AMERICA’S PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES:
THEIR MISSION AND THEIR FUTURE

Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
Serial No. 112–3
Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
Serial No. 112–15

JOINT HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON
TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
AND THE
COMMITTEE ON
OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

FEBRUARY 28, 2011

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(III)
CONTENTS

Summary of Subject Matter ................................................................. vi

TESTIMONY

Blackwood, Duke, Director, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library ............... 28
Ferriero, Hon. David S., Archivist of the United States, National Archives and Records Administration .............................................................. 28
Kumar, Dr. Martha, Professor, Towson University ........................................ 28
Putnam, Thomas, Director, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Mu-
seum ........................................................................................................... 28
Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor, Chair, Board of Directors, the Roosevelt Institute .... 28
Schwartz, Dr. Thomas, Illinois State Historian, Abraham Lincoln Presidential
Library and Museum ................................................................................... 28

PREPARED STATEMENTS SUBMITTED BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Norton, Hon. Eleanor Holmes, of the District of Columbia ............................. 56

PREPARED STATEMENTS SUBMITTED BY WITNESSES

Blackwood, Duke .......................................................................................... 57
Ferriero, Hon. David S. .................................................................................. 64
Kumar, Dr. Martha ......................................................................................... 68
Putnam, Thomas ............................................................................................ 76
Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor ................................................................................ 91
Schwartz, Dr. Thomas ..................................................................................... 96

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

Cummings, Hon. Elijah E., a Representative in Congress from the State of
Maryland, request to include the GAO report “National Archives: Frame-
work Governing Use of Presidential Library Facilities and Staff,” February
2011 .................................................................................................................... 6

ADDITIONS TO THE RECORD

Kennedy, Caroline, President, John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, letter
to Hon. John L. Mica, a Representative in Congress from the State of
Florida .............................................................................................................. 99
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
FROM: Staff of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Committee on Government Reform
SUBJECT: Joint Hearing with the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "America's Presidential Libraries: Their Mission and Their Future"

PURPOSE

The Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure with hold a joint hearing with the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on Monday, February 28, 2011, at 10:30 a.m. in 2167 Rayburn House Office Building to receive testimony from the Archivist of the United States, directors of presidential libraries, a family member of a former president, and a historian. The panel will provide testimony related to presidential libraries – their mission and their future.

BACKGROUND

History

The maintenance and archiving of presidential records rose to the national level when President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Executive Office of the President. While there were non-federal presidential libraries at that time, such as the Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library in Ohio, there was no general policy on the archiving and preservation of presidential records. Presidential papers were generally regarded as personal property to be taken by the President when he left office. In many cases, records were given to the Library of Congress. However, in some cases, records were destroyed or even sold by family members and were unavailable to the public and historians.

Based on the models of presidential libraries that existed at the time, President Roosevelt developed the concept of a privately-built, publicly maintained library and developed organizing committees to create a presidential library for his records. In 1939, Congress enacted chartering legislation for the Roosevelt library and, in 1940, the Archivist accepted the completed library building on behalf of the United States. One year later, the museum portion of the facility opened.
Presidential Libraries Act

President Truman later began a process of creating a private corporation to collect donations to establish a presidential library for his records. While that process was underway, Congress enacted the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955. The 1955 Act, authorized the General Services Administration (GSA) to: (1) accept historical papers and materials of former presidents, (2) accept or take title to land and buildings to be used to archive the records, (3) enter into agreements for the use of land and property\(^1\), (4) maintain and operate the facilities as part of the national archives system, and (5) accept gifts for the purposes of maintaining and operating the libraries.

Since 1955, Congress has made a number of changes to the Presidential Libraries Act, including reassigning the responsibilities of GSA to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). More specifically,

- The Presidential Records Act of 1978 established that the Presidential records that document the constitutional, statutory, and ceremonial duties of the President are the property of the United States Government. After the President leaves office, the Archivist of the United States assumes custody of the records. The Act allowed for the continuation of Presidential libraries as the repository for Presidential records.

- The Presidential Libraries Act of 1986 also made significant changes to Presidential libraries, requiring private endowments linked to the size of the facility and changing the endowment formula. NARA uses these endowments to offset a portion of the maintenance costs for the library.

- The Presidential Historical Records Preservation Act of 2008 made further changes to the endowment formula and also required NARA to produce a report on alternative models for presidential libraries. That report was issued on September 25, 2009.

Current System and Process

Currently, there are 13 federal presidential libraries\(^2\) and museums administered by NARA, with one that is expected to be added for former President George W. Bush.

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\(^1\) This authority has been used to provide for libraries on college and university campuses where the transfer of title to the land and building may not be possible.

\(^2\) Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum (West Branch, Iowa), Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum (Hyde Park, New York), Harry S. Truman Library and Museum (Independence, Missouri), Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum (Abilene, Kansas), John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum (Boston, Massachusetts), Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum (Austin, Texas), Nixon Presidential Library and Museum (Yorba Linda, California), Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Jimmy Carter Library and Museum (Atlanta, Georgia), Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum (Simi Valley, California), George Bush Presidential Library and Museum (College Station, Texas), William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum (Little Rock, Arkansas).
As noted, the creation of federal presidential libraries is governed by the Presidential Libraries Act. Typically, libraries are initiated by family and supporters establishing a 501(c)(3) foundation to raise funds for land and construction. Once constructed, NARA will take control of the facility and the foundation’s operating endowment. The official papers and documents of the president are provided by NARA. The management and archiving of the documents are paid for through appropriated funds, while the costs of operation and maintenance of the facility are usually supported, at least in part, by the private foundation endowment. Library staff members are NARA employees.

The National Archives’ Office of Presidential Libraries administers a nationwide network of Presidential libraries beginning with the 31st President of the United States, Herbert Hoover.

The Office of Presidential Libraries:

- Establishes and coordinates policies with regard to Presidential Libraries, including programs for acquisition, preservation, and use of historical materials, and the development of new Presidential Libraries.

- Provides oversight of budgetary and management controls within the libraries and regularly convenes staff in the libraries to establish and review strategies for implementing the mission and goals of Presidential Libraries.

- In coordination with NARA’s General Counsel and other NARA officials, maintains liaison with the incumbent administration and with officials of former administrations with regard to organization, storage and reference service on Presidential materials.

Nonfederal Libraries

In addition to the 13 presidential libraries administered by the National Archives, there remain three libraries outside of the federal system. For example, the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library & Museum opened in 2005 and continues the mission begun by the Illinois State Historical Library, created by the State, in 1889. The library is a division of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency and is supported by the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library Foundation, a private, not-for-profit organization.

The Rutherford B. Hayes Library is operated and managed by the Hayes Presidential Center, Inc., a non-profit entity that receives the majority of its funding through the Rutherford B. Hayes–Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation. The State of Ohio also provides an annual appropriation administered through the Ohio Historical Society.

The Calvin Coolidge Presidential Library was established in 1920, when Calvin Coolidge gave documents and memorabilia to Forbes Library in Massachusetts and remains a part of the Forbes Library today.

WITNESSES

The Honorable David S. Ferriero
Archivist of the United States
National Archives and Records Administration

Mr. Thomas Putnam, Director
John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum

Mr. R. Duke Blackwood, Director
Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

Dr. Thomas Schwartz
Illinois State Historian
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum

Ms. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt
Chair, Board of Directors
The Roosevelt Institute

Dr. Martha Kumar
Professor
Towson, University
The committees met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2167, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John L. Mica (chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure) presiding.

Mr. MICA. Good morning, I would like to call this joint hearing of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and also the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform to order.

Today the topic of the hearing is “America’s Presidential Libraries: Their Mission and Their Future.” The order of business today will be opening statements by Members and then we will turn to our panel.

Let me say at the outset, this is probably one of the more unique hearings in Congress that is today going to focus, that is today going to focus on a unique subject and that is again the mission, the future of our Presidential libraries and we decided to do that jointly. Our committee has some responsibility, legislative responsibility under the Economic Development, Public Buildings, and Emergency Management Subcommittee. Also, the important Government Reform and Oversight Committee chaired by my colleague the gentleman from California has very important legislative and oversight responsibility over Presidential libraries so it is a rather unique subject and unique approach.

I might say at the outset, this isn’t one of these hearings where we have a mission of some violation or some problems with the libraries. I think this is a very forward-looking hearing in trying to assess the current status of our Presidential libraries and also their important mission and also their future. It is impossible to have all of them in this panel and today’s formal hearing is a representation. We have got a good, I think, cross-section of some of those involved with the Presidential libraries that we will hear from shortly.

I want to thank, again, Chairman Issa, Chairman Gowdy of the subcommittee who has say over this also in Government Reform.

Ms. Norton, Mr. Rahall isn’t with us today, but we enjoyed his support in having this joint hearing. The other gentleman that has joined us, of course, is Mr. Cummings and I have had the great honor and privilege of working with him both as a chair and also
as a ranking member in the past, and appreciate his support on Government Reform and the relationship we have shared over the years. So that is a little bit about our mission.

Let me say a couple of things. First of all, most folks don't realize we have some publicly funded and sponsored Presidential libraries and we also have some private libraries. Many of them start out with private donations and end up in the public realm. I have had the opportunity to visit some of the libraries across the Nation and found it to be one of the most rewarding experiences that I could enjoy. I like a little bit of history like most folks, but it really gives the public, academia, and students—and people are interested in the history of the United States and our Presidents—great access, information, and are a tremendous resource and national treasure.

The question of why we should have this hearing is because there are a whole host of the questions that need to be answered about how we proceed. Right now we are in tough economic times, especially the Federal Government. Sometimes some of the libraries that depend on private donations have also experienced some downturns both in terms of visitors and revenues. And then the important question again before us is their future mission, how that changes and evolves, and what the Federal role and participation are with these libraries.

In talking with the Librarian of Congress, I did not realize this, but I believe he told me that Presidential papers from, I guess, Washington through Hoover are handled by the Library of Congress and I guess the National Archives and then we began the construction and creation of the Presidential libraries. There are a host of questions, as I said, that we hope to answer today. We probably won't get to all of them in this formal hearing.

One of the things I like to do in addition to formal hearings is have an informal session. And this afternoon, beginning, I believe it is around 2:30, we will begin over in the Cannon Caucus Room a symposium. And we hope that those other representatives of both the public and private Presidential libraries, we know they will be joining us and we won't have quite as formal a discussion as we will have with the panel before us today.

Again, the panel is only representative of all of you who have come today from across the country representing some of these great institutions.

So in that symposium and forum—and it is open to Members of Congress, too, and any of the public, it is a public event. We will have an opportunity to ask some questions, hopefully get a good exchange and commentary on some of the questions that will be raised at the hearing today, and again, the important mission that these libraries have.

We, again, thank all of those who have come today. I have had a chance to visit a few of the libraries, the Truman, the Roosevelt, the Nixon, the Reagan, the Kennedy, the Hoover, and I think most recently, the Lincoln, also a variety of public and private endeavors. And again, just an incredible opportunity for the public to walk through again and see, and review, and have access to the history of our leaders over the course of many generations.

So again, that is the purpose of the formal hearing this morning, the symposium we will have this afternoon, a unique opportunity
in Congress to sit down and again look at where we are and where we are going with one of our important national treasures and assets that we are the custodians of as far as Members of Congress and leaders of, again, our respective libraries.

So with that, let me turn, if I may, to the gentlelady from the District of Columbia, Ms. Norton for an opening statement.

Ms. NORTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will say just a few words and ask to submit my opening statement for the record. I look forward to learning more about the Presidential libraries. As a member of both committees, your own Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and the committee of jurisdiction, Oversight and Government Reform, I note that there are a large number of visitors to these libraries, over 2 million that President Roosevelt built the first, and ever since then, apparently every President has felt he must have a Presidential library. But it wasn't until 1955 that the Federal Government understood it was dealing with Federal history, Federal papers, and of course, the Presidential Libraries Act was passed.

The relationship of these libraries to their foundations creates something of a hybrid within the Federal system so oversight is certainly appropriate. They have their own foundations, which, of course, are responsible for building these libraries, for these are official documents of the people of the United States. And this committee or the Congress has a very appropriate role. I ask that my statement be submitted for the record.

Mr. MICA. Without objection, and now let me yield to the cochair of this joint hearing, a gentleman who chairs the Government Reform and Oversight Committee of the House of Representatives, from California, Mr. Issa, thank you.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and thanks for holding this joint hearing. As you said earlier, many of us on the dais serve on both hearings. So I have members of my committee who are sitting here in two roles just as Ms. Norton and Mr. Cummings are sitting here in two roles.

There is a difference in the oversight that we will be looking at today. There is no question that for the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, they are looking at the economic impact, the Federal assets themselves, the non—if you will, paper, if you will, Federal assets, particularly the facilities.

In the case of our committee, we are looking at a combination of highest and best use for the Federal dollar. The cost of paying 100 percent of the costs of archivists at each of these facilities and the cost of basically about 45 percent being the Federal Government and State government's contribution through to—because of tax deductibility for charities of the other side. So the truth is the taxpayers are paying for these facilities on both sides.

I think all of us on the dais believe it is money well spent, but it is money that has to be looked at carefully. If there were no Presidential libraries, there is no question that there would be hundreds of thousands of entities involved in every nuance of maintaining those records pouring through them.

On the other hand, it could be that they would be more available as a researcher would want to look through ancient records. There is no question that each of the libraries has a natural struggle, one
in which the followers and descendants of a President and the President himself, if he is still alive, wants to maintain a positive legacy, everything that happened on their watch was good.

Well, in fact, history may show that there were gaping flaws from Jefferson to Nixon and then we will stay away from those beyond. There have been scandals and those scandals can, in fact, and may, in fact, be appropriate to have seen within a library. But let’s understand there is a balance. Our Presidents represent, for the most part, progress in many, many areas, even among the most, if you will, failed or least popular Presidents.

Additionally, our committee has, over the last many years, under both Republican and Democratic leadership, had a particular interest in inventory control at the libraries, access to researchers of the libraries and specially protected records, which is a nice way to say classified. Presidents operate at the highest level of secrecy and as a result, a great part of what goes on during a President’s life is, in fact, classified for 50 years or more. We need to have that protected, both from premature release, but we also need to make sure that when the time is right, it can be released.

Our committee has, over the years, had a number of legitimate concerns with information that is gone and will never be found, or at least it won’t be found in our lifetime. So today’s hearing is about hearing the good news and hearing from people who have a vested interest in their library doing well while meeting this challenge that Congress has given to primarily the private sector in support of their foundation. With that, I will put the rest in for the record and yield back.

Mr. Mica. Thank you, Mr. Issa.

Let me yield to the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. Cummings. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Chairman Issa, Ranking Member Norton. I appreciate you for holding this hearing today on Presidential libraries. This is an issue that is very important to the Oversight Committee, because we have jurisdiction over the National Archives and Records Administration and the laws that govern Presidential libraries. I look forward to working on these issues with Chairman Issa, Chairman Gowdy in his role as chairman of the subcommittee with jurisdiction over the National Archives, as well as with the ranking member of that subcommittee, Danny Davis. And Chairman Mica, this hearing and the other events you have planned today provide a great opportunity to highlight our Presidential libraries.

Presidential libraries play a critical role in making Presidential papers and artifacts available to researchers. These libraries also bring history to life for thousands of visitors each year. Most of the libraries operated by the National Archives also have a private foundation that sponsors their own programs and activities.

Representative Lacy Clay in his role last year as chairman of the Committee on Information Policy, Census and National Archives, requested that the Government Accountability Office examine the laws and policies related to the Presidential libraries and the private library foundations. GAO is issuing a report today that provides a helpful description of the three primary laws that address Presidential libraries and the regulations and policies covering the
relationships between libraries and private library foundations. I ask that this report be made a part of the hearing record.

An interesting aspect of Presidential libraries is the relationship between libraries and the private library foundations. We are fortunate to have President Roosevelt's granddaughter here today. It was President Roosevelt who first had the idea for a privately built but federally maintained library to house his Presidential papers. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 formally established the policy for privately built Presidential libraries to be transferred to the Federal Government. Subsequent laws establish reporting and design requirements and some limitations such as requiring and operating endowment for each library starting with the George H.W. Bush Library.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the relationship between libraries and private foundations provide many benefits, but also can raise potential issues. For example, the sharing of space within the same facilities create questions about the proper use of library facilities, especially for political activities. In addition, donations provided by the private sector to private foundations to fund the building of these libraries are private.

GAO reports that each library has a written agreement with its associated foundation, but the detail and scope of these agreements vary from library to library. GAO found that over time, the agreements have become increasingly more detailed regarding staff, how library facilities can be used, and political activities with regard to political activities. Some recent agreements also address potential conflicts of interest between the library and the foundation. And so one of the things I would be interested to hear is the continuing resolution recently passed by the House provides $32 million less for the National Archives than was enacted for fiscal year 2010, and also $16 million less than the President's request for fiscal year 2011. I would love to know how our witnesses believe that those cuts are going to effect, if at all, the activities in those libraries and just give us some information with regard to where you think our priorities may be. So often we spend a lot of time cutting and cutting and cutting, but we cut off our past and it is kind of difficult to know your future and deal with your future if you don't have a history of your past.

And so I consider these libraries very, very important. I appreciate the guests being here today. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. Mica. Thank you, and the request by the gentleman for a record he referred to to be made a part of the record without objection so ordered. Thank you.

[The information follows:]
February 2011

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Framework Governing Use of Presidential Library Facilities and Staff
NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Framework Governing Use of Presidential Library Facilities and Staff

Why GAO Did This Study
The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) operates presidential libraries for all of the former U.S. presidents since Herbert Hoover. These libraries received over 2.4 million visits in 2008, including researchers, public program attendees, and museum visitors. Each library is associated with a private foundation, which raised the funds to build the library and then turned the library facility over to the federal government. These foundations typically have ongoing relationships with the libraries they built, and none of these library–foundation relationships involve sharing of staff and facilities.

Per your request, this report describes the principal laws, regulations, and NARA policies that govern library–foundation relationships and the appropriate use of library facilities and staff.

GAO reviewed specific laws governing presidential libraries, and NARA regulations and policies. We also reviewed applicable laws and regulations governing activities held on government property and acceptable activities of federal employees. Further, we interviewed relevant NARA officials.

NARA reviewed a draft of this report and had no substantive comments. NARA made technical suggestions which we incorporated as appropriate. GAO is not making any recommendations in this report.

View GAO-11-395 or key components. For more information, contact Michael Bruno at (202) 512-8110 or mbruno@gao.gov.

What GAO Found
The federal laws specific to presidential libraries focus primarily on the design and construction of library facilities and, once constructed, the deeding of the library facilities, or the rights to use the facilities, to the federal government. NARA building-use regulations outline the permissible and prohibited uses of presidential library facilities by outside organizations. Prohibited uses include profit-making, commercial advertisement or sales, partisan political activities, or sectarian activities. Other laws and regulations govern what federal employees may and may not do in their official capacity. As federal employees, NARA library employees must follow these rules in their interactions with the foundation associated with the library. NARA’s Office of Presidential Libraries has developed a policy manual and standards that address topics such as museum activities and records. This office also works with the NARA General Counsel to develop guidance governing the library–foundation relationship, such as those related to the foundations’ use of library facilities and when and how library staff can support foundation activities. The libraries also have one or more written agreements with their associated foundation that govern different aspects of the relationship. These agreements differ in format, content, and the extent to which they address use of facilities, library and foundation staff relationships, and political activities.

Key Steps in the Establishment of a Modern Presidential Library

Activity conducted by
- Foundation
- National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)
- Bush

Note: Where the library is built on a university campus, the university is also involved in various stages of library development.
## Contents

### Letter
- Background
- Federal Laws and Regulations, NARA Policies, and Individual Library Agreements
- Provide Guidance on Library–Foundation Relationship
- Agency Comments

### Appendix I
- Comments from the National Archives and Records Administration

### Appendix II
- GAO Contact and Staff Acknowledgments

### Tables
- Table 1: Presidential Library Facts
- Table 2: Relevant Laws Governing Presidential Libraries
- Table 3: NARA Policies Relating to Library–Foundation Relationships

### Figure
- Figure 1: Key Steps in the Establishment of a Modern Presidential Library

### Abbreviations
- GSA: General Services Administration
- NARA: National Archives and Records Administration
- OSC: U.S. Office of Special Counsel

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February 28, 2011

The Honorable Danny K. Davis
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Health Care, District of Columbia, Census and the National Archives
Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
House of Representatives

The Honorable William Lacy Clay
House of Representatives

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) operates presidential libraries for all of the former U.S. presidents since Herbert Hoover. These libraries received over 2.4 million visits in 2009, including researchers, public program attendees, and museum visitors. Each library is associated with a private foundation and some of these library–foundation relationships involve sharing of staff and facilities. Libraries are generally funded by appropriated funds, donations, museum store revenue, admission and other fees, endowments, and foundation funds. Some libraries are located on university campuses and also receive some support from the university. In some cases, state or local governments also contributed to library construction and provide ongoing support for some libraries. NARA manages its federal employees' activities and determines the appropriate use of federal facilities and federal funds at the presidential libraries based on an understanding of the applicable laws, regulations, and policies. On the basis of your request and subsequent discussions with your staff, this report describes the principal laws, regulations, and NARA policies that govern library–foundation relationships and the appropriate use of library facilities and staff.

We reviewed applicable laws and regulations governing activities held on government property and acceptable activities of federal employees. We also reviewed specific laws governing presidential libraries, and NARA regulations and policies. We interviewed NARA officials in the Office of Presidential Libraries, General Counsel, and Inspector General. To identify the principal laws, regulations, and NARA policies that govern library–foundation relationships, we reviewed 29 policy documents, laws, and regulations that related to presidential libraries. We identified 17 that were relevant to the library–foundation relationship for facilities use, staff, and political activities. We also reviewed an additional 30 documents that NARA described as agreements establishing the relationship between
presidential libraries and private foundations.¹ We conducted our work from May 2010 through February 2011 in accordance with all sections of GAO's Quality Assurance Framework that are relevant to our objective. The framework requires that we plan and perform the engagement to obtain sufficient and appropriate evidence to meet our stated objectives and to discuss any limitations in our work. We believe that the information and data obtained, and the analysis conducted, provide a reasonable basis for the findings and conclusions in this product.

Background

Prior to 1940, U.S. presidents or their descendents typically retained ownership of papers documenting their terms of office. The fate of these papers was up to the former president or his descendents, and none were lost forever. In 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first president to arrange to have a library built using privately raised funds and to then transfer both the facility and his papers to the federal government. Through its Office of Presidential Libraries, NARA operates presidential libraries housing the papers of all subsequent presidents through George W. Bush,² as well as President Roosevelt's predecessor in the White House, Herbert Hoover. At the end of a president's term, NARA staff begin working with the president's official records and other materials. This work goes on during library construction and during the period between the dedication of the library facility and its transfer to the federal government. Table 1 provides facts about the 13 presidential libraries and museums operated by NARA.

¹Some presidential libraries are located on university campuses and the libraries have ongoing relationships with those institutions. Because this report concerns the libraries and their associated private foundations, it does not go into detail on library-university relationships when they exist. Generally, the framework governing library-foundation relationships also applies to any library-university relationships.

²The George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum is under construction in Texas. The library currently operates in a temporary facility leased by NARA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year of transfer to the federal government</th>
<th>Size of NARA-owned or controlled space (square feet)</th>
<th>Visits in 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>West Branch, Iowa</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>47,158</td>
<td>96,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>Hyde Park, N.Y.</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>108,750</td>
<td>144,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry S. Truman Library and Museum</td>
<td>Independence, Mo.</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>95,812</td>
<td>120,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>Abilene, Kans.</td>
<td>1964 (library)</td>
<td>109,254</td>
<td>207,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966 (museum)</td>
<td>109,254</td>
<td>207,367</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>134,293</td>
<td>329,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Carter Library and Museum</td>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>85,592</td>
<td>64,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>Simi Valley, Calif.</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>147,400</td>
<td>444,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>College Station, Tex.</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>68,049</td>
<td>228,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum</td>
<td>Little Rock, Ark.</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>68,598</td>
<td>321,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bush Presidential Library</td>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GAO analysis of NARA and presidential library data.

Notes: NA = Not Applicable.

*The National Archives was created as an independent agency in 1934, but became a component of the General Services Administration (GSA) in 1950. In 1986, NARA again became an independent agency. As a result of these changes, some libraries were transferred to GSA and some were transferred to NARA, depending on whether NARA was an independent agency or the time of transfer. These dates indicate the year of transfer of title or legal control to the federal government.*

*The number of visits includes researchers, public program attendees, and museum visitors. Researchers or others who return to the library on multiple days are counted once on each day they visit.*

*An approximate 30,000 additional square feet of space is currently being constructed at the Kennedy Library.*

*The museum is located in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and was transferred to the federal government in 1983. Although the dedication ceremony for the library in Ann Arbor was in 1983, according to NARA officials, staff moved into the library facility in 1960.*

*The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum is housed in two separate locations. This is the total square feet of both the museum and the library.*

*The George W. Bush Library is temporarily located in Lewisville, Texas, while a permanent facility is under construction in Dallas.*
For most of the libraries, as the president's term was coming to a close or after it ended, friends and supporters of the president created a private charitable foundation to collect donations to construct a library. Under current law, NARA collaborates with each presidential library foundation on the construction of the library facility, and when the facility construction is complete, the foundation deeds or gives the right to use the library facility or a portion of the facility to NARA. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1986 also requires that the National Archives Trust Fund receive an operating endowment for each library before NARA can accept the transfer of the library. These endowments fund some of the federal government's costs for the operation and maintenance of the presidential libraries. Figure 1 captures key steps of the current process of establishing a presidential library. Some variations from this process may exist.

*These foundations are 501(c)(3) tax-exempt charitable organizations. At some libraries, the foundation created to build a library went out of business after completing that task, with another foundation created to further the library's activities and programs, other charitable missions of interest to the president or his supporters, or both.

*While the 1986 act does not specify who must raise the endowment funds, for both libraries currently subject to the requirement—the Clinton and George H.W. Bush Libraries—NARA told us that the library foundations raised and donated the monies that form the principal portion of the endowments, and NARA expects the same to occur for the George W. Bush Library.

*As discussed later, the amount of the endowment required from foundations has increased over time.
Each library is operated by a director who is a NARA employee, and other library staff who are also NARA employees. The staffs typically include an administrative officer, facility manager, education and exhibits specialists, archivists, archives technicians, and clerks, among other staff. The director of a presidential library is appointed by the Archivist of the United States.
States, the head of NARA, who consults with the former president in selecting a candidate.\(^4\)

The Office of Presidential Libraries is headed by the Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries. The Office of Presidential Libraries is responsible for overseeing the management of records at the libraries, the development of policies and procedures for the management and operation of presidential libraries, and the development and coordination of plans, programs, and resource allocations at presidential libraries. The Office of Presidential Libraries is also involved in the creation of new presidential libraries.

Funds appropriated by Congress support NARA’s staffing, administration, security, maintenance, and renovation projects at the library. In fiscal year 2009, NARA spent more than $68 million in appropriations to operate the presidential libraries. In addition, for fiscal year 2009 NARA received $41.5 million in special appropriations for repairs and restoration to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum ($22 million), the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum ($17.5 million), and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library & Museum ($2 million).

Each private foundation is operated by a director, president, or CEO and other staff that may include a chief financial officer and director of communications, among other positions. Foundation support enables the libraries to expand their research and archival functions, as well as undertake additional projects such as public outreach efforts. The foundation’s level of involvement in the activities at their associated library, such as collaboration on public and educational programs, varies from library to library. Foundations may also sponsor their own programs and activities, such as hosting a lecture series or academic discussion or producing a newsletter. NARA officials told us that, in most cases, these kinds of programs and activities are offered in conjunction with and supported by library staff. For example, a foundation may pay for a lecture series that is held in NARA-controlled space.

The foundations may also generally support their associated libraries with additional funding for new facilities and equipment and for updating permanent exhibits, adding program space, and giving the library the use of.

\(^4\)The Archivist consults with the library’s associated foundation or other representative of the former president after the president’s death.
of foundation staff time for library activities. Foundations provide these resources directly to their associated library. This process generally is handled at the library level based on the relationship between the library and the foundation. Each presidential library also has a trust fund that receives revenue from the sale of publications, museum shop sales, document reproductions, audio-visual reproductions, library admissions, public space rentals, educational conferences, and interest income. Trust-fund money helps the library cover the cost of museum shop inventory, personnel, operational and financial systems, equipment, and supplies. These funds may also support exhibit-related and public-programming expenses. In fiscal year 2009, the trust funds for presidential libraries had a total end-of-year balance of approximately $15 million. In addition to trust funds, presidential libraries also maintain funds from gifts donated to a library for general library support or for specific projects or programs.


Federal Laws Govern Library Creation

The federal laws specific to presidential libraries focus primarily on the design and construction of library facilities and, once constructed, the deeding of the library facilities, or the rights to use the facilities, to the federal government. Congress has enacted three primary statutes1 that

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1A fourth statute, the Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003, Pub. L. No. 108-7, div. J, title V, § 513, 117 Stat. 11, 462 (Feb. 20, 2003), increased the endowment funding requirement from 20 percent to 40 percent of the assessed value of the library for Presidents who take the oath of office for the first time after July 1, 2002. This statute is not listed in table 1 because no libraries were constructed under the 40 percent requirement, and the requirement was subsequently increased (to 60 percent) by the Presidential Historical Records Preservation Act of 2008.
provide the legal rules for the design, construction, and transfer of library facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Relevant Laws Governing Presidential Libraries</th>
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<tr>
<td>Law</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 (Pub. L. No. 84-373)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established the basic policy for the creation of federally maintained presidential libraries. Provided the policies for:</td>
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<tr>
<td>accepting land and buildings for a presidential archival depository;</td>
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<tr>
<td>depositing presidential papers, documents, and other historical materials;</td>
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<tr>
<td>cooperating with organizations or individuals interested in studying/researching the historical materials;</td>
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<tr>
<td>entering into agreements with outside organizations, such as universities, institutes, or foundations, to use their land, facilities, or equipment for a presidential archival depository; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charging fees for visiting the museum and exhibits and for accepting gifts or donations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This act, as amended by the statutes below, applies to all federally maintained presidential libraries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established certain congressional reporting requirements, architectural and design requirements, and fiscal limitations for the constructing of presidential libraries. One of the main requirements was an operating endowment of 20 percent of the total cost of building and equipping the facility or the portion of the facility transferred to NARA control. If the presidential library foundation constructs a facility that exceeds 70,000 square feet, the operating endowment increases with every square foot the facility is in excess of 70,000 square feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This act applies to those libraries starting with George H.W. Bush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased the minimum endowment to 60 percent of the assessed value of the library facility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This act applies to libraries whose presidents take the oath of office as President for the first time on or after July 1, 2002.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GAO analysis of existing legal sources.

Notes: Other statutes relevant to presidential libraries, such as the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974 and the Presidential Records Act of 1978, discuss the ownership and management of presidential records.

Federal Regulations Govern the Use of Library Facilities by Outside Organizations
NARA’s building-use regulations outline the permissible and prohibited uses of the presidential library facilities by other groups. According to the regulations, other groups may request the use of presidential library facilities when the activity is:
- sponsored, cosponsored, or authorized by the library.
conducted to further the library's interests; and

does not interfere with the normal operation of the library.

The regulations prohibit the use of the facilities for profit-making, commercial advertisement or sales, partisan political activities, or sectarian activities.5

When NARA considers it to be in the public interest, NARA may allow for the occasional, nonofficial use of rooms and spaces in a presidential library and charge a reasonable fee for such use.6 Additionally, the regulations require outside organizations to apply for the use of library space by writing to the library director and submitting an Application for Use of Space in Presidential Libraries.7 Applying organizations must agree to review their event plans with library staff and that the plans will conform to library rules and procedures. The application also confirms that the organization will not charge admission fees, make indirect assessment fees for admission, or take collections for their events. Further, the application prohibits the organization from suggesting that the library endorses or sponsors the organization.

Federal Laws and Regulations Govern the Use of Staff

Federal laws and regulations specify for all federal employees—including federal employees working at presidential libraries—what they may and may not do in their official capacity. For example, federal employees may not engage in commercial or political activity associated with their federal positions. According to NARA's General Counsel, there are no special laws or regulations that apply only to how library employees interact with the foundation or, if applicable, university associated with their library, but the laws and regulations that apply throughout the federal government also apply to library employees.

The Hatch Act8 provides the rules for the activities of library employees at events such as candidate debates or speeches by candidates that

5 36 C.F.R. § 1280.94(d).
6 44 U.S.C. § 2111(c).
7 36 C.F.R. § 1280.94(c). The Application for Use of Space in Presidential Libraries has Office of Management and Budget control number 3055-0024, and its agency number is NA Form 16011.
sometimes take place at the libraries. The Hatch Act, which is enforced by the U.S. Office of Special Counsel (OSC),\(^5\) prohibits certain political activities for federal employees. At an event such as these (or at any other time) a library employee may not

- use official authority to interfere with an election;
- solicit, accept, or receive political contributions from any person;
- run for nomination or as a candidate for election to a partisan political office; or solicit or discourage the political activity of any person connected to the business of the employee’s office.

NARA employees must also follow the Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch issued by the Office of Government Ethics.\(^6\) The standards emphasize that employees have a responsibility to the U.S. government and its citizens to place loyalty to the Constitution, laws, and ethical principles above private gain, and set forth 14 general principles. Among other things, the standards describe limitations on actions an employee may take while seeking other employment, and require that employees use the time they are serving in an official capacity in an honest effort to perform official duties.

The Office of Presidential Libraries Provides Further Guidance on Facilities’ Use and Staff Activities

NARA’s Office of Presidential Libraries oversees the 13 presidential libraries. That office has developed systemwide policies, including the Presidential Libraries Manual, which discusses museum activities and records topics, and the NARA / Office of Presidential Libraries Architecture and Design Standards for Presidential Libraries. The Office of Presidential Libraries also works with the NARA General Counsel on the development of policies governing the library-foundation relationship. The NARA General Counsel has issued legal opinions on foundations’ use of library facilities, when and how library staff can support foundation activities, and if library staff can fundraise for the foundations. Additionally, NARA officials explained that the NARA General Counsel and the Office of Presidential Libraries negotiate with the foundations on

\(^5\) The U.S. Office of Special Counsel (OSC) is an independent federal investigative and prosecutorial agency whose primary mission is to safeguard the merit system by protecting federal employees and applicants from prohibited personnel practices. OSC promotes compliance by government employees with legal restrictions on political activity by providing advisory opinions on, and enforcing, the Hatch Act.

\(^6\) 5 C.F.R. pt. 2635.
the agreements establishing the relationship between a new library and its associated foundation.

According to NARA officials, library directors consult with the NARA General Counsel about activities that could have political undertones before allowing a program or event. For example, library directors have contacted NARA General Counsel to inquire about using libraries as polling places. NARA approved the use of libraries as polling places as long as certain requirements were met such as that no political solicitation occurs on library-controlled property. In another example, a local political party requested but was not allowed to hold a political forum at the library.

NARA officials told us that NARA does not have internal directives specifically regarding the supervision of library and foundation staff. They said that when library staff are concerned about supervision or other issues while working on a collaborative project with the foundations, they are expected to seek advice from the NARA General Counsel's ethics program staff. Table 3 provides a summary of NARA policies and NARA General Counsel opinions concerning library-foundation activities and other outside uses of the libraries.
### Table 3: NARA Policies Relating to Library–Foundation Relationships

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Library–foundation relationship scenarios/issuses</th>
<th>Related NARA policies and General Counsel opinions addressing these situations</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| **Use of library facilities by foundations or other organizations** | • A library may provide office space at no charge to the foundation  
• Libraries and foundations may cosponsor events in public spaces  
• The public spaces can be used by foundations and other organizations for lectures, seminars, etc., when the activities are authorized by the Director. The events and activities must further the library’s interests, not conflict with normal operations, relate to the mission and programs of the library, and be consistent with the perception of the library as a research and cultural institution. Religious services, partisan political, profit-making, or commercial events or events that are essentially social in nature are not permitted. The Director will ordinarily assess additional charges to reimburse the government for use of the space. |
| **Employees working in support of foundation activities** | • Library employees may engage in activities, including fundraising activities, involving the foundations as part of their official duties as long as NARA and the library are authorized to engage in the foundation-funded or sponsored activity and the agency/library expects to derive a direct benefit from the activity.  
• When working with the foundations, library employees cannot accept compensation from the foundations, lobby Congress, or represent the foundations before other federal agencies.  
• Employees are also subject to federal ethics statutes and regulations. |
| **Candidate events (debates, forums, etc.)** | • According to the NARA General Counsel, libraries can host candidate events, such as multicandidate debates and candidate speeches, because they further the libraries’ mission of educating the public on matters of civic interest; the programs cannot endorse political views, policies, activities, or undertakings of any person or group.  
• Candidate events must be organized and sponsored by the foundation; a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization; or a media organization. A political party may sponsor a debate as long as a media organization or other nonpartisan group cosponsors the event. Neither NARA nor the library may be a sponsor.  
• The library director must approve the candidate event, but cannot participate in the subject matter of the event nor can any of the library’s employees. They may not suggest candidates to participate in the debates. Library directors should consult with Office of Presidential Libraries management and the NARA General Counsel before agreeing to allow candidate events. |
| **Library director working in support of foundation activities** | • Directors may fundraise for their library’s gift fund or their foundation when the purpose is to support the library. The directors cannot fundraise for the foundations for nonlibrary purposes.  
• Library directors and employees cannot attend political fundraisers for the purpose of raising funds for the library or identify themselves as library employees at political fundraisers, even if they attend the fundraisers during off-duty hours. |

Source: GAO analysis of NARA policy documents

Page 12  GAO-11-390  Presidential Libraries
Library–Foundation Agreements Further Define Their Relationship

Each presidential library has a written agreement with its associated foundation and, if applicable, the associated university that governs aspects of the relationship between the entities. These agreements differ in format, content, and the extent to which they address use of facilities, library and foundation staff relationships, and political activities. These agreements must be consistent with the applicable statutes and NARA regulations. At some libraries, the library–foundation relationship is addressed by more than one agreement due to the updating or supplementing of original documents, or to the changing format of the agreements over time. Some of the oldest agreements are primarily a series of Letters of Offer and Acceptance between the foundation and the General Services Administration (GSA), with later agreements taking the form of a mutually signed agreement between the foundation and NARA. For example, the Ford museum and the Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy library agreements (from 1957 to 1980) include one or more Letters of Offer and Acceptance between the foundation and the GSA. Later agreements from more recently established libraries, as well as earlier libraries that updated their agreements, include mutually signed agreements between the foundation and NARA. Of these later agreements, some focus on a specific project or aspect of the library–foundation relationship, while some focus broadly on the library–foundation relationship.

We reviewed the library–foundation agreements and found that, over time, the agreements have become increasingly more detailed, especially regarding staff, each entity’s use and control of the different parts of the facilities, and political activities. Earlier agreements are largely focused on the transfer of property from the foundation to the United States, while later agreements address additional aspects of the library–foundation relationship. For example, later agreements address which entity controls specific parts of the facilities, including details related to one entity’s use of the other’s space (such as the permitted purposes for using the other’s space, and reimbursing the other entity for costs associated with using its space). Later agreements are also more likely to clarify the different roles and responsibilities of library and foundation staff, and address activities or tasks that library staff are not allowed to perform. Some of the later agreements also address potential conflicts of interest between the library and the foundation. For example, two of the later agreements state that...

*The George W. Bush Presidential Library is currently under construction and GAO did not review any agreements related to it.*
foundation staff are to act in the best interests of the foundation, and NARA staff are to act in the best interests of NARA and the United States. Regarding political activities, two of the later agreements state that library space is not allowed to be used for partisan political activities. Also, NARA regulations give library directors the authority to establish supplemental policies. According to NARA officials, these supplemental policies may provide further detail on the library–foundation relationship regarding facilities, staff, and political activities. Our review was limited to NARA-wide policies and library–foundation agreements and we did not review any local library supplemental policies.

NARA officials explained that the written agreements between individual libraries and the foundations are important, but that they also do not fully prescribe the relationships between the entities. They said that the relationships are shaped over time and by factors such as the particular foundation’s interest in collaborating with the library or doing charitable work elsewhere. For example, the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum and its associated foundation, the Truman Library Institute, are colocated and often collaborate on educational programs. The foundation describes itself as working with the library to “fulfill the Truman Library’s commitment to research and education.” In contrast, the mission of the foundation associated with the Jimmy Carter Library and Museum. The Carter Center, does not directly focus on the library, but rather “to advance peace and health worldwide.” NARA officials said that interaction between individual libraries and their foundations vary, but they also stressed that no one foundation’s emphasis is more correct than another. These are examples of differences among foundations and how those differences shape the level of involvement by a foundation with a library.

Agency Comments

We provided a draft of this report to NARA. NARA had no substantive comments and provided technical comments by e-mail, which we incorporated as appropriate. NARA’s letter is reprinted in appendix I.
We will send a copy of this report to the Archivist of the United States. This report will also be available at no charge on GAO's Web site at http://www.gao.gov. If you or your staff have any questions about this report, please contact me at (202) 512-9110 or brostekm@gao.gov. Contact points for our Offices of Congressional Relations and Public Affairs may be found on the last page of this report. Key contributors to this report are listed in appendix II.

Michael Brostek
Director, Tax Issues
Strategic Issues Team
Appendix I: Comments from the National Archives and Records Administration

February 23, 2010

Michael Brodsky,
Director, Strategic Issues
Government Accountability Office
Director of Information Technology Management Issues
441 G Street NW
Washington, DC 20548

Dear Mr. Brodsky:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the draft report GAO-11-390, National Archives: Framework Governing Use of Presidential Library Facilities and Staff. We appreciate the thorough work by your staff to gain an understanding of the complex and individual relationships between NARA and the foundations that support each of our Presidential Libraries.

Under separate cover, we provided several technical comments. We have no substantive comments for this report. If you have any questions regarding this memo or our audit plan process, please contact Mary Drake, NARA’s Audit Liaison at 301-827-1668 or via email at mary.drake@nara.gov.

David S. Ferriero
Archivist of the United States
Appendix II: GAO Contact and Staff Acknowledgments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GAO Contact</th>
<th>Michael Brostek, (202) 512-9110 or <a href="mailto:brostekm@gao.gov">brostekm@gao.gov</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>In addition to the contact named above, David Lewis, Assistant Director; Sonya Phillips; Julian Gorse; Brianna Benner; Sabrina Streagle; Lois Harshaw; Susan Christiansen; Lindsay Read; and Jessica Thomsen made key contributions to this report.</td>
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<td>Acknowledgments</td>
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[Please Print on Recycled Paper]
Mr. MICA. Let me yield now to the chair of the Economic Development Public Buildings and Emergency Management Subcommittee, the gentleman from California, Mr. Denham, you are recognized.

Mr. DENHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing on this very important subject with the relationship between Federal Government and our Nation's public and private Presidential libraries. As you know, in California, I have both the Nixon and Reagan Libraries. The public benefit provided by these institutions is invaluable to the history of this Nation and to the insight they provide to the decisions that help shape our country.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses testimony on not only the mission and future direction of the Presidential libraries, but also on the funding aspect. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Other Members seek recognition?

The gentleman from—Mr. Gowdy, he chairs one of the sub-committees.

Mr. GOWDY. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you and Chairman Issa for this extraordinary hearing and what is, I believe, going to be an extraordinary day, given the expertise, the amalgamation of experience that we have, I would rather hear from the witnesses and hear the questions than hear myself talk, so I would yield back.

Mr. MICA. Thank you so much. Other Members seek recognition?

No other Members seek recognition, then, again, what we will do is go to our panel of witnesses and ask Mr. Issa if he would introduce the first three witnesses and have them recognized. We don't have to swear these folks in today, Mr. Issa, I guess normally you do that on your panel.

Mr. ISSA. I think we can waive that since we are in your hearing room.

Mr. MICA. Thank you. You are recognized to recognize the panelists.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Our first witness is Honorable David S. Ferriero, the archivist of the United States. And probably the most important part of today's hearing really has a great deal to do with how the National Archives and Record Administration can, in fact, oversee all but one of the people here in their organizations.

Our second witness is Thomas Putnam, director of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. And our third, Mr. Duke Blackwood, director of the Ronald Reagan Library and a fairly constant host to me when I get up there.

Mr. MICA. We will start out by recognizing——

Mr. ISSA. You have three more to introduce.

Mr. MICA. I will catch those when we get to them. We will have the first three give their testimony. We try to limit you to 5 minutes. If you have a lengthy statement or anything you would like to have included in the record, that will be made a part of the proceedings today. First, we will recognize Mr. Ferriero.
Mr. ISSA. By the way, if David asks to have something put in the record, make sure it is not all of his archives, that could be over our limit.

Mr. MICA. We will make note of that, thank you. And you are recognized, welcome, sir.

Mr. FERRIERO. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, and members of the committees, I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today on the important role of the Presidential libraries, both to the Nation and to their local communities. Presidential libraries preserve, interpret and present the history of American democracy in the 20th and 21st centuries, through the words and deeds of our government. And these libraries are among the country’s finest examples of public archives offering research rooms, interactive museums and education centers to millions of researchers, students and visitors each year.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s vision for his library created a process that has been followed by each succeeding President. He established a private foundation to raise funds for the construction of the library building that was then donated to the National Archives.

Each library is supported by the Federal Government, and in part by a Presidential foundation. Situated around the country, Presidential libraries reflect and enrich their local communities. They offer exceptional research facilities that are hailed for the personal service they provide to students and scholars. Each museum tells a unique story concerning the life and times of a 20th century, and soon, a 21st century President in the pivotal moments in history they faced.

The libraries’ extensive outreach to teachers and students is a powerful vehicle for civic engagement. As you know, 100 percent of all initial construction funding for the libraries, including the initial museum exhibit, comes from non-Federal sources, the majority of which are private donations through the Presidential foundations, or their predecessor organizations.

The construction of Presidential libraries serves as an engine of economic growth in regional areas, revitalizing communities and guaranteeing continued revenue streams for millions of national and international tourists. Local Chambers of Commerce or State tourism boards estimate that each visitor to the library spends an additional $100 to $200 depending on the community, during the visit at local restaurants and hotels. Thus, with nearly 2 million visitors visiting our museums in 2010, the support to the community is significant; $15 million added to the economy in Abilene, Kansas; $43 million in Boston; $55 million in Austin, Texas.
Equally important is the educational and cultural impact Presidential libraries have on their communities. Over 500,000 people attended cultural programming conferences and various speaker series of the libraries in 2010, where the country’s first, finest historians, political leaders, journalists and biographers came to locales where they would not typically speak.

Moreover, the libraries provided educational programs for 350,000 students and 5,000 teachers. At a hearing last year at which I testified, there was some concern about the use of resources for educational and cultural programs. As I said at that hearing, the problem of civic literacy is real, access to public records is a part of the solution to that problem, and no one is better positioned to provide access to public records than institutions like the National Archives. I would add the 13 Presidential libraries and 12 regional archives programs across the country.

One of the greatest challenges at the National Archives is the backlog we experience in processing many millions of pages of records so that those records can be accessible to the public. Several of our libraries have over 90 percent of their collections processed. Our most significant backlogs are in the Presidential Records Act Libraries, Reagan through Bush 43. In 2009, Congress approved funds for 25 new archival positions for the 4 libraries with records controlled by the Presidential Records Act. These newly hired archivists are a remarkably talented group trained on processing Presidential records, and along with other streamlining measures, are beginning to make a real difference in the volume of records processed. We expect this year to increase our processing by at least 1.3 million additional pages and more in future years as these new archivists complete their training.

Presidential library foundations provide the funding for museum education and public programs, Web sites, archives support and digitization, marketing and other initiatives. These contributions have allowed the Presidential libraries to be leaders and innovators in the National Archives and beyond. Let me provide a few examples. The Presidential libraries were among the first public archives and the first of the National Archives to develop interactive Web sites and online document based educational programming. The Presidential decisionmaking classroom pioneered at the Truman Library is now a featured part of the education programs in several libraries and served as a model for our education programs here in Washington.

The Presidential timeline created through support of the Johnson Foundation in a partnership with the University of Texas Learning Center and all of the Presidential libraries is an innovative teacher/students resource for digital assets reflecting the life and administration of each of the Presidents.

Because of the foundation funding, the Clinton Presidential Library became the Federal Government’s first existing building to be certified at the LEED platinum level. The George W. Bush Library will be built to LEED platinum level as well.

In addition to their ongoing annual support for the libraries, the foundations have contributed tens of millions of dollars to renovate our permanent museum exhibits; the Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Ford, Carter, Reagan and both Bush Libraries
have recently completed new permanent exhibits or are in the planning stage for a new exhibit.

I am supported in this partnership by my advisory committee on the Presidential Library Foundation Partnership. This committee is made up of representatives of the various Presidential library foundations. Through these meetings, the public private partnership can work to leverage our strengths and resources and resolve, or at least understand, how differences on our mission can sometimes strain our relationships.

I meet with this committee at least twice a year to discuss and ask their advice on the activities of the National Archives, our strategic plans and vision, collaborative activities, funding and legal issues that can affect the public private partnership.

The Presidency is the one office elected by all Americans. Through their geographic disbursements, the Presidential libraries are a positive force contributing to diverse communities, making history transparent and strengthening the civic fiber of our Nation.

While I continue to believe in the importance of Presidential libraries, it is my belief that technology will impact future Presidential libraries. The size of digital collections at the Clinton and Bush 43 Libraries is far greater than the paper records. In the near future we can expect that a Presidential library's collection will be mostly digital. Those documents acted on in a paper format will probably be digitized by the White House and only those documents of significant intrinsic value will be saved in their original format, such as documents annotated by the President, correspondence with world leaders and decision memoranda.

Long-term preservation and storage of digital records is a delicate but worthwhile option. Nonetheless, I believe Presidents in the future should continue to establish a Presidential library if they wish to do so. Some collections may well be digital, but it is the curators, and archivists and educators who work in these libraries that make the collections accessible to all of our students and citizens. Thank you for this opportunity to testify, and I look forward to your questions.

Mr. Issa. Thank you.

Mr. Mica. Mr. Putnam.

Mr. Putnam. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa and members of the committee, I am Tom Putnam, director of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. I appreciate the opportunity to testify on behalf of my fellow library directors. We are so pleased that you have called this hearing and are honored to appear before you, along with David Ferriero, fellow historians, and especially Anna Eleanor Roosevelt. Those of us who work in the Presidential library system are indebted to her grandfather's vision, which led to the creation of the first Presidential library.

Franklin Roosevelt encouraged the country not to be fearful as he launched his Presidency. During which, over time, we became the leader of the free world. Reflective of his infectious self-confidence, he valued transparency as an essential of democratic government. Citizens must understand how their government works and have access to the documents that define their past.

With the recent addition of the Nixon and George W. Bush Libraries, our Presidential library system, representing our 13 most
recent former Presidents, is made whole and has become a model for the world.

Presidential libraries hold the memory of our Nation, they are unique repositories that allow researchers and museum visitors an opportunity to relive the events that have shaped us as a people. Their educational programs create a more active and informed citizenry. I believe the current model works well and provides immeasurable benefits to our Nation.

We rest on four pillars: First, the private funds that are used to construct these buildings; second, the Federal funds that operate, maintain and administer them; third, the private support we receive from our respective library foundations; and finally, the revenue streams from our museums and related enterprises.

One of the strengths of the present system is that it strikes the right balance between centralization and decentralization. Each library is built in a location determined by the President and his family. When visiting them, one is immersed in locales, like Independence, Abilene, Grand Rapids, in which our Presidents lived and matured politically. Yet we are also guided by standards set by the National Archives that ensure our holdings are protected, our museums objective and our access universal.

Over the years, there have been calls to centralize the Presidential library system. In 1962, President Kennedy was asked if he would locate his library in Washington, DC. He made two points in his reply. First, he stated that through the use of technology, it would eventually not matter where a library was located. The Kennedy Library recently made JFK’s vision a reality by digitizing over 300,000 of the most important documents and photographs of his Presidency, and audio and video recordings of all his speeches and press conferences, providing worldwide access to them via our Web site.

Second, JFK replied in 1962, that by locating these institutions throughout the country, each could serve as a vital education center connecting the residence of that region to their national government. In addition to our robust local planning, Presidential libraries often collaborate on initiatives like national issue forums, global traveling exhibits, nationally televised conference and interactive Web-based timelines.

Here, students can not only watch the iconic speeches of President Kennedy and Reagan at the Berlin Wall, they can also learn of the quiet diplomacy President George Herbert Walker Bush engaged in after the Wall fell in uniting that divided land. And view President Clinton reciting his favorite line from JFK’s speech in Berlin, “Freedom has many difficulties, and democracy is not perfect, but we never had to put up a wall to keep our people in.”

I would not be honest, Mr. Chairman, if I did not admit that the Presidential library system, like our democracy, is not perfect. I would like to conclude with two examples of the difficulties we face. The first is the question of the sustainability of the current model and the need to encourage innovation and entrepreneurship as the Presidential library system ages and grows.

The second is how we meet the need of releasing and opening materials as quickly as possible while also protecting national security interests.
Ours is a young country with fewer coliseums and cathedrals than our European forebears. Sites which, like others, I visited as a college student, trying to understand the world my generation inherited and how we might make our mark upon it. This is the potency of Presidential libraries in our land, serving as beacons to the world, shedding light on both the genius and shortcomings of our history during what has been called the American century.

Today, young people from all corners of the globe come to the Kennedy Library in Boston. They have often already visited the battlefields of Lexington and Concord. In our museum they then listen to JFK's inaugural address in which he states, "We are heirs of that first revolution and the belief for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe." My colleagues and I feel privileged to share the story of John F. Kennedy in his 1,000 days as President, with students from Binghamton to Beijing, Daytona to Dakar, as they seek to understand the history of our Nation and our world and look to make their mark upon it. This is why we undertake to preserve and provide access to these priceless historical treasures, for their ability to unite us as a country and a people, and to serve as the foundation on which new generations will self-confidently build our future.

Mr. Issa. Thank you. That is as close to a perfect finish as I have ever seen in a committee.

Mr. Blackwood, next, you know the challenge, 5 minutes.

Mr. Blackwood. Tough act to follow. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to be here today. When Franklin Roosevelt established the first Presidential library, I am not sure even he envisioned how transformational they would become. His library and 12 others that have followed have had unparalleled impact on tens of millions of people. What he did for our country, our citizens, and most importantly, our school children, continues to pay dividends. Today I will address the impact of Presidential libraries and why they should continue as they are. I will argue that our mission should be multifaceted. Ultimately, though, everything starts with access and the definition of access should be expanded.

Over the years, Presidential libraries have grown, changed and adapted. This growth is due in good measure to the support we receive from our attendant foundations. Working closely with the Reagan Foundation, the current library is working well and is a successful public/private partnership. The Foundation support allows us to better serve the public. The Reagan Foundation provides hundreds of thousands of dollars in annual support and more than $50 million in capital improvements. This is on top of the $69 million that they provided to build the library.

This support has had tremendous impact on three key areas: More than doubling our attendance, expansion of education programs, and heightened awareness of our facilities. The Federal Government’s involvement and support is also critical. NARA successfully leverages the Foundation’s support providing tremendous value for the government and the American people. With that support, we serve many constituencies broadly categorized into three groups: Citizens, students and scholars. Providing scholars access
to the collection is critical. If there is one criticism, it would be that they want more material sooner and I would concur.

At the Reagan Library, our archives team has improved efficiencies, set new standards and even though we are processing more than 1.5 million documents with shorter queue times, the research community clamors for more.

Let’s look at the impact of the use of our materials, a single scholar might publish multiple articles, books or blog entries that will reach hundreds, thousands, perhaps millions of people. Should we just digitize everything then? Not so fast, there are practical concerns of funding, staffing and processing time. Access through technology is one critical area that needs serious attention and significant investment.

Why not just centralize? Tom presented a very strong case why Presidential libraries should continue to grace different locations. I agree and would vigorously argue against centralization. While it is critical to move toward a goal of digitization, we cannot lose sight of working with the original materials. Historic documents can inspire, motivate and cause you to think differently. When you hold President Reagan’s personal diary and you read, “getting shot hurts,” or leaf through the Day in Infamy speech, it puts the researcher in a different frame of mind that can lead to new thinking.

Access is more than just about the materials. Presidential libraries offer unique educational opportunities for hundreds of thousands of students across the country. So, is access important to them? Archival access is not necessarily a priority for my daughter Abby’s sixth grade class, but access to the museum, the curriculum and the amazing Air Force One Discovery Center certainly is. Abby’s class and thousands like hers want and deserve access to these opportunities.

So, should education be a part of our mission? Absolutely. Students represent the future, and learning about our history, the Presidency, and civic engagement is critical for informed citizenry. Presidential libraries are often an important avenue to access learning. At the Reagan Library our approach is simple, the three E’s, excite, engage and you will educate, that is what Presidential libraries do.

Out last constituency is the millions of citizens who visit us, they tour our museums, study our materials, attend our remarkable programs, and they too learn, all of which are different forms of access.

So what is our mission? And what should the future bring? In summary, Presidential libraries are repositories of historical materials, tourist destinations, museum gathering places for civic literacy debate, and educational institutions and places where communities learn. Our mission should reflect this diversity.

Let’s embrace President Roosevelt’s vision and broaden it to the multifaceted definition of access. Furthermore, we need to be proactive with the use of technology. Presidential libraries are a unique institution that cause us to think, offer to look at, and perhaps question our government, help educate and provide exciting opportunities for millions of people. I believe strongly they are vital.
Mr. MICA. Thank you.

The three beginning witnesses. Let me now introduce the three remaining panelists. We have first Dr. Thomas Schwartz, and Dr. Schwartz is the Illinois State Historian, he is involved with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, and that is sort of a hybrid, it is not federally funded as far as its operation by but the State and private foundation, I believe. And he will explain their operations and their relationship with the Federal Government. And I think they get a little Federal money toward some of their recent projects.

Then we are honored to have Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, and she chairs the Board of Directors of the Roosevelt Institute. It is quite fitting that we have one of the family members who has been actively engaged with the Presidential library, and that also being the first of our libraries. And then we have Dr. Martha Kumar. She is a professor at Towson University, and also a distinguished, recognized Presidential historian and author. She is going to sum it all up for us, we will hear from her in just a second.

Let me recognize Dr. Thomas Schwartz again, the Illinois State Historian and with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum. Welcome, sir, and you are recognized.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa and members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to testify on the mission and future direction of Presidential libraries. My comments will focus on the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, its current relationship to the National Archives and Records Administration, Presidential Library Museum System and, possible areas for further collaborations. This mirrors Abraham Lincoln's thinking when he declared, "if we could first know where we are and whether we are attending, we can then better judge what to do and how to do it."

The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library was created in 1889 as the Illinois State Historical Library. Its mission was to collect the written history of the State of Illinois, an effort that also lead to sizable holdings concerning its favorite son, Abraham Lincoln. Discussions since the 1980s on how to build a new facility for the library moved toward the larger concept of the library museum complex.

A Federal, State, and local funding partnership was formed to finance a $167 million complex, most of that provided by the State of Illinois. The library with its new name, opened in October 2004 and the museum opened on April 19, 2005.

Of a fiscal year 2011 budget of $12 million, the State of Illinois provides the largest source of revenue, with additional revenue streams provided by admission sales, parking and facility rental and the support of the 501(c)(3) Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library Foundation. The ALPLM, has a staff of 66 full-time, 14 part-time, and more than 500 volunteers to maintain a 215,000 square foot complex under the administrative authority of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency.

With a total visitation of more than 2.5 million people from more than 100 nations since opening in 2005, the ALPLM has had annual attendance that surpasses any NARA Presidential museum. Our programs range from temporary exhibits that have explored
topics such as Lincoln’s assassination, his views on agriculture, his actions as President-Elect, to author talks, historically-based theater offerings, teacher workshops, activities for young children, and conferences and symposia on Lincoln, slavery, and his times.

Perhaps our most ambitious project is the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. Begun in 1985, this project has compiled, and in 2009, placed online, all of Abraham Lincoln’s legal documents by case, and issued four-volume print edition of selections from his legal practice. Currently the project is scanning every letter sent to Lincoln and every document he wrote, with the goal of placing the entire corpus of Lincoln’s writings online. We hope to have the pre-Presidential materials up 2013 and the entire project completed by the end of this decade.

Our interactions with the NARA libraries and museums have been few but friendly. Most requests are for the loan of Lincoln materials for special exhibits, several non-Federal Presidential museums are being contemplated and want to be added to the NARA system have sent planning teams to see the ALPLM and imagine how its elements might be incorporated into their facilities.

The ALPLM is known for being different from traditional museums, with its emphasis on a compelling narrative of Lincoln’s life, supported by creative uses of technology, and immersive environments that actually place you within scenes of Lincoln’s life. All of the senses are engaged and the interactivity the visitor discovers is not that created by technology, but rather intellectual and emotional engagement he or she feels with the unfolding story of Lincoln’s life.

These techniques inspired the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, for example, to incorporate many of them into their new orientation center and museum.

Everyone in this room acknowledges the importance of Presidential libraries and museums as vital to preserving our national history while providing the general public with a broader and deeper understanding of our past. Moving forward, we see several areas of cooperation to consider. One, sharing resources through the traditional loan of materials, digitization of collections, and extending both to joint exhibits with one or more Presidential museum partners.

Two, linking to one another’s Web site using satellite uplink to offer joint programs, and providing comparative study and curriculum materials to encourage the public to explore the entirety of our Presidential history and not simply that of one administration.

Three, continuing the larger dialogue with Presidential museums outside the NARA systems on issues common to all.

Finally, striving to be entrepreneurial in finding creative funding solutions to the long-term solvency issues facing all Presidential libraries and museums. As Lincoln aptly reminds us, “the struggle of today is not all together for today. It is for a vast future also.”

Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Thank you so much for your testimony and let me recognize now, welcome, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, welcome.

Ms. ROOSEVELT. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa.

Mr. MICA. You may not be on there. Pull it up real close.
Ms. ROOSEVELT. OK. Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, Ms. North, Mr. Cummings, members of the committees, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today. My name is Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, and I am chair of the Board of the Directors of the Roosevelt Institute, which is the non profit partner to the FDR Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, New York.

I have been a member of the Roosevelt Institute Board for more than 30 years, and I have been board chair for a little more than a year now. In my professional life, I am the head of global corporate citizenship for the Boeing Company and serve as the company’s representative on the board of the National Archives Foundation.

The FDR Presidential Library and Museum is the Nation’s first Presidential library. Prior to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s decision to build the library in Hyde Park, the final disposition of Presidential papers was left to chance, and much of that historical record has sadly been lost.

President Roosevelt created an institution to preserve intact all his papers and related materials so that the Nation could make use of the knowledge and experience contained there. The library’s holdings include my grandfather’s personal and family papers, the papers covering his public career at the State and national level. My grandmother’s papers, as well as those of many of their friends and associates. It is a treasure trove of material that captures one of the most important eras in American history, the Great Depression, and World War II, from many perspectives and directions.

My grandfather, as you may know, was a great collector of birds, ship models, stamps, books, documents and many other items. He once recounted, after being elected to be the librarian of the Hasty Pudding Club at Harvard, some advice he was given by an old book seller, never destroy anything. Much to my family’s chagrin, my grandfather heeded that advice and kept everything. The result, as he himself put it, is that we have a mind for which future historians will curse me as well as praise me.

FDR wanted to give these materials to the people of the United States and house them in an archive and museum built with private funds, but maintained by the Federal Government. He felt it was important to keep all of his papers and artifacts together in a single collection. He also felt it was important that future generations who wish to understand him and his Presidency should come to Hyde Park, to the community and home that helped shape him and meant so much to him high on the bluff above the Hudson River.

Fully expecting to retire in 1940, work on the library began in 1938, but with the outbreak of World War II, my grandfather’s plans for retirement had to be cast aside. Work on the library nevertheless went ahead as planned and it was open to the public on June 30, 1941, at the very time when most of Europe was suffering under the cruel dictates of fascist oppressions. Taking note of this, my grandfather used the opening as an opportunity to remind the American people of how important history and the free access to information are to democracy.

This latest addition to our Nation’s archives, he said, is being dedicated at a moment with the government by the people them-
selves is being attacked everywhere. It is therefore proof, if any proof is needed, that our confidence in the future of democracy has not diminished in this Nation and will not diminish.

And he went on, the dedication of a library is in itself an act of faith, to bring together the records of the past and preserve them for the use of men and women living in the future, a Nation must believe in three things: It must believe in the past; it must believe in the future; and it must, above all, believe in the capacity of its people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment for the creation of the future.

As planned, the library was built with privately donated funds at the cost of $376,000, raised by a committee that was headed by a Republican, Waldo G. Leland. It was then turned over to the Federal Government on July 4, 1940, to be operated by the National Archives. By his actions, President Roosevelt ensured that his papers would become the property of the Nation, housed in a library on the grounds of his Hyde Park home also deeded to the Nation upon his death where they would be available to scholars. My grandfather’s creation served as a precedent.

The Roosevelt Institute supports the library exhibits, its outreach and educational activities, and its special programs for its wide-ranging audiences. We understand our mission to preserve, celebrate and carry forward the legacy and values of my grandparents. An important part of that mission is our partnership with the FDR Presidential Library. In 2003, the Roosevelt Institute joined the National Archives and the National Park Service in opening the Henry A. Wallace Visitor and Education Center, which served as a joint visitor center for the Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site, and the Roosevelt Presidential Library, and as a conference and education center.

It is also a valuable community resource used by hundreds of nonprofit organizations for meetings and events. The Wallace Center was constructed through a unique public/private partnership between the National Archives and Records Administration, the National Park Service, and the Roosevelt Institute, which raised substantial private funding in support of this project.

The Roosevelt Institute supports all four of the library’s main program areas on an ongoing basis. Archives, museum, education and public programs. The library’s research operations are consistently one the busiest in the entire Presidential library system. The library serves thousands of on-site researchers and more thousands of researchers who contact the library through written requests, mostly via e-mail.

The Roosevelt Institute provides grants and aid to researchers demonstrating new scholarship in study of the Roosevelt era, as well as assisting the library purchasing new books for the collection. We are working with the library to secure the necessary funding to digitize and make available online some of the most important documents in the collection.

Since the opening of the FDR Library, William J. vanden Huevel Special Exhibitions Gallery, in 2003, the Roosevelt Institute has provided more than $1 million to support changing exhibits in this Gallery, along with enhancements and improvements to the library’s permanent exhibits. This money made it possible for the li-
library to purchase high quality exhibit casework for the Special Exhibitions Gallery and to present many special exhibits.

The Institute has also provided over $5 million to create an exciting new permanent exhibition at the FDR Library. This new exhibition, the first complete renovation of the museum's permanent exhibition in the library's history, will employ state-of-the-art technology to bring the story of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt to new generations of Americans, it is scheduled to open in 2013.

The Roosevelt Presidential Library offers document-based, curriculum-centered education programs for students ranging from the second grade to post graduate level, including the United States Military Academy at West Point. The library conducts teacher workshops each year attended by hundreds of teachers from across the United States, and from more than half a dozen countries. There is only one full-time education specialist who is provided by the government. The Roosevelt Institute provides the remaining support to the Roosevelt Presidential Library's education department annually. This support is critical to the operation of the library's education department as it provides the funds to hire four part-time New York State certified retired teachers, and one part-time education clerk, and to produce quality education materials that are used by students and teachers in the Hudson Valley, the Tri-State area, and across the United States.

Public programs and community outreach are at the core of the library's mission. The library offers a host of innovative programs and events to the general public each year.

In sum, the work of the FDR Presidential Library and Museum, and of Presidential libraries generally is critically important for retaining and advancing the public's understanding of the Nation's history, and for making that history available in communities across the country, communities from which our Presidents have come. The FDR Library and each of 12 other Presidential libraries tell the stories of the eras in which their President's lived and the persons who rose to leadership within them. They make these stories available to thousands of Americans who do not have the opportunity to come to Washington, DC, and to the National Archives on a regular basis.

It is important to remember, as my grandfather truly believed, that these investments are not support for memorializing specific individuals so much as they are investments that preserve, protect, and promote the broader scope of the history of this country, all of the dimensions of that history, the good and the bad, the successes and the challenges.

As such, and with all that we can learn from the many generations of Americans who have gone before us, the support that the Federal Government provides the Presidential libraries represents an investment not in our past but in our future.

I thank the committee for the opportunity to testify here today.

Mr. Mica. Thank you again for your testimony; and now we will recognize our last witness, our historian and Presidential scholar, Dr. Kumar.

Welcome, and you are recognized.

Ms. Kumar. Chairman Mica and Chairman Issa, Ranking Member Norton, Ranking Member Cummings, and members of the com-
mittee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss Presidential libraries and their importance to students, scholars, and government officials.

As preparation for my testimony, I wrote political scientists who specialize in the Presidency and asked them how their students use Presidential libraries and in their work as Presidency scholars what difference Presidential libraries make to their research. The responses came from all over the country and even from Canada with a uniform refrain of how important Presidential libraries have become for those of us who examine executive leadership, as well as those studying individual Presidents.

My informal survey established several points about the use and importance of Presidential libraries to students and scholars alike.

First, Presidential libraries are a national and regional resource for those studying the operations of government and individual Presidents. Having the libraries located in nine States and most regions of the country has brought the Presidency to the public. The libraries have become a valuable part of many undergraduate and graduate programs and allowed students to open a window on the Presidency without traveling to Washington.

Students nationwide can afford to travel to one or more of these libraries and have rich experiences. For one professor, a charter bus trip to the Truman Library means having his students consider the Berlin Airlift and the decision to drop the atomic bomb.

Scholars depend on Presidential libraries as a key resource for their own writing. The Presidency section of the American Political Science Association has an annual award for the best book on the Presidency. In reviewing the winners for the 20 years that the prize has been given, at least 75 percent of the books draw heavily on Presidential library materials.

Presidential libraries are a resource as well for those in government. The 9/11 Commission made heavy use of Presidential library materials. In recent Supreme Court nomination hearings, the Senate Judiciary Committee members and staff reviewed Presidential library files to see what actions and recommendations John Roberts and Elena Kagan had in their service in the Reagan and Clinton White Houses. White House staff in all recent administrations have called up materials from Presidential libraries.

As successful as a library visit to the faculty I polIed are, the professors singled out the archivist as the key to the success of their trips to the libraries. With millions of records in each library, sifting through for relevant material is a challenge for researchers. The archivists fill in this gap.

Second, Presidential libraries are important to what we know about the Presidency as an institution and about individual Presidents. Materials in the library allow us to test common assumptions we have about the Presidency, how it operates, and what particular Presidents did while they were in office.

The President’s daily diary, many of which are available online, track the minute-by-minute movements of a President from one room to another. The diary records who was in meetings and when they come and go. Through such careful tracking, we know who was with a President when he was considering particular policies, and we have the documentary records preserved as well. One pro-
fessor used the daily diaries to test the idea that President Reagan had relatively short workdays by comparing the length of the workday of several recent Presidents. It came out that President Reagan worked a similar workday to Presidents Johnson and Nixon and a longer one than Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower.

Audio recordings of meetings are also valuable for understanding important decisions and how they played out, as one can see in the recordings of President Kennedy's meetings on the Cuban missile crisis which are in audio.

Third, cooperative ventures can be an aspect of the model for future libraries. There are many ways in which Presidential libraries can work together with those studying Presidential action. In some cases, there are groups beyond the library foundations that provide funds for researchers to travel to one or more libraries. Students, too, can work as interns or in work-study programs to provide needed work in appropriate areas in the library.

An example of a cooperative venture between scholars and Presidential libraries is the White House Interview Program. The program is built around interviews with key former White House officials to help prepare those coming into the White House in 2001. The materials were also used in 2009. The interviews are housed at individual libraries, with many of them available online. The project demonstrates what is good for scholars can be also good for those coming into the government and for Presidential libraries. Everyone benefits when people—students, scholars, and the public—learn about their government and its leaders.

Mr. Mica. Well, thank you for your testimony. I want to thank all of our witnesses.

Again, I think this is a rather historic joint hearing between two committees and the first time that we have approached the subject in this manner, again, the important mission of our Presidential libraries and their current status.

What we will do is start with a little round of questions, and I want to ask our Archivist a couple to start.

Right now, a big question in Washington is spending and national finances. You don't have a huge budget for the libraries, but I see approximately $77 million is the fiscal year 2010 estimated cost; is that correct?

Mr. Ferrerio. $76.2 million.

Mr. Mica. OK. And, of that, it looks like operational costs, operations, and maintenance is $27 million; programs, $35 million; and I guess some of the renovation costs were about $9 or $10 million.

I had the opportunity to visit the Kennedy Library, and I don't think this was planned for my visit, but they had a big bucket—and it is a beautiful atrium, but there is a big bucket and water coming down, and they assured me that they had renovation and repairs under way. Do we have a capital program for all of these libraries? And I guess the submission goes through you on initial approval; is that correct?

Mr. Ferrerio. That is correct.

Let me preface my answer by a story about the Kennedy library. I.M. Pei was the architect, and I was there at the opening, and that atrium sitting out there on the water, a visitor came up to
I.M. Pei and said, aren’t you afraid it is going to leak? And he said, of course, it is going to leak. An architect.

We have a repair and renovation budget within the National Archives, and we have a master plan—space master plan that identifies all the needs across all 12 of the facilities, soon-to-be 13 facilities, with an estimate of expenditure each year. That will be severely reduced in the coming year.

Mr. Mica. One of the other things I noticed, I was quite shocked to see that all the exhibits in all the libraries are remarkable, but I was really a bit surprised to see the condition—sort of an aged condition of the Kennedy exhibit. In fact, I mentioned to Caroline Kennedy and to our departing Representative, Patrick Kennedy, the need to update some of those. Do we have a schedule for updating some of those exhibits?

Mr. Ferriero. There is a big focus, especially at Kennedy, on digital activities, to get as much content out into people’s hands around the country first, but there is also planning around updating the current exhibit space.

Mr. Mica. I heard Ms. Roosevelt talk about that, and I am not sure the staged—does anyone look at, again, the overall picture of putting some of this incredible information on digital or using the latest technology in all of these libraries?

Mr. Ferriero. Every one of the Presidential libraries has been investigating, has done something in the area of digitalization and long-term planning for as much content as we can afford.

Mr. Mica. Back to the financing, I understand different libraries have foundations, and they are supported. Is there any estimate you could give to us as to what additional funds are provided or what percentage of additional programs are underwritten by the private sector?

Mr. Ferriero. I can get you that figure. I don’t have it off the top of my head. I think it is safe to say that each one of the Presidential libraries is pretty creative, innovative, and entrepreneurial in identifying private support for a number of their activities.

Mr. Mica. I notice, too, that I was looking at the admissions and the activity from visitors for the different libraries. It seems to taper off, again, as the Presidents fade into history. That leaves, again, a bigger burden on the Federal Government to underwrite the operations. And, also, I notice that with some of the libraries that the Department of Interior is involved. Their costs and figures are not included in your budget. Again, do we look at the overall long-term mission, the reduction in admissions, and then contributions from other agencies?

Mr. Ferriero. That is certainly something that is in my consciousness. And you are right. There is a relationship between the date of the Presidency and the attendance. On the Park Service collaboration, those sites where we have the homestead, that is where there is a history of a Park Service involvement in the site.

Mr. Mica. OK. Then we have Mr. Schwartz. I had an opportunity to visit there in Illinois, and that is a private State operation. I also was informed the Federal Government had promised some help on the capital side and only met about half of its contribution. Maybe you could tell us how you are funded and how Federal commitment, unkept, affects your operation and your budget.
Mr. SCHWARTZ. The original funding plan was at the State. The two structures came to a total cost of $115 million. That was the estimate. And the idea was the State would provide $50 million, the Federal Government would provide $50 million, and the city of Springfield would provide the property and the remaining amount. It ended up that the Federal Government came forward not with the grant fully funded but a matching plan; and so State regulations require, for a construction project, that all the money is to be in place before construction begins. The State actually had to then finance the full amount, and of that $50 million match over 5 years we were able to recoup about $35 million.

Mr. MICA. Ms. Roosevelt, you had mentioned that you are in the process of digitizing some of the records. Is that also with Federal help or is that a private activity, and where do you see the Federal Government helping you in the future, again as far as protecting some of these national assets and treasures?

Ms. ROOSEVELT. Well, that particular project I would have to refer to our librarian to make sure, but I know that whenever the library has a program need, we are partners with them and we work with them to discover what is the need to produce the result that is best for the library program. And so we often do co-funding on projects, and I would assume that that would be part of the digitizing project.

Mr. MICA. Finally, have any of you worked with the Library of Congress or you have joint efforts going on with the Library of Congress?

Yes, Mr. Schwartz, and maybe you could tell us that relationship.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The Papers of Abraham Lincoln right now, the last two major repositories of Lincoln's papers that we need to scan, are those at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. We have finished the scanning of the collections out at Archives II, and we are now in the main Archives, and we are at the Library of Congress. I think we hope to wrap up both those scanning projects in the next few years.

Mr. MICA. OK. At noontime or when we recess, we will hear from the Librarian of Congress; and this afternoon some of the questions that we can't get to with the members of the panel and other directors and those active with some of the other Presidential libraries that have joined us today we will have an opportunity. So if you think of a question or we can get more to the answer, I saw from Ms. Roosevelt in that symposium that starts this afternoon.

So, with that, let me yield to Ms. Norton.

Ms. NORTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ferriero, I have a question for you. You are, of course, aware as a Federal agency that we are in the midst of making large cuts in Federal agencies. We have to make many of them.

In your testimony, you noted that the Clinton Library is platinum LEED and that the Bush Library is also expected to be platinum LEED; and, of course, in our committee we promote this because of the enormous savings that can be documented. In this case, the savings would be to the taxpayers. Have you advised or do you think it would be important to advise those who build these libraries, in light of the fact that the operations are paid by the
taxpayers of the United States, that these libraries should be built to the highest LEED standards available?

Mr. Ferrerio. I certainly would agree to that, and I would suggest that any future library that we build will be built to those specifications.

Ms. Norton. Thank you very much.

Again, a question going to the need to make savings, particularly in the year or two headed, there was great concern here about savings. However, even the deficit commission warned about doing cuts that were too stringent this year and advised to wait a couple of years lest we send the fragile economy back. So people like me are looking for things to cut that meet the necessity to cut but that may not have that effect.

Now, I note in light of the fact that the taxpayers pay for the operations, in applying the cuts to the Archives—and let me preface this by saying I have sat through hearings where the Archivist had raised my very serious concern about the underfunding of the Archives and your ability to maintain the precious historical papers of the United States. Shouldn't the cuts be applied as little as possible to your official work, your official documents with perhaps the libraries and their operations taking somewhat more of the cuts and so that is operations alone?

If you had to distribute the cuts—and that is who is going to have to do it—you cry up here about the maintenance of—and well you might—we all should shed tears—about the maintenance of this repository. Then you have to decide where the money goes. Well, there is some powerful people in the library who want their operations just as they are. There are not so many powerful people speaking for the papers that you complain you don't have the money to upkeep. So how would you distribute this funding?

Mr. Ferrerio. Well, I would just remind you that those papers that are sitting in those 13 repositories that we call Presidential libraries are Federal records, and they are my responsibility.

Ms. Norton. I am asking about the operations, Mr. Ferrerio. I want you to answer my question directly. I am not asking about the records. I am asking about when you have to apply funds to operations and make cuts in operations versus cuts in official documents, whether they are, as you say, in Presidential libraries or whether they are here in the District of Columbia. I would like an answer to my question.

Mr. Ferrerio. Those cuts in operations were applied equally across Federal records and Presidential records. So the restrictions that—

Ms. Norton. You can't be serious. In the operations of the Archives or—well, let's take your own operations. You would give as
much weight to whether or not there is going to be another security
guard as you would to maintaining the records themselves?
Mr. Ferriero. Protection of records, whether they are Federal
records or Presidential records, are equally important.
Ms. Norton. I am not talking about the difference between the
two records. I am talking about the operations that the taxpayers
pay for the Presidential libraries.
Mr. Ferriero. The taxpayers pay for that security in the Presi-
dential libraries.
Ms. Norton. That is what I am talking about, and they pay for
other operational matters in the Presidential libraries.
Mr. Ferriero. That is right.
Ms. Norton. So I am not talking about the records. I am talking
about the operations.
Mr. Ferriero. And I am saying that my approach to security, in
this particular case security of the collections, whether about secu-
rity guards, would be the same in the Presidential library as it
would be at 700 Pennsylvania Avenue.
Ms. Norton. All right. Mr. Ferriero, I see I am not going to get
an answer to the question. I am not asking about security. Oper-
ations has to do with a whole lot more than security. I gave you
an example of if you had one more guard or one less guard, but
I would be very concerned if you just were to find it as easy to
apply funds to operational matters as to apply funds to the mainte-
nance of these very important historic documents, and I will bear
that in mind the next time you come before this committee.
Mr. Blackwood, I note that you were at one time director of the
Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and were serving simulta-
neously as the executive director of the private Ronald Reagan
Presidential Library Foundation. Now, there could be complications
in simultaneously holding these two positions. You only hold the
Federal position now; is that the case?
Mr. Blackwood. Correct.
Ms. Norton. Do you feel more comfortable holding only the Fed-
eral position inasmuch as you won't have to resolve possible con-
flicts of interest?
Mr. Blackwood. Yes, I think the current model, the way it is
with the director serving only in that capacity, is the best model.
Ms. Norton. Now, that is a matter of policy, isn't it, Mr.
Ferriero?
Mr. Ferriero. Yes.
Ms. Norton. Is it a policy that you made or is it a policy that
a prior Archivist made?
Mr. Ferriero. It was made prior to my arrival, but it is one that
I support.
Ms. Norton. Don't you believe that that should be the policy of
the government, not only the policy of the Archivist who may
change from time to time and therefore change the policy?
Mr. Ferriero. It could very well be.
Ms. Norton. Thank you very much.
Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Mica. Thank you.
Let me recognize the co-chair of this joint hearing, Mr. Issa.
Mr. Issa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Ferriero, following up on what the gentlelady from DC said, you do have one luxury. I am presuming, and that is, when there are cuts in your budget, some of those expenses, if you are not able to do them at the 13 Presidential libraries, are going to be taken on by the foundation side. So, in some cases, there will be no reduction in service, even if you had to trim some of your duties, right?  
Mr. FERRIERO. In some cases, where there are resources available, it is possible.  
Mr. ISSA. So that is an inherent benefit to the American people, that you can operate fairly austerely there while those records are maintained, protected, and, as Ms. Roosevelt said, digitized at somebody else’s expense, not the Federal Government’s?  
Mr. FERRIERO. The issue is the level of activity that can be sustained. We have backlogs in most of those Presidential libraries in terms of basic processing.  
Mr. ISSA. I am going to go to the luxury of riches for a moment.  
Mr. Blackwood, your library is expanding. I had the honor of being on the airplane that was delivered just before September 11th to the Reagan Library, or at least to the airport, and I have now seen it repainted in all its glory, all of it basically at no government expense. I think we paid for the fuel to fly it out there. But my understanding is we saved money because we didn’t have to do an annual maintenance on it if we delivered it to you that day.  
The Reagan Library is a wealthy library. There is just a tremendous amount of support for foundation donations to the Reagan Library to continue his legacy. Should we be looking from a standpoint of government at spreading that wealth, at looking and saying, for the long-term sustainability, not when there is 13 but when there are 33 libraries, to have some sort of a scheme to make sure that the dollars are available from a common foundation or in some other way, a non-direct government appropriation, to help make sure these libraries are all maintained at a high level?  
And I am going to you first because you are sort of the richest library at this particular time, present here today perhaps.  
Mr. BLACKWOOD. I don’t know if we are the richest, but I am very fortunate in the support that the Reagan Foundation has provided the Reagan Library because I think it benefits all citizens. Whether you visit or come virtually, it is a benefit, and I do recall the trip because I was on the plane with you, and it is extraordinary.  
But that is a perfect example of what the foundation has done. It was $35 million that they support to build the Air Force One pavilion. In addition, they maintain it on a regular basis. So there is zero cost from the government standpoint on that. In addition, there was another $9 million that they raised and spent for the Discovery Center, $15 million they spent for the recent renovation.  
As it relates to an overall foundation, I think that is a concept that should be developed. You would have to go to each of the foundations to see what their support might be. Because I liken our organizations to a family. We have 13 kids and similar, same parents, but different needs and different wants and different expectations. So I think it is worthy of looking into.
Mr. ISSA. Ms. Roosevelt, perhaps you would be not the oldest but the longest standing of the libraries. Your grandfather’s legacy lives on; and, as a result, there is no doubt people who contribute. But do you believe that we have a likelihood that the poorer step-children of the Presidency will, over time, either end up as wards of Federal appropriated dollars or simply fall into disrepair?

Ms. ROOSEVELT. Well, I can imagine such a situation. However, I think that there will always be interested private citizens who care about history and who care about its preservation. But I do——

Mr. ISSA. That is the reason for my question, ma’am, is if we have interested private citizens, what I was speculating on is, from this side of the dais, if we want to not rely on appropriated funds for X library—none of yours, but let’s just say X library—should we be looking at a national nonprofit entity as an umbrella for contributors who want to contribute to the maintenance of Presidential libraries so that stipend would be available to wherever it was needed? Recognizing that early after a President’s Presidency the funding tends to be good. In fact, it tends to be really great while he is still in office, as it turns out; and that is a separate subject of investigation. But then, as time goes on, often the people who were in the Cabinet and who were a part of that group that does the fund-raising, they pass on. Unless there is somebody like you in the family, it becomes very hard—or like Caroline Kennedy—to continue their level of fund-raising.

So my question then would be a question really to everyone on the panel sort of sequentially—and it will be my last question—is should we on this side of the dais be looking at an umbrella organization, recognizing that we can’t force these contracts to be modified, but we certainly could create the equivalent of public broadcasting but public support that was a central one that would be available? Because I, for one, assume that taxpayers are not going to be any more willing in the future to appropriate than they are today, and yet your needs will continue to increase.

So that is really the question for each of you that—starting actually with Martha, each of you that have looked at this problem that will go on for 200 more years of our history. Please, Doctor.

Ms. KUMAR. For political scientists, we are politically interested in comparative research. So for us going to several libraries is important, and so whether it is a big library or, you know, whether it is Hoover in West Branch, all of them are important.

How to fund them, that is beyond me. I am a user who wants to see all of them funded. But I do think, as I was saying in my testimony, that I think that there are ways in which academics can be involved in trying to do things like create oral history projects—because, often, libraries don’t have enough funds for that—and maybe do internships, work-study programs to train people to help archivists go through papers.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you.

Anyone else that wants to comment on this basic concept of 13 foundations versus a 14th, if you will? David.

Mr. FERRIERO. It is an interesting concept to contemplate. We now get with the amendment to the Presidential Records Act with the Bush 43 library, 60 percent of the endowment now will come
to support the libraries. It is interesting to contemplate a percentage of the endowments from across those libraries going to a common fund would accomplish what you suggest.

We also should factor in the fact that we want to digitize as much as possible. So, in the future, is there a need for physical access to papers? Could papers be centrally stored somewhere, in Washington perhaps, because people have digital access? It is another option.

Mr. Issa. Anyone else?

Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. Mica. Thank you.

Let me yield to the gentleman from Maryland and the ranking member, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. Cummings. I think I want to direct this question to Dr. Kumar and to you, Mr. Ferriero.

You know, as I listen to this discussion, the thing that bothers me is that these are records of Presidents of the United States of America. These are records that it shouldn't be a luxury to maintain them. This is part of our history. When we travel to Greece and places like that, although our country is far younger, we hear about, we learn about the history, and I guess that is why they have the recordings and so that people 5, 7, 800 years from now can appreciate this history.

And I am just wondering do you have an opinion as to whether—you know, I understand how we set it up with the foundations and everything, but do we have an obligation, in your minds and particularly as an Archivist, to address these issues and these records as something that government must be about the business of doing and must be about the business of safeguarding as opposed to, let's just say, for example, the foundations fell on hard times, they weren't able to do it? I mean, I just wondered if you had an opinion on that.

Yes, sir, and then I will go to you.

Mr. Ferriero. As I was trying to explain earlier, I feel as responsible and as passionate about those Presidential libraries as I do about the records of the agencies that are also in my custody. We have an obligation to ensure that they are taken care of, processed, and made available to the American public.

Mr. Cummings. And Dr. Kumar.

Ms. Kumar. In my own research, it has made an enormous amount of difference to see what it is that Presidents were doing at a time, and bringing records together like working in the Reagan Library—I was working on some of his speeches—and to see—well, you could see his speech text, but then going through the notes that the President himself made on it, and the changes that he made, made a great deal of difference as to what he did, but—in the views that one had of his own work. And I think it takes multiple sources and also being there.

Students, I think in particular, would be the ones who would suffer. Because you bring in people that go into—young people who come into the environment of a Presidency like in the White House Decision Center at the Truman Library and get to experience what kinds of decisions the President made using documents that were classified at one time. And it is through things like that that people
learn what a government does, the benefits of a government, and what Presidential leadership is all about.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Let me cut you off right there, because I have a limited amount of time.

But let me ask you this. My major concern—I have several concerns—one, that we guard these records, that we make them available. And tagging on to something you just said, Dr. Kumar, I want to make sure that the kids in my district have access to those records, and I want them to be able to—they may never be able to visit a Presidential library, not as a kid or even as a young researcher, but I want them to have access. Because that is where I think we take our dollars and we stretch them so that more people have the benefit of them.

And I think it was Mr. Putnam who was talking about the Kennedy Library doing all these wonderful things to make access more available, and I was wondering, do the other libraries have similar kinds of plans or programs and that kind of thing?

And, Dr. Ferriero, I am just wondering, I mean, when you are dealing with these folks, did you ever say—was there an avenue for you to say, look, how can we make these records more accessible so that—I mean, and with the Web and all these wonderful tools that we have now that I didn't have as a kid and—but I will tell you, I mean, the idea that some kid in Mr. Gowdy's district in South Carolina, which is where my mother and father were former sharecroppers, if that little kid could sit there and, you know, go on the Internet or whatever and access this library, well, he may not be able to make it as a kid but certainly to learn and perhaps he will be inspired to go later on. So I am just wondering how does that play, and I see Mr. Putnam seems to be anxious to say something.

Mr. PUTNAM. Well, we did that just last week. All these efforts that we digitized were really meant more for the scholars like Dr. Kumar. What we developed was an interactive where students could actually sit behind President Kennedy's desk—it is called the President's desk—and Caroline Kennedy helped us to launch it. So that a student in your district or a student in South Carolina could literally feel what it would be like to sit behind the President's desk. And then they can link on various interactives to tell the story of John F. Kennedy and our country's history and literally listen in to the conversation.

And as the Archivist mentioned, all of the libraries collaborate. We have this interactive Presidential timeline that every library is involved in to be sure that it is not just the libraries that have these additional resources to make these materials available.

But one thing related to a question Congressman Issa mentioned, even though some of us have foundations that have more resources, really, as your question indicated, it is the Federal Government's responsibility to preserve these records, to secure them, to process them, and declassify. None of us gets support from our foundations to do that. They recognize that that is a Federal responsibility. What they help us to do is some of these other interesting interactives.

And the Archivist is a huge proponent of digitalization. My goal is to make as much as we have possible available in just the way
that you described it. Because I am firmly convinced, based on my own experience, that if it isn’t online, it doesn’t exist in the minds of those kids.

Ms. KUMAR. And government itself benefits from the library materials and keeping them. Because you don’t want people to make the mistakes of the past, and the only way they are going to learn is to really find out what happened, and answers are in those records. And in every recent administration, they have called upon the Presidential library to give them materials that relates to particular instances that they are trying to figure out what happened in the past. As I said earlier, the 9/11 Commission relied heavily on materials from Presidential libraries.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Let me yield now to the gentleman from California and subcommittee chair, Mr. Denham.

Mr. DENHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First question I have is to Dr. Schwartz. The Lincoln Presidential Library is not part of the National Archives Presidential Library system. Can you describe what advantages, disadvantages that gives you and support that you would like to receive from the National Archives?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Well, obviously, our biggest obstacle is that Lincoln’s records are scattered. By doing the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, we literally went to hundreds of private-public repositories, as well as individual collectors in order to try to reassemble the record.

The advantage that the current Presidential libraries system has is that those records remain intact, but Lincoln being a 19th century figure, you didn’t have the Records Act which mandated how these records were to be maintained and stored. And so we are having to actually do this process of reassembling something that has been fractured and scattered to the four winds.

As I indicated, we began as a research facility (research library), which had a broader mandate to collect the written history of the State of Illinois. When we were in search of getting funding for a larger facility for the library, it was also clear to us that the public had this great desire. They were seeing these records not as research materials but really as items for inspiration: for example, the Gettysburg Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th Amendment. And so in order to satisfy that need of the public, seeing these items more as artifacts, historical artifacts for inspiration, that is where the museum component came in.

What we do, though, is in the museum we have a specific effects theater called Ghosts of the Library, which makes the connection between what the research library does and the historical content that they find in the museum; and being a public institution, supported by the State of Illinois, we encourage people on the museum side to go visit the library side and to examine some of these records for themselves.

So our biggest problem, obviously, is Lincoln has been dead for almost 150 years, and there is no group of wealthy donors that typically funds Presidential libraries and museums while the Presi-
dent remains alive. However, Lincoln still has such an iconic position within the leadership of this country that we do have a strong donor base, and we are constantly looking for ways to expand that.

Mr. DENHAM. So advantages or disadvantages compared to, say, the system that Mr. Blackwood enjoys in California.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He has the advantage that many of President Reagan's close associates and donors remain alive and supportive of the institution, and he also has an advantage of having one of the most popular modern Presidents, and that is a great advantage.

Our advantage is that Lincoln still is popular within the broad general audience, but it is more difficult for us to take that popularity and to translate it into actual donations and membership support.

Mr. DENHAM. And how about receiving funds locally from State and local organizations versus being part of the Federal system?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Being in the capital city of Illinois, which is maybe 118,000 people, it does not have a broad corporate base to draw upon, and we are in constant competition with trying to go to Chicago, which has that kind of corporate donor base, to compete with other cultural institutions located in Chicago. And so it is a challenge. But, again, we are not only reaching out to funding sources within Illinois but nationally, and I think that is the only way that any cultural institution can hope to survive.

Mr. DENHAM. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Pleased to recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Altmire.

Mr. ALTMIRE. Thank you.

I very much appreciate all of you being here, even those in the audience from other libraries and museums around the country.

And, Ms. Roosevelt, it struck me when you were speaking that we all, as the chairman said, feel a personal interest in this as Americans, but you, of course, have a very personal interest in that particular library. You said in your very eloquent remarks that one of the purposes of the museum and the library is to carry on the legacy and values of your grandparents. And it struck me, in the context of what we are looking at today with regard to the funding of libraries and the ongoing support, there is the initial construction, but then there is the ongoing maintenance and operational expense, and it led me to think the different roles that these libraries and museums play.

There is the library, the research component which we are focused on today which, thankfully, because of technology, more people are going to have access over the years. But there is the museum side, which is the library themselves making a determination, this is how we are going to present this former President, this is the light in which we are going to cast upon that President.

And then there is the programming side, and museums have different missions with regard to programming. The Carter Center, for example, has a very specific programming mission and reason for carrying on that mission.

And I wanted to ask the Archivist, in that context, under the current Presidential records law, there is no ability to edit documents
Mr. Ferréreo. That is correct, and one of the great things about having the records is that we let the records speak for themselves. So attempts at—whether it is a user or other people trying to twist history, we have the documentation to back it up.

Mr. Altmire. And there have been very recent examples of libraries that have opened up their doors to researchers who have written very decorated books, Pulitzer Prize winners that were not entirely flattering to the subject, but that document is actually there, and you can interpret it however you want.

Mr. Ferréreo. Exactly.

Mr. Altmire. However, on the museum and programming side, the concern—not a concern but I think it is worth discussing in the context of today—is when donors give money, especially when the individual may still be President or very recently had been President, what is the motivation of the donor, rhetorically?

But something we are concerned about, the difference between public money, taxpayer money, and private money, and I understand foundations versus, you know, corporate or individual giving. But I would ask Mr. Putnam and Mr. Blackwood especially, how do you see the difference between the mission of libraries and your responsibility to portray the President fairly and in a very public way, but what is the expectation when private money comes in versus public money, and what would be the difference in the way libraries in the future would carry out their museum function?

Mr. Putnam. Well, I very much appreciate the support that we receive from our foundation, but it always comes with the understanding that it is the Federal employees who make the final decisions. So, for instance, in our museum, it is a Federal employee who is the curator. She writes the text that gets approved by me. There is no influence at all from the foundation. Similarly, our foundation helps support our digitalization project, but it is clear that it is the chief archivist who decides which collection gets digitized and the priorities.

So I think that should be the model, that the foundation can receive funds, but the Federal employees, again, are the ones who protect these records, help interpret them, and are in charge of how we portray those stories to the public.

Mr. Blackwood. I would agree with my colleague, Mr. Putnam; and we are similar at the Reagan Library. While the support that the foundation provides us is extraordinary, we work hand in hand for that balance, and we are very much a part of that process.

Mr. Altmire. Thank you.

I would ask Dr. Kumar, with regard to the funding issue, there have been some Presidents—well, all Presidents, they are human and they have things that they would like to see portrayed and things they would like to see perhaps not shown to the public, at least not emphasized. Do you have a concern as a historian of the ability for libraries to water over or gloss over issues that perhaps might be something that the former President would want to see? So some of them have had very public failings. Do you think that public versus private money can in any way lead to influencing the way that the museum operates and the programming operates?
Ms. Kumar. Well, I think that the Presidents understand there are going to be a lot of warts in their administration, and everything that they have done is not perfect, and they accept that and they probably accept it a little more than some of their relatives do.

But I think there is probably a real difference among families, for example, and their support for opening things up. For example, in the Johnson Library, Lady Bird Johnson and the two daughters were very much behind opening up all the tape recordings before President Johnson even had wanted them to be released. And I think, you know, that the Archives knows what its mission is and the people that are the directors of the library.

Now, sometimes there will be conflicts like, say, in the Nixon Library, but you are going to find, for example, there is going to be an exhibit on Watergate that is going to look at Watergate in a fair manner. And so I think in the long run the documents do speak for themselves and that the people who are the archivists are very interested in protecting documents, and then they know well which ones are important to decisionmaking and I think those ultimately win out.

Mr. Altman. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Mica. Thank you.

Let me yield now to the chair of another subcommittee of jurisdiction, the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Gowdy.

Mr. Gowdy. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Blackwood, Ms. Roosevelt was very eloquent in noting that libraries are repositories for information that is both good and bad. Dr. Kumar just used the word “fair.” Those phrases are inherently subjective. So how do we reconcile advocacy with history in determining what is historically significant, what is good, bad, and fair?

Mr. Blackwood. First of all, historically significant, I think there is the obvious ones that you can point to in each of our administrations, but there is going to be those that are interpretive, just like what is fair and what is right and what should be. I think it needs to be a collaborative effort; and I think that is what each of us, all the Presidential libraries, work toward, is working with the foundation, working with the documents, the realities of the administration to put that forth.

But because we are humans, you are always going to have that variance, but I feel very proud with what we have been able to accomplish and, quite frankly, with my colleagues, and we are very fortunate to be able to have that support to be able to do that.

Mr. Gowdy. Dr. Schwartz, is fund-raising during the term in office problematic? And regardless of whether you think it is or not, do you advocate public disclosure of donors?

Mr. Schwartz. Obviously, that is not an issue that we have a problem with.

Mr. Gowdy. That is why I asked you.

Mr. Schwartz. But in terms of, you know, the current system, I think more transparency is better than less.

Mr. Gowdy. And the current system, for those who may not be familiar with it, is what?
Mr. SCHWARTZ. I believe that it is up to the individual foundation of whether those names are released or not.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Ferriero, I was privileged to go to the Archives recently and was thoroughly impressed with your staff and your hospitality; and I, given my background, was particularly interested in the safety and what you have done with respect to theft and vandalism. Can you speak to that and whether or not you think the safeguards are sufficient as is?

Mr. FERRIERO. A culture of vigilance is something that I bring to the Archives from my previous lives in research and libraries. This is not something that you can say that you have done everything that you possibly can to protect the collection. It is something that I worry about all the time, and I will continue to worry about and ensure that we do everything possible to walk this fine line between protecting what we have and making it available to the American public. It is a challenge every day because anyone who wants to either steal or destroy or alter a document and is really serious about it, there are ways of accomplishing that, and our job is to ensure that they don’t have those opportunities.

Mr. GOWDY. Yes, sir.

Dr. Kumar, would you be willing to weigh in on the funding, whether or not the database of donors should be public, whether or not there should be any Chinese wall, so to speak, between the donors and the officeholder? What system would you advocate?

Ms. KUMAR. Well, as a scholar, I am certainly a believer in transparency, but I think it ends up depending upon what the agreements were that people made earlier, and so to make records available now I think is difficult for various libraries. I mean, you can start a pattern for the future about what you expect in terms of transparency.

Mr. GOWDY. Would you advocate a pattern that did not allow fund-raising during the term in office?

Ms. KUMAR. I think that is a difficult one. I am not convinced that the kinds of efforts that have been made at this point in the last administrations has made any difference. I don’t see where donors got anything, you know, whether they got appointments or something like that. I would have to be convinced, because I don’t see that that has been the case. I see the concern that you have, but it may be that transparency would be the answer during the period of the administration.

Mr. GOWDY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Very good questions, Mr. Gowdy. I had a couple of those on my mind.

Back to the Archivist, just to assure everyone, you know, we did have a situation—I think Mr. Altmire talked about twisting history—but the question of access that a President would have, as we had with the Berger case when some of his aides—and I think you said you have put in place as many protections as you can, but you can’t absolutely guarantee. Is that the case?

Mr. FERRIERO. That one was actually relatively easy to address in that those kinds of records, Presidential records, when they are being reviewed or used by a member of an administration, will be done in a SCIF, a protected area, and with someone watching.

That is—
Mr. MICA. Well, again, we need to make certain that we have as many protections in place as Representatives Gowdy and Altmire have brought attention to.

I think the other question of the donors is a lot of popularity for a President when they are in office and as they are leaving office they have a lot of supporters, and it dramatically drops off. It is a lot harder. But I think the conclusion reached by everyone was, again, to encourage transparency in that process. We may have more discussions about that this afternoon.

Just a couple of quick things again to the Archivist. Again, we have—in time and space, we have a dozen libraries, Presidential libraries and others; and they are now looking at maintaining their records and files and digitizing them. Is there a standard format that has been developed for all of that information?

And the other thing, too, for those that may be watching the hearing, can they access it through the National Archives or do they have to go to each independent library? Maybe you could explain the setup we have, again, for a coordinated effort to make that information and those digitized records available.

Mr. FERRIERO. The user has options to go to the individual library or to go to the National Archives or the first line of defense for most folks is Google. And these records are searchable, retrievable through Google, so they have lots of different options.

Mr. MICA. About the coordination with the Library of Congress, we will be meeting with the Librarian in a few minutes. That is also coordinated as far as format, access?

Mr. FERRIERO. There are national standards that we are using in the Archives, the same national standards that we actually helped develop with the Library of Congress. We do a lot of digitization, preservation work with the Library of Congress.

Mr. MICA. OK. Ms. Roosevelt, in closing, I had a great opportunity when I was in high school. I attended a debate tournament at Emory University, and I heard your grandmother speak. It had to be about 1959, I believe, at Emory University. I will never forget that experience, which seeing you today makes me reflect on that experience.

Here is a question I don’t know the answer to. We cover the Presidents, but what about the First Ladies and their records? Are they adequately covered? And some of I guess your grandmother’s records and documents, are they also covered adequately?

Ms. ROOSEVELT. Well, I believe that the records of my grandmother’s activities are the most complete at the Roosevelt Presidential Library. I am not sure that the First Ladies are covered as extensively, perhaps some of the more recent libraries have. But surely as these wives of our Presidents have acted on behalf of the government their papers are important for the understanding of how we operate.

Mr. MICA. And maybe the Archivist and Mr. Putnam had his hand up.

Mr. PUTNAM. I can just speak for the deed of gifts library. So we recently negotiated a deed with Caroline Kennedy for all of her mother’s papers. We are in the process of processing those, and they will be open next fall. So it was contingent, though, on Caroline Kennedy giving us those papers in the same way that the Ken-
nedy family gave us the records of President Kennedy. But, again, that is because I operate a deed of gift library.

Mr. Mica. Any standardization of that, Mr. Archivist?

Mr. Ferrero. I think across the Presidential library system the goal is to acquire and make available in the same way we do the Presidents’ papers. It is a very timely question. Tomorrow, at American University, is an all-day conference on the First Ladies.

Mr. Mica. Great timing.

Any Members have any other questions?

Well, we are going adjourn in just a second this hearing, our formal hearing. We will reconvene at 2:30, and we have many distinguished leaders of some of the various Presidential libraries. We couldn’t get everyone on the panel. We would be here until midnight. But we will have an opportunity for everyone to participate at 2:30 in the Cannon Caucus Room. We will reconvene in a more informal setting and hopefully a productive setting, too, both for Members of Congress and also those who are engaged on a daily basis with operating, maintaining, and looking at the future of our Presidential libraries.

We hope in our discussions this afternoon to continue focus on the relationship between the Federal Government and our Presidential libraries, both the public and private. We also want to discuss strengthening partnerships among the libraries, both Federal and non-Federal.

And then again I think it is important that we look at facilitating the relationships that we have, various connections, technology, working with academia, other libraries, and again both the National Archives and the Library of Congress and each of the individual institutions. So I think we could have a good discussion this afternoon, an informal setting. Everyone is invited to participate in that.

There being no further business before the joint committees, Transportation and Infrastructure and Oversight and Government Reform, this hearing is adjourned. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 12:38 p.m., the committees were adjourned.]
STATEMENT OF THE
HONORABLE ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON
RANKING MEMBER, SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, AND
EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE COMMITTEE AND
OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM COMMITTEE
HEARING STATEMENT
FEBRUARY 28, 2011

Good morning. I welcome the opportunity to learn more from today’s witnesses about the mission, work and future of presidential libraries. As a member of both the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, I am pleased to join Chairman Mica and Issa in ensuring appropriate oversight.

The Government Accountability Office reports that the presidential libraries and museums received over 2.4 million visits in 2009. In 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt became the first president to have a library built to house his papers and official documents related to his administration. Prior to 1940, U.S. presidents typically retained ownership of the papers documenting their terms in office. In 1955, the Presidential Libraries Act (P.L. 84-373) created a system to administer and preserve the papers and other historical materials of former presidents. The 1955 Act authorized the General Services Administration (GSA) to accept historical papers and materials of former presidents, accept or take title to land and buildings to be used to archive the records, enter into agreements for the use of land and buildings, maintain and operate the facilities as part of the national archives system, and accept gifts for the purposes of maintaining and operating the libraries. The authority to administer presidential libraries was later transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

Once a presidential library has been constructed, funds appropriated by Congress go to NARA’s Office of Presidential Libraries, which is responsible for the operation and maintenance of the facility. There are 12 current federal presidential libraries and museums administered by NARA, and another is expected to be added for President George W. Bush in the near future. Each presidential library acts in concert with the presidential library foundation, the organizations that support the construction of the facility and the funding for the exhibitions displayed within the library or museum. These projects preserve American history and provide an opportunity to see the accomplishments and endeavors of perhaps the most demanding public service position in the world.

I look forward to hearing from today’s witnesses about the federal government’s role as a good steward of American history by preserving the records of presidents.
TESTIMONY OF DUKE BLACKWOOD
DIRECTOR, RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM
BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
AND
THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM
ON
“PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES: THEIR MISSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTION”
FEBRUARY 28, 2011

Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, and Members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to testify on Presidential Libraries: Their Mission and Future Direction.

For those of you who I have not met, I am Duke Blackwood, Director of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum in Simi Valley, California. I appreciate the opportunity to discuss the historic institutions called Presidential Libraries and the important role they play throughout our country.

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established what would be the first Presidential Library in Hyde Park, New York, I’m not sure even he envisioned how transformational they would become. What started as a straightforward offer to access his historic materials has grown into a system that reaches across the country. His library and the 12 others that have followed have had unparalleled impact on tens of millions of people - perhaps more. Our Founding Fathers and Mothers would have applauded his vision as an important component in safeguarding the freedoms that they fought and died for. An informed citizenry and an accountable government are at the heart of what we do. What he did for our country, our citizens and most importantly future generations of our school children continues to pay significant dividends today... across America and around the world.
My testimony today will further build the case in support of the great opportunities afforded at Presidential Libraries that Tom eloquently presented. I will address their impact and why they should continue as they are for future generations.

This brings us to the reason we are here today: to discuss our mission and future direction. Ask an historian, member of the media or a student what is the mission of Presidential Libraries and you are likely to have diverse opinions. So what is right? Where should we go? What should we be doing?

I am not here today to give definitive answers or to promote a specific mission statement. Rather I hope to provide further context to what Tom presented, present an objective perspective, and finally to argue that our mission should be multifaceted. Ultimately though, everything starts with President Roosevelt’s basic principle of access and the definition of access should be expanded for today as well as the future.

With any lasting institution, natural growth, change and adaptation are good. That is the way I view the mission of Presidential Libraries. As Tom referred to in his remarks, President Roosevelt wanted his materials to be preserved and made available. Fast forward to 2000, our mission was “ready access.” It seems that President Roosevelt’s intentions had stood the test of time as his original mission was adapted well to the 21st century approach and thinking. But is that enough for today or tomorrow?

On the surface it might continue to work as an overarching mission. But dig a little deeper and you start asking for more. Does such a mission fully address what we are doing, should be doing, can be doing or need to be doing?

Access to the process, workings and activity of our government is paramount. I am confident that won’t change. Our country is unique in this regard by providing access quicker and more broadly than most. We should all take pride in that. I believe our Forefathers and Mothers certainly would.
Over the years Presidential Libraries have grown, changed and adapted to reflect the times, needs and expectations. Tom provided many examples of how each one of our libraries have developed and nurtured ideas, created exciting programs, and kept up with technological advances all of which serve our citizens in ways that no other institution can match. That is a great accomplishment.

The growth of Presidential Libraries is due in good measure to the support we receive from the attendant foundations, in our case, the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation. Working hand-in-hand with the Reagan Foundation the current Library model is working well. In the ten years that I have had the honor to work here, the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Foundation and the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) have worked together with a tremendous amount of success. The Foundation’s support allows us to better serve the public by providing real value to the government in a successful public-private partnership.

There are five key areas that demonstrate why our partnership with the Foundation has been successful:

- Financial Support
- Educational Opportunities
- Community Outreach
- Communication
- Programs and Events

During my tenure here, the Reagan Foundation has provided hundreds of thousands of dollars in annual support and more than $50 million in direct capital improvements to the site. This is on top of the $69 million that they provided to build the Library itself. Specific projects include: approximately $35 million to build the Air Force One Pavilion, $9 million to build and support the Discovery Center and they recently funded $15 million for the museum renovation and technology support.
This support has had a tremendous impact, most notably in three key areas: more than doubling the attendance since the opening of the Pavilion; a significant expansion of education programs; and a heightened awareness of the Library locally and nationally. In addition, our reputation as a world-class institution has grown substantially. With each of these projects, the Foundation and NARA staffs have worked in partnership.

The Federal Government's involvement and support of Presidential Libraries is also critical. With the necessary appropriated funds and revenue from admissions, fees and other sources, NARA successfully leverages the foundations support providing tremendous value for the government and the American people.

Because of this broad range of support, Presidential Libraries now serve many constituencies. This is important when discussing the mission and the future. I broadly categorize our constituencies into three groups: citizens, students and scholars.

Let's begin with the scholars. How are they being served? How are they using the Libraries? What are their needs?

I believe for the most part, scholars are served well. Providing them access to the documents, media and collections is critical. If there is a criticism - it would be that they want more material, sooner. I would concur. At the Reagan Library our archives team has improved efficiencies, set new standards and even though we are processing more than 1.5 million documents a year, with shorter queue times, the research community clamors for more, more, and more. However, we seek to address the increasing demands as much as possible with the available resources from our funding sources.

In our numbers driven society it is fair to ask how many scholars use presidential materials. While it is a good question, it shouldn't be asked alone. You must also judge the impact of the use of our materials - not just by how many researchers are visiting. This is what I refer to as the downstream affect. A single scholar might publish multiple articles, books or blog entries that will reach hundreds, thousands perhaps millions of people. That same scholar
may appear on radio broadcasts or television shows reaching even more people. That is impactful. Perhaps in the future we should take a look at collecting the downstream data as a way to provide you with another yardstick to measure our impact.

I doubt that President Roosevelt had blogs or such advanced technologies in mind when he established his Library. One could argue with today’s technology everything should just be done via the internet. Not so fast. While Tom proudly reported the Kennedy Library just made available vast quantities of their material on the web, there are the practical concerns of funding, staffing and processing time. Access through technology is one critical area that needs serious attention and will require significant investment.

If access is available via the net, then why not just have the material all in one central place? Again, that is a fair question. However, I believe Tom presented a very strong case why Presidential Libraries should continue to grace different locations across the country. It is the right thing to do and I would vigorously argue against any centralized reorganization.

There is one other point I would like to make regarding accessing the material via technology. While it is critical to move ultimately towards that goal, we cannot lose sight of working with the real materials. Perhaps it is old school thinking, but when you touch history it is a very different approach. The real documents can inspire, motivate and cause you to think differently. When you hold President Reagan’s personal diary and read “getting shot hurts” or leaf through the Day in Infamy speech or any handwritten note from a President I would argue that it puts the researcher, scholar or student in a different frame of mind that can lead to new thinking. In short, history inspires! Therefore I would argue that it is not always about technology.

This brings us to my fundamental point about access - it is more than just about the material. This will come into focus when talking about the next two constituencies.
The second important user group is school children. Presidential Libraries offer unique and exciting educational opportunities for hundreds of thousands of students across the country. So is access important to them?

With all due respect to the archives, that type of access is not necessarily a priority for my daughter Abby's sixth grade class. But access to the museum, the curriculum and the amazing educational programs like the Air Force One Discovery Center at the Reagan Library certainly is. Abby's class and thousands like hers across the country want and deserve access to these opportunities.

So should school children and education be part of our mission? I contend that if you ask any living President, their families or just about any educator you would get a resounding yes. Students represent the future and learning about our history, the presidency and civic engagement is critical for an informed citizenry. Presidential Libraries offer an important way to access learning. At the Reagan Library our approach to this learning is referred to as the Three E Philosophy: engage, excite and you will educate. That is what Presidential Libraries do.

Our last key constituency is our citizens. They represent the millions of guests who visit Presidential Libraries. Any discussion about our mission and the future must include them, their wants and expectations. Their involvement is at the heart of the Presidential Library system and broadens the definition of access even more. They tour our museums, they attend our remarkable programs, they enhance the debate, and they too learn – all of which are different ways to access Presidential Libraries.

So what is our mission and what should the future bring?

In summary, Presidential Libraries are repositories of historical materials, tourist destinations, museums, gathering places for civic literacy and debate, educational institutions, and places where communities gather to learn and even have fun. Our mission should reflect this diversity, particularly as we look at the different locations across the country. We should continue to embrace President Roosevelt's vision and broaden it to include a multifaceted
definition of access for our many constituencies. Furthermore, we need to be proactive with the use of technologies as the future is now.

Presidential Libraries are unique institutions that cause us to think, offer a look at and perhaps question our government, help educate and provide many exciting opportunities for millions of people. Whether you are Republican, Democrat, or Independent I believe strongly that Presidential Libraries are vital institutions and inspire countless people across the country and even around the world.

Thank you again for this opportunity. I am happy to answer any questions you may have.
Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa and Members of the Committees, I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today on the important role of Presidential Libraries both to the Nation and to their local communities.

The Presidential Library system, with minimal federal funds and the benefits of an effective public-private partnership, serves the citizens of this country. Presidential Libraries preserve, interpret, and present the history of American democracy in the 20th and 21st centuries through the words and deeds of our government. These libraries are among the country’s finest examples of public archives offering research rooms, interactive museums and education centers to millions of researchers, students and visitors each year.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s vision for his library created a process that has been followed by each succeeding President. He established a private foundation to raise funds for the construction of the library building that was then donated to the National Archives. Each Library is supported by the federal government and in part by a Presidential foundation. The relationship between NARA’s Presidential Libraries and each of their support Foundations makes possible not only the Library facility that houses the archives and museum, but also the exhibits and the broad outreach and educational programming that constitute 61% of our museum visitors and 82% of our education and public program attendees throughout all of NARA’s facilities.

Situated around the country, Presidential Libraries reflect and enrich their local communities. They offer exceptional research facilities that are hailed for the personal service they provide to students and scholars. Each museum tells a unique story concerning the life and times of a 20th century, and soon a 21st century President and the pivotal moments in history they faced. The Libraries’ extensive outreach to teachers and students is a powerful vehicle for civic engagement. Using targeted federal funds (which I will address later) and the major contributions received from the Presidential Library foundations, the Presidential Libraries are a positive force.
contributing to diverse communities, making history transparent, and strengthening the civic fiber of our nation.

As you know, one hundred percent of all initial construction funding for the Libraries, including the initial museum exhibit, comes from non-federal sources, the majority of which are private donations through the Presidential foundations or their predecessor organizations. The construction of Presidential Libraries serves as an engine of economic growth in regional areas, revitalizing communities and guaranteeing continued revenue streams from millions of national and international tourists. Local Chambers of Commerce or State Tourism Boards estimate that each visitor to the Library spends an additional $100-$200 (depending on the community) during their visit at local restaurants and hotels. Thus, with nearly 2 million persons visiting our museums in 2010, the support to the community is significant: $15 million added to the economy in Abilene, Kansas; $43 million in Boston; $55 million in Austin.

Equally important is the educational and cultural impact Presidential Libraries have on their communities. Over 500,000 people attended cultural programming, conferences, and various speaker series at the libraries in 2010 — where the country’s finest historians, political leaders, journalists, and biographers came to locales where they would not typically speak. Moreover, the Libraries provided educational programs for 350,000 students and 5,000 teachers. At a hearing last year at which I testified, there was some concern about the use of resources for educational and cultural programs. As I said at that hearing 1) the problem of civic literacy is real; 2) access to public records is a part of the solution to the problem; and 3) no one is better positioned to provide access to public records than institutions like the National Archives and, I would add, the 13 Presidential Libraries and 12 Regional Archives programs across the nation. The Presidential Libraries employ 172 archival FTEs (Full Time Equivalent), who spend 88% of their time on archival functions — i.e., reference, review, description, and declassification. Only 7.7% of their time is in support of our exhibit, education, and public programs. The Libraries have 59 FTE for museum and education functions. Nearly 60% of their time is devoted to collection management, while 35% is used for exhibit, education, and public programs.

Several libraries have over 90% of their collections processed. Our most significant backlogs are in the Presidential Records Act libraries (Reagan – Bush 43). In 2009, Congress appropriated funds for 25 new archival positions for the four libraries with records controlled by the Presidential Records Act. These newly hired archivists, a remarkably talented group, trained on processing Presidential records and, along with other streamlining measures, are beginning to make a real difference in the volume of records processed. We expect this year to increase our processing by at least 1.3 million additional pages and more in future years as these new archivists complete their training.

Presidential Library Foundations provide the funding for museum, education, and public programs; websites; archives support and digitization; marketing and other initiatives. Their contributions have allowed the Presidential Libraries to be leaders and innovators in the National Archives and beyond. Let me provide just a few examples:
• Presidential Libraries were among the first public archives and the first in the National Archives to develop interactive websites and on-line document based educational programming.

• The Presidential Decision Making Classroom pioneered at the Truman Library is now featured parts of the education programs in several Libraries and served as the model for our educational programs in Washington, D.C.

• The Presidential Timeline, created through support of the Johnson Foundation and in partnership with the University of Texas Technology Learning Center and all of the Presidential Libraries, is an innovative teacher and student resource for digital assets reflecting the life and administration of each of the Presidents.

• Using private source funding and partnerships, many of the Libraries have undertaken major digitization projects – Kennedy, Roosevelt, Ford, and Bush 41. In fact, the FDR Library was the first unit of the National Archives to provide digital access to the actual records.

• Because of foundation funding, the Clinton Presidential Library became the federal government’s first existing building to be certified at the LEED Platinum level. The George W. Bush Library will be built to the LEED Platinum level as well.

In addition to their on-going annual support for the Libraries, the Foundations have contributed tens of millions of dollars to renovate our permanent museum exhibits. The Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and both Bush Libraries have recently completed new permanent exhibits or are in the planning stage for a new exhibit. The cost for a new permanent exhibit, which generally lasts ten to twelve years, averages $8 to upwards of $15 million.

The Libraries also attract additional grants and corporate and charitable funds throughout their lifespan. These have included three Save America’s Treasures grants, eight Teaching America History grants, two Carnegie Foundation grants, a Department of Education grant for the Presidential Timeline, a $1 million grant from Coca Cola to sustain educational programming at the Carter Library, New York Community Trust grants to the Roosevelt Library, and in-kind support for Library websites from the University of Texas, Texas A&M, and the Georgia Board of Regents. For 25 years the Kettering Foundation has supported National Issues Forums in the Libraries, sponsoring 76 forums over the past two years.

I am supported in this partnership by my Advisory Committee on the Presidential Library- Foundation Partnership. This Committee is made up of representatives of the various Presidential Library foundations. Through these meetings the public-private partnership can work to leverage our strengths and resources and resolve, or at least understand, how differences in our mission can sometimes strain our relationship. I meet with this Committee at least twice a year to discuss and ask their advice on the activities of the National Archives, our strategic plans and vision, collaborative activities, funding, and legal issues that can affect the public-private partnership.

There are many factors that will contribute to the long-term sustainability of the Presidential Libraries. First, and most important, is that the Foundations have demonstrated resiliency and stability as they continue to be a major factor in support of the Libraries. Second, the Libraries,
as I have noted, have been leaders and innovators in program development. Third, with the endowment rising to 60% with the next Presidential Library, a new centralized facility with no museum component would only show an average savings over 75 years of a few million dollars per year assuming this centralized facility costs $100 million.

But we shouldn't hastily conclude that a centralized model is more cost efficient based on cost alone. Per our 2009 report on Alternative Models for Presidential Libraries, we have yet to construct an economic model and so did not demonstrate the loss to local communities and states that would otherwise host a Presidential Library. The Presidential collections are among the most vital and valuable of our Nation's historical assets. We have no more important mission than to preserve and make them accessible to those who need them. There is a higher value associated with making these collections accessible in the robust way the current Library/Foundation relationship facilitates — not only to a diverse constituency of scholars, but also to an extended audience of museum visitors, middle and secondary students, not to mention a vast number of curious citizens who visit our websites. Public conferences, museum exhibits, immersive educational experiences and content-rich websites require staff, buildings, and funding at a cost to both the government and the foundations.

The Presidency is the one office elected by all Americans. Through their geographic disbursement, the Presidential Libraries are a positive force contributing to diverse communities, making history transparent, and strengthening the civic fiber of our nation.

While I continue to believe in the importance of Presidential Libraries, it is my belief that technology will impact future Presidential Libraries. The size of the digital collections at the Clinton and Bush 43 Libraries is far greater than the paper records. In the near future, we can expect that a Presidential Library's collections will be mostly digital. Those documents acted on in a paper format will probably be digitized by the White House and only those documents of significant intrinsic value will be saved in their original format — such as documents annotated by the President, correspondence with world leaders, and decision memoranda. Long term preservation and storage of digital records is a delicate, but worthwhile option. Nonetheless, I believe Presidents in the future should continue to establish a Presidential library if they wish to do so. Some collections may well be digital, but it is the curators, archivists, and educators who work in these Libraries that make the collections accessible to all of our students and citizens.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify. I would be pleased to answer any of your questions.
Testimony of Professor Martha Joynt Kumar
Before the Joint Hearing of the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "Presidential Libraries: Their Mission and Future Direction"

Monday, February 28, 2011

Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, Ranking Members Rahall and Elijah Cummings, and members of the committees. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss presidential libraries and their importance to what students know about a crucial part of American history, what a substantial group of interested citizens can find out about their presidents, how scholars learn about our institutions of government, and people coming into executive office get an accurate portrait of what happened in particular circumstances in earlier administrations.

When President Franklin Roosevelt provided for a library with the materials from his career, he did something no president had previously done. Prior to that point, the disposition and condition of presidential papers was at the whim of relatives who sometimes gave papers as gifts and even burned them, inadequate storage conditions that ruined many papers, and a host of problems that resulted in only a portion of a president’s papers preserved and available for research. If they did exist, a president’s papers were rarely in one place. President Roosevelt sought to break that pattern by bringing together all of his papers from his earlier government positions and campaigns, and then making them available for public use. On December 10, 1938, he announced the creation of a library and his purpose in doing so. “Because these papers relate to so many periods and activities which are not connected with my service in the Federal Government, I do not wish to break them up [among the various institutions where he served] ... In other words, it is my desire that they be kept as a whole and intact in their original condition, available to scholars of the future in one definite locality.”1 Having papers from throughout a president’s life provided students as well as scholars with a full view that we had not previously seen of a president, his career, and of the presidency. With his
successors following the record-keeping practices observed by President Roosevelt and with federal legislation governing control and maintenance of the papers, we now have an important portrait of our history that benefits students, scholars, and government officials alike.

As preparation for my testimony, I wrote political scientists who specialize in the presidency and asked them how their students use presidential libraries and, in their work as presidency scholars, what difference presidential libraries make to their research. The responses came from all over the country, and even Canada, with a uniform refrain of how important presidential libraries have become for those of us who examine executive leadership as well as those studying individual presidents. My informal survey established several points about the use and importance of presidential libraries to students and scholars alike.


Professor Brandon Rottinghaus of the University of Houston spoke of his reason for making presidential libraries a key resource for all of his research projects on the presidency. "The libraries are invaluable because they hold history in the moment, where secondary sources may misremember or mischaracterize events or trends." For Professor Kathryn Tenpas of the University of Pennsylvania, "there simply is no substitute for the libraries – the primary sources – memoranda, correspondence, polling data – shed enormous light on an institution whose work remains largely shrouded in secrecy, particularly in the midst of an administration." Presidential libraries are important to students and to government officials for similar reasons.

Students at all levels benefit from library visits. Whether they are university students or ones in high school and elementary school, trips encourage young people to understand government and the history of our presidents. Teaching students is part of what presidential libraries do every day. They bring history to life and remove the intermediaries and the filters.

Learning about presidential decisions. Having the libraries located in nine states and all four basic regions of the country has brought the presidency to the public. The libraries have become a valuable part of many undergraduate and
graduate programs and allowed students to open a window on the presidency without traveling to Washington. With the presidential libraries located so broadly, students nationwide can afford to travel to one or more of them and have rich experiences. For example, Professor Randall Adkins at the University of Omaha takes his students to the Harry S. Truman Library where they take part in a decision-making exercise. He takes advantage of the library's civic education program known as the White House Decision Center. The library staff created a decision-making simulation that utilizes formerly classified documents dealing with real-life events and choices that President Truman made. Among the decisions his students have worked with are the Berlin Airlift and the decision to drop the atomic bomb. Students serve as “advisers” who consider what strategies to recommend to the “president” and then present them to him or her. After the president selects his course of action, the group develops a statement to give to the press. The ensuing press conference has students playing reporters as well as the president. Adkins then has his students write research papers on decisions made during the Truman Administration using files that include oral histories and photos as well as documents. “It is, by far, one of the best active learning experiences that I have seen,” said Professor Adkins.

**Students learn through the archival work of faculty.** In many instances, students benefit from presidential libraries through the research work of their faculty. Professors often provide students with the raw data they are working with on their own research projects. Almost all respondents to my request for information on how professors make use of presidential libraries mentioned how they utilize materials they gather for their own work for the benefit for their students. Professor Terry Sullivan of the University of North Carolina, for example, who is writing about President Lyndon Johnson's bargaining practices with Congress, uses the president's tape recordings in his courses on the presidency and presidential leadership. These tapes are an important tool as students get to hear what it is a president says when he is bargaining with members of Congress, not what people might think he said. Students can hear President Johnson talk with a key opponent of civil rights legislation, Senator Richard Russell.
Scholars use library materials as a basis for their published work. Scholars depend on presidential libraries as a key resource for their own writing. The presidency section of the American Political Science Association has an annual award for the best book on the presidency. In reviewing the winners for the twenty years the prize has been awarded, at least 75% of the books drew heavily on presidential library materials. The winning books cover a broad range of subjects including presidential leadership, decision making, and the actions of individual presidents. Their titles point to the variety of subjects they explored through using library documents. Here are a few of them: The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance by David Lewis; The Presidency and Women: Promise, Performance, and Illusion by Janet Martin; Jimmy Carter as President by Erwin Hargrove; and Managing the Presidents Program: Presidential Leadership and Legislative Policy Formation by Andrew Rudalevige. Library materials were important to them all.

Presidential libraries are a resource for those in government. Students and scholars are not the only beneficiaries of the materials in presidential libraries. Presidential libraries are an important resource for those coming into office as well as officials who need information on past government actions. The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States [The 9/11 Commission] made heavy use of presidential library materials from earlier administrations in order to discover how events developed and earlier situations were handled. In recent Supreme Court nomination hearings, the Senate Judiciary Committee staff reviewed presidential library files to see what actions and recommendations John Roberts and Elena Kagan had in their service in the Reagan and Clinton White Houses. White House staffs in all recent administrations have drawn on actions taken by their predecessors by calling up materials from presidential libraries.

Archivists are a crucial aspect of the presidential library experiences. With millions of records in each library, sifting though for relevant materials is a challenge for researchers. Library archivists serve as the indispensable element linking researchers with pertinent documents. Library archivists serve as facilitators making students visits successful ones. All researchers benefit from the
expertise of the archivists, professors in my sample reported. "The archivists at each facility are among the country's leading experts on 'their' president," commented Professor Rebecca Dean of the University of Texas at Arlington. "Without their assistance, the resulting research would have been less well-informed, less interesting, and ultimately less valuable in the acquisition of new knowledge on presidents." In my experience as well, archivists made my one or two week trips to libraries to explore White House communications materials productive ones. Before going to the libraries, I worked with an archivist specializing in White House communications to make the most of my time there.

2. Presidential Libraries Are Important to What We Know about the Presidency as an Institution and about Individual Presidents. Materials in the library allow us to test the common assumptions we have of how the presidency operates and what particular presidents did while in office. The President's Daily Diary and presidential tape recordings are examples of valuable resources cited by presidency scholars as key resources for them in their work.

The President's Daily Diary as a resource. The President's Daily Diary is an important tool available at the libraries to test assumptions relating to how presidents spend their time. Professor Janet Martin of Bowdoin College in Maine noted its importance as a student resource. "Access to the presidential daily diaries has been wonderful in ferreting out who actually sees the president, including Cabinet secretaries." The Daily Diary, many of which are available online, track the minute-by-minute movements of a president from one room to another. The Diaries record who is in meetings and when they come and go. Through such careful tracking, we know who was with a president when he was considering particular policies and we have the documentary records preserved as well. By bringing the two types of materials together, we can get a solid portrait of the environment when he was considering issues and responses to events.

Professor Martin and many of our colleagues wrote of the benefit of having presidential materials online. For Martin, digital archival material means having oral history interviews and the Daily Diary online. Professor Graham Dodds of Concordia College in Montreal commented that he appreciates that "some of the
libraries' archival materials are available online...such that I can do some good research without having to physically travel to the libraries."

Another presidency scholar pointed out that the Daily Diaries are useful in testing common wisdom about presidents and the presidency. Professor Sullivan said that popular wisdom can be called into question with evidence provided by materials in the library. For example, he tested the idea that President Reagan had relatively short work days by comparing the length of the work day of several recent presidents. It came out the President Reagan worked a similar workday to Presidents Johnson and Nixon and "a considerably longer work day than President Kennedy or President Eisenhower."

Tape recordings and phone calls. Other primary materials that are important in understanding a president and his times are the tape recordings many presidents made of phone calls and meetings they had. A president's conversation with members of Congress, interest groups, Cabinet secretaries provide a window on the chief executive's relationships and how he conducted business. President Johnson's phone conversations give listeners a good sense of presidential persuasion and of the commitment he had to press for his legislative initiatives he wanted Congress to adopt, such as the civil rights bill of 1964, voting rights, and Medicare. Audio recordings of meetings and documents from the Cuban missile crisis provide a fine example of how a leader makes important decisions.

3. Cooperative Ventures as a Model for Libraries in the Future. There are many ways in which the presidential libraries can work together with those studying presidential actions, White House organization, and the passage of events during a chief executive's time in office. In some cases there are groups beyond the library foundations that provide funds for researchers to travel to one or more libraries. The White House Historical Association, for example, has provided travel support to several scholars visiting the libraries to research aspects of the White House, its organization, particular presidencies, and White House life. In other cases, there are ventures where scholars can work with presidential libraries to enhance the library collections.

An example of a fruitful cooperative venture between scholars and the presidential libraries is the White House Interview Program. Funded by The Pew
Charitable Trusts in 1999-2001 and developed by presidency scholars in the political science community for officials coming into the White House in 2001, the program is built around interviews with former White House officials in seven offices important to a good start of an administration. The White House offices were Chief of Staff, Staff Secretary, Press Office, Office of Communications, Presidential Personnel, Office of Management and Administration, and the Office of White House Counsel. The interviews with officials heading those offices and serving as deputies from the Nixon Administration through the Clinton one formed the basis of essays scholars wrote for the team coming into the White House in 2001 and 2009. The interviews are housed at the individual libraries with many of them are available online. I worked with Sharon Fawcett and the Office of Presidential Libraries to develop a deed of gift that would provide for the interviews to be placed in the libraries associated with the presidents the staff people worked for and made available under rules acceptable to the interviewees and the libraries. The project demonstrates that what is good for scholars can also be good for those coming into the government and for presidential libraries. Altogether, presidential libraries have become an important source of information for students, scholars, and government officials. There are many ways to insure they will remain as valuable to so many communities.

2 Email message from Professor Brandon Rottinghaus, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, February 1, 2011.
3 Email message from Professor Kathryn Tenpas, University of Pennsylvania, Washington Program, Washington, DC, February 9, 2011.
4 Email message from Professor Adkins, Department of Political Science, University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska, January 28, 2011.
6 Email message from Professor Rebecca Dean, Department of Political Science, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas, January 26, 2011.
7 Email message from Professor Janet Martin, Department of Government, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, January 26, 2011.
8 Email message from Professor Graham Dodds, Department of Political Science, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, January 27, 2011.
9 Email message from Professor Terry Sullivan, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, January 26, 2011.
TESTIMONY OF THOMAS J. PUTNAM

JOHN F. KENNEDY PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM DIRECTOR

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

ON

"PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES: THEIR MISSION AND FUTURE DIRECTION"

FEBRUARY 28, 2011

Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, and Members of the Committees – I am Tom Putnam, Director of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. I appreciate this opportunity to discuss the vital role of our nation’s thirteen presidential libraries preserving and providing access to the documents and materials that tell the story of our shared history through the lens and life stories of the individuals who have held our country’s highest office. In my testimony, I will describe the strengths of the Presidential Library system, some of the challenges we face, and comment on the future direction of Presidential Libraries and the role of the federal government in supporting these institutions.

For scholars and students, presidential libraries hold the memory of our nation. They are unique repositories of the historical materials that chronicle our past. And for the general public, their interactive museums offer visitors an opportunity to experience first-
hand the events that have shaped us and to understand the lessons of leadership that derive from them.

This is the goal of all of the Presidential Libraries. Whether it is a student enrolled in the Truman Library’s innovative White House Decision Center or a museum visitor’s watching the recreation, via video, of a encapsulated day in the life of a president at the newly renovated museum at the Carter Library – we seek to create a more active and informed citizenry who understand the pressures with which our country’s chief executive grapples.

I believe that the current model under which Presidential Libraries operate works well, provides immeasurable benefits to our people, and serves as a foundation to American democracy. As you know, private funds are used to construct these buildings under guidelines set by Congress. Once the Libraries have been dedicated and officially opened, federal funds are used to operate, maintain, and administer them. As part of the National Archives and Records Administration, each Library is required to meet the same national standards and follow tested archival principles, especially as they relate to classified materials in our collections. We are bound to open materials as quickly as possible and then use them to tell as objective a story as possible concerning the lives of our presidents and their years in the White House.

Another fundamental element of the current system is the support each Library receives from its Library Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization whose primary purpose is to assist
Presidential Libraries in joint initiatives and programming which could not be undertaken with federal funding alone. Moreover, Library Foundations help to leverage the federal investment made by Congress by raising private funds from individuals, corporations, and foundations that are essential to our enterprise.

Each Library also has its own stream of revenue – through a variety of sources including paid admission to its museum, and in some cases sales in its store and the rental of portions of its building to outside groups.

Because the current model has been so successful it has become an example for the many of the world’s democratic nations. Dozens of leaders of foreign countries have visited or sent representatives to visit the National Archives and various presidential libraries to understand how we operate.

Those of us who work in the presidential library system are appreciative of President Franklin Roosevelt’s vision, which led to the creation of the National Archives in 1934 but also conceived of and built the first Presidential Library in 1939 on 16 acres of land in Hyde Park, New York, that he donated to the U.S. government. President Roosevelt understood the benefits of building a unique facility to house the vast quantity of historical papers, books, and memorabilia he had accumulated during a lifetime of public service and private collecting. Prior to his presidency, the final disposition of Presidential papers was left to chance. Although a valued part of our shared heritage, the papers of chief executives were deemed private property which they took with them upon
leaving office. Some material was sold or destroyed and thus either scattered or lost forever. Other material remained with families, but was inaccessible to scholars for long periods of time. The fortunate collections found their way into the Library of Congress and private repositories. In erecting his library, President Roosevelt created an institution which would preserve his papers and historical materials and make them available to researchers and the general public.

At the dedication of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library on June 30, 1941, President Roosevelt proclaimed that in maintaining archival facilities and presidential libraries . . .

. a Nation must believe in three things. It must believe in the past. It must believe in the future. It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its own people to learn from the past so that they can gain in judgment in creating their own future.

The library that bears his name has carried forward President Roosevelt’s message and has stimulated productive scholarship on his life and times in the same spirit.

Due to his foresight both within the presidential library system and through the National Archives writ large, over the past seventy five years - billions of maps, photographs, textual documents, artifacts, moving images, and electronic records have been accessioned and preserved. And in turn these documents have been used by researchers, viewed by museum visitors, and have captivated the imaginations of school children. Whether through teaching students about Herbert Hoover’s humanitarian efforts to counter famine in Europe at the start of the 20th century or about George W. Bush’s
efforts to eradicate AIDS in Africa 100 years later – our presidential Libraries tell America’s story as an emerging world power over the course of the past 100 years.

Since President Roosevelt, all of the other presidents have followed his lead in creating presidential libraries including most recently President George W. Bush and the family of President Richard M. Nixon. While not without its challenges, this successful inclusion of the Nixon Library makes the system whole and is a credit to the National Archives, the Nixon family, and the Nixon Foundation. It underlies one of the central tenets of our work: the importance of transparency as an essential element of democratic government. Citizens must understand how their government works and have access to the documents that define their past.

One of the strengths of the current system is that it strikes the right balance between centralization and decentralization. Each Library is built in a location determined by the President or his family. In visiting them, one is immersed in the locale in which the President lived and matured politically. Walking the streets of Grand Rapids, Michigan one understands the quiet dignity of Gerald Ford. Visitors understand the impetus of Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty differently after traveling through Texas and then reading in the Johnson Library the letter LBJ wrote to his mother securing 200 toothbrushes and tubes of toothpaste for the Mexican American students he taught as a young man in a segregated South Texas town.
Over the years, there have been calls to centralize the Presidential Library system by housing all of the records in a giant warehouse in or near our nation's capitol. In fact, in a press conference in 1962, President Kennedy was asked if he would consider locating his Library in Washington, DC as a means of centralizing the records of his presidency, allowing scholars easier access to his materials and related federal records. He paused in the press conference indicating that yes he would consider doing so – and then replied, playfully, “I’m going to build my Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts.”

He went on to make two points that are relevant to our hearing today. First he stated that through the use of technology it would eventually not matter where a Library was located. “Through scientific means of reproduction ... and this will certainly be increased as time goes on, we will find it possible to reproduce the key documents so that they will be commonly available,” the President responded.

At the Kennedy Library we have recently made President Kennedy’s vision a reality by digitizing over 300,000 of the most important documents of his presidency, all of the audio of his speeches and press conferences, hours of video, and thousands of photographs. For young people today an item doesn’t exist if it is not accessible via the internet. Today the presidency of John F. Kennedy exists in an exciting, interactive manner, on the Kennedy Library’s new website. Such a project would not have been possible were it not for the support of the Kennedy Library’s partner, the Kennedy Library Foundation, and our four corporate sponsors – EMC, Raytheon, Iron Mountain, and AT&T – who dedicated an estimated $10 million in philanthropic support for this
effort. Within days of launching these archives, we experienced close to 3 million page hits.

Similarly on the 40th anniversary of the first moon landing – the Kennedy Library partnered with NASA, AOL, and the Martin Agency to recreate the historic Apollo 11 mission. Through an interactive website, *WeChooseTheMoon.org*, 1.3 million visitors were able to relive minute-by-minute the five-day Apollo mission in real-time. While many of the images, video and audio from the mission are a part of public domain, this was the first time they had been aggregated and organized to give viewers a “mission experience.” Since that time the site has become a self-guided tour of the mission that over 4.5 million people have taken.

Initiatives such as these can only be undertaken with Foundation support. In my experience the Presidential Libraries and the American people benefit greatly from the fundraising efforts and joint programming sponsored by each Library and its Foundation. Each Library and Library Foundation partnership works together to develop a robust set of public programs and museum exhibits for students and teachers, adults, and families. They include history and civic education programs; public forums on historical topics and contemporary issues; performing arts series; professional development opportunities for educators; and docent-led gallery programs for walk-in visitors.

The Libraries rely on Foundation and corporate funding to underwrite our museum exhibit programs – including renovations of our permanent galleries and the creation of
temporary exhibits. The Reagan and Carter Libraries both recently completed major
renovations; the Roosevelt Library’s renovations are underway; and the Ford Library is in
the design phase. At the Kennedy Library, our Foundation provided the base support for
us to organize a blockbuster traveling exhibit, *Jacqueline Kennedy: The White House
Years*, featuring among other items the gowns of Jacqueline Kennedy. This exhibit was
viewed by millions in New York, Paris, and Chicago. Many Libraries also rely on their
foundations for their marketing efforts and in the design and development of their
websites.

The Reagan Library Foundation has recently sponsored a remarkable national celebration
of the centennial of Ronald Reagan’s birth and funded a dramatic redesign of the
Library’s museum exhibits which masterfully complements the glass pavilion the
Foundation constructed in 2005 to showcase Air Force One (a structure and artifact that
is unique compared to other Presidential Libraries). Allowing museum visitors to
experience the President’s airplane is a once in a lifetime experience that brings history to
life.

At their best, the Library Foundations understand and honor their respective Library’s
core functions of preserving the historical assets entrusted to their care and making them
available to the general public through research rooms, website, museum exhibits, and
education programs. The Foundations also fully appreciate the policies concerning the
Library’s federal responsibilities and the National Archives’ standards we must meet in
fulfilling them. In fact, many of our Foundations provide generous financial support for not only programming but in assisting the Libraries in achieving their core functions.

One of the hallmarks of the leadership of the Kennedy Library Foundation is the belief that the best way to promote the legacy of John F. Kennedy is to increase access for scholars and the general public to the historical record. As people learn more about President Kennedy's leadership and decision-making style, they come away with a deeper understanding of the challenges he faced and the manner in which he led our country. Our partnership, therefore, is based on shared interests – both organizations believe strongly in our mission of making historical resources of the Library as widely available as possible in order to teach others about President Kennedy and the role he played in our national history.

The other point that President Kennedy made in his press conference in 1962 when asked about the location of his future Library, was that it is vital to have these institutions located throughout the country as each can serve as a vital center of history exploration and civic education in its respective geographic regions. By placing them in the home state of each president they connect the residents of that region to their national government in a unique and authentic way.

My colleagues and I joke that when we read the National Archives news clips that are sent to us daily that the press that the 12 other presidential libraries get combined is dwarfed by the press clippings from the Eisenhower Library. For that institution gets
widespread local coverage for its educational programs from the papers of Abilene and its surrounding communities. The Eisenhower Library makes a positive contribution to those fortunate to live in its vicinity. Locating the Library in Abilene also allows the residents of that region to take pride in their native son who not only lead the military effort to defeat Hitler and the Third Reich, but then led his nation through a decade of peace, prosperity, and the expansion of civil rights and opportunities for all Americans. Placing Libraries in Abilene, Kansas; Independence Missouri; and West Branch, Iowa are a potent reminder to those growing up in those areas that they, too, can make their mark on our nation's history. The current distribution of Libraries connects those living in the heartland, the two coasts, and the Deep South directly to our nation's capital, the White House, and the Oval Office.

Perhaps the greatest example of the positive economic impact of a presidential library has been the construction of the Clinton Library in Little Rock, Arkansas. Since its opening, the Library has attracted more than 2 million visitors which, in turn, has generated revenue and hospitality taxes for the city. The revived River Market district, a dining and retail area near the library, was created as a result of the Library's opening. The Library has spurred an estimated $2 billion in new projects in the surrounding parts of Little Rock enabling the city to serve as the world headquarters for Heifer International located adjacent to the Library center. In short, the federal investment in these institutions has the potential to spur considerable economic growth in the cities and communities where the Libraries are housed.
President Kennedy envisioned his Library as a vital center of education, exchange and thought. Each Library has a similar commitment to not only make the history we house accessible but to also make it relevant to our times. In doing so, the Presidential Libraries often work together on shared initiatives like the interactive web-based presidential timeline or through a series of Presidential Library conferences. To date, four conferences have been organized including sessions on such timely topics as *Vietnam and the Presidency; The Presidency and the Supreme Court;* and *The Presidency in the Nuclear Age.* Many of these conferences are shown either live or in prime time on C-SPAN where they attract a national audience.

The forums offered at Presidential Libraries continuously features speakers from all areas of the political spectrum. Over the course of the past months, the Kennedy Library, for example, has featured former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Supreme Court Justices Sandra Day O’Connor and David Souter, and next month we will host U.S. Senator Scott Brown. Over the course of the past few years we have also hosted public forums with former Presidents Gerald Ford and George H.W. Bush and presidential candidates Senator John McCain and Former Gov. Mitt Romney. Similarly both the Reagan Library and the Bush (41) Libraries featured Senator Edward M. Kennedy as part of their public programs. My colleague from the Bush Library recalls the session with Senator Kennedy to be one of the most fascinating exchanges in his years as Director. The Libraries also serve as hosts to visiting dignitaries and heads of state – allowing American citizens access to world leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Mikhail Gorbachev, Corazon Aquino, Prince Hussein, and Vaclav Havel.
Some foundations sponsors programs that are “independent” of the Library such as the Kennedy Library’s Profile in Courage Award or the extraordinary work undertaken by the Carter Center and the Clinton Foundation. While it would not be appropriate for the Library, as a federal institution, to be part of selecting winners of such awards or to assist in the on-going policy work of former Presidents Clinton and Carter – the ceremonies that are held at the Library and affiliations with the work of the former presidents bring attention to our institutions. These programs and affiliations are connected to key moments in the lives and presidencies of the men whose stories we chronicle. They are often crafted in ways that bring positive attention to the Library and drive traffic to our institution and our websites.

The third pillar and source of funding for presidential libraries is the revenue that we receive from operating the Museum Business Enterprises. I am proud of the fact that the Kennedy Library is highly successful in this regard in part because we own and operate our entire building facility (an iconic structure designed by I.M. Pei which features stunning views of the Boston skyline and the Atlantic Ocean). We are fortunate to be located in a major metropolitan center where we are able to showcase the life story and presidency as it continues to capture the public’s imagination. We run three lucrative revenue-generating centers (museum admission, museum store, and facility rentals) which generates an additional $3 million in revenue annually. In turn, the Library reinvests approximately 90% of this revenue in education, exhibits, and personnel to support its mission.
During his famous speech at the Berlin Wall, JFK proclaimed: “freedom has many
difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep
our people in.” I would not be honest with you, Mr. Chairman, if I did not admit that the
Presidential Library system is not perfect and briefly share some of the difficulties we
face.

The first, as you and members of your committee well know, is the question of the
sustainability of the current model. As the presidential library system grows and as some
of the older libraries mature – so does the costs of operating and maintaining these
institutions. I hope in my testimony today that I have outlined the many benefits to our
country and to our democracy that stem from these institutions – but those of us who run
them take our fiduciary responsibilities seriously and look forward to discussing with you
and your colleagues today how the current model might be adjusted to provide better
value to the American taxpayer.

Secondly, the Libraries continue to work with our colleagues in the National Archives,
the National Declassification Center, and the various agencies who must approve the
declassification and public release of historically valuable permanent records while
maintaining national security following the adage of “releasing all we can, protecting
what we must.” Still the process of opening documents that are eventually deemed to not
pose any risk takes longer than many would wish. I am not an expert on the issues faced
by the newer Libraries but understand that they are inundated with Freedom of
Information Act requests that overwhelm the archival staff.

Lastly, I know I speak for my fellow presidential library directors in stating our
commitment to finding new ways to run our institutions more efficiently and creatively.
We appreciate the opportunity to discuss some of those issues with you today.

I hope in my testimony I have demonstrated the benefits to the community and the
American taxpayer that accrue from our nation's thirteen Presidential Libraries; my belief
in the current system; and some of the challenges we face. I thank this Committee for the
important work you do and for your interest and support for Presidential Libraries. I
believe that we should continue to work on improving the current system of Libraries,
plan for and prepare for the costs associated with the system as it grows larger, and work
to develop adjustments to the current model to ensure the on-going stability of these
unique institutions that are so deserving of federal support.

It is an honor for me to work at a Presidential Library and to appear before you today to
represent my colleagues. Ours is a young country with fewer historic sites and
monuments as our European forebears – which is why, in my mind, Presidential Libraries
are such key institutions that bring to life our national history over what has been called
"the American century."
I am often affected in my work at the Kennedy Library to meet young people from all corners of the globe who have come to Boston. They have often already visited the battlefields of Lexington and Concord and then in our galleries listen to the inaugural address in which President Kennedy states that “we are heirs of that first revolution and that the beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe.” Further along in our Oval Office exhibit, they listen to JFK’s address to the nation after calling out the National Guard to integrate the University of Alabama in which for the first time an American president called civil rights a “moral issue...as old as the Scriptures and as clear as the American Constitution.”

I feel honored to play a small part in telling a portion of America’s story to the students who visit our Museum from Binghamton to Beijing, Daytona to Dakar – as they search to understand the history of our nation and our world – and look to make their mark upon it. This, for me is why we undertake the work of preserving and providing access to these priceless historical treasures that touch the mystic chords of memory; unite us as a country and as a people; and serve as the foundation on which to build our future.
Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, Chairman Gowdy, Members of the Committees, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today. My name is Anna Eleanor Roosevelt. I am Chair of the Board of Directors of the Roosevelt Institute, which is the nonprofit partner to FDR Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, New York. I have been a member of the Roosevelt Institute board for more than thirty years, and I have been the Board Chair for a little more than a year now. In my professional life, I am the head of Global Corporate Citizenship for The Boeing Company, and serve as the company’s representative on the Board of The National Archives Foundation.

The FDR Presidential Library and Museum is the nation’s first presidential library. Prior to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s decision to build the Library in Hyde Park, the final disposition of presidential papers was left to chance. President Roosevelt created an institution to preserve intact all his papers and related materials so that the nation could make use of the knowledge and experience contained there. The Library’s holdings include my grandfather’s personal and family papers, the papers covering his public career at the state and national level, my grandmother’s papers, as well as those of many of their friends and associates. It is a treasure trove of material that captures an era in American history from many perspectives and directions.
At its dedication, President Roosevelt remarked:

The dedication of a Library is in itself an act of faith. To bring together the records of the past and . . . preserve them for the use of men and women living in the future, a nation must believe in three things. It must believe in the past. It must believe in the future. It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment for the creation of the future. (June 30, 1941)

The Library was built with privately donated funds, at a cost of $376,000, and then turned over to the federal government on July 4, 1940 to be operated by the National Archives. By his actions, President Roosevelt ensured that his papers would become the property of the nation and be housed in a library on the grounds of his Hyde Park estate where they would be available to scholars. My grandfather’s creation served as a precedent.

The Roosevelt Institute supports the Library’s exhibits, its outreach and educational activities, and its special programs for wide ranging audiences. We understand our mission to be to preserve, celebrate, and carry forward the legacy and values of my grandparents. An important part of that mission is our partnership with the FDR Presidential Library.

In 2003, the Roosevelt Institute joined the National Archives and the National Park Service in opening The Henry A. Wallace Visitor and Education Center, which serves as a joint visitor center for the Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site and Roosevelt Presidential Library, and as a conference and education center. It is also a valuable community resource used by hundreds of nonprofit organizations for meetings and events.

The Wallace Center was constructed through a unique public-private partnership between the National Archives and Records Administration, the National Park Service and the Roosevelt Institute, which raised substantial private funding in support of the project.

The Roosevelt Institute supports all four of the Library’s main program areas on an ongoing basis: archives, museum, education, and public programs. TheLibrary’s research
operations are consistently one of the busiest in the entire presidential library system. In FY 2010, the Library served 1,353 on-site researchers and 2,044 researchers who contacted the Library through written request, mostly via e-mail. The Roosevelt Institute provides annual grants-in-aid to researchers demonstrating new scholarship in the study of the Roosevelt Era as well as assists the Library in purchasing new books for the collection. We are working with the Library to secure the necessary funding to digitize and make available online some of the most important documents in their collection.

Since the opening of the FDR Library's William J. vanden Heuvel Special Exhibitions Gallery in 2003 the Roosevelt Institute has provided more than $1,000,000 to support changing exhibits in that gallery, along with enhancements/improvements to the Library's permanent exhibits.

This money made it possible for the Library to purchase high-quality exhibit casework for the Special Exhibitions Gallery and to present the following special exhibits: FDR's "Act of Faith": America's First Presidential Library; "This Great Nation Will Endure": Photographs of the Great Depression; "Freedom From Fear": FDR, Commander in Chief; "Action and Action Now": FDR's First 100 Days; and "Our Plain Duty": FDR and America's Social Security.

The Institute has also provided $5,500,000 to create an exciting new permanent exhibition at the FDR Library. This new exhibition—the first complete renovation of the Museum's permanent exhibition in the Library's history—will employ state-of-the-art technology to bring the story of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt to new generations of Americans. The new permanent exhibition is currently being designed and is scheduled to open in the spring of 2013.

The Roosevelt Presidential Library offers document-based, curriculum-centered education programs for students ranging from the second grade to post-graduate level, including the United States Military Academy at West Point. More than 13,000 students participate in the education programs each year, and much of the funding for these programs is provided by the Roosevelt Institute.
The Library conducts 25 teacher workshops each year, attended by hundreds of teachers from across the United States and from more than a half a dozen countries. There is only one full time Education Specialist who is provided by the government. The Roosevelt Institute provides the remaining support to the Roosevelt Presidential Library’s Education Department annually. This support is critical to the operation of the Library’s Education Department as it provides the funds necessary to hire four part-time, New York State certified, retired teachers and one part-time education clerk, and to produce quality education materials that are used by students and teachers in the Hudson Valley, the Tri-State area and across the United States.

The internship program at the Roosevelt Library has evolved into a unique educational experience for students of varied backgrounds and interests. The Library offers paid internships in the summer though the financial support of the Roosevelt Institute. The intern experience at the Roosevelt Library helps students to broaden their historical perspective, and give them an opportunity to work in the creative process of history, while encouraging them to learn more about Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Public programs and community outreach are at the core of the Library’s mission. The Library offers a host of innovative programs and events for the general public each year. These events include author talks and book signings, lectures, conferences and panel discussions, historical encampments, films and music programs grounded in the Roosevelt era. The Library is able to develop, publicize, and implement this full calendar of popular public programs through the financial support of Roosevelt Institute. In addition, the Roosevelt Institute co-sponsors many Library programs and conferences on significant historical and contemporary issues.

In sum, the work of the FDR Presidential Library and Museum – and of presidential libraries generally – is critically important for retaining and advancing the public’s understanding of the nation’s history and for making that history available in communities across the country – the places from which our presidents have come. The FDR Library and each of twelve other presidential Libraries, tell the stories of the eras in which their
Roosevelt Institute

presidents lived and the persons who rose to leadership within them. They make those stories available to thousands of Americans who do not have the opportunity to come to Washington, DC and to the National Archives on a regular basis, if at all.

As the partner nonprofit organization to the FDR Library, the Roosevelt Institute is pleased to raise support to broaden and deepen the activities of the Library and to extend the availability of its resources for Americans and for those from around the world. It is important to recognize, however, that the Roosevelt Institute can support only a fraction of the costs for the FDR Library. The same is true of the foundation/nonprofit partners to the other presidential Libraries. As a result, continued federal investment in these treasures is essential. And I think it is important to understand that these investments are not support for memorializing specific individuals so much as they are investments that preserve, protect, and promote the broader scope of the history of this country – all of the dimensions of that history: the good and the bad, the successes and the challenges.

I thank the Committees for the opportunity to testify today, and I would be happy to answer any questions.
Testimony Dr. Thomas F. Schwartz, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum

Chairman Mica, Chairman Issa, Chairman Gowdy, and Members of the Committee, I thank you for the opportunity to testify on the mission and future direction of presidential libraries. My comments will focus on the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum [ALPLM], its current relationship to the National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] presidential library/museum system, and possible areas for further collaboration. This mirrors Abraham Lincoln's thinking when he declared, "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it."

The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library was created in 1889 as the Illinois State Historical Library. Its mission was to collect the written history of the State of Illinois, an effort that also led to sizable holdings concerning its favorite son, Abraham Lincoln. Discussions since the 1980s on how to build a new facility for the library moved toward the larger concept of a library/museum complex. A federal, state, and local funding partnership was created to finance the $167 million dollar complex, most of that provided by the State of Illinois. The library with the new name opened in October 2004, and the museum opened on April 19, 2005.

Of an FY2011 budget of $12 million, the State of Illinois provides the largest source of revenue, with additional revenue streams provided by admission sales, parking and facility rental, and support from the 501(c)3 Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library Foundation [ALPLF]. The ALPLM has a staff of 66 full-time, 14 part-time, and more than 500 volunteers to maintain a 215,000-square-foot complex, under the administrative authority of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. With total visitation of more than
2.5 million people from more than 100 nations, since opening in 2005, the ALPLM has had annual attendance that surpasses any NARA presidential museum. Our programs range from temporary exhibits that have explored topics such as Lincoln’s assassination, his views on agriculture, and his actions as president-elect, to author talks, historically based theatre offerings, teacher workshops, activities for young children, and conferences and symposia on Lincoln, slavery, and his times. Perhaps our most ambitious project is the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. Begun in 1985, this project has compiled and in 2009 placed online all of Abraham Lincoln’s legal documents by case and issued a four-volume print edition of selections from his legal practice. Currently, the project is scanning every letter sent to Lincoln and every document he wrote, with the goal of placing the entire corpus of Lincoln’s writings online. We hope to have the pre-presidential materials up by 2013 and the entire project completed by the end of this decade.

Our interactions with the NARA libraries/museums have been few but friendly. Most requests are for the loan of Lincoln materials for special exhibits. Several non-federal presidential museums being contemplated and one to be added to the NARA system have sent planning teams to see the ALPLM and imagine how its elements might be incorporated into their facilities. The ALPLM is known for being different from traditional museums, with its emphasis on a compelling narrative of Lincoln’s life supported by creative uses of technology and immersive environments that actually place you within scenes from Lincoln’s life. All of the senses are engaged, and the interactivity the visitor discovers is not that created by technology but rather the intellectual and emotional engagement he or she feels with the unfolding story of Lincoln’s life. These
techniques inspired the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, for example, to incorporate many of them into their new orientation center and museum.

Everyone in this room acknowledges the importance of presidential libraries and museums as vital to preserving our national history while providing the general public with a broader and deeper understanding of our past. Moving forward, we see several areas of cooperation to consider: 1) sharing resources through the traditional loan of materials, digitization of collections, and extending both to joint exhibits with one or more presidential museum partners; 2) linking to one another’s websites, utilizing satellite uplinks to offer joint programs, and providing comparative study and curriculum materials to encourage the public to explore the entirety of our presidential history and not simply that of one administration; 3) continuing the larger dialogue with presidential museums outside of the NARA system on issues common to all; finally, striving to be entrepreneurial in finding creative funding solutions to the long-term solvency issues facing all presidential libraries and museums. As Lincoln aptly reminds us, “The struggle of today, is not altogether for today—it is for a vast future also.”

Thank you.
February 22, 2011

The Honorable John Mica
2187 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Mica,

Thank you again for inviting me to participate in the hearing on the future of Presidential Libraries and please accept my regrets that my schedule precludes me from joining you. I appreciate your support of our nation’s thirteen Presidential Libraries and your convening a session to discuss their mission. I enjoyed our brief meeting and discussion about the value of these unique institutions and am pleased that the prospect of the system is in your hands.

As President of the Kennedy Library Foundation, I believe that the best way to promote my father’s legacy is to increase the access for scholars and the general public to the historical record. As people learn more about the President Kennedy’s decision making, and as they listen to the tape and see the way his mind worked and the questions he asked his aides, they develop a deeper understanding of the challenges he faced and the manner in which he led our country.

The partnership between the Kennedy Library and Kennedy Library Foundation is based on shared interests to make the historical resources of the Library as widely available as possible to teach others about President Kennedy and the role he played in our country’s history.

The private financial support the Foundation provides enables the Library to expand its research and archival capacity, to undertake marketing and public information projects, to offer intern and research fellowship programs, to enhance its museum and exhibits, and to offer nationally recognized educational and public programming. As you may know, the Foundation recently provided the essential funding and support to launch a cutting-edge digitization program that allows the public access to a quarter of a million documents, photos, and audio and video via the Library’s new website.

It is an honor for me as President of the Kennedy Library Foundation to work closely with the dedicated public servants who work for and lead the Kennedy Library. The close relationship between the Library and Foundation illustrates the benefits to society and the American taxpayer that accrue from such a public-private partnership.

I thank you again for your support of our nation’s Presidential Libraries and I wish you and your colleagues a very productive session.

Sincerely,

Caroline Kennedy

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