Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
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Case file Number(s): 120000-139999
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**WHITE HOUSE COUNSELLOR'S OFFICE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- **O - OUTGOING**
- **I - INCOMING**
- **H - INTERNAL**

Data Correspondence

- **Received (YY/MM/DD):** 83/01/19

Name of Correspondent: **Glenn Campbell**

**CN Mail Report**

- **User Codes:** 
  - (A) __________  
  - (B) __________  
  - (C) __________

Subject: **Writer sends Mr. Meese a copy of his memorandum to President Ronald Kennedy of Stanford University about the proposed location of a Reagan Presidential Library Complex.**

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**ROUTE TO:**

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<th>Action Code</th>
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<th>Type of Response Code</th>
<th>Completion Date YY/MM/DD</th>
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**ACTION CODES:**

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

**DISPOSITION CODES:**

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

**Comments:**

- Close out EM has talked to both Campbell and Kennedy since this letter arrived.

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

11/81
RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents:_________ Media: L Individual Codes: 5300 4010 ______
Prime Subject Code: FE008.0L Secondary Subject Codes: FG006.01 __ ______

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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<td>DSP</td>
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SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence
n - 0 - Unknown
n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
n - 3 - Ron
n - 4 - Dutch
n - 5 - Ron Reagan
n - 6 - Ronald
n - 7 - Ronnie

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
n - 0 - Unknown
n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
n - 2 - Nancy
n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

B - Box/package
C - Copy
D - Official document
G - Message
H - Handcarried
L - Letter
M - Mailgram
O - Memo
P - Photo
R - Report
S - Sealed
T - Telegram
V - Telephone
X - Miscellaneous
Y - Study
The Honorable Edwin Meese, III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of my memorandum to President Donald Kennedy of Stanford University outlining my proposal for the location of the Reagan Presidential Library Complex. You will recall, I informed you that I was doing this when we met in your office last week--particularly since President Kennedy has some concerns as to whether the proposed location will create traffic and parking problems. Needless to say, this memorandum is a confidential one as of this moment in time.

I am also enclosing a memorandum from Kennedy and a copy of my reply, both of which are self-explanatory. You may recall that we also discussed this briefly last week.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell

Enclosures
To: Donald Kennedy
   President, Stanford University

From: Glenn Campbell
   Director, Hoover Institution

Subject:

Dear Don:

Our conversation on Monday, January 10, was both illuminating and fruitful. I am delighted that we both enthusiastically endorse the idea of a Reagan Presidential Library complex on the Stanford campus. There has been agreement on this point since we first started to discuss the possibility in 1981. As Bob Rosenzweig stated in his February 4, 1981 memorandum to Dick Burress,

First, there continues to be enthusiasm at the prospect of having the Reagan Presidential Library at Stanford. Second, the site question is complicated only because of our uncertainty about what a Presidential Library really is. To be precise, if we are talking about a library, archive and study center, as those terms are ordinarily understood, then the site next to Memorial Auditorium is an appropriate one. If, however, the facility would have substantial aspects of a museum which would be expected to attract a flow of tourists, then the most heavily congested intersection on the campus would be inappropriate and we should be looking at alternatives.

At the outset I think it would serve a most useful purpose to review the various aspects and requirements related to the establishment of President Reagan's President Library complex on the Stanford campus. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 (44 USC 2107-08) and the Presidential Records Act of 1978 (44 USC 2201-2207) provide for the designation of a Presidential Archival Depository to house the papers and other historical materials of a President and for its administration by the U. S. National Archives and Records Service as a part of the General Services Administration (GSA).

Under the Presidential Records Act of 1978, the Archivist of the United States will assume custody of the President's papers upon the conclusion of his term of office and deposit them in a Presidential Archival Depository, operated by the United States. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955, as amended, authorizes the Administrator of GSA
to enter into an agreement with a university to use land, buildings, and equipment offered for use as a Presidential Archival Depository. Title to the land, buildings, and equipment need not be transferred to the United States. The GSA Administrator must submit the details of any such agreement to Congress so that it will have an opportunity to review any conditions and consider the future maintenance costs to the United States.

Consistent with the practice of previous presidents, three elements are involved in the establishment of the Reagan Presidential Library complex. The first element is the Library housing the Presidential papers. The second element is the Museum. The third element is the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs. Together, these three elements comprise a unified whole in which each element complements the others. Their effective operation as a whole, and therefore strength, is particularly well illustrated by the Johnson library complex associated with the University of Texas. It is "... devoted to objective research through preservation of materials related to the men who have held the awesome job of President of the United States. Located on the University of Texas campus, the Library's unique resources will be enhanced by several complementary research collections ... . The Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs will be adjacent to the Library."

The total space required for the Reagan Presidential Library complex is approximately 170,000 square feet. Of this total the Library itself will comprise approximately 75,000 square feet, which will include an auditorium and the necessary extensive storage and archival facilities. The estimated space required for the attendant Museum amounts to approximately 25,000 square feet and is primarily designed to support and enhance the Library collections in much the same way as the exhibit areas and pavilion complement the collections of the Hoover Institution. The Library and Museum constitute an inseparable entity serving to provide a unique combination of facilities whose purpose is to chronicle and to present a perspective of the presidential years. As a consequence, both are maintained by the GSA in accordance with the Presidential Libraries Acts, referred to above.

With respect to this latter point, an astute analysis of the relationship of the Library to the Museum is contained in an article on The Harry S. Truman Library written by Philip C. Brooks, the first director of The Truman Library (American Archivist, January 1962, p. 30):

The museum is not merely one more assemblage of valuable and interesting objects to entertain or educate the public. It is... an integral part of the Library. It plays a significant role in conveying to the citizens of a democracy a better understanding of the Presidency and through it of
government. Much of its meaning would be lost without its association with the papers and other historical materials, and much of the background information about the exhibits could not be obtained except through the papers. Conversely, the student in the research room would miss much of the color and tone of the times he is studying without the museum.

The Museum is the link joining the student, the scholar, and the general public with the Library. Without that link the library would be simply a dry and incomplete reflection of a President's administration.

The third element of the complex as a whole is the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs. It will be a part of the Hoover Institution and the Institution will be responsible for its administration and maintenance, as the GSA is solely responsible for the Library and Museum. Thus, the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs will enjoy its own uniquely academic role at a center for advanced study unequalled in the United States, while at the same time strengthening the scholarly character of the library and archives. As Richard Neustadt, the first director of the Kennedy Institute of Politics, observed concerning that Institute, "the idea was to bring 'life'" to the complex and by implication to encourage, stimulate and develop communication, understanding, and cooperation between the scholarly world and the world of public affairs.

Thus, the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs will provide the facilities to bring together scholars and academicians, journalists, legislators, government policy makers, and business men and women to discuss, debate, and analyze issues of domestic and foreign affairs critical to our nation's past, present and future. Located in the heart of a great University and as a part of the Hoover Institution, which enjoys a national and international reputation for advanced study, it will present the opportunity to bring the best minds of the academy and of the professions to bear on the analysis of major issues of importance in a scholarly setting.

The strengths of this approach are obvious. It is especially important to keep clearly in mind that the research center and the library and museum work together. This point has been made particularly well by Dan H. Penn, Jr., the director of The John F. Kennedy Library, in an article in The American Archivist, (October 1979):

... like any archives and any museum, the library is also in a larger sense an educational center ... This interface of people and resources gives the library an opportunity to do more than simply convey a sense of the past. The library's programs use these resources to illumine the very process of American government and of politics itself.
The ideal location for the complex is on the site adjacent to Memorial Auditorium and directly across from the Lou Henry Hoover Building. I believe the practical reasons for this location do not require elaboration. There is also, however, another compelling reason for the location of the building on this site. As you know, President Reagan has been associated with the Hoover Institution for a number of years. His gubernatorial papers are located here as well as those of the 1980 Presidential Campaign. The Hoover Institution's Library and Archives contain a vast collection of documents, records, and papers of public figures and other scholarly resources that would be of immense value to researchers using the Presidential Library complex.

In addition, the President has visited the Hoover Institution on numerous occasions and with our full support has also participated in University programs elsewhere on the campus. He therefore knows the Hoover Institution and the campus extremely well. From the President's perspective and that of Mrs. Reagan, as well as from our own, the site adjacent to Memorial Auditorium meets all of the essential requirements. Most importantly, the President would like to see the complex located on this site. Like the Johnson Library (see the attached map) the site is in close proximity to the heart of the campus but is not in the middle of it. Like the Johnson Library it is readily accessible by automobile and bus without encouraging traffic flow into the beating academic heart of the University. As with other Presidential Library complexes, the flow of visitors would peak during the summer months and on weekends when University traffic is relatively low (see the attached figures provided by the Office of Presidential Libraries, National Archives and Records Service).

Concerning the building itself, which will house the entire complex, much of it could very effectively be located underground, especially in view of the nature and purpose of the complex. Moreover, I am confident that the President would not wish to see a massive structure whose design would clash with the architectural unity for which the University is so well known.

The foregoing review presents a clear picture of an exceptional complex. As I emphasized in our conversation, I consider the number of visitors to the complex and the associated questions raised by traffic and parking to be important considerations. I appreciate your willingness to move forward with the University's review of this latter point as carefully and expeditiously as possible. I trust you will also agree that given the special nature of this matter, it would be prudent to have an independent study undertaken simultaneously. Needless to say, I would be willing to commission such a study at the Hoover Institution's expense, and I would propose to commission Bechtel Corporation to do so, given its singular expertise. This approach would provide a factual foundation should it prove necessary to propose an alternative site for the Library and Museum, and thus would also avoid any possible embarrassment, given the President's strong preference.
In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the importance of moving ahead carefully and rapidly, and with utmost discretion. It is because of the President's long association with the Hoover Institution that he welcomes the location of the Presidential Library complex on the proposed site. It is my strong conviction that this decision will have increasingly positive consequences for the University in the decades to come, and thus I appreciate your support and your enthusiasm.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell
The Location of Presidential Libraries and Museums

Georgia, Atlanta — Jimmy Carter
Iowa, West Branch — Herbert Hoover
Kansas, Abilene — Dwight D. Eisenhower
Massachusetts, Boston — John F. Kennedy
Michigan, Ann Arbor, Grand Rapids — Gerald R. Ford
Missouri, Independence — Harry S. Truman
New York, Hyde Park — Franklin D. Roosevelt
Texas, Austin — Lyndon B. Johnson
MUSEUM HOURS: 9 - 5 (same for all)

MONTHLY BREAKDOWN, MUSEUM VISITORS, FY 1982 (rounded to nearest 000's):

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Truman</th>
<th>Kennedy</th>
<th>Johnson</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>18,200</td>
<td>36,000*</td>
<td>26,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>15,400</td>
<td>30,300*</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>15,300</td>
<td>19,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>20,900</td>
<td>23,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>9,600</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>23,600</td>
<td>37,900</td>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>21,900</td>
<td>33,900</td>
<td>42,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>24,900</td>
<td>31,900</td>
<td>40,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>34,500</td>
<td>31,900</td>
<td>42,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>28,800</td>
<td>35,900</td>
<td>36,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>21,500</td>
<td>26,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>198,900</td>
<td>317,800</td>
<td>368,200</td>
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DAILY AVERAGES, JOHNSON LIBRARY

January weekday: 490
January weekend: 794
July weekday: 1,432
July weekend: 1,352
Lowest day, December 6: 397
Highest day, July 5: 1,674

VISITOR PARKING PLACES

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<th></th>
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<th>Eisenhower</th>
<th>750</th>
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<td>Hoover</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truman</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>317 (plus another 400 university places for special events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>445 (museum)</td>
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*October and November are tourist months in Massachusetts because of fall foliage.

SOURCE: Office of Presidential Libraries, National Archives and Records Services
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<th>Hoover</th>
<th>Roosevelt</th>
<th>Truman</th>
<th>Eisenhower</th>
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<th>Johnson</th>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>22,388</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>303,520</td>
<td>563,470</td>
<td>446,062</td>
<td>22,476</td>
<td>1,661,146</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>111,675</td>
<td>392,940</td>
<td>454,944</td>
<td>509,317</td>
<td>563,169</td>
<td>554,392</td>
<td>555,237</td>
<td>2,173,583</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>161,469</td>
<td>371,514</td>
<td>324,136</td>
<td>177,242</td>
<td>657,907</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>1,622,133</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>177,536</td>
<td>1,450,226</td>
<td>1,621,803</td>
<td>1,300,856</td>
<td>1,304,110</td>
<td>1,545,227</td>
<td>638,020</td>
<td>1,661,146</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>180,915</td>
<td>676,549</td>
<td>704,180</td>
<td>542,717</td>
<td>520,985</td>
<td>683,810</td>
<td>1,309,284</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>159,363</td>
<td>299,741</td>
<td>340,818</td>
<td>215,586</td>
<td>197,727</td>
<td>221,434</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>157,116</td>
<td>264,230</td>
<td>340,818</td>
<td>197,727</td>
<td>199,099</td>
<td>683,810</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>165,300</td>
<td>177,242</td>
<td>177,242</td>
<td>170,172</td>
<td>127,026</td>
<td>480,521</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>182,823</td>
<td>199,099</td>
<td>199,099</td>
<td>127,026</td>
<td>480,521</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>502,115</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>186,174</td>
<td>263,234</td>
<td>263,234</td>
<td>143,910</td>
<td>563,470</td>
<td>446,062</td>
<td>22,476</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>187,866</td>
<td>318,684</td>
<td>318,684</td>
<td>358,554</td>
<td>384,884</td>
<td>22,476</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>184,138</td>
<td>303,520</td>
<td>303,520</td>
<td>384,884</td>
<td>368,289</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>194,194</td>
<td>299,741</td>
<td>299,741</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>368,289</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>188,106</td>
<td>197,727</td>
<td>197,727</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>368,289</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976-TQ*</td>
<td>213,766</td>
<td>199,099</td>
<td>199,099</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>368,289</td>
<td>377,416</td>
<td>1,399,721</td>
<td>1,111,974</td>
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*In FY 1976, there was an extra "Transition Quarter" from July 1 to September 30, 1977. Since that time, the fiscal year begins on October 1 and concludes on September 30. Prior to FY 1976, the fiscal year began on July 1 and ended on June 30.

SOURCE: Office of Presidential Libraries, National Archives and Records Services
To: Donald Kennedy

From: Glenn Campbell

Subject:

Dear Don:

I would have replied to your memorandum of January 11 earlier but I was in Washington, D.C., all last week, and then was tied up in a UC Regents president selection committee meeting yesterday.

In answer to your question about whether to call Ed Meese or Mike Deaver, I think it would be preferable for you to talk with Meese, since he has been involved with the proposed presidential library complex since the beginning.

To indicate that there have been serious discussions about the presidential library complex, enclosed is a xerox copy of the color photo showing Martin Anderson and me discussing the subject with President and Mrs. Reagan, Ed Meese and Mike Deaver in the Oval Office last November. The item we are looking at is a map of the United States showing the locations of presidential libraries.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn Campbell
DATE: January 11, 1983

To: W. Glenn Campbell
    Director/Hoover Institution

From: Donald Kennedy
    President

SUBJECT: Dear Glenn:

Just to review yesterday's discussion of the Reagan Library: our next step will require clearer description of the size and scope of the project than we now have, to be prepared by you. That paper will serve as the basis for my request to the Planning Office to set in motion a site study for the project described in the paper.

That is clear enough. I am concerned, however, at the complete absence from discussions with the White House of any University officer outside the Hoover Institution. If this enterprise is to succeed, it will require the full involvement of Stanford University. If it does not, then I want to be sure that the reasons for Stanford's actions are known fully to the President and his key staff. Either eventuality requires an immediate contact, so that the University's intentions with respect to this project can be made clear, and so that we can proceed on the basis of reasonable -- and, one hopes, mutually agreed -- expectations.

Accordingly, I intend to call either Ed Meese or Michael Deaver -- I would appreciate your advice as to which would be the more appropriate -- to begin to make clear both Stanford's enthusiasm for the Reagan presidential papers, and the factors -- including those in the scale-up from library to library-museum -- that might finally stand in the way of the project's fulfillment. I think it would be good to do this as soon as possible, so I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

cc: Bob Rosenzweig
Cony to (E. Moore Office) 3-22-83 W
M. Stanley approved
Received 10/21/85
**WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

**Subject:** Planning for Reagan Presidency

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**ACTION**

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**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

**Comments:** See TD 021469 and 032914

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
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### RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

#### CLASSIFICATION SECTION

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  - n - 6: Ronald
  - n - 7: Ronnie

- **CLn** - First Lady's Correspondence
  - n - 0: Unknown
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  - n - 2: Nancy
  - n - 3: Mrs. Ronald Reagan

- **CBn** - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
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  - n - 2: Ron - Nancy

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- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

### PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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**Code**
- C: DSP Time:
- DSP: Media:
January 25, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: DAVID WALLER
FROM: MARIE ALLEN
SUBJECT: PLANNING FOR REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

As you requested, I'm enclosing copies of some previous correspondence concerning the planning of the Reagan Presidential Library. I'm sorry for the delay--I've been out of town for a week with a family emergency.

As I mentioned to you last week, we at the National Archives are hearing rumors from numerous sources in California that the President has made a commitment to the Hoover Institution concerning a future Reagan Presidential Library. We think that the Stanford University location would be a good one for the Library, but we need to be informed if the President has made such a commitment, since the responsibility for planning and operating the Library would be ours (Presidential Records Act, 44 U.S.C. 2203(f)). We hope to do an outstanding planning job for the Reagan Library, but our effectiveness depends on a good working relationship and effective communication with the President and/or his senior staff.

Since this Administration's records are the first Presidential records governed by the new law, we hope to work closely with the Counsel's office in interpreting and implementing the statute. Thanks for your assistance!
MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III
COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:  
FRED F. FIELDING

SUBJECT:  
Preparations for Ronald Reagan
Presidential Library

Ed Thomas has asked Counsel's Office to provide you with guidance with respect to the necessary steps which have and should be undertaken in preparing for the establishment of a Reagan Presidential Library. Over the last several months, Counsel's Office has met with representatives from the National Archives and Records Service ("NARS") concerning this matter. Additionally, at the request of Helene Von Damm, we have prepared a memorandum on the subject.

While the Presidential Records Act of 1978, 44 U.S.C. Sections 101 note, 2201 et seq. (Supp. III 1979), asserts government ownership of Presidential records, it clearly contemplates that records of a particular Administration will be maintained as a discrete collection in a Presidential library or similar depository.

The Presidential Libraries Act, as amended, 44 U.S.C. Section 2101 et seq. (1976 & Supp. III 1979), authorizes the Administrator of GSA to accept as a gift to the United States a library constructed with private funds to house the records and memorabilia of a particular President. Before accepting the library, the Administrator must place the details of the agreement before the Congress so that it will have an opportunity to review any conditions attached to the gift and consider the future maintenance costs to the United States. In that regard, the Administrator may accept gifts or bequests of money or other property for the purpose of maintaining or improving a Presidential library.

Under these circumstances, those planning a Reagan library should coordinate both with the President and with NARS. Preliminary decisions on the basic concept of the library should be made before fund-raising and planning begin.
These involve determinations on a series of issues:

- Will the library house only Presidential records or include campaign records and records of other public service?

- Will the library include museum-type displays or serve primarily as a research facility?

- Will it focus on the President's Administration, on the President himself, or on a particular theme (e.g., the President as communicator, a new beginning in fiscal policy, a return to federalism)?

- Will it be directed at an operating program (e.g., visiting scholar system, public lecture series) or serve mainly as a library/museum?

Since these decisions will affect planning for the library, they should be made early. The Archivist and Administrator of GSA should be consulted at an early stage as well, both because of the Archivist's expertise and because GSA has no obligation to accept a building which it considers poorly designed or too expensive to administer.

Once the basic parameters are set by the President, the next step in establishing a Presidential Library is for the President to appoint a committee to solicit the funds necessary to (i) study the various site and building design alternatives, and (ii) subsequently purchase the land (if the land is not donated) and construct the actual building. The monies must come from private donations. The fund raising committee should consider the fact that although private funds are used to purchase the land and build the library, the operational and maintenance expenses for the completed library will be the responsibility of the Federal government to the extent private contributions are not endowed to cover such expenses.

From an historical perspective, Presidential libraries fund raising and planning committees were established during the terms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt through Gerald R. Ford. While the Richard M. Nixon Foundation was formed in 1969, it did not begin its fund raising efforts until a much later date. The Gerald R. Ford Commemorative Committee, formed in 1973, was initially established to honor his career as a congressman, and did not begin planning for a Presidential library until 1974.
Past fund raising committees consisted of members of the President's family, key White House staff, officials of academic institutions which had been associated with the President, prominent business leaders, and longstanding friends and associates of the President. The committees conducted preliminary investigations of possible sites for the library, planned fundraising for construction, and set up communications with various State and local government and educational entities to gain support for the library. After establishment of the library, the founding organizations continued to provide financial and other support for library programs, exhibits, and special events.

Attached hereto are (i) lists of members of and donors to several Presidential library planning and support organizations, and (ii) brochures regarding the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson libraries.

Recommendation

I recommend that Counsel's Office, in consultation with you, Jim Baker, Mike Deaver and Helene Von Damm prepare a decision memorandum for the President to elicit his views with respect to (i) the various sites which would be logical choices for establishing a Reagan Presidential Library; (ii) the individuals who should be asked to serve on the fund raising and planning committees; and (iii) the character and style of the proposed library/museum.

Approve _____________

Disapprove ____________
I enjoyed talking with you on Monday. Enclosed is the briefing paper that you requested concerning the Reagan Presidential Library and the Presidential library system, as well as a briefing paper prepared earlier containing a copy of the Presidential Records Act and other materials pertaining to the establishment of a Presidential library.

I was pleased to hear of the interest expressed by the Hoover Institution in the Reagan Presidential Library. We hope to have a constructive and productive relationship with the Hoover Institution. As you will note, the law reads that the Presidential records will be turned over to the National Archives.

The President will decide where the Reagan Library will be located and as you indicate he is pretty well committed to a Stanford University location. There would be many advantages to the proximity to a major academic institution. You might think about advising the President, however, that he keep all of his options as to location open at this early date.

It would also be useful for the President, Mrs. Reagan, or his staff to visit several of the Presidential libraries. The President will dedicate the museum of the Ford Library in September, and we hope he will be able to visit the Roosevelt Library in 1982—the centenary of FDR’s birth. There is a degree of variation in Presidential libraries, both architecturally and in programs. We look forward to discussing these and other matters when we meet on Tuesday. Dr. James E. O’Neill, head of our Office of Presidential Libraries, will be with me.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Warner
Archivist of the United States

Enclosures
BACKGROUND

The idea of a Presidential Library seems to have originated with Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A dramatic increase in the number of incoming letters to the White House during the New Deal era (from approximately 400 a day during the Hoover years to some 4000 a day) impelled President Roosevelt to look for new ways of caring for his papers after his Presidency. The sheer quantity of his papers made it impossible for him to follow the usual practice of Presidents, which was to take their papers home after the administration. After consulting with prominent historians and archivists, President Roosevelt announced his plan for a special archival institution—subsequently named the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library—at a press conference on December 10, 1938. Congress approved the Roosevelt plan in 1939 and then passed legislation in 1955 (65 Stat. 695) to provide for the acceptance and maintenance of libraries for other Presidents under the same general terms as it had adopted for the Roosevelt Library. Today the Presidential library system, administered by the National Archives, includes archival institutions for the following Presidents: Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight David Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Gerald R. Ford. The Nixon and Carter papers are administered also by the National Archives, but they are not yet organized as Presidential libraries.

Under the terms of the 1939 and 1955 legislation, the President is responsible for raising the funds to purchase, or otherwise acquiring land and a building for the Presidential library. The United States Government through the National Archives, then assumes responsibility for administering the institution and paying all other costs.

We do not anticipate that the Presidential Records Act will significantly affect the process for the creation of a Presidential library. The major impact of the act is that it removes the President's freedom of choice to deposit his papers anywhere other than with the National Archives. Since every President since—and including—Herbert Hoover has freely chosen to deposit their Presidential papers with us, because of the many advantages of the Presidential library system, we don't feel that the act imposes a disposition that would not otherwise be made.

Today, the Presidential library system is the primary repository for the papers of American Presidents, with extensive experience in the complexities of administering these papers. The quantities of national security-classified documents, documents with Presidential and statutory restrictions, and copies of documents from agencies of the Federal Government and foreign governments have made these Twentieth-century records particularly challenging to administer. The seven operating libraries contain a total of 170,709,912 pages of manuscript material; 1,748,335 still pictures; 10,929,169 feet of motion picture film and 151,663 museum exhibit objects. During 1972-1980, more than 11,000 researchers worked in Presidential libraries. In Fiscal Year 1980 alone, more than 1,661,000 people visited the museums which are part of the libraries. In addition to their research and exhibit dimensions, the Presidential libraries host or sponsor symposia, conferences, and other public programs on contemporary or historical issues. The outreach programs of each of the libraries reach out to the local community and state (through lectures, audiovisual shows, school visits) as well as to the national audience. We are proud of a system that simultaneously serves the public, the former President and the interests of history.
Steps in the Establishment of a Presidential Library

We have listed these steps in the order in which we consider most desirable.

1. Early in the administration, President establishes Library Planning Commission.

2. Planning Commission visits current Presidential libraries, meets with representatives of the National Archives and GSA, and examines potential sites for the Reagan Library.

3. Planning Commission recommends site and architect to President. President makes decision concerning site and architect.

4. Planning Commission begins fundraising campaign.

5. Planning Commission and the National Archives begin solicitation campaign for personal papers of Cabinet members, senior White House staff and other associates of the President.


7. At end of administration, Archives transfers Presidential records from Washington, D.C. to a temporary warehouse facility as close as possible to site of future Reagan Library. Archives begins processing of papers.

8. The President, through the Planning Commission, sends a letter to the Administrator of GSA offering to donate land and building(s) or enter an agreement for the use of property in lieu of transfer for the purpose of establishing a Presidential library.

9. The administrator accepts the President's offer pending the approval of Congress by resolution or through a 60-day waiting period.

10. The Administrator prepares a report to Congress, as required by the Presidential Libraries Act, to include:

--A description of land, buildings, and equipment offered as a gift or made available for the use of a Presidential archival depository

--A statement of the terms of the proposed agreement, if any

--A description of the papers, documents, and other historical materials that will be deposited in the proposed library

--An estimate of the annual cost to the Government to operate the library.

11. After the 60-day waiting period or upon Congressional affirmation, the Administrator may proceed with actions to take title and begin operation of the Reagan Presidential Library.
Thank you for affording us the opportunity to review the proposed letter for the President to send to Dr. Campbell at the Hoover Institution.

We suggest several changes in the interest of clarity. The first makes clear the President's commitment to Stanford University as the site for development of his Presidential library. The second makes a more precise observation of the Act's requirement that the Presidential records be deposited in a Presidential archival depository operated by the United States.

An additional change, suggesting eventual unification of the papers of the President's entire public service career, augurs for a stronger Reagan Library, but may require extended negotiation with the Hoover Institution.

We, of course, concur in the President's selection of a site near the Hoover Institution on the Stanford University campus. And we look forward to a cooperative venture with the Hoover Institution in developing plans for a Reagan Library.

Sincerely,

ROBERT M. WARNER
Archivist of the United States

Enclosure
Dear Dr. Campbell:

I deeply appreciate the invitation which you have extended on behalf of the Hoover Institution and Stanford University to have my Presidential Library located on the Stanford Campus in close proximity to the Hoover Institution.

The arguments in favor of designating this library as the archival depository for my Presidential papers appear to be very persuasive. It would be a natural extension of my long association as an honorary fellow of the Hoover Institution. Moreover, my gubernatorial papers as well as the 1976 and 1980 campaign files, totalling some 2,000 cubic feet, have already been donated to the Hoover Institution. The location of the library on the campus of Stanford University would make the historical record of my administration widely accessible to the academic community, and, I hope, in turn enrich Stanford's own academic programs. The Hoover Institution has the added advantage of being in my home state.

With my administration, the Presidential Records Act of 1978 will be applied to Presidential papers for the first time. Under this Act, the Archivist of the United States assumes custody of such papers upon the conclusion of my term of office and deposits them in a Presidential Archival Depository. To ensure that the terms of the Act are carefully and faithfully carried out, I believe we should begin now to make plans for the library and for the preservation of the fullest possible record of this administration. You, therefore, have my approval to discuss this matter with the Archivist and to proceed with the preliminary planning for the location of the Presidential Library on the Stanford Campus.

Sincerely,
June 19, 1981

Mr. Edwin W. Thomas, Jr.
Assistant Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

During our meeting in your office on Tuesday you requested further information about Presidential libraries.

Attached is a briefing book in which we have attempted to supply answers to the various questions you raised.

Both Dr. Warner and I enjoyed the opportunity to discuss a Reagan Library with you and Mr. Anderson. If we can be of further assistance, please let me know. I can be reached on 523-3212.

Sincerely,

JAMES E. O’NEILL
Assistant Archivist
for Presidential Libraries

Attachment
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TAB A: OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

The System
Reagan White House Liaison Staff
Carter Presidential Materials Project
Nixon Presidential Materials Project

TAB B: STAFFING A PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

TAB C: SPACE REQUIREMENTS AND STATISTICS

Space Estimate for the Reagan Presidential Library
Space in Presidential Libraries
Principal Library Holdings
Researchers
Museum Visitors

TAB D: SITE PLANS AND PHOTOGRAPHS
ID #:

WHITE HOUSE COUNSELLOR'S OFFICE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD): 83102104

Name of Correspondent: Donald Kennedy

Subject: Writer outlines his concern with regard to the proposed site for the Reagan Presidential Library.

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- C - Comment/Recommendation
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- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
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- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

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- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
Type of Response Code = Initials of Signer
Completion Date Code = Initials of Signer

Comments: J.J. Taking care of this.

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter. Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB). Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files. Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.
RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: __________________ Media: _____ Individual Codes: __________

Prime Subject Code: FEADDI Secondary Subject Codes: ED

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V - Telephone
X - Miscellaneous
Y - Study
The Honorable Edwin Meese, III  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500  

Dear Mr. Meese:

I am pleased that we had a chance to talk on the phone about the shape of things here at Stanford with respect to the possibility of making this campus the site of the Reagan Presidential Library. A prospect of this nature and size is bound to present a university with some combination of marvelous opportunity and large scale problems. It is clear enough why we at Stanford have been and are enthusiastic about the possibility of adding the Reagan Presidential papers to the record of his governorship and his presidential campaigns, which are already housed here. Together, they would constitute a magnificent resource for the study of the history of a turbulent and important period in American life.

We are, of course, pleased that the President shares our enthusiasm at this prospect. Yet, as I said on the phone, it is very important that we also share an understanding of what might stand in the way of translating the idea into reality. So let me review the considerations that will be weighed here at Stanford. I shall try to explain why they will seem important to people here and how we will go about making our decisions.

The major issues that will have to be resolved here center on the nature and scale of the Presidential Library and on the designation of a site for the facility. The two overlap considerably, but not entirely. Let me explain.

I think it is fair to say that the enthusiasm of people here for a Presidential Library does not extend to the prospect of a Presidential Museum as a part of the Library. Quite apart from the questions of traffic and parking that attend a major tourist attraction, it will be hard to prevail with the argument that such a use should have a claim on an important University resource that overrides the claim of an academic program. Of course, the farther from prime academic space a Library/Museum is located, the less serious that problem becomes.
You should know, too, that the particular site that has been suggested as the most desirable for a Presidential Library—the site across from the Hoover Institution complex and adjacent to Memorial Auditorium—will be quite controversial locally. It is perhaps the prime remaining open space on the central campus. Some will argue strongly that it should remain open and others will insist that it should be reserved for a core academic use. While advocates of those two alternatives may be at odds with one another, they will be united in their opposition to the use of the site for a Presidential Library.

Thus, both use and site have independent weight, and would need to be debated and decided. The main problem arises, however, at the intersection of those two. As I told you, there are few people, indeed, who believe that the Memorial Auditorium site, in the very heart of the campus, in an area already short of parking and heavy on traffic, and with inadequate access to main traffic arterials, could tolerate the burden of an estimated 250,000 - 500,000 annual visitors. A quick survey of the experience of other Presidential Libraries/Museums suggests to us that a figure in that range is a fair guess. Clearly, the problem is most acute if the facility is conceived of as a place for large numbers of people to visit. A museum has that character, a library does not have it to nearly the same degree.

I would not want to underestimate the difficulty of overcoming this problem. To be realistic, we must assume a strong presumption against the use of that site for a Library/Museum. Before closing that question, however, we intend to do a study of the site based on a description of the likely project that Glenn Campbell has provided.

As I have indicated, any building proposed for that particular site would excite considerable interest on campus. This one would surely be no exception. Our Committee on Land and Building Development would need to advise me on the appropriateness of the site for the proposed use. That Committee consists of faculty, staff and students. Assuming
that hurdle was jumped, approvals would be required from our Administrative Council (composed of the senior University officers) and the Board of Trustees. Those are all independent-minded groups, and the agreement of any one does not guarantee the concurrence of the others.

I have not laid all of this out for you in order to be discouraging. Rather, it is my intention to be clear and realistic in assessing the course of future actions. I hope that there is a basis on which we can agree to proceed with a project that will add lustre to Stanford and be a source of continuing pride to the President, his family and the entire Nation.

Sincerely,

Donald Kennedy
President

cc: Glenn Campbell
Copy to E. Meser Officer, 3-22-82
(M. Stanley's report)

Stiles 10/2/82
**WHITE HOUSE**
**COUNSELLOR'S OFFICE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

□ O - OUTGOING
□ H - INTERNAL
□ I - INCOMING

**Date Correspondence**
**Received (YY/MM/DD)** 07/02/22

**Name of Correspondent:** Gabrielle Meese

**Subject:** Wrote submits some additional names of people she would like Mr. Meese to contact with regard to the Ronald Reagan gubernatorial project.

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**Comments:**

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February 15, 1983

Mr. Edwin Meese III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ed Meese:

We're very pleased that Molly Tuthill has just ordered for the Hoover Institution several of the completed volumes of the Ronald Reagan oral history project that are now available. And the interview I began with Bob Carleson in San Diego will be a fine addition to the project when it is finished.

We are continuing to interview as extensively as funding permits. I am, however, somewhat concerned that that will be limited by potential donors' commitments for next year.

Along that line, Jack Hume and others have suggested several additional people who might wish to support the project. They are David Murdoch, Gary Shansby, Dean Watkins, Charles Wick, and William Wilson. Do you suppose that you could write them the note you used last year, introducing the project and me? It would be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Gabrielle Morris,
Project Director
Let Reagan’s library rest here

Evidence has surfaced recently that the administration has been negotiating with officials in the White House concerning the possible creation of a Ronald Reagan presidential library here. The possibility of this happening should neither surprise nor anger us.

President Reagan’s close association with the Hoover Institution existed long before he became President. After Reagan finished his second term as Governor of California, he donated his gubernatorial papers to the Hoover Institution. Strengthening their ties with Reagan, the Hoover Institution made him an honorary fellow. After Reagan became president, he also donated his campaign and transition period papers.

We believe that the Reagan presidential papers would make a valuable addition to the Stanford libraries. Regardless of our agreement or disagreement with specific areas of Reagan’s policies and programs, we would all benefit from the primarily historical, but also economic and political, information the papers would contain.

Perhaps we can draw an analogy from the visit of Queen Elizabeth II to this campus. Regardless of how one may think about the relative merits of constitutional monarchy as a form of government, or in spite of one’s thoughts on the history of the British Empire, the visit of the Queen was welcomed as a historical event and an event which will further Stanford’s prestige around the world.

In the same way, one’s partisan views on the value or virtue of the specific contents of the Reagan papers should be put aside. If the proposals can be accepted by both parties as being mutually beneficial, the library should be welcomed by both students and faculty as a valuable scholarly resource. If an agreement is reached and especially if outside funding can be found, The Daily sees no reason why the library should not be built.
TO: Mrs. Reagan
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

☐ Information
☐ Action

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