

Black Women, and the women's issue group of the National Black Leadership Roundtable. Currently, she is a consultant for the Women's Economic Voices Project of the Center for Policy Alternatives.

Williams is co-editor of *The Long Struggle for Black Political Empowerment* and many academic journal articles on urban, black, and gender politics.

A native of Texas, Williams holds a bachelor's degree from Rice University and master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Chicago. Prior to coming to the University of Maryland, Williams taught at a number of universities including Cornell, Howard, and Brandeis. She served as a research fellow of the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center for the Study of the Press, Politics and Public Policy of the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University from fall 1989 through summer 1991. She teaches courses on urban politics, American politics, and the American welfare state and other areas of public policy.

Williams has been interviewed by all of the major networks' evening news programs, CNN, C-SPAN, MacNeil-Lehrer, Nightline, The Today Show, the three major newsweeklies, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and many other prominent news media. Her works appear in such popular publications as *Public Opinion*, *The Black Scholar*, and *Focus*.

Report of the Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation (HAC) for Calendar Year 1992

The new Historical Advisory Committee (HAC) was appointed early in 1992, in accordance with the provisions of Title IV of Public Law 102-138 of Oct. 28, 1991 [22 USC 4351]—the "Foreign Relations Series" statute. The legally required security clearances for all members of the HAC were obtained expeditiously. The HAC met four times in

1992 and has as its executive secretary the State Department Historian, as required by law.

The most crucial aspect of the work of the HAC during 1992 has been meeting the serious responsibilities levied on it by the "Foreign Relations Series" legislation. Our efforts have fallen into three broad categories, discussed below: (1) ensuring that the *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* series constitutes, in the words of the statute, "a thorough, accurate, and reliable . . . comprehensive documentation of the major foreign policy decisions and actions of the United States Government"; (2) ensuring that *FRUS* is published no later than 30 years after the events; and (3) monitoring the declassification and transfer to the National Archives of all State Department historical records 30-years old or older.

1. Quality of the *FRUS* Series

Ensuring the quality of the *FRUS* series, is an on-going process. However, a committee of nine persons cannot hope to review, page by page, the work put out by the full-time staff of the Historical Office (HO). What the HAC can and does do is to ensure the integrity of the process by which the HO compiles and publishes the *FRUS* volumes. It does this by (a) reviewing compilations on request of the HO, (b) by making its own selections of compilations to review, (c) by evaluating the editorial assumptions and guidelines set by the HO for *FRUS*, and (d) by examining samples of records not selected by the HO for inclusion in *FRUS* so as to ensure that those volumes accurately represent the foreign policy-making process.

(a) *Review of FRUS compilations:* The HAC, with the full cooperation and guidance of the Historian and the HO staff, has reviewed five pre-publication compilations of *FRUS* volumes in the past year and is satisfied that the HO selections and editing meet the canons of good scholarship as well as the requirements of the "Foreign Relations Series" law. The HAC made specific recommendations regarding certain volumes brought to its attention by HO. In one case, when HAC recommendations to declassify certain documents

were not accepted, we recommended publication of the volume with a statement in the Preface that explained the circumstances. In order to clarify the role of the HAC to the users of *FRUS*, we have developed a series of different statements for the Prefaces which explain the role played by the HAC in the production of that volume. In addition, substantive prefatory remarks written by the HO editors now contain a candid and informative assessment of the research and declassification process as it affected that individual volume. The HAC did not review documents not selected by the HO for inclusion in *FRUS* but will exercise that responsibility early in 1993.

(b) *HAC access to classified documents:* The review process has included requesting and gaining access to State Department and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) documents that the HO wished to include but which were denied declassification. In the process, the HAC has recommended re-review of a number of documents. The State Department and certain outside agencies, including the CIA, were responsive to those requests and, in some cases, additional documents were declassified for publication in *FRUS*. We anticipate making similar requests for access and re-review to other agencies in the future, and look forward to the negotiation of agreements between the HO and other agencies—the National Security Agency and the Departments of Defense, Treasury, Energy and Justice—which have not met the legal requirement for agreed procedures for HO and HAC access to classified material requested for the *FRUS* series.

(c) *Johnson presidency volumes:* The HAC has also studied the HO plan for compiling the *FRUS* volumes dealing with the years of Lyndon Johnson's presidency. Those plans call for a reduction in the number of pages covering the events for each year, but aim at balancing that by providing more guidance concerning the location and nature of archival materials on specific issues. Committee members expressed some concern about the new editing policies, but, at present, the HAC recommends following that plan, although we will closely monitor production of the initial compilations to

ensure that they meet the criteria set forth in the "Foreign Relations Series" statute. In addition to our concern about the effect of these new editorial procedures, we are uncertain about the adequacy of resources currently projected for compiling and editing those Johnson presidency volumes. Again, we will have to monitor progress to learn if that uncertainty is warranted.

(d) *Remedying previous omissions in FRUS*: The HAC has also recommended that documents withheld from certain volumes of *FRUS* already published be re-reviewed for possible declassification and public access, so that the public record of the United States foreign policy for those years will also meet the criteria of the current law. We recommended expediting re-review for documents related to U.S. policy regarding Guatemala and Iran, 1952-54, since the withholding of that material from the printed volumes created such public concern three years ago. The CIA has informed us that it is now collecting and re-reviewing supplementary documentation for both Iran and Guatemala (1952-54). Once the HO has examined that package of documentation, the Committee will recommend how best to make that material available to the public.

(e) *New CIA declassification policies*: The completeness of the *FRUS* volumes currently being compiled is likely to be greatly enhanced by new CIA policies regarding declassification review and release of its 30-year-old historical documentation. Those new policies are contained in a recent change to CIA regulations which calls for "a presumption in favor of disclosure in such matters. Discussions between CIA officials and members of the HAC, including HAC requests for re-review of documents in two *FRUS* volumes, indicate that this program is being implemented and that it may result in the inclusion of a significantly larger number of CIA documents in future volumes.

(f) *Electronic records and the FRUS series*: Looming over all these pressing problems is our sense of foreboding about the long-term nature of the *FRUS* series as we move into the age of electronic documents and document storage—issues

that fall under the responsibility of bureaus other than Public Affairs. The HAC has had discussions with appropriate State Department records managers, and been promised more detailed reports in 1993, but we are not yet comfortable we have sufficient information about this growing problem. The HAC will continue to investigate this matter and hopes to make concrete recommendations in the near future. At the very least, you can anticipate the HAC recommending that the Department undertake an early study of the implications of the new technology for the *FRUS* series as well as for the preservation in the National Archives of the Department's historical record.

2. Publication of *FRUS* Within 30 Years

(a) *Implementation schedule*: The Historian's Office has developed a schedule, with milestones, for meeting the legislative mandate to publish *FRUS* volumes within 30 years after the events. The Department provided leadership and assured resource support for meeting that 30-year deadline by 1996, and the HAC concludes that the Department's commitment to meet the provisions of the law is clear and unequivocal. In the first year under the accelerated schedule, HO and the Department met its optimistic goals and published 12 volumes and fiche supplements. In this regard, we wish to note the positive efforts of the Bureau of Public Affairs, particularly the Historian, Dr. William Slany, and his staff.

(b) *Impact of that schedule*: The HAC has concerns about the compromises that are part of the plan (see above, para. I, c), but decided not to make any recommendations until it has the opportunity to assess the effect of those new editorial policies on the *FRUS* compilations.

(c) *Monitoring the schedule*: The HAC, working with the HO, has developed a production schedule (generally known as the "Perkins chart" after its most vigorous proponent) that allows the HAC to monitor the progress of each volume of *FRUS* as it proceeds through compilation and declassification review. Arrangements have been made for the most important parts of this

chart to be made readily available to the public.

(d) *Implementation of HAC recommendations*: Two requests and recommendations, regarding the *FRUS* schedule and its impact, made by the HAC during 1992 were implemented expeditiously by the Department, CIA, and the National Security Council (NSC). One was providing additional funds to the Johnson Presidential Library to help minimize the impact of HO compilation work at that library on public research; the other was CIA/NSC agreement to eliminate pre-screening requirements that had delayed compilation of *FRUS* volumes by the HO.

(e) *Delays in declassification reviews by other agencies or governments*: In order to eliminate unnecessary and costly bureaucratic duplication and delays, the HAC recommends the transfer of declassification coordination authority and resources from HDR to HO.

3. Declassification and Transfer to the National Archives of 30-Year-Old State Department Records

(a) *Statutory requirements*: The "Foreign Relations Series" statute requires that all 30-year-old classified State Department records be transferred to the National Archives and reviewed for declassification. This process shall be completed by November 1, 1992, or delayed until November 1, 1993, providing a description is given to the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees of "how the Department of State intends to meet the requirements" of the statute.

(b) *Current status*: The responsibility within the State Department for declassification review and transfer of records to the National Archives lies with the Bureau of Administration, particularly the Historical Documents Review (HDR) division (A/IMIS/FPC/HDR), not the Historical Office in the Bureau of Public Affairs. The Secretary delegated accountability for these matters to the Under Secretary for Management. The HAC has been informed by HDR and National Archives representatives that they estimate that the implementation of the statutory

requirement cannot be achieved until the year 2010! That prompted the HAC to send a letter on November 25, 1992 to the Secretary of State which said, in part:

. . . we are dismayed at the thought of the State Department being 17 years behind the legally mandated declassification review requirement. Equally alarming is the implication that this situation will deteriorate rather than improve, especially after the Department's May 1992 report to Congress promised a good faith effort to comply. We are not convinced that this lengthy delay is wholly or even largely a matter of resources. We have recommended, formally and informally, that existing declassification review procedures—from personnel to the mechanics of the actual review process—be fully reexamined, particularly in the light of the new international situation that exists with the end of the Cold War. Instead, we find the assumptions underlying the declassification review process to be unchanged. It is, apparently, business as usual.

The HAC then made the following recommendations:

1. that the Department reaffirm its commitment to open its 30-year-old records to the public as required by law;
2. that the Department and the National Archives convene a high level meeting early in 1993, to which HAC members would be invited, to determine cooperative measures to achieve the 30-year opening requirement;
3. that the Department, by March 15, 1993, send Congress a comprehensive report, to which the Historical Advisory Committee will give all assistance, if asked, outlining specific actions and milestone dates by which the Department can achieve this mandated goal of opening State records.

(c) *Discussion:* Even with the good intentions and efforts of a number of State Department officials, including the Bureau of Public Affairs and the HO, the Historical Advisory Committee has not been given the opportunity to advise the Secretary of State in a timely fashion regarding declassification procedures and goals, despite our repeated requests. Reports regarding this matter are

drafted outside the Bureau of Public Affairs, usually in the Bureau of Administration. The report on Department plans to open its 30-year-old records to the public, required by section 404(e) of the "Foreign Relations Series" statute, went to Congress without seeking the advice of the HAC, despite the recommendation in our annual report for 1991. Nor have we yet been formally asked for advice about the report by Department records managers and declassifiers required by section 407(c)(1) of that law—the report explaining why the Department requested a one-year delay (to October 1993) in meeting the 30-year mark for opening records to the American public. To date, there is still no formal State Department schedule for meeting that goal. The one time our advice was sought in these matters—specifically the negotiation of a new memorandum of agreement between the Department and the National archives—it took intervention by a senior official in the Bureau of Public Affairs who refused to sign off on the memo until such consultations took place. The HAC then responded within 48 hours.

The HAC believes that a "we" versus "they" attitude persists in certain areas of the Department over the issue of declassification of the historical record. A crucial part of the image we must have in order to serve as an example of democracy is that of the United States as an open society of laws where the government is responsible to the people for its actions. The HAC understands the legitimate need for secrecy in our current foreign relations—to protect individuals, to protect privacy, and to protect on-going diplomatic efforts. But historical documents that are at least 30 years old pose little or no threat to any of those categories. Extraordinarily sensitive documents relating to the Cuban Missile Crisis were released in 1992 by the CIA with no ill effects. In 1972, the British and American governments opened the bulk of their Second World War archives—without page-by-page declassification review and, therefore, at great cost savings to the taxpayer—again without harm to the national interest. To quote our letter

of November 25, 1992:

The HAC is not convinced that a lengthy delay is wholly or even largely a matter of resources. We have recommended, formally and informally, that existing declassification review procedures—from personnel to the mechanics of the actual review process—be fully reexamined, particularly in the light of the new international situation that exists with the end of the Cold War. Instead, we find the assumptions underlying the declassification review process to be unchanged. It is, apparently, business as usual.

(d) *Remedies:* The HAC is pleased that the Department has provided additional resources to the National Archives to help meet current statutory requirements, but we strongly believe that a change in procedures, which may require a change in the culture that dominates the declassification review process, is the *sine qua non* for meeting the current legislative mandate. Such procedural changes should start with an immediate and serious consideration of bulk declassification as well as the implementation of the recommendations made in our letter of November 25 (excerpted above).

For the Committee:
Warren F. Kimball, Chair
Rutgers University

Committee Members: Betty Glad, University of South Carolina; George Herring, University of Kentucky; Anna K. Nelson, American University; Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan; Jane Picker, Cleveland State University; Emily Rosenberg, Macalester College; Arnold Taylor, Howard University; Anne Van Camp, Hoover Institution

BMW Contributes to German Congressional Fellowships

The Congressional Fellowship Program has received a one-time grant of \$14,000 from Bayerische Motorwerke in Munich. The gift will be used for direct support of two 1992-93 German Fellows who had expected to return to Germany in late April.

Bernd Fussy and Sabine Gans are legislative aides to Rep. Peter Deutsch (D-FL) and Rep. Peter Torkildsen (R-MA), respectively. The supplemental funding will enable

them to remain in Washington for the entire fellowship year.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States has generously funded

the German component of the Congressional Fellowship Program since its inception in 1982 and remains its major contributor.

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