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22 APR 1971

STAFF STUDY

PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES AND THE AGENCY

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

With the LBJ Library effort completed, the Cunningham ad hoc group went out of business in January 1969. [REDACTED] continues in his liaison capacity with the National Archives and Records Services (NARS). To date there has been no directive from the White House or NARS to federal agencies concerning contributions for the Nixon Library. Informally we have been advised by NARS that they expect some word in late 1971. Since no request has been made yet for contributions we have done nothing. The question at issue is what if anything should be done now to prepare the Agency's contribution to the Nixon Library. 25X1

II. FACTORS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM:

- A. The requirement for contributions to Presidential Libraries will be a continuing one.
- B. The Agency will make contributions to Presidential Libraries.
- C. The Director wishes to have the Agency properly record, identify and assemble our contributions to the Presidential decision process on foreign affairs, national security, and intelligence matters.
- D. The National Archives and Records Service (NARS) will provide guidance on materials desired for inclusion in the Presidential libraries, for example in the Johnson Library NARS wanted anything known to have been seen by Johnson, anything discussed with him, and anything which had significant impact during his tenure in office.

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Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
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- E. Requests for contributions by NARS to a Presidential Library will be made less than one year prior to the end of a President's term. Thus a request could cover a three to four year period or a seven to eight year period.

III. BACKGROUND:

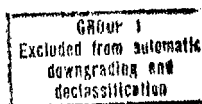
Every President starting with President Hoover has a Presidential Library. At present there are six Presidential Libraries in existence -- Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. CIA took no part in either the Truman or Eisenhower Libraries although CIA was in being during their tenures in office. We have no idea of exactly what CIA papers are in either of these libraries although we know that the CIA papers in these collections are substantial. As indicated below, Mr. McCafferty of the National Security Council told Dr. Cunningham, "Even though CIA made no specific contributions to either the Truman or Eisenhower Libraries as such, you would be absolutely astounded to know how much CIA material is in them."

The primary purpose of each library, according to Professor Schlesinger, is to serve as a "center for the study of American History in the period of the President's tenure." The libraries contain collections of the personal correspondence, diaries, and other historical materials not only of the President but also of the men and women who served with them or who played important public roles. The libraries also have large collections of books and printed materials as well as still pictures, motion pictures, and memorabilia that bear on the historical periods with which Presidents are associated.

The papers of a President - including classified materials - are regarded as the private property of the President. When a President leaves office he takes any papers he wants with him. Thus until the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 which permitted a President to place his personal papers, etc. in a Presidential Archival Depository, under the management of NARS, there was no guarantee that the necessary degree of professionalism was being brought to bear on requirements for handling and storing classified materials.

After the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955, providing a President elected to turn his papers over to NARS, we had assurance that the necessary requirements were being met for

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handling and storing those classified materials under NARS control. To be certain of this the CIA representative on the USIB asked the USIB Security Committee to look into the security aspects of Presidential Libraries. A USIB Security Committee Memo IBSEC-PR39 dated 11 December 1968 reported that they received the necessary assurance on security standards in use and "In addition, investigation of the physical storage facilities indicates that sensitive materials are stored in a vault, according to community regulations."

"The Security Committee affirms that in the absence of security regulations promulgated specifically for Presidential Libraries, all classified documents forwarded by USIB agencies to the Johnson Library continue to be subject to the safeguards required by Executive Order 10501, and with respect to compartmented information, in the manner prescribed by law and by USIB Directives."

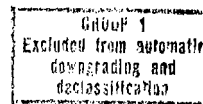
The conclusion of the report was "the Security Committee places no limitations on the substance of the material presented to the Johnson Library by any USIB agency."

President Kennedy had announced the establishment of a Presidential Library and Museum at Cambridge in November 1961. As early as 1962 the Administration began to issue guidance to Departments and Agency Heads on what kind of material should be submitted.

While the Presidential Libraries Law was passed in August 1955, it was not until January 1964 when Attorney General Robert Kennedy wrote the DCI that CIA got involved. Mr. Houston served as the Agency's Senior Officer for the Kennedy Library.

Since NARS was handling the Kennedy Library contributions, Mr. Houston and the Director of Security met with NARS representatives -- Mr. Houston to discuss the kinds of contributions and the Director of Security to review the security measures connected with the Agency's contributions. The material selected and deposited with NARS consisted of approximately 15 boxes and several envelopes with a few hundred [ ] reports and several 25X1 other documents, a tape recording of the President, some 27 photos, 17 three ring binders of Press clippings on Cuba and three binders on Communist reactions to President Kennedy's speeches and press conferences. [ ] we are holding 46 sensi-25X1 tive and classified documents for the library. For a more

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detailed listing see Attachment A. With the completion of the Kennedy Library, the ad hoc group broke up.

President Lyndon B. Johnson sought to sustain the momentum of the Presidential Libraries concept generated during the Kennedy era by using the power of his office to translate it into a fixed institution.

In November 1966 President Johnson addressed a letter to the Administrator of the General Services Administration (GSA) directing GSA to establish a Presidential Libraries Program as a "permanent activity" and a "continuing program" and to seek the active participation of all Federal agencies. In April 1967 the GSA Administrator sent a letter to Mr. Helms transmitting the President's letter and asking the Director "to designate a representative, preferably an official directly responsible to you who is familiar with all major programs of your Agency, to serve as your liaison with the National Archives and Records Service... in carrying out the program within your Agency." At Mr. Helms request, Mr. Bannerman responded in May 1967 to the GSA Administrator designating our regular liaison officer with NARS [redacted] CIA Records Management Officer) to act as the Agency's liaison channel on the Presidential Library Program. [redacted] and the Agency Records Staff had served as the transmittal channel to NARS on the documents collected by Mr. Lawrence Houston for the Kennedy Library.

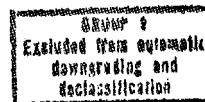
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In 1968 the Agency received correspondence from the White House and NARS regarding contributions to the Johnson Library. As a result of these letters and a visit to the White House on the same subject, the Director held a meeting of senior Agency officials on 2 July 1968 to discuss the Johnson Library. In his memorandum for the record (ER-68-2614/2) the Executive Director noted the Director's desire to ensure that the Agency put its best foot forward. The Director wanted to prepare a history of the Agency activities in which the President was particularly interested during his Administration. The Director felt that we should go into the role of SIG, the IRG's, USIB, USIB subcommittees, our involvement in State policy papers, etc. Mr. Helms' reply to GSA of 22 July 1968 "charged Dr. Hugh Cunningham with the organization and management of the (Johnson) Library Project," but said that [redacted] would continue to serve as "CIA's liaison officer to the National Archives and Records Service."

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In effect we set up another ad hoc group. This time NARS provided detailed guidance and we had the benefit of our experience on the Kennedy Library.

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New refinements were applied to the criteria for material selection. Items earmarked for inclusion in the Johnson Library had to relate substantively to "major or minor Johnson Administration issues as well as papers on any subject, major or minor, in which the President took a personal interest, which went to him for decision, or which emerged in response to Presidential requests." In contrast to the Kennedy Library, which was compiled through the informal direction of Robert F. Kennedy, the Johnson Archives were collected in a more systematic fashion, with NARS acting as the coordinating channel for the various federal agencies. From the July 1968 request until 20 January 1969 the Agency provided to NARS for the Johnson Library 368 reels of [ ] microfilm, a box of personal name studies from RID, 31 unclassified DDP Debriefing Reports and an envelope of swearing in photographs from the DCI. Also 40 boxes of sensitive documents marked for the Johnson Library were sent [ ] for storage. See Attachment B for the list of materials sent to [ ] the Johnson Library. With the completion of the Johnson Library Project in January 1969, Dr. Cunningham had completed his assignment. 25X1

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In June 1969, the Richard M. Nixon Foundation, a corporation which will include a library and museum, was established at Whittier, California. The corporation is composed of seven directors, including Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

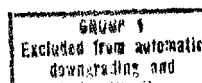
#### IV. THE AGENCY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY PROGRAM - TODAY:

With the experience gained from our participation in the Kennedy and Johnson Library efforts, we now have a much clearer idea of the kinds of contributions we want to make.

There is every reason to believe that the Director's wishes that the Agency present its contributions to the Presidential decision process continue to apply to the collection effort for the Nixon Library and all future Presidential Libraries.

When considering what contributions to make to a Presidential Library we should keep in mind that any document sent by the Agency on a routine or special request basis to the White House or National Security Council may end up in the Presidential Library whether or not we know it and in spite of any reservation

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we may have. Dr. Cunningham's conversation with Mr. Arthur McCafferty, the staff officer of the National Security Council on foreign affairs, national security, and intelligence matters was illuminating. Mr. McCafferty stated that in the Kennedy and Johnson Libraries, everything -- all material in the White House on foreign affairs, national security and intelligence -- went into their libraries. There are probably 2 full safes of material in the Kennedy Library devoted to the missile crisis, and this certainly included material provided by the CIA. "Even though CIA made no specific contributions to either the Truman or Eisenhower Libraries as such, "Mr. McCafferty said, "you would be absolutely astounded to know how much CIA material is in them."

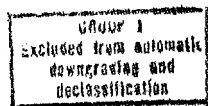
Mr. Cunningham also had a long conversation with Mr. Evans Walker, the officer in charge of Presidential Libraries in NARS. This was a subject of a memo for the record dated 12 September 1968. Mr. Walker assured Mr. Cunningham that classified material in Presidential Libraries will not become available to the public for many years, "we are thinking in terms of 75 to 100 years," said Walker - and that CIA will remain master of the disposition and use of its own donations to the National Archives, of which the Presidential Libraries are a part. Finally Mr. Walker assured Mr. Cunningham that CIA's wishes with respect to retention of material in CIA custody at our own records center [redacted] for eventual transfer to Presidential Libraries will be respected. Internally, Directorates can establish their own controls over material for the Presidential Libraries. They can as DDP did seal their contributions and send them [redacted] marked for a given Presidential Library but separate from that Presidential Library's other holdings [redacted] 25X1

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To date we have received neither specific guidance nor requests for contributions to a Nixon Library. In fact we have not heard from NARS since July 1968 when they asked us for contributions to the Johnson Library. Since they are charged with the Presidential Library Program, we queried them on when they anticipated issuing instructions. Their answer was, in effect, that they have to wait for instructions from the White House which they expect at the earliest in late 1971.

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V. THE AGENCY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY - FUTURE:

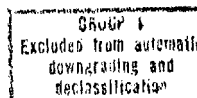
We will be asked to make a contribution to the Nixon Library at some point. The immediate issue is to consider what we can and should do today to improve the contribution we must eventually make.

As a part of the study on Presidential Libraries we checked with people in each of the Directorates to determine if there were any centralized, systematic indexes, e.g., abstracts on both routine and special request documents sent over to the White House or the National Security Council. The results of our check are that there appears to be no central place at the Directorate level where such records are kept. This is not to suggest that the Directorates could not determine the dissemination on any given document. If there is no one point in each Directorate which maintains a listing of every document or series of documents sent over to the White House or National Security Council and we can find none, perhaps one of the first things that should be done is to set one up.

At present we believe there are within each Directorate numerous points where papers originate for the White House and the National Security Council. The originators know what is being sent to the White House, and no doubt maintain at least informal records of their documents. What we want to do is to have the originator regularly advise a designated office within each Directorate of every document they are forwarding to the White House. Where a series of documents are forwarded such as the , a one time advice suffices. By doing so we will be able to rapidly prepare a listing of every document sent over to the White House or National Security Council. We had assumed that material going over to the White House or National Security Council would automatically go with the President or his appointees when the President leaves office and end up in his library. In checking this out we find that much of the material is returned to the Agency. Of the material that is not returned, some is destroyed but most is retained in the White House records collections.

Also we might consider publishing a notice of the Presidential Libraries Program explaining what it is; reviewing our past participation; indicating the Director's desire that the Agency properly record and establish its contributions to the Presidential decision process on foreign affairs, national security, and intelligence matters; spelling out the security considerations and asking that operating officials consider whether their com-

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ponents have documents that should be in such a collection.

Finally we should provide some channel for getting documents into a Presidential Library collection system within the Agency. One example of such a channel was provided in the DDP's memorandum on 5 September 1968 to his staff and division chiefs on the Johnson Library in which he told them the kinds of contributions he wanted and the two DDP officers who would serve as the DDP collection and screening point. The documents would be held within the Directorates until NARS requests contributions at which time the Director will probably appoint a senior agency official to organize and manage the Nixon Library Program. The need for a place to collect documents is even more important if NARS does not ask for contributions until approximately 6 months prior to a new administration since that could mean 7 1/2 years' records that would have to be screened at one time.

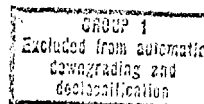
VI. THE AGENCY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY PROGRAM - RECOMMENDATION:

The problem we posed was what, if anything, should be done now to prepare the Agency's contribution to the Nixon Library. As indicated above NARS is not planning to issue instructions until late 1971 and even that time is not definite. A check with other agencies indicates that some have a staff collecting material on a continuing basis while others don't. The Department of Agriculture has a program for the continuing identification, filming, and holding of documents for the Presidential Library call. The Department of Defense and the Department of State do not. State's comment is perhaps most illuminating. They don't have a continuing program and they aren't taking any action to start one because succeeding President's change the guidelines. They stated that President Johnson differed drastically from President Kennedy and President Kennedy differed from previous presidents.

We feel that certain steps can be taken now. They are:

- A. The Directorates should be required to establish a central point within their Directorates to maintain a listing of documents sent to the White House or the National Security Council.
- B. Each Directorate should be required to establish a channel for identifying and assembling documents for the Presidential Library collection effort (based on

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criteria approved by the DCI for the Nixon Library). See Attachment C for DCI guidelines for the Johnson Library (these will be updated). The documents would be held within the Agency at the Directorate level under whatever controls they wish to impose.

- C. We publish an "information-only" Agency notice to operating officials on the Presidential Library Program, which would be followed up by action memorandum from the ExDir to the Deputies on what should be done now. See Tab D for draft Agency notice.

We therefore recommend that the DDS seek ExDir (or DCI) concurrence in principle to the above steps and that once this approval is obtained the Support Services Staff prepare the necessary action documents.

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