

FYI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MKD:

Both Bill Henkel and Fred Ryan have
looked into this and there is no event
possible.

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: BILL HENKEL/FRED RYAN

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

☐ Information

☐ Action

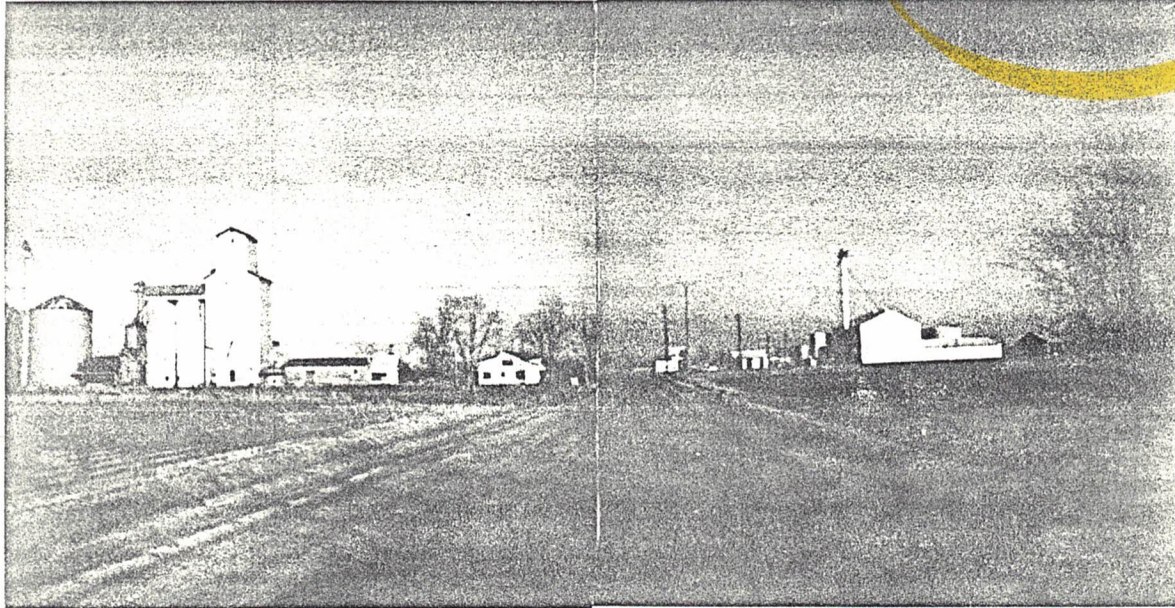
MKD would like your thoughts
on this. Do you see an event.

Get Back - Thanks.

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separate
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1981

*But
see if schedule
or advance have
any ideas on
this.*



ELEVATOR, DWELLING AND KAISER PLANT

Credits and Acknowledgements For This Article Go To:

Dorothy (Reagan) Neff	Frankfort
Doris (Reagan) Lipp	"
Robert Heilman	"
Paul Swackhammer	"
Melville C. Whiting	"
Carl (Porthole) Strange	"
Steven Vrooman	"

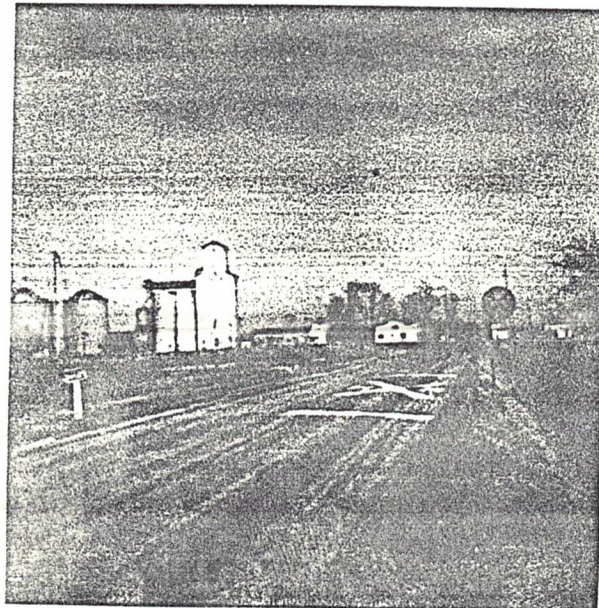
The Author

REAGAN



PRESIDENT REAGAN

AND...



THE TOWN OF REAGAN, INDIANA

INTRODUCTION

Who Owns Reagan?

If the above question is a bit puzzling, in explanation it can refer to the town of Reagan, Indiana. Or supposition could be made that reference is to the 40th President of the United States of America. We know who owns (and has owned) Reagan, Indiana. A researched and somewhat detailed history of the town follows:

THE REAGAN ELEVATOR (The Original Building)

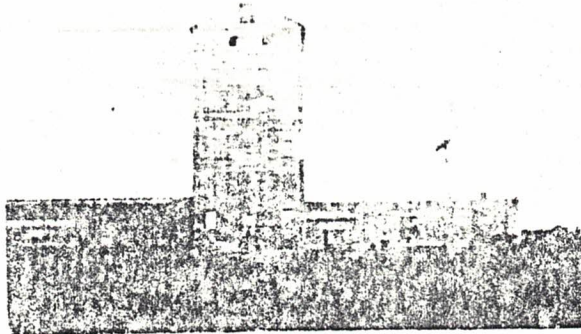


Photo Taken in 1917
Furnished by Doris E. Lipp

RONALD REAGAN LIBRARY
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"History of Reagan, Indiana" by Floyd E. Whiting
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HISTORY OF REAGAN, INDIANA
By: Floyd E. Whiting

PRESERVATION COPY

In the years of 1916 and 1917, Richard Reagan built a grain elevator in Jackson Township, south central Clinton County, Indiana.

This farm marketing facility was located on approximately 14 acres of land owned by the Reagan family. The elevator was built in conjunction with the erection of the Pennsylvania Railroad that was extended through Southern Clinton County at this same time. The 14 acres includes approximately three acres of railroad right-of-way. On this land was also a very nice, (modern at that time) family dwelling.

Through the years, this small place on the Indiana map has always been known as the town of Reagan.

A sequence of past operations and ownership follows:

1. Initial owner and builder, Richard Reagan, who operated the place until 1919. Contractural carpentry work was done by Frank Strange of Frankfort.
2. Property sold to W. B. Fordman, 1919, managed and operated by Lawrence Lake, a grain elevator bookkeeper, who migrated to Clinton County from Battleground, Indiana. Mr. Fordman and Mr. Lake ran the elevator for three years.
3. In 1922, Charley Reagan (son of Richard Reagan) acquired the elevator and property from Mr. Fordman, and formed the Lake and Reagan Grain Company.

The Reagans furnished the capital and Mr. Lake the management know-how in what, in time, became a quite successful farm-market service for the county known as Lake and Reagan. But, it all began at Reagan, with these two men operating the place for 10 or 11 years when it was sold in 1931.

4. Purchasers of the town were two brothers by the name of Simmonson, sons of a doctor in Lafayette, Indiana, where he had been in medical practice. For two years, these two brothers ran the elevator, assisted by Samuel Camp, then sold it back to Lake and Reagan in 1933.
5. From this time to the year 1948, the elevator flourished under the Lake and Reagan partnership, and was at the height of its volume of business. Served well by the Pennsylvania Railroad in shipping and receiving commodities and supplies, the business flourished, dealing in grain buying and selling, livestock feeds, coal, livestock medicine, work gloves and boots and other miscellaneous farm related necessities. Also, there was a cattle and hog feeding unit using by-products of the operations, such as corn cobs, chaff from all grains for roughage, as feed for animals. About this time Mr. Lake patented a hog protien supplement feed (mixed at the plant) known as T & T that was used extensively throughout the area, quite successfully, by farmers. A feed grinding service, as well as a seed cleaning unit, just about completed the operation. During this period, management was capably handled by John Frantz, who came from Clarks Hill, Indiana.

Farmers called Mr. Frantz "Preacher", perhaps because he often kindly would advance money on grain crops, sold to but not yet delivered, to Reagan. Mr. Frantz would also defer feed and coal bills in the area to patrons deemed to have good credit and character. So, it's easy to understand why the Reagan elevator did a good, serviceable flourishing business during this trying economic time in agricultural history of the mid 1930's and 40's. Of course, Lake and Reagan approved this credit previously.

6. On February 10, 1948 Charley Reagan, partner with Mr. Lake, passed away. The facility continued in operation until August 18, 1948, when it was sold to Indiana Terminal Elevators, a division of General Grain, Indianapolis, Indiana. This sale taking place in process of the settlement of the estate of Charley Reagan. From this date of sale, the elevator was known as Acme-Goodrich Grain Co., Inc., Reagan Branch. Acme-Goodrich, Inc. was a livestock feed division of General Grain and Indiana Terminal Elevators. Management under the supervision of a Mr. Harrell.
7. For the next twenty years, Reagan elevator was operated by Acme-Goodrich, retaining the Reagan name, with John Frantz as the manager until fall of 1959. Other managers during this span of time (to name a few) were Paul Nagles, Imogene Hoffman, Paul Barts, Jay Phillips, and Benny Michael. There were spans of time that the place was not in daily operation, but was used as a grain storage unit under the supervision of Robert Heilman, manager of the Cyclone Acme-Goodrich Elevator during the mid-sixties.
8. In 1969, Reagan's ownership was transferred to the newly formed Indiana Elevator Corp., Inc., a group of stockholders of Acme-Goodrich division of General Grain. Chairman of the Board of Directors was a Mr. Elliott. Joe Ebert, of Michigantown, Indiana was General Manager. Grain storage capacity was expanded three fold at this time. An outside dump pit, a new lift leg, and an automatic grain dryer were installed as improvements. The local manager was Robert Percy, with the plant operating for about three years. The farmers patronized the place well after the storage capacity had been enlarged. Volume of business seemed adequate.
9. In the spring of 1971, the stockholders of Indiana Elevators filed

bankruptcy in Federal Court, Southern Indiana District. The Reagan Elevator was one of five involved in this litigation. In August, 1971, the court awarded the elevator to American Fletcher National Bank, Indianapolis, in lieu of first lien claims on elevator property. During the same month (August, 1971) Reagan Elevator was sold by American Fletcher National Bank to Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Whiting of R. R. #4, Frankfort, Indiana. The place having been closed during the bankruptcy, by the court, was then re-opened on September 15, 1971, operating until November the same year, with Mrs. Earl Hoffman as office manager and Harold Lashbrook as mill manager. The Clinton County Farm Bureau Co-op leased Reagan from the Whitingers November 1, 1971 until November 1, 1972. In February 1973, the Co-op purchased the facility. To this day, ownership of the Reagan Elevator is in the hands of the Clinton County Farm Bureau Cooperative Stockholders, Steven Vrooman, Frankfort, Indiana, General Manager. Reagan elevator is now used primarily for grain storage, patronized by area farmers. It has been filled to capacity each of the recent harvest years.

The Town of Reagan Grew in 1963...

That's the year that Reagan grew four acres. Kaiser Agricultural Chemicals, Inc., a division of Kaiser Aluminum Corp., Inc., purchased the land and built a farm chemical distributing facility to serve farmers in the Reagan agricultural area. This farm service center flourished from the beginning of operation, serving farmers with fertilizers, weed control chemicals, delivery, and application services, seeds and other miscellaneous items. The place retains the same good volume of service today. It is said to be the largest (in volume of sales and service) of all Kaiser Chemical Service Centers owned by the business, having served farmers in a five county area.

The original manager of Kaiser Agricultural Chemicals was John Barker.
Current manager is Robert Lester; assistant manager is Herbert Fields.

CONCLUSION

A bit on the Richard Reagan Family
of
Clinton County

Are they related to President Ronald Reagan? If so, how closely related? No one person interviewed for this story knows the exact past history of the Reagans, U.S.A.

Therefore, only supposition and bits of speculation can we use. Having interviewed two granddaughters of Richard Reagan, Mrs. Dorothy (Reagan) Neff, R. R. #5, Frankfort, Indiana; this is her memory: My grandfather, Richard, never knew his father; this Mr. Reagan having died prior to his son, Richard's memory. But, it is thought the Reagan family migrated to Clinton County, Indiana while the state was a part of the Virginia Territory, as did many families at that time. Charley Reagan, son of Richard, was the father of Dorothy Neff. Other children of this family were Merle, Ivan, Oakley and Doris. One brother died as a child.

Doris (Reagan) Lipp, 903 Maple Drive, Frankfort, Indiana, in an interview said, "I don't know very much about our past family other than what I've been told, and of course my own memories."

"Are we possibly related to the President? I couldn't say that at all. Perhaps, as distant cousins. I have a cousin who has a nearly identical hair line like Ronald Reagan. From pictures, there seems to be family resemblance among us."

This writer will leave it up to the Reagans to make further (if any) connection. He has submitted this story on the town of Reagan and knows who has and does own it.

Does anyone own the President? As the highest public servant of the U.S.A., it could be said we all have a part of him. However, it's hoped he's responsible to himself, and the nation. I believe he will try to be so.

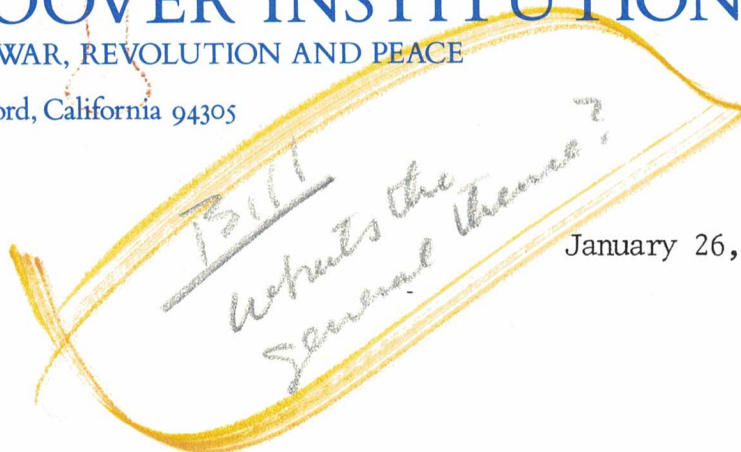
[The birth place of the President was Anson, Illinois.] It is possible that his ancestors traveled through this area and settled in what is now the state of Indiana at some time.

(Tampier del.)

HOOVER INSTITUTION

ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Stanford, California 94305



January 26, 1984

Dear Mike:

Enclosed is the most recent material concerning the acceptance of The White House of Stanford's Board of Trustees offer to locate the presidential library and museum on the campus.

Also enclosed is material concerning the proposed compromise on the center for public affairs. Please note my enclosed article urging that the compromise be accepted.

With very good wishes.

Cordially,

Dennis L. Bark
Senior Fellow & Associate Director

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

The Stanford Daily

JANUARY 20, 1984

Viewpoint: Dennis Bark

We've almost got the library

Since early 1981 the establishment of the proposed Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Complex at Stanford University has been the subject of discussions both public and private. Where do we stand today? All parties may be closer than they think!

After the intense debates of the past several months, conducted with such fervor, two conclusions seem, to me at least, inescapable. First, in the heat of the arguments that have taken place so far, many seem to have lost sight of what a magnificent opportunity Stanford has been offered. Second, many seem to have lost sight of the fact that all the parties involved agree on almost all aspects of the proposed complex.

Let's shine a little light on the matter:

- 1) There is widespread agreement that a Ronald Reagan presidential library would be a major asset to Stanford and the intellectual community.
- 2) There is widespread agreement that an appropriate museum would strengthen the value of the library and give life to the historical records it would contain.
- 3) There is widespread agreement that the establishment of a center for public affairs would be of major

benefit to the University; that is to say, a major conference center which the University does not now have and a program for advanced research which would bring approximately two dozen distinguished scholars annually.

Where does the disagreement lie? It lies with who should govern the center for public affairs — the Stanford faculty through the provost or the Hoover Institution through the president of the University and the Board of Trustees? The issue is not, nor has it ever been, a question of University control versus Hoover Institution control.

One point that continually seems to get lost in rhetoric is that the president of the United States envisions the center for public affairs as *national in character*, and not as a University department. Therefore, reasonable men and women have argued during the debate that the center should be placed in that part of the University — namely, the Hoover Institution — which has a proven ability to conduct a comprehensive public policy research program.

Some have said that the Hoover Institution's governance of the center would be intolerable, arguing that "enough is enough," and in so doing have provided highly questionable justifications which

reasonable people have argued constitute direct violations of academic freedom.

Others observe that "normal" University governance is inappropriate to a national public policy center, and in so doing point to the Hoover Institution's independent status within the framework of the University as one of the principal reasons for the national and international reputation for excellence it enjoys today.

No one has argued that the proposed center has no academic merit. Thus, at the beginning of this new year the positions of the pros and of the cons are clear — so where do we go from here?

Reasonable men and women can reach different conclusions concerning the same set of facts and circumstances. But reasonable men and women seldom allow disagreement over a single point to obscure what is really at issue — namely, a magnificent opportunity for Stanford.

Surely, the Board of Trustees of one of the very best universities in the United States can work out a reasonable alternative — an alternative which would accord due respect to all concerned, and which would bring an unparalleled academic resource to Stanford.

(Dennis Bark is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.)

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT: Bob Beyers
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

GOVERNANCE DISPUTE DIMS PROSPECTS FOR REAGAN LIBRARY COMPLEX AT STANFORD

STANFORD—

Basic differences over academic governance make it "difficult" to devise any mutually acceptable compromise which would lead to a Ronald Reagan presidential library complex at Stanford, President Donald Kennedy said Wednesday, Jan. 18.

Academic governance of a proposed public affairs center linked to the library is "essential to the University" but remains "absolutely unacceptable" to the White House, Kennedy declared in a statement responding to inquiries on the University's position in the current impasse.

Both the Faculty Senate and Board of Trustees have voted unanimously that any public affairs center should be part of the University's normal academic governance structure.

Kennedy said, "We (have been) told by the Counselor to the President, Mr. (Edwin) Meese, that he would be derelict in his fiduciary duty if he permitted the center to come under faculty governance and that the President's interest in Stanford University, beyond the Hoover Institution, is 'zero.'"

"Mr. Meese has made it plain, on behalf of the President, that academic governance is not merely a principle in which he is uninterested, it is one he wishes actively to reject."

Kennedy, Board of Trustees President William Kimball, and Trustee Frank "Sandy" Tatum met Meese at the White House Dec. 7 and jointly called Meese following the trustees' unanimous action Dec. 13.

From the University's standpoint, Kennedy said. The proposal to locate the center under the Hoover Institution fails because that Institution, for historical reasons, lacks this form of governance. . . .

"It has been suggested to us that a (public affairs) center might, alternatively, be managed by an independent foundation, and thus not governed either by Hoover or under the academic governance normal at Stanford. . . .

"The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) is cited as an example.

"But the cases are not comparable. The CASBS originated from an established charitable foundation (Ford) with a history of support for the improvement of higher education; neither the foundation nor the center was associated with any doctrine or school of thought within the behavioral sciences; and the University had convincing assurances that it would be governed in a way that incorporated the usual standards of faculty review.

"A foundation to be created for a presidential center for public affairs has no such history. It would be formed for the purpose of maintaining such a center on behalf of a public figure with a particular political philosophy.

"The more distinctive the philosophy, of course, the more interesting the archives of an administration are likely to be to scholars; but by the same token, it becomes all the more important for the University to assure both the fact and the appearance of political neutrality and those characteristics of academic excellence that the University's mode of governance is designed to insure.

"Such a center, moreover, would inevitably be viewed as connected with the University—indeed, it is only to the extent that there is some connection, however informal, that there is any point at all in its placement at Stanford. . . .

"There can be no convincing assurances that a center organized independently of the University and functioning merely as lessee would be 'subject' to normal academic governance."

Kennedy noted that "hybrid boards and similar devices appear to provide solutions, but they fail to provide for academic control—a feature essential to the University but asserted by the White House to be absolutely unacceptable. . . .

"It is the very characteristic that provides the standard assurance of objectivity and academic quality to which the White House objection is directed.

"Under these circumstances, how can an institution as devoted as we to the principle of academic governance seek, let alone find, an arrangement with which both parties can live comfortably?

Kennedy noted that "the excellence of any great university depends, more than anything else, on the *quality and the objectivity, real and perceived*, of its academic work. . . .

"Universities always examine gifts, contracts, and other arrangements carefully to determine whether they contain restrictions that might be inconsistent with the institution's own policies and principles. . . ."

"We have an obligation to preserve the University's independence, even from the most generous of our supporters.

"Indeed, the more considerable the gift and the more powerful and influential the donor, the more thorough must be our scrutiny—because the temptation to take without looking carefully is stronger.

"Stanford would not be responsible to itself or to society if it did not raise searching questions about this opportunity, as it does about others. . . .

"If our attempts to negotiate satisfactory arrangements fail, it will not be the first time we will have lost a gift opportunity because of that issue. Stanford has a substantial—and sometimes expensive—history of concern with the independence of the University and with internal control over matters of governance and structure."

(In recent years, early exploration of possible multi-million dollar gifts for Middle Eastern studies and biotechnology research promptly focused on normal academic governance. Eventually, neither materialized.)

Kennedy said faculty letters and discussion show recognition that a presidential library "would be a benefit to this academic community. Various versions of a center for public affairs under normal academic governance would also be welcome."

Very preliminary cost estimates indicated the Reagan presidential library complex would require about \$65 million in private gift support and five to 10 acres of land.

Once built, the presidential archives and related museum facilities would be operated by the General Services Administration as part of the National Archives, with about \$2 million annually in tax support. Federal legislation would govern access to the archival materials.

The public affairs center would remain privately funded and privately controlled.

Reagan is an honorary fellow of the Hoover Institution, which has his California gubernatorial papers. Reagan's presidential campaign and transition papers also are on deposit at Hoover.

University officials have been receiving a number of inquiries, from friends of the University and from the media, about Stanford's stance on the governance of the Center for Public Affairs which has been proposed as part of the Reagan Library complex. This paper by President Donald Kennedy is an attempt to explain the significance of the principle of academic governance to universities, and to show why it limits the kinds of arrangements Stanford might make for such a Center.

The President of the United States has invited Stanford University to make a proposal to locate a library containing his Presidential papers at Stanford. We have been informed by the White House that, in order to be accepted, such a proposal must include a Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs, an institute to be devoted to the academic study of public policy problems by visiting scholars; and, further, that this Center cannot be administered within the University's normal academic structure.

The Stanford Board of Trustees, the Faculty Senate and I have felt it essential that the Center be placed under the same form of academic governance that applies to other centers and institutes in the University. Our position has stimulated questions from both friends and critics: "Why is Stanford being so ungracious in its response to a generous offer from the President?" "Are partisan politics at work here?" "What is so significant about this principle of academic governance?"

The first two questions are not difficult to answer. Universities always examine gifts, contracts, and other arrangements carefully to determine whether they contain restrictions that might be inconsistent with the institution's own policies and principles. Their presidents worry ceaselessly about these matters; we have an obligation to preserve the University's independence—even from the most generous of our supporters.

Indeed, the more considerable the gift, and the more powerful and influential the donor, the more thorough must be our scrutiny—because the temptation to take without looking carefully is stronger. Stanford would not be responsible to itself or to society if it did not raise searching questions about this opportunity, as it does about others.

Nor is our conclusion motivated by political bias. On the contrary, the sense of the faculty—emerging from letters to a committee that examined the merits of bringing the Reagan Library Complex to Stanford, and from the debates in the Faculty Senate—is that the library would be a benefit to this academic community. Various versions of a Center for Public Affairs subject to normal academic governance would also be welcome.

It is governance of the Center that is the issue, not politics. This was underscored by a unanimous resolution of the Faculty Senate, and by a unanimous resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Other gift opportunities

If our attempts to negotiate satisfactory arrangements fail, it will not be the first time we will have lost a gift opportunity because of that issue. Stanford has a substantial—and sometimes expensive—history of concern with the independence of the University and with internal control over matters of governance and structure.

I want to address myself here at greater length to the third question: "What is so significant about this principle of academic governance?" because it is critically important to us, and little discussed outside the institution.

The excellence of any great university depends, more than anything else, on the *quality and the objectivity, real and perceived*, of its academic work. The system for making judgments about that work depends everywhere upon review, repetition and criticism by scholarly peers. That is what happens in the refereeing of papers for scholarly journals, in the awarding of grants to support scientific work, and in the appointment of scholars to a university faculty. The

academic system is built, in short, on candid professional criticism and evaluation, delivered through the process of peer review.

Indeed, faculty peer review has become widely accepted even by the outside community when it concerns itself with university work. For example, it is the policy principle the federal government uses to decide among competing claimants for public resources to support research.

So firmly accepted is that principle that its violation—as when several academic research facilities were funded by unreviewed amendments to appropriations bills in this year's Congress—raised protest not only from the scientific community but from the Congress itself.

Faculty review essential

What does that system mean with reference to academic governance? It means that the principle of faculty review is essential to those parts of the university that are primarily academic.

It is the faculty at Stanford, for example, that sets research policies and evaluates new programs or institutions. The Faculty Senate, through its committee structure, monitors the quality and effectiveness of special centers and institutes.

The Advisory Board—an elected committee of faculty members—must review appointments to the faculty, and sometimes turns them down even when the President and the Provost favor them; appointments over faculty objection, or rejections of appointments approved through the process described, are almost unknown.

The particular shape of the faculty review process has varied over the years, and will no doubt change in the future. But its essential characteristics remain, and that process itself is the essential guarantor of scholarly quality in any academic institution.

In fact, that process is what establishes the confidence of the community in the "academic" character of the institution. Obviously it is not infallible. It has happened that silly or dull or even venal people have found their way onto university faculties, and it will happen again. It has happened that individuals, and even departments or centers, have developed political cant in their work, and it will happen again.

Perhaps one might say of faculty governance of universities what Winston Churchill said of democracy in nations: that it is "the worst form of government—except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

But in my view, it is sound judgment, and not default, that prompts us to commit to their peers the authority, and the responsibility, to evaluate the professional competence of scholars and teachers. It is the entire academic enterprise that suffers when quality control and objectivity fail. Thus, no other system could supply as much incentive to be *careful* and to be *right* in the making of academic judgments, and none could hope to lay equal claim to the trust others must repose in the institution's character.

Reagan Center for Public Affairs

The question before us is whether a Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs can be established at Stanford, in a fashion acceptable to the President of the United States and to the University.

The centrality of the principle of academic governance makes it difficult to devise compromises between the White House's position and Stanford's. The proposal to locate the Center under the Hoover Institution fails because that institution, for historical reasons, lacks this form of governance.

Hybrid boards and similar devices may appear to provide solutions, but they fail to provide for academic control—a feature essential to the University, but asserted by the White House to be absolutely unacceptable.

It has been suggested to us that a public affairs center might, alternatively, be managed by an independent foundation, and thus not governed either by Hoover or under the academic governance normal at Stanford.

The Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences is cited as an example. But the cases are not comparable. CASBS originated from an established charitable foundation with a history of support for the improvement of higher education; neither the foundation nor CASBS was associated with any doctrine or school of thought within the behavioral sciences; and the University had convincing assurances that it would be governed in a way that incorporated the usual standards of faculty review.

A foundation to be created for a presidential center for public affairs has no such history. It would be formed for the purpose of maintaining such a Center on behalf of a public figure with a particular political philosophy.

The more distinctive the philosophy, of course, the more interesting the archives of an administration are likely to be to scholars; but by the same token, it becomes all the more important for the University to assure both the fact and the appearance of political neutrality and those characteristics of academic excellence that the University's mode of governance is designed to insure. Such a Center, moreover, would inevitably be viewed as connected with the University—indeed, it is only to the extent that there is some connection, however informal, that there is any point at all in its placement at Stanford.

White House position

In the present case, there can be no convincing assurances that a Center organized independently of the University and functioning merely as a lessee would be governed in accord with normal academic standards.

To the contrary, we have been told by the Counsellor to the President, Mr. Meese, that he would be derelict in his fiduciary duty if he permitted the Center to come under faculty governance, and that the President's interest in Stanford University, beyond the Hoover Institution, is "zero." Mr. Meese has made it plain on behalf of the President that academic governance is not merely a principle in which he is uninterested; it is one he wishes actively to reject.

But Stanford has become an educational institution of extraordinary quality, and Stanford is what it is, because of its faculty. We find incomprehensible the suggestion that this faculty, responsible for the entire academic mission of a great university, cannot be entrusted with the governance of the proposed Center.

In short, it is the very characteristic that provides the standard assurance of objectivity and academic quality to which the White House objection is directed. Under these circumstances, how can an institution as devoted as we to the principle of academic governance seek, let alone find, an arrangement with which both parties can live comfortably?

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT: Bob Beyers

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

**STANFORD TRUSTEES UNANIMOUSLY BACK REAGAN LIBRARY,
MUSEUM AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTER GOVERNED BY UNIVERSITY**

STANFORD—

The Stanford Board of Trustees Tuesday, Dec. 13, unanimously backed a Ronald Reagan library, museum and public affairs center "organizationally within the normal academic structure of the University."

In their first official action on the proposed complex, all 30 trustees present said Stanford was "honored" by President and Mrs. Reagan's interest and "would welcome" a presidential library "in affiliation with the Hoover Institution and under the provision of applicable federal law."

The trustees authorized President Kennedy to make a detailed proposal for "a library with incorporated museum facilities limited in space and substantially integrated with the archives and antechambers."

They also authorized Kennedy to propose "a Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs—or, in the alternative, a conference center, if that should be preferable—located on the same site and organizationally within the normal academic structure of the University."

Presidential Counselor Edwin Meece III warned Nov. 4 that denying the Hoover Institution administrative responsibility for the public affairs center was "tantamount to making the President 'an offer he cannot accept.' "

A White House meeting Dec. 7 indicated no basic change in position on either side. Trustee President William Kimball, Trustee Frank Tatum, and University President Donald Kennedy spoke to Meece soon after the board discussion Dec. 13.

Kennedy said: "We restated our position, warmly welcoming the library and the center if under University control.

"We expressed hope that the board's firm affirmation might change his view. Apparently it has not."

Hoover Institution Director W. Glenn Campbell said the decision "is up to the White House. Mr. Meece made it very clear that (University control of the center) was unacceptable to the White House.

"If, as a result, it doesn't work out and the White House should decide to take the whole complex elsewhere, I will be very sad because Stanford will have missed the opportunity to obtain a priceless academic resource. This will be the second time during my tenure at Stanford that they failed to get a presidential library, which probably will be a record which should stand for at least 100 years." (The other was the Hoover Library in Iowa).

In a news conference following the trustee meeting, Kennedy expressed hope the decision might "reduce the impasse" with the White House. But he said there was "no indication" the White House would change.

Tatum described the resolution as "a definitive proposal" from the University.

Kennedy said the trustees "explored areas of difference" and "possible categories of compromise" with "a variety of positions represented" in 90 minutes of discussion prior to adopting the resolution.

12-13-83

-more-

Tatum emphasized the board felt it was important to go "formally on record" instead of continuing informal communications.

Questioned about his relations with Campbell and the Hoover Institution, Kennedy said he would do his best to make them "friendly and productive."

He noted that the trustees were "perfectly willing" to have Hoover serve as the University's linkage to the Reagan archives, which would be managed by the General Services Administration as part of the National Archives.

He said Meese made it "unmistakably" clear he was speaking for the President Dec. 7, when the counselor met with Kennedy, Kimball and Tatum.

Asked if there was any general discussion of alternatives in the White House session, Kennedy said there was, but he chose not to describe them.

Tatum felt that having a center part of normal academic governance was "the only sensible approach."

Reagan is an honorary fellow of the Hoover Institution, which has his California gubernatorial papers. Reagan's presidential campaign and transition papers also are on deposit here.

As governor, Reagan named Campbell to the University of California Board of Regents. As President, he appointed Campbell head of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Estimated to cost about \$65 million, the library complex was first mentioned at a Hoover Institution dinner in Washington in January, 1981, when Meese expressed hope Reagan's papers would go to Stanford—"God, Glenn, and the national archivist willing." Campbell gave University President Donald Kennedy the first descriptive outline of the complex about a year ago.

While there had been intermittent public mention of a possible Reagan library at Stanford, this did not become the focal point for debate until last summer, when Kennedy appointed an advisory committee to review the academic merits of a proposal developed at Hoover by Martin Anderson, a former Reagan aide. More than 200 faculty wrote individual letters to the advisory committee, an unprecedented outpouring of individual opinion.

The committee, headed by Prof. James Rosse, economics, said a library could prove of significant academic value, but any policy center should be under normal academic governance of the University, not the Hoover Institution.

Campbell presented his views concerning the ties between Hoover and the rest of the University at the Board of Trustees regular meetings in September and October.

On Oct. 13, two days after a speakerphone call from Meese to the board, Trustee President Kimball informed the Presidential counselor there was little chance the trustees would approve a Ronald Reagan public affairs center administered by the Hoover Institution, even if this meant loss of the library and museum.

On Nov. 4 Meese replied that unilaterally ruling out any administrative role for the Hoover Institution in such a center was "tantamount to making the President an offer he cannot accept."

On Dec. 7, Kimball informed Meese that he had personally canvassed every trustee and found unanimous support for the Presidential library, incorporating an exhibition area, with a public affairs center under normal academic governance.

Meese indicated this still was not acceptable. Campbell, Hoover Board of Overseers Chairman Emil "Bus" Mosbacher, and Deputy Counselor James Jenkins attended at Meese's invitation.

On Dec. 8, the Stanford Faculty Senate unanimously adopted a resolution backing normal academic governance of any public affairs center, a position taken by Kennedy in an Oct. 27 talk with the Senate. Kennedy provided Meese with an advance text of his remarks, which subsequently appeared to reflect a very broad—but not universal—consensus on campus.

In all, only 10 faculty spoke at a series of three discussions scheduled by the Senate Steering Committee Dec. 1, 2, and 3. Only 75 students attended an informal talk by Kennedy Dec. 8 arranged by the Associated Students after both supporters and opponents of the library complex organized petition drives. Neither has publicly reported results.

Campbell expressed "deep regret" after the Faculty Senate vote Dec. 8. "Having a Presidential Library Complex associated with Stanford is a once in a lifetime opportunity," he said. "Unless an immediate effort is made to resolve the remaining differences, this opportunity may slip away. If that happens, an unparalleled academic resource will have been lost to the University."

Very preliminary estimates indicated the complex would cost about \$65 million in private gifts and require 5 to 10 acres of Stanford land.

Once built, the library and museum would be operated by the General Services Administration as part of the national archives at an approximate annual cost of \$2 million in public funds. Operation of the public affairs center would require sustained private support.

As proposed by Anderson and Campbell, the center would include about two dozen fellows, selected by Hoover with some involvement of faculty from Stanford and other institutions. It also would include conference facilities available to other university departments most of the year.

Following is a resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees:

Resolved, that Stanford University acknowledges with appreciation the interest of President and Mrs. Reagan in a proposal to locate a presidential library complex at Stanford. Stanford is honored by this interest, and the Board of Trustees would welcome the location of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library at the University, in affiliation with the Hoover Institution and under the provision of applicable federal law. Such a library would be a significant addition to the archival resources of the Hoover Institution and the University generally.

Further resolved, that the President of the University is authorized to make a detailed proposal to the President of the United States to locate the archival records of his administration at Stanford, at a site to be selected in consultation with the appropriate University officers, in a structure suitable for use as a library with incorporated museum facilities limited in space and substantially integrated with the archives and antechambers.

Further resolved, that the President of the University is authorized to make a proposal to the President of the United States for a Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs (or, in the alternative, a Conference Center, if that should be preferable) located on the same site and organizationally within the normal academic structure of the University.

Liberalism, Stanford-Style

Tom Bethell

THE details soon get complicated, but in broad outline the recent dispute between the Hoover Institution and Stanford University is fairly straightforward: a somewhat conservative institution, set in the midst of an increasingly liberal university, and largely independent of it, has been growing in influence and since 1980 has had friends in the White House, including the President. A segment of the Stanford faculty has not been enthusiastic about these developments, and some of the faculty have sought to limit Hoover's influence, or to bring it under Stanford's control. Others, recognizing that Hoover's prestige in part derives from its association with Stanford, would like to terminate the association altogether. In the end, these attempts may have backfired.

Compounding the problem, President Reagan has suggested that his presidential papers and library be housed at Stanford. (His gubernatorial and transition papers are already at the Hoover Institution library.) The precedent of John F. Kennedy's association with Harvard notwithstanding, some Stanford professors objected vigorously to any association with Reagan. Red buttons began appearing on campus, showing the Hoover tower over the caption: Ronald Reagan University.

Perhaps the real message underlying the petitions, statements, counterpetitions, and buttons that multiplied on the Palo Alto campus in 1983 can be summarized as follows: universities are in the business of disseminating ideas but first they must decide which ideas to disseminate. In America's elite academic institutions, it was assumed that this battle had already been fought and won. By and large, those ideas would be liberal, as that term is currently understood in America. (In Europe, the word is leftist.) Thus the thriving presence of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace on the Stanford campus was felt, by some, to be an irritant sorely in need of a remedy.

Stanford University has not always been hostile to conservative ideas, or to conservative Presidents. "Campus Honors Hoover on Eve of Victory," the *Stanford Daily* reported after Herbert Hoover's 1928 election. Described as "Stanford's most fa-

mous son" by the student newspaper, the new President had been a member of the university's first graduating class (1895), and in 1919 he had founded the Hoover Institution with a \$50,000 grant. Its purpose was to build "an historical collection of the Great War." Soon additional grants were made, and valuable documents on revolutionary movements, particularly in Germany and Russia, were acquired. Today the Hoover library includes many rare and irreplaceable items. Soviet officials have had to copy Hoover documents in order to complete their own files (of *Pravda*, for example). Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, an honorary Hoover fellow, occasionally drops in to continue his own researches into the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Hoover tower on the Stanford campus was completed in 1941, and in 1959 Herbert Hoover himself appointed W. Glenn Campbell, then a thirty-four-year-old former research director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to be director of the growing institution. Today, in addition to overseeing Hoover's operations, its \$9-million annual budget and its \$65-million endowment, its 175-member staff and its 70 fellows, Campbell is chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of California, and chairman of the Intelligence Oversight Board. Both appointments were made by his friend Ronald Reagan, pictures of whom adorn the walls of Campbell's office on the eleventh floor of the Hoover tower.

The relationship between Hoover and Stanford is complex. Hoover is formally a part of the university, receiving \$2.7 million a year from Stanford for its library. Yet Stanford does not control Hoover. The Hoover family drew up the incorporating documents in a way that was intended to make encroachment by the university difficult. In particular, the Stanford provost, faculty, and board of trustees have little control over Campbell's appointments to research positions. And there is no tenure at Hoover, which gives Campbell a freer hand than most university presidents enjoy.

Among Hoover's senior, honorary, and research fellows are such well-known figures as Milton Friedman, Thomas Sowell, Friedrich Hayek, Kenneth Arrow, Sidney Hook, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Edward Teller. A few of these call themselves socialists or liberals, but it is hard to deny that Hoover includes more conservatives and libertari-

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ans than would be found in a randomly chosen academic body of comparable size; and noticeably fewer leftists. On the other hand, last May, Lipset, who holds a joint appointment as a Hoover senior fellow and as a professor in Stanford's political-science department, wrote an op-ed piece for the *Stanford Daily* pointing out that, out of "the core group of scholars in residence at Hoover," eleven were Democrats, ten were Republicans, three independent, and one a foreigner. (Among sociologists and political scientists at Hoover, he found nine Democrats and three Republicans.)

Clearly, Hoover administrators are right when they point out that the philosophical outlook of the institution more nearly reflects that of the country as a whole than does Stanford University. Voting precincts on campus have shown that "Stanford voters are a solidly liberal pocket in a conservative state," as the *Stanford Daily* put it. In November 1982, "the Democratic candidates, all of whom won, received a consistent 70 to 75 percent of the campus vote." And a nuclear-freeze initiative, which passed by 4 percentage points statewide, won 83 percent of the campus vote. In 1972, 78 percent of the faculty voted for George McGovern. Less than 25 percent voted for Reagan in 1980.

THE opening shot in the recent Stanford-Hoover war was heard in April 1983, when John Manley, a professor of political science, and Ronald Rebholz, a professor of English, began circulating a petition calling for an inquiry into the "activities" of Hoover and its "relationship" to the university. A similar petition was circulated among students. An ad-hoc campus group explained that "the existence of a politically partisan research institute, whether liberal or conservative, within a leading university, raises grave questions concerning academic independence and Stanford's national reputation."

It was further asserted that Hoover is a "two-tiered organization" with a "conservative inner core" of advocates who were legitimized by an "outer ring" of academics, "most of whom are Stanford professors." Hoover was also said to have created a "two-class professoriat" within Stanford's political-science department; some received research funds and other "benefits" from Hoover, while others did not. Finally, the petitioners claimed, Hoover's "widely recognized promotion of the Reagan candidacy and the Republican party generally" threatened Stanford's (and Hoover's) tax-exempt status.

The faculty petition garnered 84 signatures (but only 76 names have been made public)—more than enough to put its complaints on the agenda of Stanford's Faculty Senate, an elected body of professors representing the entire faculty of 1,200. The student petition was allegedly signed by about 1,500 out of a total student body of 13,000.

Easily the largest group of faculty signers came

from the English department—17 out of the 76 published names. (Eight were from political science, seven from mechanical engineering, six from education, and five each from law, anthropology, and genetics.) Admittedly, one of the petition's organizers was from the English department, but Hoover administrators also point out that in the past decade the number of Stanford students enrolled in English has declined considerably. (There were 397 undergraduate English majors in 1970-71, and 220 in 1979-80. Graduate majors declined from 103 to 65 in the same period.) At the same time, the English faculty (on a full-time equivalent basis) increased by 26 percent. Perhaps it is true that those who fail to meet a "market" test—and obviously English professors must compete with their academic peers for the attention of students—whether in a university or society at large, are those most likely to seek the increasingly politicized existence that seems to be the goal of current liberal ideology.

Within a couple of weeks, a counterpetition was circulating on campus, organized by the chairman of the French and Italian department, Alphonse Juilland, and by John McCarthy, professor of computer science. This one noted that "Stanford's investigation of Hoover could trigger similar investigations [elsewhere], resulting in a generalized witch-hunt, with liberals trying to track down conservative bias, while conservatives would strive to oppose liberal prejudice."

As for the claim that Hoover was to be investigated for having a political as opposed to a specifically conservative bias, that struck the counterpetitioners as "disingenuous." And they further agreed that "Hoover's ties with the Reagan administration disturb us no more than the preeminent role played by Harvard professors in the Kennedy administration some time ago, when no requests were made that Harvard be investigated for services rendered to the country's government." Though this second petition was signed by 131 professors, or 47 more than the first, the number of signatories does not reflect the proportion of sentiment on campus; Manley and Rebholz stress that they mainly wanted to collect enough signatures to submit a resolution to the Faculty Senate, and could undoubtedly have collected many more.

Manley has said many times that he was galvanized into action by the Hoover Institution's 1982 annual report, "a document that could have been written by the Republican National Committee." "In it are no fewer than five pictures of Ronald Reagan together with Hoover-connected photographs of virtually the entire top leadership of the Reagan administration: Edwin Meese III, Caspar Weinberger, Donald T. Regan, William French Smith, Philip C. Habib, former top domestic policy adviser Martin Anderson (now returned to Hoover as a senior fellow), and a number

of others." Manley and Rebholz also noted that President Reagan was quoted in the report as saying: "Under the leadership of your able director Glenn Campbell, and with hard work and diligence, you built the knowledge base that made the changes now taking place in Washington possible."

A Hoover senior fellow, George Marotta, has pointed out that the annual report, like all such reports, "was primarily a p.r. document, not to be taken seriously." The stress on Hoover's ties to the Reagan administration was intended to appeal to potential donors, not to suggest that Hoover scholars take their orders from the White House. Nonetheless, Manley concluded in one of his frequent commentaries in campus publications that the existence of a research organization that "openly engages in a wide assortment of political activities . . . endangers the university's reputation as a nonpolitical, nonpartisan institution."

INDEED, Manley and Rebholz affect a high-minded disdain for ideology of any description. They say they are disturbed not by the nature of Hoover's outlook but by the fact of it. Asked about their own political biases, if any, Rebholz says that he is a "liberal Democrat" while Manley will only say that he is "not responsive to attempts to redirect the inquiry along that particular path." (Lipset, who knows Manley well, says that his colleague "read Marx at forty and became a radical.") Manley and Rebholz are fond of claiming that they would also circulate a petition against a proposed Franklin D. Roosevelt Institute of Peace and Compassion.

"Anyone who believes that belongs in Disneyland," says Alphonse Juilland, circulator of the counterpetition. Educated at the Sorbonne (where, in 1946, his main concern was where the next meal was coming from), he arrived in Palo Alto in the early 1960's and since then has often been astounded by the extent to which Stanford faculty and students take their luxurious, country-club campus, their unrivaled freedom, and (often) their personal prosperity so much for granted. "I think it is lack of experience for many of my colleagues," he said. "They have never really known anything else. And they have become ideologized. They design blueprints on blackboards. Make a mistake there and you can erase it. But in the real world people will kick back."

In the late 1960's, when free speech was often threatened at Stanford, as elsewhere, Juilland founded the Stanford Conservative Forum, thereby providing a platform for itinerant conservative speakers. Much careful planning would have to go into getting someone like William F. Buckley, Jr. to a microphone before he could be drowned out by catcalls and abuse from the academic audience. Juilland recalls one debate on energy policy between a liberal and a conservative in Dinkelspiel Auditorium, where he was not able to attend very

carefully to the arguments. As a result of a bomb threat, he spent most of the debate clambering about the rafters underneath the podium, hunting for what the campus police described as a "pipe-like object."

The then president of Stanford, Richard Lyman, now president of the Rockefeller Foundation, told Juilland that the Conservative Forum was the only place on campus where genuine political debate could be heard at that time. Today, Juilland believes, there may be among the faculty a somewhat larger, contingent of "closet conservatives," who will sign a petition in a pinch but are not naturally inclined toward political activism, as the leftists are. Moreover, they are easily intimidated by the specter of high-decibel leftist denunciation, which remains a predictable element of life at Stanford, as at other elite universities.

In 1971, at the time of the Dinkelspiel bomb scare, a tenured English professor and self-proclaimed Maoist named H. Bruce Franklin was dismissed from the Stanford faculty for urging protest groups to shut down the university computer center, for inciting violence on campus, and for disrupting a speech by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. Sixty-two professors then signed a petition calling for Franklin's reinstatement; at least fifteen of the same names showed up once again on the Manley-Rebholz petition twelve years later. "It is interesting that Hoover's most outspoken critics also supported the Maoist group led by Franklin when he rampaged around the campus intimidating and threatening conservatives," Peter Duignan, a Hoover senior fellow, wrote recently in the *Stanford Campus Report*.

"If there was ever a time that academic freedom was jeopardized on this campus, that was it," recalls Juilland. "But everyone looked the other way then." One in particular who looked the other way when the Franklin case came before the Stanford faculty was a biology professor named Donald Kennedy, now president of the university. He served on an advisory board that voted 5-2 to dismiss Franklin, casting his own vote in favor of Franklin.

"Consider the record of some militant Stanford faculty and student activists during and since the Vietnam war," Peter Duignan continued in *Campus Report*:

Riots, sit-ins, demonstrations, occupation of the president's office, storming and firing of Hoover buildings, intimidation of conservatives, refusing to let invited guests speak, periodic calls for the U.S. out of El Salvador, support of the Sandinistas, a committee to investigate companies doing business in South Africa, but not one demonstration or sit-in over Cambodia, Cuban refugees, boat people, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, no petitions or letters to get the Soviets or Cubans out of Angola. When was the last time you attended a Hoover-led demonstration, sit-in, or teach-in? Have you ever seen Milton Friedman

lead an army of screaming yahoos in an attack on the president's office?

MANLEY argues that Hoover's presence and autonomy undermine the "idea" of a university, which he describes as "nonpartisanship, objectivity, and a rejection of overt and covert political participation." But there have been a number of episodes recently indicating that Stanford itself may be far more politicized than Hoover.

One such case is that of Steven W. Mosher. A Stanford doctoral candidate in anthropology, Mosher spent nearly a year in Guangdong Province, China, in 1979-80, doing a "community study" of a village there. (Villages are now called "production brigades," apparently.) In 1983 the Stanford University anthropology department voted to dismiss Mosher because of what it called "seriously unethical conduct" in China, conduct that "seriously endangered his research subjects." Stanford has not made public its report on Mosher, who claims the department accepted hearsay and "transparent lies" from Peking, and the unsubstantiated allegations of his ex-wife, who, he says, threatened to "ruin [him] professionally."

Mosher says that he was dismissed because he published an article in Taiwan accusing the Chinese government of undertaking a program of forced abortion. Mosher also charges that Stanford caved in to political pressure from Peking, fearing that the university's anthropologists would not be allowed to return. The chairman of the anthropology department, Clifford Barnett (who signed the Manley-Rebholz petition), replies that Mosher has a "personality disorder" and that he has "tried the case in the press" to promote his new book, *Broken Earth: The Rural Chinese*.*

In another case, a group of left-wing professors and students are pressuring the university to deny the use of Stanford's linear accelerator to scientists whose work might have military applications, despite agreements with the federal government to the contrary. (In this instance, the pressure is likely to fade away because it clearly jeopardizes the federal contracts and grants on which Stanford increasingly depends. In 1982 such contracts and grants amounted to \$206 million, or 43 percent of the university's total operating expenditures.)

In the fall of 1983, a visitor to Stanford could hardly have avoided noticing further politicized and partisan activities on campus. On one day the former Congressman and presidential candidate John Anderson was invited to speak at three different campus locations to discuss the formation of his new National Unity party. On another day, the U.S. Rangers barely having completed their parachute descent onto Grenada, yellow leaflets were fluttering from campus lampposts and bulletin boards, exhorting students to "Protest Reagan's Invasion of Grenada!" Within forty-eight hours

of the landing, Stanford professors took to the lecture hall for a "teach-in" which amounted to a series of diatribes against the Reagan administration. "We should vote them out and get them out!" cried one professor. "It's up to us in the university to explain to the people a whole new way of looking at things—to change the conditions of the world so that we don't need to use force."

At the same time the curious observer might have noticed that the "Political Science" section of the Stanford bookstore included a "Radical Thought" subdivision housing the 39-volume set of the collected works of Marx and Engels (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982), but no "Conservative Thought" counterpart. Again, in the paperback department, works by Lenin, Antonio Gramsci, the Medvedevs, Marx, and Engels filled out another "Radical Thought" section. The remaining, presumably "non-radical," authors included Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies and Emma Goldman. Edmund Burke was nowhere to be seen.

The School of Education bulletin board contained posters appealing to students to "Demonstrate Your Opposition to Pershing 2 and Cruise Missiles: Rally, 12 Noon!" And a lecture on "Schooling and Socialism: Educational Reform in Tanzania" was clearly a forthcoming highlight. Robert Conquest, of Hoover, pointed out in a Stanford *Daily* column that "the university has a Feminist Studies program which by its very title is committed to a certain view of its subjects." Sidney Hook likewise inquired whether Stanford's "African and Afro-American Studies, the Center for Chicano Research, Feminist Studies, and the like should be looked into to determine if there is a 'consistent political line.' Is there not possibly a one-sided political bias in these quarters?"

Furthermore, there had been a Stanford migration to Washington after Jimmy Carter's election, but no protests were forthcoming from the political-science department then. On the contrary, campus papers had proudly taken note of their newly influential professors. These included the head of the Civil Rights Division at the Department of Justice, the director of the National Science Foundation, the president of the Legal Services Corporation, the president of the Institute of Medicine at the National Academy of Sciences, not to mention Donald Kennedy who, before becoming president of Stanford, served as a commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration under Jimmy Carter.

"The reason for the attack on the Hoover Institution appears to stem from the unwillingness of some Stanford liberals to share the campus with conservative scholars," noted the Pasadena *Star-News*. "Hoover's detractors have not come off very well in the debate," added the San Francisco

* Free Press, 317 pp., \$17.95.

Chronicle. (On the whole, the California press, the San Jose *Mercury* in particular, has been more sympathetic to Hoover than one might have anticipated. Even the Los Angeles *Times* said there was "no excuse for faculty members exercising poor judgment in calling for a politically motivated investigation that clouds their legitimate academic concerns.")

The Faculty Senate responded to the Manley-Rebholz petition (even though its signatories were then still secret) by urging Donald Kennedy "to consult with the board of trustees" and then appoint another committee to "explore and reassess the relations between Hoover and the university, including governance and appointment procedures." A committee of Stanford trustees was duly appointed, consisting of Kennedy; the president of Stanford's board of trustees, William Kimball; former Under Secretary of State Warren Christopher; and two others. Its mandate was vague—to "proceed as it may deem appropriate."

Hoover supporters worried that the crucial issue of Hoover's governance was now up for review by Stanford trustees. For its part, the anti-Hoover faction complained bitterly about the lack of "faculty representation" on the reviewing committee. But by this time, October 1983, a new issue was dominating the news, and the anti-Hooverites had a brand new target: the proposed Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Complex.

THRUST into prominence by their spring offensive against Hoover, Manley and his allies were well positioned to maintain the offensive in the fall. And they had an argument of sorts, generated by their earlier petition: how could Stanford be considering playing host to a Reagan library, when Reagan's relationship with Hoover had already generated controversy enough to create a committee that was "reassessing" Hoover's relationship with Stanford? Wouldn't it be better to put off considering the presidential library until such a reassessment was complete?

The Reagan Library Complex was a tripartite affair. It was proposed that there be not just a library for the presidential papers, but also a museum and a public-affairs center, the latter comparable to the one recently opened by President Carter at Emory University in Atlanta. Reagan's version would be a \$40-million conference center to be administered (and here was the problem) by Hoover. Thus, it was said at Stanford, Hoover was using its relationship with the White House to engage in empire-building. Stanford officials conceded that they needed a new conference facility (and Hoover would do all the fund-raising to build it, too), but still, the feeling ran, why should *Hoover* get control of it?

The presidential library itself was not a real problem, as a majority of Stanford administrators and faculty agreed. Under the terms of the new

Presidential Records Act of 1978, it would be administered, funded, and staffed by the General Services Administration. Hoover would have no part in running it. Moreover, its presence on campus would give Stanford researchers access, via computer, to the entire U.S. National Archives information network—and all at no cost to the university. Therefore, rational people not simply blinded by a hatred of Ronald Reagan could easily see that the library would be a major addition to the university.

In the summer Donald Kennedy appointed an "advisory group" to consider the proposed library complex. It was headed by James Rosse, a professor of economics, and its report, as might have been anticipated, recommended that the library and the public-affairs center be "decoupled." The Reagan library "could become a valuable academic resource" at Stanford, but the public-affairs center should be "better integrated into Stanford's process of academic governance." Translation: let us take the library, avoid the embarrassment of rejecting it, and postpone a decision on the public-affairs center until Stanford can be sure of wresting control of it from Hoover.

On the other hand, it was in Hoover's interest to keep the parts of the library complex firmly coupled. Then, if Stanford tried to reject the public-affairs center, the university would by the same token be exposed to the possibility of national embarrassment for turning down a presidential library.

Surprisingly enough, William Kimball, speaking for the Stanford trustees, had challenged the White House to take exactly such a course of action, in a letter to Edwin Meese dated October 13: "... a Center for Public Affairs to be administered by the Hoover Institution has little chance of approval by the trustees—even if it means that we cannot have the library or museum at Stanford."

In view of the fact that Ronald Reagan would not even be considering putting his library at Stanford or locating a public-affairs center there with his name on it if not for his earlier ties to Hoover, Meese's reply should have been easy to anticipate. "I was somewhat surprised by the tone of your letter," he wrote to Kimball on November 4. "Unilaterally ruling out the administrative role of the Hoover Institution . . . is tantamount to making the President 'an offer he cannot accept.'" There the matter now stands, still unresolved.

A FEW days before Meese's letter, in response to an invitation by the Rosse committee, about 200 Stanford professors had written public letters, airing their thoughts about the proposed arrival of Reagan's library on their campus. Reviewing this response before the Stanford Faculty Senate on October 27, Donald Kennedy remarked: "I am aware of no other subject during the last twenty years that has elicited such

a faculty response. These letters form an impressive body of thoughtful opinion and advice." Yet many of the comments were so intemperate that they could not help damaging the cause of the anti-Hoover faction in the public eye.

For example, Lise Gerard, a librarian in the catalogue department, showed just how ideologically skewed thought on campus had become, and how far it had strayed from the most elementary understanding of academic research, when she wrote: "A Reagan library would most likely become a magnet for scholars and researchers in ideological accord with its subject, and by the same token, further tend to alienate those of differing views." She might have considered that the Lenin papers at the Hoover library itself had attracted Solzhenitsyn, hardly a Leninist. Instead, the librarian registered a "most resounding no" to the library, and speculated that the museum accompanying it would display "Ronald Reagan's finger-nail clippings."

Many faculty members also seemed to believe that their own personal feelings about Reagan were weighty matters to be taken into account. "Since I feel contempt, fear, and rage in respect to President Reagan," noted Denise Levertov, a well-known poet and professor of English, "I would be sorry to see this collection come to Stanford, whatever its historical value. If Reagan continues in his usual course, it is in fact unlikely that there will be a future in which history can be recalled and studied. . . . The idea of all those thousands of

foolish tourists coming to gawk at it, turning Stanford into a Disneyland annex, is most distasteful."

David Maurice, a professor of ophthalmology, said that Reagan's desire for a museum at Stanford (bearing in mind that one was also planned for his alma mater at Eureka College), represented a degree of hubris "that might be expected from a Nero or a Hitler."

Joseph Kriss, a professor of medicine and radiology, worried that a Reagan library might create a "public perception that Stanford is a right-wing politicized institution." Thinking along similar lines, Lucio Ruotolo, a professor of English, worried that such a "Hoover-inspired addition to Stanford will serve only to increase our national reputation as a bastion of right-wing politics," an "image" which would be "far from helpful in the humanities," he added.

In interviews they were by now well accustomed to giving on campus, Professors Manley and Rebholz said much the same thing: Stanford was already right-wing enough, in its "image." The presence of a Reagan library on campus might, Rebholz felt, discourage the sons and daughters of liberal parents from even applying to Stanford as undergraduates. But it is of course the controversy over the library, and the illiberal temper the entire dispute over Hoover has exposed in the faculty, that might more properly discourage any truly liberal parents from sending their children to Stanford.

January 6, 1984

Stanford must assure Reagan Library's independence

By Charles G. Palm

DISCUSSIONS between Stanford University and the White House on a proposed Ronald Reagan Library complex for the Stanford campus have reached an apparent impasse over the question of governance of a Center for Public Affairs, one part of the three-part complex.

At its most recent meeting, the Stanford Board of Trustees unanimously approved a resolution authorizing University President Donald Kennedy to invite President Reagan to place his library, museum facilities, and center at Stanford, provided the center remains "organizationally within the normal academic structure of the university."

Last January President Reagan authorized Stanford to prepare a proposal with the center under the auspices of the Hoover Institution, of which he is an honorary fellow, and which holds his gubernatorial and presidential campaign papers.

Were the library complex of marginal academic value, and support for it shallow, one might excuse an unbending attitude and an unimaginative approach. But the opposite is true. The immense value of presidential papers is widely recognized, and support for the complex as a whole, although not unanimous, is broadly based.

The Stanford faculty senate has had three significant discussions of the complex. Opposition has come from the same small group within the senate. Of the 53 regular and 12 ex-officio members, only eight spoke out against the complex at more than one of the three meetings. For its part, the board of trustees enthusiastically and unanimously went on record as favoring the library complex. According to published reports, support for a center run by the Hoover Institution was evident at the recent board meeting, and in 90 minutes of board discussion, many grounds of possible compromise were explored.

Successful negotiations rarely begin with a unilateral change in the preconditions, especially when the party required to accept them is the president of the United States. Are there not more promising ways to convince the president that he ought to place his library complex at the university? Opportunities for compromise surely are more likely to appear during discussion of specifics than at the level of generality represented in the phrase, "normal academic governance."

While "normal academic governance" has not been specifically defined, what it evidently means is that the center would become little more than another

local university department. This was clearly not what President Reagan had in mind when he was initially approached about locating his library at Stanford. He is interested in a national center that would engage the interests of scholars and public figures from around the country and abroad, not just those at Stanford.

We may be sure that interested universities in the Los Angeles vicinity, in competition for this prized academic resource, will not insist on a center indistinguishable from other academic departments. They will develop detailed proposals containing unique features that will attract the president, as well as features that will protect the legitimate interests of the university.

In view of widespread newspaper reports about the state of academic freedom at Stanford, how can President Reagan be expected to interpret the significance of "normal academic governance?" What assurance does he have that the center will not be subjected to the same type of blatantly political attack which the Hoover Institution has been obliged to endure this past year?

Can the university explain to him how a no-name faculty petition (signatures were kept secret for weeks) resulted last spring in sanctioned university action against the Hoover Institution? Can the University explain how 200 faculty letters on the Reagan Library can be relied on as a basis for sound university policy when those letters represented opinions from about 17 percent of the faculty, and when 40 percent of the letters either objected to the library for political reasons or arbitrarily opposed the growth of the Hoover Institution?

In short, Stanford needs to explain in some detail how "normal academic governance" can fully guarantee academic freedom and protect honest diversity of opinion.

The university may well be able to come up with satisfactory explanations and assurances. President Reagan has offered to listen to Stanford before listening to any other university — an unprecedented opportunity. For the moment, he is still listening.

If Stanford fails to devise a specific proposal that offers a creative solution to the problem of center governance, neither President Reagan nor the Stanford community and its supporters is likely to be satisfied with the effort the university has made to obtain the Reagan Library complex.

Charles G. Palm is acting archivist of the Hoover Institution.

STAFF REQUEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL GREETINGS

REQUEST TO: Maureen Keegan
Room 93,
ext 2276

FROM: Gail Ledwig

X 6475

Type of Event: ☒ One

March 8th, 1984

- ☐ Retirement ☐ Church Anniversary - include # of years ☐ Religious Anniversary
☐ Wedding ☒ Birthday ☐ Wedding Anniversary ☐ Birth of Baby
☐ Individual's anniversary with same company ☐ Individual's anniversary in business for himself
80th

Graduation: ☒ One

- ☐ High School Class ☐ College Class ☐ University Class ☐ Individual

☐ Illness

MAILING ADDRESS:

Mrs. Neil Harrison
1114 Nottingwood Circle
Westlake Village
Westlake, California 91361

INSIDE ADDRESS:

Mrs. Neil Harrison
1114 Nottingwood Circle
Westlake Village
Westlake, California 91361

Wendy Harrison
Century
21

DOUG ANDERSON & ASSOC., INC.

1011 East Avenue J
Lancaster, California 93535
(805) 945-0921

January 22, 1984

Dear President Reagan:

On here sustaining membership card she is known as Mrs. Neil Harrison. I call her Grandma and friend.

She will be 80 on March 8th, 1984. This is a big moment in her life. My Grandpa loved her with the greatest affection until he passed on in 1977. How could he not. From my earliest memory of her, she was always involved in a fund raiser or serving on a committee. I remember a girl named Minew, who was here from Iran on a foreign exchange program, Grandma took her in for a time. The funny maid whom we loved dearly who did Grandma's ironing twice a month. (She still sends her money on holidays and it's been 15 years or more.)

She served on the Air Force Mothers Club for 25 years and was the first woman president of the San Fernando Chapter. She served as District President for a term. She belongs to the Republicans Womans Club and is a dedicated Republican. In 1977, when my Grandfather passed away in a hospice Grandma decided once again to get involved. She has been active in the hospice program for seven years either comforting the sick or raising money. Currently, she lives in a community by the name of Westlake Village. She works as a volunteer in the gift shop of the Westlake Village Hospital. She has just passed her 1000th hour of volunteer service. She belongs to five other committes also.

Grandma realizes how hard it is to keep up your morale in this day and age so she always sends me articles, such as "Simple Patterns For Victorious Living" by Norman Vincent Peale, or "10 Keys to a Successful Marriage" out of the Reader's Digest, "Single Parenting" and "10 Fears your Children Have and How to Help Them Overcome Them". If she had not taught me to be my own unique person, I would like to be just like her. She has class, a big heart and a warm smile. I could go on endlessly about her and her community involvement. She is a firm believer in her country and in you. She was responsible for my becoming a Republican in 1980.

She has never asked for one thing on her birthday until last week. She told me if there was any one single thing that would please her on her birthday, it would be a telegram from President Reagan. This is why I am writing you. If it is possible I would be forever grateful. Her address is:

Mrs. Neil Harrison
1114 Nottingwood Circle
Westlake Village
Westlake, California 91361

Sincerely,

ROBERT R. BARRY

WESTCHESTER—PUTNAM COUNTIES
NEW YORK

Hon. Robert R. Barry
155 Wildwood Way
Woodside, Calif. 94062

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON
POST OFFICE
AND CIVIL SERVICE

January 28, 1984

file

Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.
The White House

Dear Mike,

Bob Neseu told me that the Tunisian post was going to a foreign service officer, but that the White House had put up a fight to control the job.

Since I may have benefitted had it gone the other way I want to express my appreciation for having been considered.

As Jim Dart had supported me for Ambassador, and was my link from the Dewey and Eisenhower teams, I am especially disappointed not to be one of his last selections.

All the best to you.

Sincerely,

Bob Barry, M.C. retired

P.S. I tried to convey my thanks to you in the center aisle of the Congress, but you all were moving fairly fast. The State of the Union presentation was superb!

B.

Sir Yue-Kong Pao C.B.E., LL.D., J.P.

WORLD-WIDE SHIPPING GROUP
16th Floor, World Shipping Centre
Harbour City
7, Canton Road, Kowloon
Hong Kong
Tel.: 3-7327333 Telex: HX43247

January 28, 1984.

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

free

Dear Mike,

I am sorry for being late in acknowledging your warm Christmas message and want to say "thank you".

I spent over two weeks at the yearend in Honolulu with my family of around 20 members - ten of them my grandchildren. The once-a-year holiday was a truly relaxing one which gave me a chance to really put my worries aside.

My stay coincided with Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit there and, at the suggestion of the Governor and Jean Ariyoshi, I stretched my stay by one day to participate in their dinner for the Prime Minister. Though having met Mr. Zhao several times previously in Beijing (I was received by him three days after his assumption of the premiership), Manila and Tokyo, I welcomed this opportunity of seeing and having a long chat with him.

It was very kind of the Prime Minister to include me later in his reception on January 11 in Washington, but despite my effort to look around for you, I still missed seeing you there. I had brief chats while there with Vice President Bush and his wife, the George Shultz' and Bill Smith and his wife, and enjoyed the party immensely.

I understand from the Chinese Embassy that finalization of the President's April visit to China will hinge on your advance trip to Beijing in February and may I wish you a successful journey. Should a stop in Hong Kong or anywhere else in the Far East be scheduled either on your way in or out, I would appreciate it if you could let me know beforehand.

Looking forward to seeing you again soon and with warmest regards to you and Carolyn,

*Yours truly
Y.K.*