.v. "Washburn, Abbott McConnell, government official." According to Michael Beschloss, Andrew Goodpaster "performed most of the functions later filled

Ford's instincts proved correct. Change, however, was only superficial. Under the GOP banner Eisenhower cemented into place the internationalist post-World War II foreign policy of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. Ford, by coming down on the side of Eisenhower, had a hand in maintaining foreign policy that, with only minor changes in style and tone, stood for four decades.

For Gerald Ford and the internationalist Republican left wing, the GOP label was the perfect cover for one of American history's most cynical political manipulations. Eisenhower's nomination, paired with that of his Democratic rival, Adlai E. Stevenson, governor of Illinois, placed the Establishment in a no-lose situation. One month before the 1952 election, prominent Democrat and future JFK foreign policy adviser McGeorge Bundy revealed the backstage effort to place internationalists at the top of both major party tickets. Bundy's forum was the October 1952 issue of Foreign Affairs, the flagship publication of the Council on Foreign Relations. His article reads like a campaign tract or seconding speech for both Eisenhower and Stevenson.

by [McGeorge] Bundy, [Walt W.] Rostow, [Henry] Kissinger, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, all of whom held the title of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs." See Beschloss, The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev 1960-1963 (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 249.

In a moment of bold-faced candor, Bundy laid out the Establishment position on Ike's nomination. "The fundamental meaning of the Eisenhower candidacy can best be understood by considering the nature of the forces he was drafted to stop -- for fundamentally he was the stop-Taft candidate." Bundy saw that "the main objects in stopping Taft were two -- first, to prevent the nomination of a loser; and second, to avoid selecting as the party leader a man of isolationist or neo-isolationist background." Bundy pointed out that the November election was a mere formality. The nominating conventions were the real center of action. That year, both the Democratic and Republican parties held their conventions in Chicago. "For the student of foreign affairs, the most important part of the campaign of 1952 ended in Chicago in July. The choice which remains [between Stevenson and Eisenhower] is as nothing compared to the nominating conventions. . . . Whatever might be honestly believed by partisans of Senators [Estes] Kefauver [Stevenson's closest rival] and Taft, it was agreed by uncommitted observers that the two [eventual] nominees were the strongest candidates their respective parties could have found, and in each case a significant part of this strength was related to foreign policy. . . . To men of sober opinion this result was deeply satisfying; even earnest partisans were able to agree

that both parties had chosen with distinction. Only the heartiest haters were disappointed."¹⁵⁸

To McGeorge Bundy the primary object of American politics was the struggle for the presidency, and control of foreign policy. Within this mindset there were but two sides -- an enlightened internationalist elite and a benighted general public. It mattered little that candidates like Robert Taft enjoyed widespread public support prior to Eisenhower's entering the 1952 campaign. "A wise and experienced American," Bundy wrote, "has remarked that all our foreign policy in recent years has turned around a series of strenuous efforts to get public and Congressional support for actions that were plainly and urgently necessary. [This wise and experienced American] exaggerates, but not by much. . . . Foreign Affairs is now thirty years old, and its life span is punctuated by issues in which, to put it very bluntly, the wise and well-informed have been mostly on one side, and the historic [isolationist] tradition of America on the other."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸McGeorge Bundy, "November 1952: The Imperatives of Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, October 1952, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 11. In 1952 McGeorge Bundy was Associate Professor of Government at Harvard University. In this CFR manifesto he restated the basic foreign policy framework of containment and collective security. Here Bundy listed three national imperatives. "First, the United States is required by

its own principles and purposes to act in opposition to and restraint of the aggressive and hostile pressures of the Soviet Union. Second, this and other actions in world politics must be taken with a decent respect to the opinions of others, and with an understanding of the importance of independent friends. Third, the great limitation on all policy is that a third world war would be a catastrophe of a new order of magnitude, and perhaps most of all for the United States. In short, the United States must act with friends and against enemies, for freedom and peace." See p.3. Bundy, though a Democrat, displayed a clear bias toward Eisenhower. He noted that "there is among us a very considerable feeling that it would be worth it to try changing the guard in Washington." Still, he saw both Stevenson and Eisenhower as capable of defending the Establishment's post-World War II status quo. "The two nominees . . . are known as supporters of the basic outlines of the American foreign policy developed since 1947 . . . [and] both, in different ways, have been spared the necessity to defend or attack this policy in any partisan or inflexible spirit. . . . The last twelve years have seen a revolution in American foreign policy, but no revolution is ever safely complete until its work is carried on by men not in the immediate circle of those who made it; and the longer it is led by a small or limited group, the greater its fragility. Close as they have been to the making of foreign policy, both Governor Stevenson and General Eisenhower still give the promise of the kind of new leadership that consolidates . . . by the very act of taking power. If this promise should be fulfilled, then indeed we could assess this year [1952] as one in which historical imperatives were properly obeyed." For Bundy, domestic politics were not important. Both Stevenson and Eisenhower maintained the "conviction that the central task of the next President, dwarfing the matters noisily discussed in campaign argument, must be to try to work for freedom and peace in the world." See p. 6. "Seldom have two rival Americans more conspicuously embodied that combination of practical sagacity and deep moral authority which is central to our [Establishment] tradition. Nothing in their equipment is more important for the future of American foreign policy. . . . We may take pride and comfort from the great and evident fact that the next American President, barring accident, will be a man who fully understands that national ideals and political realities have their deepest meaning when taken together." See p. 11. In 1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower served on the Editorial Advisory Board for Foreign Affairs. Also listed on the masthead of the October 1952 issue was future Warren Commissioner Allen W. Dulles.

The elevation of Dwight D. Eisenhower to the presidency was one of the pivotal events of modern American history, and Gerald Ford was present at the creation. As such, Ford could definitely count himself among the "wise and well informed." Over the years he remained a staunch member of a GOP elite that sought to maintain the post-World War II internationalist status quo regardless of traditional party label.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰While the Eisenhower/Taft episode is more widely known, it appears that the "wise and well-informed" also influenced the 1952 Democratic nomination. Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver was the clear front-runner when the Democrats convened in Chicago, but Illinois governor Adlai Stevenson walked away the winner. Estes Kefauver, however, never had a reputation as an isolationist. Kefauver was born in Madisonville, Tennessee in 1903. He earned his B.A. at the University of Tennessee in 1924. He taught school in Hot Springs, Arkansas before leaving for Yale Law School where he completed his LL.B. in 1927. He returned to his native state to practice law in Chattanooga and "soon became a successful corporate and banking lawyer." He also entered politics and "emerged as a leader of a movement to reform government in Hamilton County." Kefauver won a seat in Congress during a special election in 1939 in which he campaigned as a New Deal Democrat. He won election to the U.S. Senate in 1948 after a bitter fight with the state Democratic machine. In the Senate, Kefauver initiated a very public crusade against organized crime. Here he "seized the limelight as chairman of a special committee. . . . By 1951 the Kefauver Committee's exhaustive investigations and adept use of television coverage had made the public sensitive to the dangers of organized crime, spurred prosecutions, and made Kefauver a national figure." See Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 7, s.v. "Kefauver, (Carey) Estes (July 26, 1903 - Aug. 10, 1963), lawyer and U.S. Senator." In foreign policy, Kefauver developed a solid Establishment-friendly resume. "In 1949 he introduced in the Senate a resolution calling on the president to invite the North Atlantic Treaty nations to a

conference on federal union." See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume H, s.v. "Kefauver, [Carey] Estes, U.S. senator." That same year Kefauver maintained that "the two-thirds requirement for Senatorial treaty ratification" was one of "the chief obstacles to effective democratic legislation." He therefore proposed a Constitutional amendment "to end the exclusive right of the Senate to ratify treaties." See Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, s.v. "Kefauver, (Carey) Estes July 26, 1903 - United States Senator from Tennessee; lawyer." Kefauver was "known as an internationalist and a student of foreign affairs" who "traveled widely, including to communist-dominated Eastern Europe." In addition to his US/NATO federal union proposal, Kefauver called for "an Atlantic Congress of leading citizens of NATO countries, which was held in London, England, in June 1959." Kefauver was also a delegate to, an "active for years in," the Interparliamentary Union, "an organization composed of members of parliaments of the so-called free-world nations." According to his NCAB write-up Kefauver was the second American honored by the Interparliamentary Union. "The first was Franklin D. Roosevelt." See NCAB, Volume 52, s.v. "Kefauver, [Carey] Estes, U.S. Senator." In 1952 Kefauver announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination and "although he lacked a large campaign fund and significant organizational support, he effectively contested almost all of the Democratic primary elections. The result was that before the Democratic National Convention met, he had the largest number of committed delegates and was the most popular Democrat in the public opinion polls. The nomination was not to be his, however." See DAB, Supplement 7. None of Kefauver's readily available biographical sources list CFR membership. Like Robert A. Taft, Estes Kefauver saw his nomination taken away by a candidate that did not publicly seek the nomination. Adlai Stevenson was a Midwesterner with an excellent background of his own. His maternal great-grandfather, Jesse Fell, was a friend and supporter of Abraham Lincoln. Stevenson's grandfather and namesake was vice-president in the second Administration of Grover Cleveland. Born in Los Angeles in 1900 but raised in Bloomington, Illinois, Stevenson attended the Choate School in Connecticut and finished his Princeton B.A. in 1922. He entered Harvard Law School but left after his second year. He completed his J.D. degree at Chicago's Northwestern University in 1926. In true Establishment fashion, Stevenson alternated the practice of corporate law with periods of public service. His first government job was with the New Deal Agricultural Adjustment Agency in 1933. In the two decades prior to 1952, Stevenson

practiced law, hobnobbed with the liberal academic elite at the University of Chicago, and served as key legal counsel and administrator in the early years of the UN. During World War II, Stevenson served as general counsel to Navy Secretary Frank Knox, a Republican and former acolyte to Theodore Roosevelt. During the 1940s Stevenson "worked closely with many of the people who influenced United States policy in the immediate postwar years, including, James F. Byrnes, Senator [Arthur] Vandenberg, Robert A. Lovett, John J. McCloy, Dean G. Acheson, and Eleanor Roosevelt." Stevenson was elected governor of Illinois in 1948. Over the years he "developed a reputation for informal and eloquent speeches." As governor, he "was a skillful politician, respectful of the uses of the craft." See DAB, Supplement 7, s.v. "Stevenson, Adlai Ewing, II (Feb. 5, 1900 - July 14, 1965), politician and government official." Estes Kefauver took the traditional route to the 1952 Democratic nomination. He announced his candidacy early-on and traveled extensively. He made dozens of personal appearances and gave numerous speeches. Adlai Stevenson took another route -- he repeatedly denied interest in the nomination and declined to campaign. In early 1952 President Truman summoned Stevenson to a two-hour private conference in Washington and the Chicagoan emerged as a prominent figure within the Democratic Party. "TIME featured him in a cover story [on 28 January 1952] and a tide of party and private speculation on Stevenson's possible candidacy swept the nation [though] Stevenson himself had already agreed to seek a second term as Governor of Illinois." In April 1952 Stevenson issued two statements reiterating his desire to remain in Illinois. Yet, "despite these disavowals, Stevenson was nominated on the third ballot . . . in one of the few genuine drafts in American political history." See CBY, 1961, s.v. "Stevenson, Adlai E(wing) Feb. 5, 1900 - United States Representative to the United Nations; political leader." The TIME article was exceedingly complimentary and featured Stevenson's portrait on the cover. In an ironic reference to Camelot, the article described his Illinois political career as "Sir Galahad" against "the pols." See TIME, 28 January 1952, p. 16. Stevenson was a director of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. See NCAB, Volume 53, s.v. "Stevenson, Adlai Ewing, statesman." Adlai Stevenson was part of an internationalist network with numerous ties to the McCloy ambit. In 1952 the ubiquitous John J. McCloy was a key figure in both the Republican and Democratic camps. After Eisenhower's victory, McCloy became known as Ike's "Wise Man." In 1960 Stevenson was a candidate for secretary of state in the incoming Kennedy

Administration. Instead, JFK appointed him to head the American delegation to the United Nations. According to Kai Bird, McCloy, though a Republican, "actually had a better relationship with the liberal Democrat than did Kennedy. [McCloy] had known Stevenson ever since the Illinois lawyer had worked in the Navy Department during the [Second World] War. He enjoyed Stevenson's wit and genuinely respected his political views. Stevenson himself so admired McCloy that during the 1952 presidential campaign he told George Ball that his [Stevenson's] only candidate for the job of secretary of state was McCloy. . . . There was a genuine warmth and respect shared between them even as they took opposite sides [sic] in a policy debate." See Bird, The Chairman, pp. 502-503. Here Bird cites Stevenson biographer John Bartlow Martin who described McCloy in passing as "a Republican who helped mold the tough-minded cold-war Europeanist Eastern establishment school of thought." See Martin, Adlai Stevenson and the World: The Life of Adlai Stevenson (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977), p. 24. Martin maintains that the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was "the old group where [Stevenson] had started," his "old home base." See pp. 445, 762. Martin was one of Stevenson's speechwriters in the 1952 campaign. He campaigned for JFK in 1960 and later served as ambassador to the Dominican Republic from 1962-1964. Martin served as a campaign staffer for, successively, Lyndon Johnson, Robert F. Kennedy, and Hubert Humphrey. Martin served as professor of journalism at Northwestern University from 1970 until his death in 1987. See WWWA, Volume 9, "Martin, John Bartlow, author." One obituary states that Martin described himself as being "ultraliberal." See Contemporary Authors, Volume 121, s.v. "Martin, John Bartlow 1915 - 1987." Stevenson's nomination is all the more surprising given Chicago's traditional reputation as the "citadel of isolationism." In the 1930s Stevenson used the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations as a bully pulpit to publicize the pro-war message among Midwestern "provincials." See Herbert J. Miller, Adlai Stevenson: A Study in Values (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 42-43. In 1940 Stevenson joined Kansas editor William Allen White in the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Stevenson "was a natural choice -- an internationalist, former president of the [Chicago] Council on Foreign Relations, prominent socially with access to large contributors, and known as a speaker, organizer, and master of ceremonies." See Martin, Adlai Stevenson of Illinois: The Life of Adlai Stevenson (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 164-165. John J. McCloy was also a member of the CDAAA, which Kai Bird described as "an

By 1952 Gerald Ford had found his place within the postwar milieu. He was a career politician who now maintained two distinct entities. The public Gerald Ford was the conservative Midwesterner, a veteran of the House, and respectable proponent of bipartisanship. The private Gerald Ford was the well-connected political insider who, in the Eisenhower years, would develop numerous associations within the American intelligence apparatus, including a close relationship with future Warren

avowedly pro-war propaganda group." The CDAAA was part of an informal network that included such similar outfits as the Century Group. Both organizations served "to proselytize the country for a coming war" as "counterweight to the isolationist rhetoric of the America First Organization." See Bird, The Chairman, p. 109. The Century Group was laced with McCloy's CFR cronies and "included the most ardent interventionists among New York's business elite." See Isaacson and Thomas, The Wise Men, p. 185. One of Stevenson's associates at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was Stephen Y. Hord. See Martin, Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, p 97. Hord was a banker who finished his Yale B.A. in 1921. A Skull and Bones man, Hord later joined Brown Brothers Harriman, the banking firm headed by Wise Man Averell Harriman. See WWA, 1964-1965, s.v. "Hord, Stephen Y., banking and adv. service." McCloy's connections within the Democratic camp included Samuel K.C. Kopper, Stevenson's foreign policy advisor during the 1952 campaign. Kopper spent several years in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. In 1953 he was employed by the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) as a "political adviser and troubleshooter." At the time McCloy was chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, then the holder of bank deposits for ARAMCO and the Saudi royal family. See Bird, The Chairman, pp. 441-442. Kopper was a Princeton man, B.A. 1937, with an LL.B. from the University of Virginia, 1940. When Kopper left the State Department in 1952, he signed on as deputy publicity director, National Volunteers for Stevenson. Kopper was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 3, s.v. "Kopper, Samuel Keene Claggett, lawyer."

Commissioner Allen W. Dulles. Ford spent the 1950s solidifying his position and by the time JFK took office in 1961 Ford was, himself, a full-fledged member of a worldwide elite with membership in several select organizations. Gerald R. Ford, Republican from Michigan, became an active supporter of the foreign policy of John F. Kennedy's Democratic Administration. Ultimately, it was this steadfast commitment to the bipartisan Establishment line that landed Ford on the Warren Commission.

As stated above, this study of the Warren Commission is an examination of readily available materials. Gerald Ford's life story is easily accessed through his own autobiography and Jerald F. terHorst's biography. As reference sources, these two volumes are invaluable. What better way to relate Ford's experiences than through his own words? Similarly, terHorst is no ordinary biographer. He was Ford's contemporary in the early days in Michigan and later served, albeit briefly, as Ford's White House Press Secretary. Ford and terHorst, though, tend to focus on the relatively mundane affairs of Congressional politics. They perpetuate the myth that Gerald Ford was merely a "man of the House" and downplay the Michigan Congressman's elite status, acute political skill, and burgeoning Establishment connections.

It is clear that Gerald Ford had much wider horizons, as his activities in the 1950s will attest. It was during the

Eisenhower interlude that Ford received the committee assignment that would bring him into close contact with fellow future Warren Commissioner Allen W. Dulles. Ford expanded his already impressive list of associations when he and Richard Nixon organized junior members of the House into a political caucus known as the Chowder and Marching Club. With this group Ford displayed evidence of political muscle extraordinary for a man of his relative youth. From this beginning, Ford developed a vast network of political contacts that eventually propelled him onto the Warren Commission and, later, into the White House.

When the 83rd Congress met in 1953, Ford's mentor, John Taber of New York, became chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. Taber placed Ford in charge of Army affairs on the Defense Subcommittee.¹⁶¹ Ford quickly established a reputation as an expert on the budgetary matters of the Department of Defense as he forsook the glamour of House floor debate for the quiet drudgery of the committee room. This reputation would stand him in good stead several years later when a seat opened up on the Appropriations subcommittee that oversaw the budget for the Central Intelligence Agency.

For Gerald Ford and his GOP internationalist associates, the euphoria over Ike's election proved to be short lived. In

¹⁶¹Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 70.

1952 they foresaw a "modern Republican" epoch. World tensions continued to mount, however, and traditional GOP "isolationists" fought to block the Eisenhower agenda. According to terHorst, "Ford expected that the Eisenhower Administration would usher in an era of domestic tranquility and international stability. That hope was only partially realized." The war in Korea ended in 1953, but several other events "kept Washington on edge," including the death of Stalin and the resultant Kremlin power struggle, the Soviet repression of an East German uprising, and the fall of French forces at Dien Bien Phu. In addition, Ford was dismayed to see that "harmonious relations . . . failed to develop within the U.S Senate, where old-fashioned Republican conservatives insisted on battling the Republican president . . . [and] the foreign policies of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles." Ford and "his fellow House Republicans occupied sideline seats during the fights between the White House and the Republican isolationist bloc in the Senate."¹⁶²

Ford, a political genius in the making, made the most of this difficult situation. He labored endlessly at committee work and made friends across the political spectrum. As a rule, he shunned publicity and avoided taking a hard stand on any of

¹⁶²terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 66-67.

the pressing issues of the day. Ford developed a pragmatic philosophy that pleased his Michigan constituency, helped him maintain his position within the Establishment, and was the basis of his vaunted bipartisanship in later decades. According to terHorst, "Ford decided his political stance was just about right -- in the middle of the party." When pressed, Ford always declared that he was "a moderate in domestic affairs, an internationalist in foreign affairs, and a conservative in fiscal policy. . . . It sounded explicit, but it had the virtue [sic] of being sufficiently ambiguous to give Ford all the leeway he needed on any issue."¹⁶³

In 1954 Gerald Ford passed a significant milestone in the life of the career politician -- permanent residence in Washington. "With his . . . re-election to a fourth consecutive term, another easy victory in western Michigan, Ford had reached a point of no return." His seat in Michigan was so safe that he and Betty saw no pressing need to keep a home in Grand Rapids. Accordingly, they built a "modest split-level house" in Alexandria, Virginia. Like his House counterpart Hale Boggs, Ford was now "committed to life on the Potomac."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³Ibid., p.67.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 68.

With his own re-election in Michigan a foregone conclusion, Ford hit the campaign trail on behalf of GOP candidates nationwide. He assumed a grueling schedule of appearances and speeches, racked up untold political capital, and bolstered "his reputation for honesty and candor." Ford moved in ever-wider circles "beyond the confines of the Fifth District and he was a welcome figure at fund-raising dinners and Republican rallies."¹⁶⁵ Despite the toll on his family life, Ford pursued this political regimen without letup until his nomination to the vice-presidency in 1973.

Ford, of course, kept his seat in the 1956 election. Dwight Eisenhower won a second term, but the Congressional majority returned to the Democrats. Gerald Ford would never again serve in a GOP-controlled House of Representatives. Sadly, for Ford, the Republican Party continued to lose ground to the Democrats as the 1950s wore on. As a result, he faced dwindling odds of ever becoming Speaker of the House during a period of Democratic Party ascendancy. For the bipartisan-minded Ford, however, this circumstance did not hinder his further political advancement.

Ford's efficient constituent-service and re-election machine left him with plenty of time to devote to the 1956

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 69.

presidential election. That year, he played a crucial behind-the-scenes role in the political life of Richard Nixon. In defiance of the internationalist left wing of the GOP, Ford backed the vice-president during the so-called "Dump Nixon" campaign. Ford and other members of the Chowder and Marching Club sent a telegram of opposition to Harold E. Stassen, leader of the "Dump Nixon" effort. At the time, Stassen was a stalwart member of the internationalist elite and was Ike's cabinet-level special assistant for disarmament matters. Ford and his associates made phone calls and sent telegrams to Republican Party leaders across the nation. Despite Eisenhower's tacit approval of Stassen's efforts, and a well-orchestrated national publicity campaign, Ford's group prevailed. Nixon remained on the 1956 GOP ticket as vice-president.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 69-70. The "Dump Nixon" campaign surfaced, in part, because of Eisenhower's health problems. According to Kai Bird, the New York Times mentioned John J. McCloy in a list of "dark-horse" candidates for the 1956 nomination, should Ike choose not to run. Once it became clear that Ike would indeed run, McCloy and Stassen organized the "Dump Nixon" movement for fear that their "side door influence with the White House" would be lost if Nixon should succeed Eisenhower. McCloy "fiercely disclaimed" his role as a member of Eisenhower's "unofficial cabinet" and described press accounts his role in the "Dump Nixon" affair as "vicious misstatement." Bird also links McCloy crony and future JFK advisor General Lucius Clay to the "Dump Nixon" effort. See Bird, The Chairman, p. 447. Harold Stassen is best known for his quixotic efforts to win the Republican nomination for president. He formally announced his candidacy in every election, save 1980, between 1948 and 1988. At his death

The "Dump Nixon" affair is yet another in a string of audacious, yet overlooked, political moves on the part of Gerald Ford. In this episode, Ford not only generated incalculable good will in his relationship with Richard Nixon, he also sided

in 2001, at age 93, the New York Times stated that his transformation into "a standard political joke" belied his status as a "well-paid -- and some said brilliant -- international lawyer." Stassen was born in Minnesota and began the practice of law after receiving his LL.B. from the University of Minnesota in 1929. Stassen entered politics and was elected governor of Minnesota in 1937. In 1948 Stassen was a serious candidate for the GOP nomination, losing eventually to Thomas E. Dewey. In 1952 he threw his support to Eisenhower. "Mr. Stassen became a trusted friend of Mr. Eisenhower's and served in his administration for five years." Stassen served as aide to Admiral William Halsey during World War II and was later a member of the original U.S. delegation to the 1945 San Francisco conference that established the United Nations. As such, he signed the UN Charter. "Throughout his career he was to cultivate a reputation as a moderate, internationalist Republican" who was "sorrowful about the GOP's shift to the right, but never tempted to switch." See Harold E. Stassen obituary, New York Times, 5 March 2001. A 1948 biography described Stassen as "an unequivocally liberal Republican." Stassen delivered the keynote address at the 1940 Republican National Convention. In 1948 he entered Republican primaries against Robert A. Taft in order "to test the differences between them on foreign and domestic policies." Stassen's foreign policy views were described as "Wilsonian international cooperation, instead of . . . isolation." In July 1948, with no background in academics, Stassen was named president of the University of Pennsylvania. See Current Biography Yearbook, 1948, s.v. "Stassen, Harold E(dward) April 13, 1907 - University president; political leader; lawyer." In the end, Stassen failed to remove Nixon from the 1956 GOP ticket. In a spectacular case of political crow-eating, Stassen, "in the name of party harmony," formally seconded Nixon's nomination before the 1956 convention. See Earl Mazo, Richard Nixon: A Political and Personal Portrait (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), pp. 183-184.

with the winner in a political fight that included such Establishment types as Christian A. Herter, the proposed vice-presidential replacement. This was serious business. According to journalist William A. Costello, "Stassen belonged to the Eastern internationalist wing of the party which had won at every Republican National Convention since 1940. . . . It was this wing that had produced Eisenhower, but some of its leaders doubted whether in terms of basic political doctrine Nixon could be relied on to hold fast to the canons of Eisenhower Republicanism." This group feared "Nixon had too marked a tendency to move toward the Republican right."¹⁶⁷

Throughout the "Dump Nixon" episode, Ford kept a low profile. He assiduously avoided publicity and later "maintained that he did nothing unusual to help his friend, and deserved no special credit." Afterward, "Nixon's gratitude was expressed in almost overwhelming terms," including "several effusive phone calls" and four personal notes.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷William A. Costello, The Facts About Nixon: An Unauthorized Biography (New York: The Viking Press, 1960), p. 152. Costello was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. See Contemporary Authors, Volumes 1-4, s.v. "Costello, William Aloysius 1904 - ."

¹⁶⁸terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 70. According to James Cannon, "Chowder and Marching was Ford's first alliance in Washington." The club was a key network of like-minded Republicans relatively new to the House of Representatives. The group originated in the 81st Congress, when Gerald Ford, Richard

Nixon, and fourteen other Republicans, mostly World War II veterans, came together to block a Democratic-sponsored pension for all veterans, regardless of combat status. They defeated the pension and, realizing their newly found political clout, remained together as a permanent organization. See Cannon, Time and Chance, p. 54. Charter members of the group included Representatives from the West Coast, the Midwest, and New England. They are listed in Costello, The Facts About Nixon, p. 180n. These Congressmen were typical of the post-World War II GOP. Like Ford, they were keenly interested in rising through the House hierarchy and were primarily focused on status, not ideology. If they expressed any criticism at all, they were content to nip at the fringes of the welfare-warfare state and did not constitute a serious challenge to the Establishment status quo. Three of Ford's Chowder and Marching Club cohorts signed the 1952 letter to Eisenhower -- Claude Bakewell, Norris Cotton, and Thruston B. Morton. Four others had careers significant enough to rate Current Biography Yearbook write-ups. John Byrnes of Wisconsin "consistently supported aid to needy nations, but . . . often differed with the [Eisenhower] Administration on the size of appropriations," as opposed to the elimination of government programs. See CBY, 1960, s.v. "Byrnes, John W(illiam) June 12, 1913 - United States Representative from Wisconsin." Byrnes served as House Republican Policy Committee Chairman from 1959-1965. See John W. Byrnes obituary, CBY, 1985. Kenneth Keating of New York was a veteran of both World Wars. First elected to the House in 1946, "Keating's voting record on foreign issues shows general support for foreign aid. . . . In voting on domestic affairs, Keating . . . frequently supported the Republican drive for economy." He voted against efforts to give President Truman "sweeping authority to put the home front on ready-for-war footing." He also supported the Bricker Amendment and denounced "all government subsidies" as "badges of statism." See CBY, 1950, s.v. "Keating, Kenneth B(arnard) May 18, 1900 - United States Representative from New York." Keating went on to serve as Ambassador to Israel during the Nixon and Ford Administrations. See Kenneth B. Keating obituary, CBY, 1975. John Davis Lodge, the sole true blue-blood of the group, was the brother of GOP stalwart Henry Cabot Lodge. As a boy he was educated in England and France. He attended the Middlesex School in Concord, Massachusetts and entered Harvard. There he earned his B.A. in 1925 and his LL.B. in 1929. From 1929 to 1931 Lodge was an associate at Cravath, DeGersdorff, Swain & Wood. During this same period, John J. McCloy was manager of Cravath's offices in Paris and Milan. Lodge left the Cravath firm in 1931

and, urged on by his wife, an Italian singer, pursued an acting career. He subsequently appeared on Broadway and in numerous feature films. Lodge spent the late 1930s making movies in England, France, and Italy. Upon the outbreak of World War II, He returned to the U.S. to accept a Navy commission. He served as liaison to the French Fleet during the Allied landings at Sicily, Salerno, and Toulon. Lodge won election to the House of Representatives in 1946 and entered with the Republican-dominated 80th Congress. As Congressman, Lodge spent most of his time pursuing an internationalist agenda. He traveled widely in Europe "advocating both interim and long-term aid for non-Communist Europe." He also fought efforts to reduce appropriations for foreign relief. See CBY, 1948, s.v. "Lodge, John Davis Oct. 20, 1903 - United States Representative from Connecticut; lawyer." Lodge was governor of Connecticut from 1950-1954 and later served as ambassador under the Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, and Reagan Administrations. See John Davis Lodge obituary, New York Times, 30 October 1985. Lodge left an extensive Who Was Who write-up which listed myriad occupations, honors, awards, and club memberships. Though this write-up contained no clear indication that he had worked in the intelligence field, it listed Lodge as a member of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 9, s.v. "Lodge, John Davis, ambassador, lawyer, congressman, governor." Charles E. Potter of Michigan entered the House by special election in 1947. Potter finished his B.A. at Michigan State in 1938 and was employed as a social worker until 1942 when he enlisted in the U.S. Army. Potter saw combat action in France and received wounds that required amputation of both legs. Upon discharge in 1946, Potter worked as a vocational rehabilitation representative for the U.S. Department of Labor. He resigned in 1947 to run for a vacant seat in Michigan's Eleventh District. In 1952 Potter was elected to the U.S. Senate seat left open by the death of Arthur Vandenberg. During his Senate tenure Potter helped direct the Army-McCarthy Hearings in 1954. Afterward, he "expressed the hope that the American people would not get the idea that the government was overrun by disloyal people." See CBY, 1954, s.v. "Potter, Charles E(dward) Oct. 30, 1916 - United States Senator from Michigan." The remaining charter members of the Chowder and Marching Club represented the heart of the postwar GOP, but left no readily available record of any specific political philosophy. They had in common the following: college education, law school, active duty military service, and election to Congress. All were "joiners" in the classic sense, claiming membership in numerous

Despite an outward appearance of frivolity that included striped aprons and silly chef's hats, the Chowder and Marching Club was a serious organization. In its heyday, the group met each Wednesday for strategy conferences on House business. Costello saw the group as the perfect political organization. "As a bloc, the youthful marchers were big enough to command a degree of attention which would not have been accorded them as individuals; at the same time they were not big enough to excite hostility or reprisals." The Chowder and Marching Club was "a small power nexus, which exerted its influence on legislation during the drafting stage in committee, where most of the basic decisions were made."¹⁶⁹ The Chowder and Marching Club had additional significance for the career and public image of Gerald Ford. Since the group was a Republican organization, it was considered to be on the conservative side of the political spectrum. Therefore, the club neatly underscores Ford's ability

fraternities, service clubs, bar associations, Masonic lodges, veteran's organizations, and the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks. See WWA, 1956-1957, s.v. "Davis, Glenn R., congressman;" s.v. "Jackson, Donald Lester, congressman;" s.v. "Nelson, Charles Pembroke, congressman." WWA, 1962-1963, "Allen, John Joseph, Jr., lawyer;" s.v. "Boggs, J. Caleb, senator." WWWA, Volume 4, "Norblad, Walter, congressman." WWWA, Volume 5, "Lovre, Harold O., lawyer." Of this remaining group, only Donald L. Jackson was not a lawyer.

¹⁶⁹Costello, The Facts About Nixon, pp. 180-181. The Chowder and Marching Club is pictured in Cannon, Time and Chance. Illustrations follow p. 272.

to be largely identified as a political conservative while also maintaining solid ties to the liberal Eastern Establishment wing of the GOP.

In the end, Gerald Ford's gamble with the Chowder and Marching Club paid off handsomely. Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1969 and appointed Ford vice-president upon the resignation of Spiro Agnew in 1973. Harold Stassen, on the other hand, never recovered politically. He was forced out of the Eisenhower Administration in 1958 and went on to become a national laughingstock with his quadrennial efforts to gain the GOP nomination.

Gerald Ford's personal political success would continue through the 1950s, but the Republican losses to the Democratic Party began to take a toll. Ford began to grow weary of the grinding routine of the House and even considered leaving politics to return to the practice of law. By 1957 he and Betty had four children and "compared to what some of his attorney friends were earning in private law practice, Ford was bringing home a thin rasher of bacon."¹⁷⁰ The Michigan Congressman never acted on this impulse and remained in the House for nearly twenty more years, his ennui dispelled by his initiation into

¹⁷⁰terHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 72.

yet another exclusive circle -- the intelligence world of Allen W. Dulles.

Gerald Ford's official connection with Allen Dulles came some eight years before the events of Dealey Plaza. Between 1956 and 1961 Ford and Dulles maintained a close relationship in a world of secret, off-the-record meetings during the period when the spymaster was at the top of his game. TerHorst notes this development but confines it to the context of Ford's House career. Ford's "selection as a member of the elite group which handled the secret budget of the Central Intelligence Agency" was "indicative of his stature." Beyond this, TerHorst, and Ford in his memoir, have little further comment. The Dulles connection is central to Gerald Ford's remarkable rise within the Establishment and his eventual selection for the Warren Commission. Ford's entrée into the realm of national security, therefore, deserves further scrutiny.¹⁷¹

In his 1994 biography of Gerald Ford, James Cannon revealed a true appreciation for the Michigan congressman's insider resume. With the appointment to the Appropriations Committee, Ford "became one of the nucleus of members who [made] up an in-House elite." In 1950 Ford found himself in the group that

¹⁷¹TerHorst, Gerald Ford, p. 72.

"held the ultimate power in any government: Money."¹⁷² From this beginning, Ford put in several years of diligent toil in House committee rooms. Here he impressed the leadership with his work ethic, his intellect, and his dedication to a bipartisan foreign policy.

In the 1950s Ford continued to prove his genius as a politician. He was the consummate modern Republican and never veered from the internationalist position of the party's liberal wing. Ford also maintained strong ties with the Democrats that held power during most of his career and his assiduous courting of favor among them brought him membership on additional subcommittees. Placed on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee in 1953 during a brief Republican interregnum, Ford grew to prominence as his duties in this role consumed the lion's share of his time in the House. Here he solidified his "reputation for hard work and steadiness, and for being a man who kept his word."¹⁷³ In 1955 Ford's bipartisan efforts earned him additional responsibilities in a House once again controlled by Democrats. He traveled to Europe to inspect American forces and later received an appointment to the subcommittee that

¹⁷²James Cannon, Time and Chance: Gerald Ford's Appointment with History (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994), p. 59.

¹⁷³Ibid.

monitored foreign aid. Over the years Ford became adept at grilling military brass and representatives of the State Department alike. Further, "for Ford, it was an opportunity to find out more about the complex relationship among military spending, foreign aid, and U.S. foreign policy."¹⁷⁴ Ford excelled in this area and by 1956 had truly impressed his Democratic colleagues. To Texas Democrat George Mahon, Ford was a man of "calm judgement and steady hand" who understood well national security issues, including "the intricacies of nuclear strategic capabilities." Best of all, Ford "was never partisan on defense." According to Cannon, it because of these attributes that Gerald Ford "was admitted to the inner temple of national secrets," the Intelligence Subcommittee.¹⁷⁵

This subcommittee included John Taber and Clarence Cannon. Both of these men were prominent in Congress and had helped Ford in his advance through the House hierarchy. Also on the subcommittee were two men who maintained much lower profiles, Democrat Harry Sheppard and Republican Richard B. Wigglesworth. The subcommittee had no staff. The group met "in a remote part of the House complex," Ford recalled. "Allen Dulles would bring

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p, 64.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 64-65.

a few of his people in for five or so days every year and we would hold hearings on the CIA budget and related intelligence matters. No transcripts were made. None." Ford informed his biographer that the subcommittee "had total access to all the CIA people . . . Whatever they were going to do, we knew about it."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 65. Harry Sheppard, a fourteen-term Democrat from California, had no readily-discernable Establishment connections. Before his election in 1936, Sheppard had a varied career in law, mining, engineering, copper mining, and as an official with the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. His New York Times obituary portrayed him as a personal and budgetary skinflint. In Washington, Sheppard "created a stir when he deposited \$250,000, mostly in \$100, \$500, and \$1000 bills, in several savings and loan institutions." On his role with the Appropriations Committee, Sheppard maintained that "there is nothing sacred about a military budget, and I am willing to stay here for months to find out if and where it can be trimmed." New York Times, 29 April 1969. Sheppard's Who's Who write-up described him as the "dean of the California Congressional Delegation." Who Was Who in America, Volume 5, s.v. "Sheppard, Harry R., congressman." Richard Wigglesworth, on the other hand, was a Boston Brahmin with a host of Establishment bona fides, including early-career connections to John J. McCloy and Allen Dulles. First elected in 1928, Wigglesworth spent thirty years in the House. His family, prominent in banking, the law, and textile manufacturing, traced its roots to the original Puritan migration. Wigglesworth attended Milton Academy and Harvard, where he was a football All-American. After receiving his B.A. in 1912, he served briefly in the Philippines as private secretary to Governor-General, and Boston investment banker, W. Cameron Forbes. Returning to the U.S., Wigglesworth entered Harvard Law School. He earned his LL.B. in 1916 and practiced law in Boston before service in France as a field artillery officer. After the war he went to work in the reparations field as legal adviser to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Wigglesworth spent the years 1924-1928 in Europe. His first post, 1924-1927, was in Berlin, where he served as assistant to the Agent-General of Reparations Payments. From 1927-1928,

Wigglesworth was in Paris as general counsel for the Dawes Plan. In Congress Wigglesworth was identified with numerous efforts to reduce federal expenditures and was critical of "the tragic errors in judgement made in Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam." Nonetheless, he joined the coterie of Republicans that signed on to the basic parameters of American policy during World War II and the Cold War -- large defense budgets, foreign aid, and mutual security. Late in his career he was described as "chairman, or the most influential member, of the subcommittees that fixed budget allocations for the military defense of the United States and for the collective security of the West." In 1959 Eisenhower appointed Wigglesworth ambassador to Canada. Current Biography Yearbook, 1959, s.v. "Wigglesworth, Richard B(owditch) April 25, 1891 - United States Ambassador to Canada." As a reparations official, Wigglesworth moved in the same circles as John J. McCloy and Allen Dulles. In the 1920s the two future Warren Commissioners were in Europe where they handled the legal work of American banking firms buying and selling German bonds. Bird, The Chairman, pp. 70-71, 76-77. During this period Wigglesworth had close ties to men who fell within the ambits of J.P. Morgan and Company and the Wall Street law firm of Paul D. Cravath. During Wigglesworth's stint at the Treasury, he reported to the Assistant Secretary. This post was held by two lawyers from the Cravath firm, Russell C. Leffingwell and S. Parker Gilbert. Leffingwell was appointed Assistant Secretary by Woodrow Wilson in 1918. Gilbert succeeded Leffingwell in 1920 and held the job until 1923. In 1924, after a brief return to the Cravath firm, Gilbert was named Agent-General for Reparations Payments, a position created by the Dawes Plan. He remained in this post until 1930. Gilbert returned to America in 1931 and spent the remainder of his career as a partner with J.P. Morgan and Company. National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 28, s.v. "Gilbert, S[eymour] Parker, financier." See also Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 2, s.v. "Gilbert, Seymour Parker (Oct. 13, 1892-Feb. 23, 1938), lawyer, financier, Treasury Department official, Agent-General for Reparations Payments." Recall that John J. McCloy joined the Cravath firm in 1924. Bird, The Chairman, p. 62. Allen Dulles also had close connections to this group as a lawyer with Sullivan and Cromwell, a firm heavily involved in the inter-war European bond market. In addition, his brother, John Foster Dulles, was special counsel to Charles G. Dawes, for whom the Dawes Plan was named. Grose, Gentleman Spy, pp. 91-92. Richard Wigglesworth was the Harvard classmate of Joseph P. Kennedy. Old Joe's biographer described Wigglesworth as one of

When Gerald Ford first entered the "inner temple," Allen Dulles was at the zenith of his power as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Dulles had been the chief architect of the American national security apparatus and now ran the CIA, virtually unchecked, as the vanguard of U.S. Cold War foreign policy. Establishment-friendly Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas agree that the 1950s found the agency in its "freebooting heyday." During this period the CIA "organized the overthrow of governments . . . infiltrated refugees to disrupt [the] Soviet-bloc . . . ran sabotage operations against China . . . [and] plotted assassination attempts."¹⁷⁷ The CIA was controversial even among Establishment figures. Isaacson and Thomas maintain that McCloy crony Robert A. Lovett "was disturbed by the agency's interventionism." Lovett decried the CIA's "freewheeling, well-financed buccaneers" and called for a complete reappraisal of covert activities. Ultimately, Eisenhower ignored Lovett's advice.¹⁷⁸ When John F. Kennedy entered the White House Allen Dulles remained at the helm of the CIA.

the "dyed-in-the-wool Republicans" that "gleefully needled the prominent New Dealer in their midst" at the twenty-fifth reunion of the Class of 1912. Whalen, The Founding Father, pp. 196-197.

¹⁷⁷Isaacson and Thomas, The Wise Men, p. 574.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

Gerald Ford was privy to the secrets of the CIA during a period of long-acknowledged nefarious activity. In this situation, however, Ford was something more. He was member of a select panel that gave the Agency only the pretense of Congressional oversight. Ford and the other members formed what Grose described as a "little club" that allowed Dulles to build an extensive and powerful fiefdom within the Eisenhower Administration. Dulles was a man of legendary charm who viewed oversight as mere "legislative hassle." If support wavered, Dulles would "massage" the subcommittee "into compliance by dropping in after hours, puffing on his pipe, and telling spy stories."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹Grose, Gentleman Spy, pp. 415-416. British author Leonard Mosley noted that Dulles assiduously worked the Washington cocktail party and dinner circuit. The spymaster's presence was "guaranteed to make the evening sparkle. He was good in salons, back parlors, and political caucus rooms. He got on well with senators and congressmen. The legislators were, in fact, almost wholly fond of him." As for oversight, "Congress accepted his word for it that funds were needed, and passed the appropriations with a wave of the hand." Mosley, Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network (New York: The Dial Press/James Wade, 1978), pp. 6, 323-324. To another British scholar, Dulles viewed the "commendably discreet" subcommittee as "oversight window dressing" meant to "divert attention from more serious reforms." Rhodri Jeffries-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 79. Professor Jeffries-Jones's research into the CIA received assistance from the Gerald Ford Library and funding from the Gerald Ford Foundation. See p. x.

Within this cloak-and-dagger environment Ford and Dulles got along well. The two were known for their light-hearted banter in the halls outside the subcommittee hearing rooms, with Ford playing the gullible Midwestern hayseed and Dulles the smooth Eastern operator.¹⁸⁰ According to Dulles himself, the oversight mechanism was the perfect arrangement. "I have found," he wrote, "that secrets can be kept and the needs of our legislative bodies met. In fact, I do not know of a single case of indiscretion that has resulted from telling these committees the most intimate details of CIA activities."¹⁸¹

Gerald Ford's official connection with Allen Dulles lasted five years. During this period, the Michigan congressman signed off on CIA activity that culminated with the 1961 Bay of Pigs and Dulles's subsequent ouster by JFK. Kennedy's removal of Allen Dulles was unprecedented in the history of the Central Intelligence Agency and stood as a stinging rebuke of the man that epitomized the urbane Establishment type. Two years later Lyndon Johnson placed Dulles on the Warren Commission. There, Ford and Dulles would serve together on the panel entrusted with

¹⁸⁰Grose, Gentleman Spy, p. 415.

¹⁸¹Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence, p. 241. Dulles credits future Warren Commissioner Richard B. Russell with leadership in defeating a 1956 Senate bill that would have created stronger Congressional oversight. See pp. 260-261.

the investigation of Kennedy's murder. This is a crucial development, given that even such an unabashedly pro-Establishment observer as Kai Bird acknowledges the CIA's withholding of information from the Warren Commission.¹⁸² Similarly, Peter Grose frankly concludes that to Allen Dulles "fell the function of managing the Warren Commission's relations with the CIA, of simultaneously investigating and protecting government secrets." To Grose, it was "an open question," as to "which master, the Warren Commission or the CIA, claimed Allen's first allegiance."¹⁸³ Thus, the close relationship between intelligence insiders Gerald Ford and Allen Dulles remains the most profound, and disturbing, of all the Warren Commission's myriad connections.

As Allen Dulles fell from grace after the Bay of Pigs, Gerald Ford's star continued to rise. "Ford's standing in the Washington defense and foreign policy community began to attract the attention of the international experts in the field. Invitations came in from the Bilderberg Conference, the Interparliamentary Union, [and] the Council on Foreign

¹⁸²Bird, The Chairman, pp. 555-556, 560-562.

¹⁸³Grose, Gentleman Spy, p. 544.

Relations."¹⁸⁴ Membership in these organizations placed Ford within the highest strata of the Establishment. This was especially true of the Bilderberg Conference. Founded in 1952 by Joseph Petinger and Prince Bernard of the Netherlands, the Bilderberg Conference was a "new organization designed to influence public opinion by bringing together leading American and European personalities once a year for free-wheeling discussion of their differences." Petinger and Prince Bernard were prominent figures in the United Europe movement and were long associated with John J. McCloy. The group took its name from its first meeting in 1954, at the Hotel de Bilderberg in Holland. Kai Bird offers a rare discussion of the organization by an Establishment-friendly source. He characterized the group as "exclusive and highly confidential." Bilderberg invitations were "only sent to important and generally respected people" chosen for "their special knowledge or experience, their personal contacts, and their influence in national and

¹⁸⁴Cannon, Time and Chance, p. 71. As a delegate to the Interparliamentary Union, Ford joined future Warren Commissioner Hale Boggs. In the 1960s Ford listed the IPU in his Who's Who write-up. He attended IPU meetings in Poland (1959) and Belgium (1961). See Who's Who in America, 1964-1965. None of Gerald Ford's readily available, reference source biographical write-ups contain any mention of his membership in the Council on Foreign Relations. The CFR, however, listed Ford in its 2002 membership roster. In 2002 Ford was eighty-nine years old. See The Council Responds to Terrorism: 2002 Annual Report (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002), p. 114.

international circles." Members were expected to maintain secrecy and to "help further the aims set by the Bilderbergers." Bird did not specify what these aims were beyond a nebulous desire to "sketch the boundaries of an Atlantic consensus."¹⁸⁵

As the Kennedy era unfolded, Ford found himself in rarefied company with the cachet of Interparliamentary Union and Council of Foreign Relations added to his Establishment credentials. Especially valuable was the Bilderberg Conference, described by Bird as providing a "forum for cementing elite friendships."¹⁸⁶ During this period Ford came to the attention of a leading member of this elite, Henry A. Kissinger. The Harvard professor, "who had no superior in this realm of foreign policy, invited Ford up to Cambridge from time to time to address and confer with his gatherings of intellectuals." Kissinger, more than a decade before the two would serve together as president and secretary of state, "was impressed with the range of Ford's knowledge of national security issues and his sure touch in practical politics."¹⁸⁷ There can be no higher endorsement of Ford's intellect than an invitation to Kissinger's Harvard

¹⁸⁵Bird, The Chairman, pp. 471-472.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 479.

¹⁸⁷Cannon, Time and Chance, p. 71.

seminar. This experience should dispel forever Ford's reputation as a dim-witted ex-jock.

Unlike such figures as J. William Fulbright, Gerald Ford never allowed the siren song of the elite get in the way of practical politics. A sure thing at election time in Grand Rapids, Ford worked tirelessly to promote the modern GOP in the face of biennial Democratic Party gains. He also continued his advance within the House. In 1958 Ford moved up to become the senior Republican on the House Appropriations Committee. Ford, though, was dismayed at the "terrible licking" the GOP took during that year's campaign. He blamed the 1958 recession and "the old and tired image that the party was projecting." In 1959 Ford, along with fellow Chowder and Marching Club members John Byrnes, Glenn Davis, and Don Jackson, led the effort to unseat Minority Leader Joe Martin in favor of Charles Halleck. In 1960 Ford continued his work for the modern Republicans by boosting Thruston Morton, a veteran of the 1952 draft-Eisenhower campaign, for the vice-presidency.¹⁸⁸ The Nixon team, however, informed Ford that UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge already had the nomination locked up. Ford, "ever the loyalist," delivered the seconding speech in Lodge's behalf.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 72.

¹⁸⁹TerHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 73-74.

Richard Nixon's loss to JFK in the 1960 election was a disappointment to Gerald Ford. He was not downhearted, however, as his appraisal of the political situation indicates. "I knew Kennedy and his ability so I had no apprehension at all about the future of the country. And I was in a position in Congress where I could have some influence. Every president respects the Appropriations Committee, and I thought Kennedy would need me more than I needed him."¹⁹⁰ Soon, during the tumultuous spring of 1961, Ford was indeed in a position to provide JFK with bipartisan cover. As a covert action insider, Ford played a role in clandestine operations that maintained continuity despite the change of presidential administrations. In the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs, Republican members of Congress heaped scorn on JFK "for the fiasco, for the stain on the United States' honor, and for the laughter that was coming from Moscow and Havana." Ford, knowing full well that the Bay of Pigs was a CIA operation hatched during the Eisenhower years, kept a discreet silence.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰Cannon, Time and Chance, p. 69.

¹⁹¹TerHorst, Gerald R. Ford, pp. 76-77. After the Bay of Pigs Ford wasted no time further ingratiating himself with the Kennedy Administration. TerHorst maintains that "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." See p. 77.

In September 1961 Ford assumed a more public role in support of the president during a GOP attempt to slash JFK's foreign aid program. Ford led a group of liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans to pass a bill allocating \$1.6 billion for foreign military aid. Ford's bipartisan action was not unusual in itself. In the process, however, Ford defied Congressional protocol in the aid of a Democratic president. Here "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." Similarly, in 1962 Ford voiced approval of JFK's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁹² Kennedy and the Democrats had every reason to be grateful.

For Gerald Ford 1961 was a banner year during which his work in Congress received national attention. Ford's "enhanced status within the power structure of the House of Representatives was publicly proclaimed" when he received the Congressional Distinguished Service Award from the American Political Science Association.¹⁹³ The APSA bestowed upon Ford

¹⁹²Ibid., p. 77, 79-80.

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 78.

the title "Congressman's Congressman" for "his diligent application to committee work and mastery of highly complex defense matters." The award citation praised Ford as "a moderate conservative . . . highly respected by his colleagues of both parties." Ford symbolized the "hard-working, competent legislator who eschews the more colorful, publicity-seeking roles in favor of a solid record of accomplishment in the real work of the House: committee work." Ford earned additional praise for maintaining a leadership role in the Republican Party while remaining "nonpartisan where the defense posture of the nation is concerned."¹⁹⁴

The American Political Science Association award was a milestone in Gerald Ford's political career. One must, however, look beyond terHorst's brief description to discover the historical context, and the true significance, of this episode. Examination of the New York Times reveals that the article announcing the award devoted the headline, the story's lead, and seven of ten paragraphs to blast GOP criticism of the Kennedy Administration, which had been in office just eight months and was under fire for its handling of foreign policy.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴See award text in terHorst, p. 78n.

¹⁹⁵New York Times, 9 September 1961.

The article quoted remarks by John M. Bailey, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, in which Bailey bitterly scored the GOP. "In place of responsible and accurate criticism and constructive suggestion, we are treated to the shabby and sordid spectacle of partisan politics on Berlin, on Cuba, on Laos, and unbelievably, even on communism." Bailey accused the Republicans of using "epithet and innuendo and the ballyhoo of misinformation" to discredit the Kennedy Administration.¹⁹⁶

Gerald Ford had a front row seat during one of the most contentious years in recent American history. If 1961 was a banner year for Ford, it was for JFK an unrelenting string of disasters that began with the Bay of Pigs. By September, JFK had been under continuous attack for his handling of affairs in Cuba, Vienna, Laos, and Berlin. In the summer JFK was embroiled in a dispute with the Soviets over Laos. Civil war, exacerbated by an Eisenhower-era CIA coup and intervention by China and North Vietnam, brought the U.S. to the brink of open military confrontation. To avoid war, Kennedy went along with a proposal to create a coalition government that included the communist guerrilla faction Pathet Lao. Within a year the agreement broke off and JFK ordered covert action in Laos. This clandestine war was a precursor to the wider involvement in Southeast Asia that

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

soon followed. From 31 May to 5 June, Kennedy met with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at a summit in Vienna. There the Russian leader browbeat the younger Kennedy over the future of Berlin. Within weeks the U.S. and the Soviet Union were locked in the Berlin Crisis, an episode that brought widespread fear of nuclear war. The end result was the construction of the Berlin Wall, a symbol of communist tyranny that stood for more than three decades.¹⁹⁷

Few Republicans would have been so supportive of a Democratic president in circumstances such as these. Ford, though, was friendly to the Kennedy Administration. Ford's own admission that he was fully informed on all aspects of intelligence makes it all the more significant that he received the APSA award.

The American Political Science Association gave three other members of Congress similar awards in 1961. They were Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri, both Democrats; and Republican Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont.¹⁹⁸ These men were aligned with the liberal

¹⁹⁷For an Establishment view of Kennedy-era foreign policy, see Michael R. Beschloss, The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963 (New York: Edward Burlingame Books, 1991).

¹⁹⁸New York Times, 9 September 1961.

wings of their respective parties and, like Ford, were committed to an internationalist foreign policy.¹⁹⁹

In 1962 Gerald Ford continued his rise within the Republican Party even as the GOP continued to lose ground to the

¹⁹⁹The political associations of Aiken, Douglas, and Bolling further blur the distinctions between Republicans and Democrats in twentieth century America. In 1937 George D. Aiken achieved national attention when he urged the GOP to abandon its "hate-Roosevelt" policy. Though described as a "states'righter," Aiken supported such centralizing entities as the National Resources Planning Board and was credited with the idea that resulted in the federal food stamp program. At one point the Daily Worker praised Aiken for having "the best labor record of any GOP Senator." Current Biography Yearbook, 1947, s.v. "Aiken, George D(avid) Aug. 30, 1892 - United States Senator from Vermont." In the U.S Senate, Aiken was a "maverick" and "often championed liberal legislation opposed by his own party." A member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Aiken was described as a "bipartisan internationalist." See George D. Aiken obituary, CBY, 1985. Paul Douglas served twenty-eight years as an economics professor at the University of Chicago before election to the Senate in 1948. In 1930 Douglas advocated the establishment of a separate Labor Party in the U.S. During World War II he "stumped Illinois in favor of President Roosevelt's foreign policy." He was described in 1949 as "a liberal in domestic [affairs] and an internationalist in foreign affairs." CBY, 1949, s.v. "Douglas, Paul H(oward) Mar. 26, 1892 - United States Senator from Illinois; economist." Richard Bolling was elected to Congress in 1948. His principal campaign issue was repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Bolling served as Midwestern director of Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal political action committee. Bolling went on record for steep tax increases. In 1951 he urged Congress to "increase taxes by \$10 billion in order to curb inflation." He was a proponent of "an active role in international affairs." CBY, 1960, s.v. "Bolling, Richard (Walker) May 17, 1916 - United States Representative from Missouri." Bolling was a football star at the Univeristy of the South in the late 1930s. Like Ford, Bolling was a member of Sports Illustrated magazine's Twenty-fifth Anniversary All-American football team. See Who Was Who in America, Volume 10, s.v. "Bolling, Richard, congressman."

Democrats. Ford praised JFK's actions in the Cuban Missile Crisis, but since the affair erupted in the midst of the 1962 election, Ford and the GOP had little choice but to "rally 'round the flag" during the October showdown with Russia.²⁰⁰ The Republicans lost twenty of the twenty-one seats they hoped to gain that year. The election over, Ford once again settled into a familiar House routine broken only by a "Young Turk" movement in which Ford replaced Charles Hoveen as Chairman of the House Republican Conference. Newly elected young Republicans, "disappointed at their poor showing, frustrated by the legislative dregs handed out by the majority Democrats," urged Ford to challenge Hoveen for the job. Ford won the ensuing vote against the Old Guard and had set his sights on taking the job of Minority Leader from incumbent Charles Halleck when the news arrived of Kennedy's murder.²⁰¹ "The slow pace of the House in 1963 turned out to be a lull before the storm . . . that broke over the entire nation."²⁰²

²⁰⁰TerHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 79.

²⁰¹Cannon, Time and Chance, pp. 73-75. Among the young Republicans were future Nixon and Ford Administration Secretaries of Defense, Melvin Laird and Donald Rumsfeld.

²⁰²TerHorst, Gerald R. Ford, p. 82.

Seven days later, Lyndon Johnson named Gerald Ford to the Warren Commission. TerHorst maintained, once again, that the assignment attested to Ford's "rising stature in Congress and his reputation for fairmindedness."²⁰³ Cannon, however, claims that "Ford's selection by a Democratic President as the one Republican member of the House to serve on the Warren Commission was recognition of [Ford's] standing among Democrats." According to Cannon, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara recommended Ford for the Warren Commission. "I know Jerry Ford well from appearing before his committee. He is always fair and reliable. Where national security is concerned, he is always nonpartisan."²⁰⁴

Robert McNamara's appearance in Gerald Ford's Warren Commission scenario is highly significant for three reasons. First, McNamara had longstanding ties to the John J. McCloy

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁴Cannon, Time and Chance, p. 76. Ford and LBJ came into close association in 1957. Ford's "first intensive encounter with Senator Johnson of Texas" came when Sam Rayburn appointed Ford to the "bipartisan House-Senate Committee" that met in the wake of Russia's success with the Sputnik satellite. Ford and Johnson worked side-by-side in the creation of NASA and the commitment of billions of dollars to the space program. "Watching Lyndon," Ford recalled, "I knew I was watching a master in action." According to Cannon, Ford and LBJ later clashed over differences involving the conduct of the Vietnam War. It was here that Johnson became the source of Ford's reputation as a "dolt and a stumblebum." See Ibid., pp. 67, 93.

ambit, through the Chairman's War Department alter ego, Robert A. Lovett. Second, McNamara was the epitome of Kennedy's liberal "New Frontier" governmental elite. McNamara's endorsement attests to Ford's bipartisanship and further demonstrates the Michigan congressman's standing within the American Establishment. Third, McNamara's endorsement placed JFK's murder into the realm of national security. Strikingly absent was the expressed desire to solve the case and bring the guilty to justice. Gerald Ford was now a member of the Warren Commission, chosen not on the basis of his objectivity in the investigation of a homicide, but for his reputation within the "inner temple" of national security.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵Robert McNamara had moved within the McCloy ambit since World War II. The president of Ford Motor Company when he joined the Kennedy Administration, McNamara was one of a group of Harvard business professors brought into the War Department to organize aircraft production. He and the other "Whiz Kids" reported to McCloy's pal, and fellow Imp of Satan, Robert A. Lovett. Over the years, Lovett had continued to follow McNamara's career and in 1960 recommended McNamara to President-elect Kennedy. Deborah Shapley, Promise and Power: The Life and Times of Robert McNamara (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993.) pp. 29-30, 35-36, 82-83. See also Bird, The Chairman, pp. 497-500, 523, 526, 530. In his memoir, Ford referred to "Bob McNamara (Defense Secretary under Kennedy and president of the World Bank) and his wife Margaret" as "old friends of ours from Michigan." See Ford, A Time to Heal, p. 141.

