

### ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

Historical Review Program

STAT

FROM: J. Kenneth McDonald  
Chief, DCI History Staff  
316 Ames Bldg.

EXTENSION

NO.

DD/A Registry

87-0587X

DATE

18 March 1987

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

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20 Mar 87

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23 MAR 1987

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JM

*Jim - FYI here is a copy of the letter Ken McDonald sent to Prof. Paterson. Two of the small attachments are included, the remainder are bulky.*

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

16 March 1987

Professor Thomas G. Paterson  
Department of History  
Wood Hall, Room 124, U-103  
241 Glenbrook Road  
University of Connecticut  
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

Dear Professor Paterson:

Thank you for your 23 December 1986 letter requesting information about CIA's Historical Review Program. As a member of some years' standing, I congratulate you on your election as president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and I'm glad to give you an up-date on our new program's progress. I should note that although CIA's Classification Review Division manages the Historical Review Program, the History Staff advises on the selection of records and is responsible for liaison with the historical community.

As you no doubt know, the CIA Information Act of 1984 required the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), after consulting with the Archivist of the United States, the Librarian of Congress and representative historians, to submit a report to four congressional committees by 1 June 1985 on the feasibility of a program for the systematic review, declassification and release of CIA information of historical value. I'll enclose a copy of Mr. Casey's 29 May 1985 report to Congress, which includes as appendices the CIA Information Act, the 10 April 1985 report to the DCI by the consultants noted above, an October 1983 exchange of letters between Mr. Casey and Senator Durenberger (which was the genesis of this program), and a 1984 memorandum of understanding between CIA and the National Archives (which is the precedent for handling records transferred under this program). I'll also enclose a copy of the DCI's 18 June 1985 memorandum to all Agency employees, which briefly summarizes the program's origins and aims.

In 1985 CIA established a new unit, the Historical Review Branch, in the Classification Review Division, Directorate of Administration, to coordinate the actual review of documents in this program. Following our consultants' advice, this branch is reviewing the Agency's records chronologically, beginning with the Strategic Services Unit (SSU), 1945-1946. Similarly, in accordance with our consultants' precepts of "top down" and "finished first," the DCI's records for 1946-1955 have been reviewed, and work on

finished intelligence for the 1945-1960 period has begun. Review is also under way on a large group of U-2 program records, up to May 1960. While our review proceeds here, the National Archives is working hard to process the final increments of several thousand cubic feet of OSS and SSU records that CIA has transferred since June 1984.

I should also mention that we are working closely with Bill Slany and his staff at the Department of State in their project to prepare and publish an intelligence and foreign policy supplement to the Foreign Relations of the United States series. This supplement will consist of several volumes, both printed and microform, dealing with the relationship between American foreign policy and the emerging intelligence community in the immediate postwar period, 1945-1950. To move this project forward, the Historical Review Branch is focussing its review of finished intelligence on documents needed for these FRUS supplemental volumes. At Bill Slany's invitation last November, the Chief of the Classification Review Division and I briefed State's 'Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation' on CIA's cooperation in this project. I'll enclose an extract from State's minutes of this session, although you may already have this information from SHAFR's members, Warren Cohen and Michael Hunt.

In sum, CIA's Historical Review Program is doing its best to declassify as many historically significant records as it can without risking damage to our national security. Since we have a statutory duty to protect intelligence sources and methods (which often require that records remain classified for a very long time), our work must be careful and deliberate. For this reason we have to emphasize that the amount of material that can be reviewed, and the yield of declassified documents from that material, will inevitably be limited. We are trying hard, however, to concentrate our resources on the areas that will do historians the most good.

I hope that this gives you a picture of how our Historical Review Program is proceeding, and I look forward to seeing you at SHAFR's Annapolis meeting next summer.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

J. Kenneth McDonald  
Chief Historian

Enclosures

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MINUTES OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
ON  
HISTORICAL DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTATION

THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

NOVEMBER 6-7, 1986

American Historical Association

Dr. Robert Dallek  
Department of History  
University of California  
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dr. Blanche Wiesen Cook  
Department of History  
John Jay College, CUNY  
New York, New York 10036

Dr. Warren F. Kuehl  
Department of History  
University of Akron  
Akron, Ohio 44325

American Political Science Association

Dr. Michel Oksenberg  
Center for Chinese Studies  
Lane Hall  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Dr. Deborah W. Larson  
Department of Political  
Science  
Columbia University  
New York, New York 10027

American Society of International Law

Dr. John Lawrence Hargrove  
Executive Vice President and  
Executive Director  
The American Society of International  
Law  
2223 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Organization of American Historians

Dr. Bradford Perkins  
Department of History  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Dr. Warren I. Cohen  
Department of History  
Michigan State University  
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Dr. Michael H. Hunt  
Department of History  
University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, North Carolina  
27514

### Foreign Relations Supplementary Volumes on Intelligence

Mr. Slany resumed the session by introducing the subject of retrospective supplements to printed volumes in the FRUS series. A previous Committee had suggested preparation of a supplement on post-World War II intelligence and foreign policy development which would incorporate disclosures made since the volumes in this area were published. The Office of the Historian was considering such a project, perhaps comprising one printed volume and one microfiche supplement. He asked Kenneth McDonald, the CIA Historian, to discuss this proposal further.

Mr. McDonald noted that the idea had originated three years earlier, when he and Mr. Petersen had participated on a SHAFR panel on intelligence. In 1983 the CIA was beginning to release OSS operational records and was also negotiating with Congress on the Freedom of Information Act. He pointed out that in the bargaining which culminated in the recent legislation that exempted the CIA from some aspects of FOIA, an agreement had been reached to review some older CIA records for possible release. The concept of supplementary intelligence-related FRUS publications was given impetus by this agreement. The Agency now has a classification review staff which is currently working on the records of the Office of the Director of Central Intelligence from the late 1940s. Mr. McDonald commented that the Department's requirement for records from 1945-1950 thus coincides with the work of the CIA declassification staff, and will result in State historians being given good access to CIA records of the period. He is not sure, however, how much of this material can be declassified.

He then introduced the Chief of the Classification Review Division (CRD) who described the historical review program. It has started reviewing records from the Office of the Director of Central Intelligence, as well as some records from the Special Services Unit (which superseded OSS) and records of the U-2 incident. The staff has processed about 135 feet of records. Review must now be coordinated with other agencies. About 1 foot of records has completed the entire process. The next group of records to be examined will be finished intelligence, which the CIA hopes will help with the Foreign Relations supplements.

Mr. McDonald observed that the Foreign Relations series represents the U.S. Government's accountability for its foreign policy. The CIA recognizes this. While the British have never released any intelligence records at all, the CIA is committed to releasing its records. The Agency works under the same NARA rules as other executive agencies, using the same procedures.

Prof. Hunt asked if finished intelligence will deal with covert intelligence. The CRD chief said that operational records relating to sources and methods are exempted from consideration by his staff under the new Congressional directive. The committee pressed to get an appreciation of where the cut-off line existed in determining what constituted operational information. Both Prof. Perkins and Prof. Cook used CIA activities in Italy during the first decade

after WW II as an example of covert operations which were well known, historically significant, and could be documented without compromising CIA methods or sources. Both Mr. Macdonald and the CRD chief indicated that it was altogether unlikely that the CIA would officially confirm the existence of covert operations, despite widespread knowledge of the existence and impact of such operations.

This, the CRD chief stated again, is the central issue. The CIA works for the President under Congressional oversight. It has orders from both the Congress and the President to protect sources and methods. If he were to look at these records to see if they could be released, he would ask the following questions: Who ordered the activities? Who was used? Where did the money come from? How did it get there? The Agency would probably not reveal this. Where, he asked, should they draw the line? Just admitting that this activity occurred would not, he felt, be enough. There was no real answer, but he would probably be inclined to "cut it off early."

Mr. Slany observed that these issues were worth consideration by the Committee. Perhaps the Committee could explore how the Office of the Historian could work with the CIA to bring material on intelligence formulation to light and could confirm that the Foreign Relations was a useful vehicle for disclosure.

Prof. Dallek stated that although it was fine to publish a retrospective volume and that its publication would represent some progress, there should be no illusions about the volume's reception; some scholars would "savage" it, scoffing at how little was being released compared to what was already widely known. He worried about creating cynicism, about creating a sense of a gap between U.S. rhetoric and action. He was not, however, insensitive to the Office's and the CIA's dilemma. The volume would produce an angry reaction, but he favored publishing it.

Prof. Perkins asked for a concrete indication of what was being considered for publication. Mr. Petersen responded that one volume relating to the organizational development of the intelligence community from the Second World War to 1950, and a second volume largely relating to finished intelligence concerning the Soviet Union are being prepared. Prof. Perkins asked what was the proportion of previously released documents to never released documents in the proposed supplement? Mr. Petersen responded that probably less than 25% of the volume on organization of intelligence would comprise CIA material. The second volume would have a larger percentage. Mr. Petersen added that there was also the CIA report to every NSC meeting on the world situation, as well as Director of Central Intelligence memoranda to the President. Although much of this material has been declassified, it will be published in a coherent way for the first time. To avoid disappointment, he recommended defining the terms of reference for the supplements very carefully and then sticking to them.

Mr. Slany suggested that the committee might want to nominate a reviewer or two for these volumes before publication. Prof. Dallek felt that such a review might serve to help preserve the credibility of the FRUS series.

Prof. Kuehl observed that most important to him was the question of the budget trade-off in preparing a supplement. The Office was proposing two additional volumes at the same time it was reducing the size of the regular series. Mr. Slany responded that one or two volumes could be added over four or five years without a change in the schedule for the regular series. Three or four volumes, however, would tip the balance. This was less a problem for printing and publication than it was for declassification. The Committee's recommendations would be useful to us in setting our priorities.

Prof. Kuehl asked whether a new policy of supplementing the series was being established. Both Prof. Hunt and Prof. Cook stated they would need to see the material involved before making a recommendation. Prof. Cook also asked for more guidance. She was worried about creating a dual system rather than being vigorous about a 30-year rule and accountability, even though she realized some issues won't wind down after 30 years. Prof. Larson said that political scientists would find such volumes very useful, even if they contained nothing more than finished intelligence.

Prof. Oksenberg wondered whether the retrospective supplement might encourage people not to declassify things now--to delay release--because they knew there would be a supplement to the volumes they review now. Was there any validity to this argument? He offered the observation that Mr. McDonald had neglected to mention the very important CIA dealings with other intelligence communities, either overt or covert--would it be useful to delay publication until liaison relationships could be included? Mr. McDonald responded that the area of liaison arrangements was extremely sensitive. The British do not admit the existence of intelligence organizations for 30 years, even if commonly known. For the United States to acknowledge the existence of these organizations could endanger current liaison arrangements. Therefore release of this information was unlikely. The CRD chief confirmed that the United States cannot unilaterally declassify that material, noting that most countries do not require their intelligence services to release information.

#### Distribution of FRUS Volumes

Mr. Slany asked Paul Washington, Director of Publishing Services, to comment on production and distribution of FRUS. Mr. Washington noted that the primary issues considered by the committee last year in his area included technical editing resources and costs and the possibility of privatizing the publication of the series. Mr. Washington indicated that the focus of concern had changed somewhat over the course of the past year, and that he had both good and bad news to convey to the committee. The good news

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

18 June 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL EMPLOYEES

SUBJECT: Historical Review Program

1. In October 1983, when the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence took up a bill to permit the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) to exempt certain CIA files from search under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), Senator David Durenberger wrote to me about an issue highlighted by the Agency's work with the Committee. This issue was the need to make more declassified Agency materials available to historians. "As historians write the definitive works on the post-World War II era," Senator Durenberger wrote, "it is terribly important that their studies be based on as full a record as possible, consistent with the need to protect our national security." He therefore urged me to establish procedures for reviewing and declassifying some of the material in files not covered by the bill's exemptions. Recognizing that such a program would be a burden for the Agency, he offered to lead the effort to provide budgetary support for new positions to be devoted to this project.

2. I share Senator Durenberger's views on the need for an accurate historical record, and on 4 October 1983 I wrote him stating, "If Congress is willing to provide the resources, I am prepared to institute a new program of selective declassification review of those materials we believe would be of greatest historical interest and most likely to result in declassification of useful information."

3. The agreement by this exchange of letters envisioned an Agency Historical Review Program organized after the passage of the prospective CIA Information Act and using additional resources Congress would provide for this purpose. I had already asked the Chief of the History Staff, however, to explore a program to release historical materials from the World War II period. As a result of this initiative, the Agency took steps to transfer to the National Archives its entire holdings of declassified World War II Office of Strategic Services (OSS) permanent records, a large collection of major historical importance. This transfer began a year ago and up to now the National Archives has received and opened to public research approximately 800 cubic feet of these declassified OSS records. As I wrote to Senator Durenberger in June 1984, this transfer constitutes "an important first step in implementing the selective declassification program I promised to initiate last October."

4. In October 1984 Congress passed the CIA Information Act, which relieves the Agency from the burden of searching certain designated files in response to FOIA requests. The Agency's commitment to a Historical

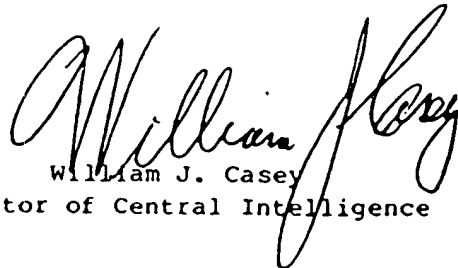


Review Program and its release of OSS records played an important role in the passage of this new Act by reassuring Congress and the public that, in light of the Act's FOIA exemptions, the Agency will undertake new efforts to declassify and transfer to the National Archives historically significant CIA records. Continuing Congressional interest in historians having access to CIA records is evident in the Act's requirement that the DCI, after consulting with the Archivist of the United States, the Librarian of Congress, and representative historians, submit a report to four Congressional committees by 1 June 1985 on the feasibility of conducting a program for the systematic review, declassification, and release to the public of CIA information of historical value.

5. In my report to Congress of 29 May 1985 on the Historical Review Program, I stated that this kind of review is feasible, and described the program that we have established to carry it out. The Agency's consultations with those officials and historians specified by the CIA Information Act proved extraordinarily helpful, and their findings are appended to my report to Congress. Balancing the Agency's statutory duty to protect intelligence sources and methods with legitimate public interest in CIA records, this new program is designed to make significant historical information available without risking damage to national security. As I reported to Congress, this program has my strong support and we are determined to make it succeed.

6. As Senator Durenberger promised, Congress has provided CIA with ten additional positions to support the Historical Review Program which will be described in a forthcoming headquarters regulation. I have assigned principal responsibility for the program to the Office of Information Services (OIS) in the Directorate of Administration, with advice and support from the History Staff in the Office of the DCI. The Classification Review Division of OIS will coordinate closely with Agency components in reviewing documents of historical significance in order to declassify those that no longer require protection. The program is beginning with the review of the Agency's oldest records, which with the transfer of our declassified OSS records are those of CIA's postwar predecessor organizations, namely, the Strategic Services Unit (SSU) of 1945-1946 and the Central Intelligence Group (CIG) of 1946-1947.

7. Although some time will be needed to find out how well the Historical Review Program will work in practice, I believe that it has been established on a sound footing. I am hopeful that this program will make possible a more accurate record and fuller understanding of our Nation's history since World War II.

  
William J. Casey  
Director of Central Intelligence

DISTRIBUTION: ALL EMPLOYEES (1-6)