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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

March 29, 1985

Fellow Consultants:

We had a great teleconference the other day except for one thing: we lost Gaddis Smith early on. Sorry about that, Gaddis! He provided his revisions later in the afternoon, which were incorporated into the text, with no evident incompatibility.

when the original report reaches you, please sign and transmit to the next destination in the following order (Addresses in Attachments.) Your copy is enclosed herewith. I am also sending an information copy to Ken McDonald.

- 1. Gaddis Smith
- 2. John Gaddis
- 3. Dick Leopold
- 4. Bob Warner

Bob will date and send the executed original to CIA. We should keep this moving promptly (After all, Beb is leaving in mid-April.)

Yours sincerely,

John C. Broderick Assistant Librarian for Research Services

Enclosure

Dr. Geddis Smith 468 Whitney Avenue New Haven, Connecticut 06511 A REPORT TO THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE BY CONSULTANTS ON THE HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM

Public Law 98-477, enacted October 15, 1984, requires that the Director of Central Intelligence consult with the Archivist of the United States, the Librarian of Congress, and appropriate representatives of the historical discipline selected by the Archivist in preparing "a report on the feasibility of conducting systematic review for declassification and release of Central Intelligence Agency information of historical value." Archivist designated the following historians to serve as consultants: John Lewis Gaddis, Distinguished Professor of History, Ohio University; Richard W. Leopold, William Smith Mason Professor of History, emeritus, Northwestern University; and Gaddis Smith, Larned Professor of History, Yale The Librarian of Congress was represented by the Assistant University. Librarian for Research Services, John C. Broderick. The Archivist, Robert M. Warner, was accompanied by two members of his staff: Frank G. Burke, Acting Assistant Archivist for the National Archives, and Alan Thompson, Director of the Records Declassification Division. On March 19, Mr. Thompson represented the Archivist. (Biographical summaries about the consultants are attached to this report.)

The Consultants met at CIA headquarters, Langley, Virginia, March 18-19, 1985, to discuss with the Director and members of his staff the Historical Review Program established by the Agency to meet the requirements of PL 98-477. The two-day program, arranged by CIA Chief Historian J. Kenneth McDonald, provided the consultant group with an opportunity to acquaint itself



with plans and procedures adopted by CIA and to discuss relevant issues with the staff members responsible for implementing the Historical Review program in all its aspects. Following the briefings, the consultants met in executive session to formulate their recommendations. (A full agenda of the meeting is attached to this report.)

In the view of the consultants, PL 98-477 attempts to balance the benefits of an informed public with the national security need for an effective intelligence service. The Director of Central Intelligence has accepted the validity of public and historical interest in CIA files, consistent with the need to protect sources and foreign relations (Casey to Durenberger, October 4, 1983). The consultants likewise recognize the need to balance CIA's statutory obligation to protect intelligence sources and methods with legitimate historical interest in CIA records. PL 98-477, the Agency's Historical Review Program, and the work of the undersigned consultants seem to be important steps toward achieving such a balance.

Nevertheless, the consultants urge recognition of the fact that, in a society as open as that of the United States, excessive secrecy erodes Government credibility and encourages distortions of the historical record. The Department of State's decision in 1955 to release documentation on the Yalta Conference, only ten years after the event, provides an excellent example of how a policy of generous disclosure can promote more balanced discussion of controversial events without in any way compromising the interests of national security. We hope to see the CIA historical review program produce comparable results. We wish also to stress that the availability of full and reliable historical documentation is indispensable

for the education of students from whose ranks will come future officers of the Executive Branch, legislators, and teachers and commentators dealing with issues of national security policy.

We commend the decision by the Director and the Agency to assign a prominent role to the Historical Office in providing insight and judgments on historical value throughout the review process.

Aims and Methods. The aim of the Historical Review Program must be release of inactive records, appraised as permanently valuable, to the public via the National Archives, as the most effective means of serving the public interest and especially that of historical research. To that end the consultants recommend that (1) the Historical Review Program examine all permanently valuable records chronologically, beginning with the earliest, including the so-called "designated files" (i.e., those identified in PL 98-477, under Sec. 701 (b)). It is understood that the Agency is required to make a decennial review of exempted operational files. (CIA staff indicate that such a review will occur more often than every ten years.) Nevertheless, because records affecting a single activity of historical importance may appear in several files, including "designated files," it is hoped that the review program will include the latter files, in the expectation that one or more of the following actions may take place: dedesignation, declassification, and release to the public through transfer to the National Archives.

Ideally, whole office file systems, whole file series, and whole documents should be released as a result of the Historical Review Program. However, the consultants recommend that, when necessary, (2) release of sanitized documents is preferable to withholding of whole documents, when the following conditions are met: (a) the "sanitizing" may be accomplished with

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little additional staff effort and minimal impact on the Review Program, (b) the essential significance of the record is retained, and (c) there is no distortion of bibliographical identity, including authorship and recipient, and use made of the record, even if details of internal dissemination are excised.

The consultants recommend that (3) those involved in the

Historical Review Program, both permanent staff and those employed ad hoc,

take full account of the extent to which information about CIA activities

is already available other than through release of CIA files. They suggest

close consultation with the Historical Office to achieve this goal.

Criteria. The consultants recommend that (4) the Historical Review Program adopt National Archives and Records Administration standards in selecting records for review (e.g., oldest records first, coherent groups, etc.). Further, the historical value and potential "yield" should be considered, keeping in mind the principle stated above, that the review program should ultimately lead to release of inactive files through the National Archives. Throughout, it should be remembered that "historical value equals that which is of value to historians," primarily those records that illuminate major national policies in the area of foreign affairs and national security. Although the basic approach in the review program will be determined by the nature of information in the files examined, we urge that both chronological and topical approaches be adopted. Two other principles may be expressed as follows: "finished first" and "top down." The final version of an intelligence report will be of value to historians, even if the raw material leading to the report remains classified and/or unreleased. It may be that the final report is the only version which the policy-maker had

available to him or her, in any case. The second principle applies to the order of priority. In other words, the files of the agency heads and principal subordinates are likely to be of greatest historical interest and value. Insofar as possible, such files should be high on the list of priorities for review, assuming that the "yield" in releasable files makes such an approach feasible. Ultimately, all records should be reviewed. Although finished intelligence considered by high ranking officials should have first priority, definitive history must be based on access to a mass of "unfinished," operational and administrative records. Furthermore, there is no way for one generation to know with certainty what historians of subsequent generations will consider most significant.

organization and Procedures. The consultants were pleased to find a strong sense of institutional and personal commitment to the Historical Review Program on the part of those in charge of its implementation. We especially commend the decision of the agency to allot a full-time, dedicated staff to the effort, supplemented by qualified contractual assistance when warranted. As stated earlier, another plus in the plan is the significant role assigned to the revitalized and enlarged Historical Office. That staff is best qualified to render judgment on the potential historical value of certain files and records. That judgment is only a part of the entire review program, we acknowledge, but an essential ingredient nevertheless.

The consultants concluded that the important question of allocation of resources could not be readily addressed at this time. Whether the dedicated staff assigned to the Historical Review Program, including an augmented Historical Office staff, is sufficient to make acceptable progress, we cannot

Say. For that reason, the consultants recommend that (5) the Director of Central Intelligence reassemble these consultants or a comparable group in two to three years to assess progress and to make further recommendations, as seem necessary.

We also urge the Director of Central Intelligence to use his authority as head of the Intelligence Community to insure that all relevant agencies of Government cooperate in the important undertaking which his agency has begun. The pace of the Historical Review Program should not be delayed by necessary actions of review by other agencies. During the two-day deliberations, National Archives and Records Administration representatives indicated that, barring unforeseen loss of staff resources, the NARA staff is equal to the task of keeping pace with the output of the Historical Review Program in processing and making available releasable documents in the National Archives.

Additional Considerations. The consultants discussed official disclosure through publication as well as through release of retired files to the National Archives. They also heard from representatives of the Department of State Historical Office concerning the publication series Foreign Relations of the United States (see agenda). The Foreign Relations volumes are "the official record of the foreign policy of the United States," as their successive prefaces avow. The volumes are, therefore, the appropriate and preferred vehicles for publishing "finished intelligence" (National Intelligence Estimates and the like) and other documents relating to intelligence activities abroad affecting foreign relations and national security. Indeed, without the inclusion of such documents, either in basic or supplementary volumes, the history of American foreign relations is impoverished and

incomplete. The consultants recommend, therefore, that (6) the Director of Central Intelligence authorize the publication of selected declassified and releasable intelligence reports and other intelligence related documents in regular or supplementary volumes in the FOREIGN RELATIONS series, rather than as separate publications by CIA.

The consultants are also concerned about the possible physical condition of CIA files, in an age when the preservation of paper documents is recognized as a costly and inescapable responsibility of archives and libraries. Because of the generally longer period of retention of records in CIA custody than would be customary for less sensitive material elsewhere, it may be necessary to take special precautions to guard against undue deterioration of records. The consultants recommend, therefore, that (7) the Director of Central Intelligence satisfy himself that preservation needs of CIA records are being met, through proper environmental conditions for storage of historically significant but deteriorating records, through conversion to a secondary format (microfilm, microfiche, optical disk, etc.), or other means, as appropriate. (This recommendation is a precaution, not a commentary based upon any observed shortcoming in the Agency's preservation program.)

Summary of Recommendations:

- an inclusive, systematic review program, leading to regular retirement of records to the National Archives.
- release of minimally sanitized documents
 in preference to withholding of whole documents.

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- awareness in the review program of information about CIA already publicly known.
- adoption of archivally-tested selection criteria for review program.
- 5. assessment of progress of review program in 2-3 years by comparable or identical group of consultants.
- publication of appropriate declassified CIA documents in <u>Foreign Relations of the</u> United States.
- an ongoing concern for preservation considerations.

The consultants express their appreciation to William J. Casey,
Director of Central Intelligence, and his staff for the courtesies extended
during the two days of deliberations. Special thanks are due to Chief
Historian Kenneth McDonald and to

Director of Information

Services, under whose responsibility the Historical Review Program will
proceed. It was a productive two days of serious exchanges of information,
for which the consultants and the agencies and disciplines which they
represent are appreciative.

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Respectfully submitted,

ohn C. Broderick

John Lewis Gaddis

Richard W. Leopold

Gaddis Smith

Robert M. Warner

Date