UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

FIRST SESSION OF THE

DOD HISTORICAL RECORDS DECLASSIFICATION

ADVISORY PANEL

Friday, February 23, 1996 0900-1400 hours National Archives Building Reception Room 105



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Executive Order 12958, Classified National Security Information, requires automatic declassification of non-exempt historical files over 25 years old. The Department of Defense (DoD) Historical Records Declassification Advisory Panel (HRDAP) is established under the Federal Advisory Committee Act as a subcommittee to the Historical Advisory Panel. The HRDAP charter is to recommend information and topic areas that would be valuable to historians and the public. DoD will consider those recommendations for immediate declassification. The HRDAP is chaired by Dr. Alfred Goldberg, OSD Historian; Ms. Rene Davis-Harding, Deputy Director, Security Program Integration, serves as Executive Secretary. Six civilian historians and historians from The Panel will the military services and JCS comprise the panel. meet four times per year. The transcripts for the February 23, 1996 meeting were prepared by a contract transcription service.



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 6000 DEFENSE PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-6000

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COMMAND, CONTROL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND INTELLIGENCE

MEMORANDUM FOR DEFENSE TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER

SUBJECT: Panel Minutes

Reference telephone conversation between the undersigned and Gretchen Schlag, DTIC Selections Branch.

Two copies of verbatim transcripts are forwarded for inclusion in the DTIC holdings. The transcripts are from the DoD Historical Records Declassification Advisory Panel. This Panel was established by the Secretary of Defense under the Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA). FACA requires open hearings announced in the Federal Register and that meeting minutes be made available for public inspection.

The transcripts are unclassified with unrestricted dissemination. SF Form 298 is attached. For additional information, please contact me at (703) 695-2289.

Cynthia M. Kloss Assistant Director Classification Management



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2 PROCEEDINGS 3 0900 I'll hold my opening remarks DR. GOLDBERG: 4 until after our welcoming speaker arrives, in about 15 5 6 minutes. Meanwhile, I think we will start with 7 administrative announcements and by way of one preliminary remark, I'm hoping that this forum will be 8 9 one of good temper, good humor, good ideas. Ms. 10 Davis -- administrative notes? MS. DAVIS-HARDING: No, I'll do those. 11 12 DR. GOLDBERG: Ms. Davis-Harding. 13 MS. DAVIS-HARDING: My name is Rene Davis-14 Harding. I'm the Executive Secretary for the panel. 15 I'd like to go -- briefly go over some administrative announcements. All proceedings are going to be 16 recorded, and if you would prefer to be identified by 17 18 name in the minutes, please state your name clearly 19 before you make your remark, otherwise, you'll be 20 identified as an observer in the minutes. 21 Each panel member has a complete -- or should 22 have a complete package of information. We sent out 23 several packages of handouts, and each member should 24 have a complete notebook. If you do not, please get in 25 touch with me or Cynthia Kloss on my staff, who will

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make sure that you get a complete package.

2 Information from members or observers that 3 you would like to have considered for inclusion, will 4 be considered by the chair for inclusion in the minutes 5 or inclusion for being sent out to the members.

6 Due to limited resources, we unfortunately 7 cannot provide handouts to everyone, but we will 8 attempt to do so. Any submissions for future 9 committee meetings should be provided to Cynthia Kloss 10 from my staff, at least one week prior to the meeting, 11 to make sure that we're able to have those submissions 12 in the meeting packets.

13 On meeting transcripts -- the verbatim 14 transcripts will be available only on request, and an 15 executive summary will be provided to all panel 16 members, including the military services and the other observers -- government observers. And any attendees 17 18 may request a copy of the executive summary through e-19 mail and the e-mail address is on the bottom of the 20 agenda for today.

21 On refreshments, breaks and other items. 22 Coffee is provided in the rear of the room for 23 everyone, and we ask that you please refrain from 24 moving around during the formal panel deliberations. 25 Breaks will be strictly at the discretion of the chair

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and restrooms for men and ladies ---

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2 DR. GOLDBERG: You will be permitted to leave 3 for that purpose. You'll have to raise your hands of 4 course.

5 MS. DAVIS-HARDING: The mens' room is at the 6 left, all the way at the end of the hall; and the 7 ladies' room is to your right as you exit, all the way 8 at the end of the hallway.

9 We expect lunch to arrive at approximately 10 11:30 to 11:45, and we're very flexible with the lunch 11 break. It may not extend to 60 minutes -- that's going 12 to be up to the chair.

Telephones are available in the basement of the building. You may use the elevator, and during break, the room phone will be available for outside local calls. We unfortunately, do not have the ability to take phone messages while you're here.

And finally, name tags are being provided as a courtesy to the other participants and as a way to identify everyone. That's it.

21 DR. GOLDBERG: We are here because we believe 22 that the government has a special obligation to keep 23 the public informed. It does this by publishing 24 documents, histories, and by giving the citizens access 25 to its records. Indeed, one doesn't even have to be a

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citizen to have access to U.S. government records.

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The enormous growth in government classified documents during the past six decades has confronted us with the complex problem of how to make accessible to the public a maximum number of those records with a minimum of security risk.

Ever since World War II a series of Executive
Orders have sought to deal with this problem with
limited success. The classifiers seem to be able to
keep ahead of the declassifiers in some departments.

11 Let me recapitulate where we are coming from. 12 The 1995 Executive Order 12958 provides for automatic 13 declassification of historically valuable records after 14 25 years. But there is a catch in that. It also lists 15 nine areas for exemption from automatic 16 declassification and provides for systematic 17 declassification of historically valuable exempted 18 records.

19 The Executive Order establishes an 20 information security oversight office within the 21 management -- the Office of Management and Budget -- to 22 see to the implementation of the Order. This of course 23 is the same office that has been in existence for many 24 years under other agencies. I believe it is going to 25 move into the National Archives building in the near

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future.

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It also establishes — that is the Executive Order establishes an interagency security appeals panel composed of senior level officials to decide on appeals from declassification challenges and appeals for review of mandatory classification, and to approve, deny or amend agency exemptions from automatic

8 declassification.

9 There's also an information security policy advisory council of seven members, not employees of the 10 11 government. Its function are to advise the President 12 on policies, recommend changes in policies, recommend 13 to agency heads in the specific subject areas 14 systematic declassification review, to serve as a forum 15 to discuss policy issues and disputes. The Director 16 will provide support to the council.

Unfortunately these two bodies are not yet
operating. The members of the council have not yet
been appointed, therefore they can't get anywhere. The
other body, to my knowledge, has not yet met.

But nevertheless, our panel is part of a larger government-wide apparatus to which DOD is responsible. We're an important part, because DOD has such a large percentage of government record holdings. The last time I was aware of the amount, I think it was

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something like 27-30 percent of the records in the 1 National Archives by Department of Defense records. 2 In response to the Executive Order, the 3 Department of Defense issued its overall 4 declassification plan in October. The military 5 services select staff at defense agencies which hold 6 most of the records of the Department of Defense have 7 or will issue individual declassification plans. 8 Ι think some of you may have seen them already. . 9 The Secretary of Defense has given 10 responsibility for overseeing DOD declassification to 11 12 the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, known 13 14 familiarly as C3I. Last winter C3I gave consideration 15 to establishment of a departmental declassification advisory panel, that would include scholars from 16 17 outside the Department of Defense. The reaction in OSD 18 was favorable.

19 A further impetus to action came from the 20 letter in July to the Assistant Secretary of Defense 21 C3I from a group of scholars, including some of you, 22 suggesting the creation of the liaison committee to 23 advise on desirable priorities for the selection of the 24 Defense Department's records for review and 25 declassification of the new Executive Order.

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1 The Assistant Secretary received through 2 Emmet Page, responded with a strong affirmative and 3 arrangements began to establish the panel that would 4 carry out the function.

5 For ease of administration, always a prime 6 consideration in a large bureaucracy -- DOD is a large 7 one -- the committee was established as a panel of the 8 Defense Historical Advisory Committee, with C3I 9 providing the administrative apparatus, for which I am 10 profoundly grateful.

11 The charter of the Defense Historical 12 Advisory Committee has been amended to include the 13 Defense Historical Records Advisory Panel. The 14 planning session attended by many of you was held on 15 November the 30th last. It helped clarify some of the 16 problems and issues involved in the establishment and 17 operation of the proposed panel.

This brings us to date. This is a panel established by the Department of Defense to help facilitate, we hope, the declassification of DOD records. It has two constituent elements: Chiefs of DOD historical offices and scholars from the academic community. These two represent the two most prolific groups researching defense records.

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The Departmental leadership beliefs that

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informed outside scholars acquainted with government records, and the declassification process, provide a public presence on the panel and can lend expert assistance to the panel's work. The Chiefs of the DOD historical offices and their staffs have authoritative knowledge about many groups of the records.

7 We're fortunate to have available to us also 8 the expert advice of DOD's record managers and 9 archivists of the National Archives and Record 10 Administration. Moreover, we hope to draw on the 11 specialized knowledge of other scholars who are 12 familiar with the bodies of DOD records.

13 The DOD declassification plan issued by C3I calls for declassifying 15 percent of the effective 14 15 records each year for five years. Estimates of DOD 16 records involved are 500,000,000-plus pages. We emphasize the plus. The Navy and Marine Corps report 17 18 about 500,000,000 pages on their own, so it's quite possible that we're talking about more than a billion 19 20 pages of records to look at during the next five years and the number will undoubtedly grow. 21

Fifteen percent of 500,000,000 would be about 75,000,000 pages per year, and there may be release of documents by internet or other electronic means.

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It seems likely that most of the records will

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be subject to systematic review rather than automatic declassification, because priority during the first year will probably be on the low sensitivity category documents, that is documents with a little classified information. The panel probably opted those efforts to the records of high and medium sensitivity, that is, more highly classified records.

8 Let me remind you that in addition to the 9 normal systematic declassification process, which has 10 been functioning, there are declassification programs 11 in particular areas of high public and political 12 These include the human radiation interest. 13 experiments program, a huge effort across the government in which DOD played a major part; the POW-14 15 MIA records; the Gulf War syndrome records, a three or four year effort by the Army; and the Kennedy 16 17 assassination records -- and there are a lot of related 18 DOD documents.

Let me bring to your attention the existence also of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing government secrecy, established by Public Law 103236 on April 30, 1994 in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal years 94 and 95. This 12-member commission includes members from Congress, the executive branch and the public.

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1 The Commission's function is to investigate 2 all matters in any way related to any legislation, executive order, regulation, practice or procedure 3 relating to classified information, for granting 4 security clearances, and to submit to Congress a final 5 6 report containing recommendations on the classification of national security information and the granting of 7 security clearances. It had broad powers, including 8 subpoena power, a staff, and funds. 9

10 It is to make a final report two years after 11 the date of the first meeting, which I understand was 12 earlier this year, so we may not get the report in 13 1997. To the extent that it can help reduce the volume 14 of classified materials in the future, it will ease the 15 task of declassification.

I think that you are aware of some other road 16 blocks that obstruct the declassification process. 17 The problem of foreign government NATO documents will 18 continue to limit access to bodies of records. Getting 19 permission from all the other members of NATO to 20 21 release documents is a lengthy and wearing process. Access to intelligence records, especially secret and 22 23 crypto-materials will continue to be difficult, and of 24 course there are the statutory bands on disclosure or 25 release -- certain prisoner of war information, for

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instance.

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2	The responsibility for providing
3	declassification guidance to the various elements of
4	defense belongs to the DOD declassification management
5	panel composed of representatives of the major elements
6	of the department. The two panels, this panel and the
7	declassification management panel, are complementary
8	and should maintain a cooperative relationship. To my
9	knowledge, that panel has not yet met.
10	The prime purpose of this panel is to

determine declassification of bodies of DOD records that would best serve the interest of the public and the scholarly community, and I assume that the two interests are essentially the same. Since the capacity for declassification is limited, we will find it necessary to try to establish some order of priority for declassification.

18 As an advisory panel, we will have to present 19 our findings in the form of recommendations to the Assistant Secretary C3I and the Assistant Secretary of 20 21 In the final analysis, each element of the Defense. 22 Department engaged in declassification will determine its own priorities. I'm hopeful that with support of 23 officials from the office of the Secretary of Defense, 24 25 I believe that they intend to be supportive, our

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recommendations will carry enough weight to influence
 priorities. I have no doubt that this panel can make
 some difference.

We're all aware of the frustration 4 5 experienced by many of us in securing access to classified records and in securing declassification 6 7 records. I have no doubt that we could spend a great 8 deal of time venting our frustrations and prescribing 9 procedures for speedier or large scale 10 declassification. Instead of that, I hope -- I ask 11 that we adhere to our prescribed function of 12 recommending declassification priorities for which we 13 can offer the strongest support. We will be able to 14 make discernable progress if we stick to our task.

15 As you're all aware, virtually all of the 16 documents with which this panel will be concerned are 17 in the National Archives at its Federal Records Center 18 here at Suitland and elsewhere around the country. We're therefore going to have to do a considerable 19 20 amount of business with the National Archives and 21 Records Administration. We are fortunate to have a 22 liaison at the Archives for this purpose, Michael Hertz 23 and Jeanne Schauble. Ms. Schauble is present and 24 prepared to represent NARA in our discussions.

I'd like at this time to pause and to welcome

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our welcoming speaker this morning, Mr. Frank Horton.
I'm informed that Dr. Horton does not insist on having
long biographical details of his career before -before presenting himself, so I would like to welcome
Mr. Horton who is representing the Assistant Secretary,
Mr. Page. He's not here yet. Beg pardon?
MS. DAVIS-HARDING: He's somewhere in the

8 traffic.

9 DR. GOLDBERG: I thought I saw him. We will 10 dispense with that for the time being and move on. Ι am interested in hearing from the members of the panel 11 12 here, as I say, I am hopeful that they brought good ideas. Our goals, as I have indicated, are to, if 13 14 possible, expand the scope of the records to be 15 declassified, speed up the process if possible, and 16 provide some guidance to the declassifiers by 17 establishing priorities for the kinds of records we 18 would like to see declassified.

We're tasked to recommend priorities for declassification, and in recommending priorities we are also in effect bringing about an expansion of the scope of declassification. Speeding up the process will, of course, depend on the resources made available to the job and this is a theme to which we will undoubtedly return again and again during the course of this

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meeting and future meetings, because whatever is going
 to be done depend on the resources devoted to doing the
 job.

Looking at it from a historical viewpoint, 4 we're all aware that many government programs, whether 5 enjoined by Executive Order or statute often lag behind 6 7 established target dates. This declassification is especially vulnerable to resource allocation because it 8 is projected on such an enormous level -- such a high 9 10 level. It would take a lot of money and people to carry it out. As I say, we'll probably be coming back 11 to this a number of times during the course of the 12 meeting. We can't overlook it; we have to be aware of 13 14 it and have to be aware that we can recommend, we can 15 propose that somebody else is going to dispose of these 16 recommendations.

With that I would like to open the meeting tosuggestions, comments, from the panel. Mr. Wampler.

DR. WAMPLER: Yes, -- on the agenda for discussion which is in the blue package we received --just this last one that puts something up and duly shoot it down, because a sense of how the people within the agencies would like to see the panel interact with them. And what I'm going to put on the record for people to look at was a model which inspired some of us

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in proposing this panel in the first place, which was a 1 similar liaison organization that was set up for the 2 3 Department of Energy which worked upon a process which presented information to the outside scholars about the 4 existing retired record groups. Those were the 5 discrete units you were working with. We need to try 6 7 to establish some way to put triage on this -- what are the most important, the most interesting of those 8 record groups to scholars that they would like to see 9 10 us assign a high priority?

11 That to me, seems to make sense in this 12 setting, rather than some sort of effort to devise a 13 list of subject priorities which would lead for a 14 search for documents amongst the hundreds of different 15 retired record groups amongst all the different 16 services and all the different offices and agencies 17 that we're dealing with here.

18 So it seems that one way to approach this 19 might be a two step process whereby first of all you do 20 try to establish what are your high interest priority 21 That in turn can serve as the subject areas. 22 guidelines by which you then approach the issue of 23 trying to sort through all the various retired records 24 that the different services and offices are trying to 25 deal with here, because that, I assume, is the method

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in which they're approaching this. You've got to
return record accessions for the various services and
for DOD. You pull over boxes of those. You don't pull
over cervical cuts or files within boxes spread out
amongst many different accessions.

So we have to find some way to mesh the 6 subject interest of the outside community, the 7 scholars, the public, with the units within which the 8 9 different offices are dealing and try to come up the ultimate mix of those. Dr. Goldberg said most of this 10 is probably going to be addressed towards records which 11 will probably fall in category 1 or category 2, which 12 13 present the most promise for you in screening these and 14 also in trying to meet whatever work plan targets that 15 you set down for yourselves.

16 I made the argument the last time and this 17 time that it seems to me that it doesn't make a great deal of sense to try to backload the process with the 18 19 most difficult materials, thereby assuring that you're 20 going to not comply, but at least try to establish a 21 learning curve in applying the new guidelines to the 22 category 1 and 2 materials from the start, in some way. 23 And also it just seems to make sense from a 24 public relations point of view to try to get some of

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the high interest items out there throughout the entire

process, and not have them all be waiting towards the end.

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3 I provided my own selective list of some of the document collections that I know exist at the 4 National Records Center for record group 330, which has 5 6 some of the very high-level, high-policy document 7 collections of the Office of the Secretary of Defense or the Office of the Assistant Secretary for National 8 9 Security Affairs, or the Assistant Secretary for Atomic 10 Energy Affairs for late 50's into the 60's, all of 11 which I would assume fall under the purview of the 12 Executive Order. It would be rather replete with 13 documents of great interest to us. It would also be rather replete with category 1 and category 2 14 15 documents, and this, I think, is what we'll probably be 16 trying to come to an agreement on. How do we deal with 17 these -- the very records that are most interesting, 18 the ones that present the most difficulties.

19 That was my idea as far as one way to deal 20 with this. Dr. Goldberg has already mentioned another 21 point which I made, which is the need to have a very 22 close coordination with NARA. I mean if these things 23 get reviewed, declassified, NARA has to be ready to 24 take the hand off because then there's a very large 25 logistical problem on their end. They have to

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repackage these, get pull sheets put in them, get them ready, and you want to, to the degree possible, to have the least amount of delay from the time DOD or the services are ready to hand off the records, and NARA is ready then to make them available to the public, therefore carrying out the final intent of the Executive Order.

8 That in gist, is what I put down in my much 9 longer submission, and I'm just curious to see how the 10 people who are on the other side, having to deal with 11 this, feel about that sort of approach, adding input to 12 their decision-making process.

DR. GOLDBERG: I'm interesting in hearing
from representatives of the services or others in this
matter. Yes.

MR. DAVIS: Jim Davis from Aerospace museum. 16 I agree to the approach that you've suggested, and that 17 is to identify key offices and advisory groups and 18 organizations within DOD for 47-aught (ph) -- and 19 20 regardless of where the records are, simply devote the authority of the declassification effort to those 21 22 particular records. So for example, within RG-330, the Secretary of Defense, deputy or under secretary of 23 Defense, Assistant Secretary of Defense, and Atomic 24 25 Energy Secretary of Defense for International Security

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1 Affairs and probably Defense Director of Research and 2 Engineering -- and then along with that, the various RG 3 advisory bodies starting with the research and development. And then moving over to different DOD 4 components, for example, Secretary of the Air Force, 5 6 Secretary of the Air Force, a couple of key assistant secretaries of the Air Force, and perhaps scientific 7 advisory bodies and so on and so forth. You simply do 8 9 that in chronological order.

DR. GOLDBERG: You didn't mention the C3I. DR. GOLDBERG: You didn't mention the C3I. Speaking of C3I, our speaker has arrived, and I'd like to introduce to you Dr. Frank Horton, principal deputy, Assistant Secretary of C3I. I'll skip the biographical details.

15 DR. HORTON: Thank you, sir. Dr. Goldberg, 16 members of the Board, many of whom I've known in other 17 capacities these past years, distinguished guests, 18 ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for attending the 19 first formal session of the Historical Records 20 Declassification Advisory Panel meeting. Pleased to be 21 able to join you on behalf of Assistant Secretary Page, 22 who is out of town, unfortunately, or else he would 23 have been here, and Secretary Perry.

This is indeed a time of change for those ofus who work in National Security. Balancing the

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1 challenges of the next century with fewer resources 2 forces us in the Department of Defense, to reevaluate 3 how we conduct our business. A vital aspect of that 4 business is protecting our nation's secrets and with 5 respect to this panel, balancing that with supporting 6 the public's right to know.

7 Today's forum is one step towards security 8 (inaudible) this important endeavor. You're here today because of new guidance issued by President Clinton. 9 Executive Order 12958 on Classified National Security 10 11 Information, directs us to establish a comprehensive 12 declassification program. The Order states, and I 13 quote, "Within five years from the date of this Order, 14 all classified information contained in records (1) 15 more than 25 years old and (2) have been determined to 16 have permanent historical value, shall be automatically 17 declassified, whether or not the records have been 18 reviewed."

19 This is our motivation, and in his September 20 5, 1995 memorandum, the Secretary of Defense, Dr. 21 Perry, established this distinguished advisory panel. 22 Our charter is to develop a listing of comparable 23 areas, that from a historical and public perspective, 24 the Department will consider for declassification 25 immediately. The Department of Defense

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declassification plan also emphasizes the role of this
 panel. Make no mistake, the Secretary of Defense is
 committed to making the declassification program a
 reality.

5 Approximately 18 months ago, I spoke to the National Classification Management Society during their 6 7 annual training seminar. Part of my speech was to challenge the security community to work from a states-8 bound in the previous classification management system. 9 For instance, 1982, a system was established to let 10 11 original classifiers do what he or she had to do to 12 protect information security at all costs. Something 13 went wrong with that system.

The declassification provisions for the then
Executive Order never did work as intended.
Information did not complete a natural evolution cycle
of classification, implementation, declassification,
and release to the public.

19 Clearer, distinctive guidance directed at 20 those individuals who classify information to identify 21 the date or event that would serve as the 22 declassification benchmark. I have yet to see and I'm 23 sure you have yet to see a document labeled "declassify 24 on cessation of the Cold War."

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OADR or Originating Agency Determination

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Required was designated to be the exception to the
 declassification rule. In retrospect, OADR became the
 norm or the rule. It appeared that everything was
 being classified indefinitely.

Compare that environment with today"s. 5 Declassification is a reality. We no longer authorize 6 the use of OADR, eliminating what some would say is the 7 easy way out. Classifiers are held accountable for the 8 full life cycle of the information they generate. 9 Cradle to grave decisions on classification and 10 safeguards will be a part of the solution for future 11 12 generations involved with National Security and historical research. 13

However, today's reality is that there is a 14 monumental vacuum that must be filled in the area of 15 declassification. Many of you on the panel have 16 17 already found the time to review the Department of Defense's declassification plans. With approximately 18 19 700,000,000 pages of documents, potentially declassifiable, we do not lack for work. You're 20 21 exploring technological solutions to assist 22 declassification programs, but in the end, it will be 23 people using their best judgement that will make the 24 difference on how we view information protection. 25 On behalf of Secretaries Page and Perry, I

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challenge this panel to collectively identify those
areas that will produce the largest return for the time
and resources invested. The Department of Defense will
declassify materials, but the speed and focus of their
efforts are open to your recommendations.

6 Finally, some acknowledgements. When 7 Professor Trachtenberg first approached Assistant 8 Secretary Page, my boss, with his offer to establish a 9 liaison committee between Defense and academia, we 10 found a perfect combination of factors to help us turn 11 the tide on the declassification planning process.

12 I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and those above me, to Dr. Trachtenberg for his initiative 13 14 and those of the remaining scholars on the panel. Ι 15 would also wish on my own and their behalf, to thank 16 Dr. Goldberg, the Secretary of Defense Historian for 17 agreeing to chair this panel. Dr. Goldberg has been 18 instrumental in assisting us with the many details required in establishing the panel. 19

20 My staff stands ready to assist all of you in 21 any way possible, to gather the information needed to 22 achieve our mutual objective. In addition to the work 23 of this panel, I am aware that many of you serve on 24 advisory committees for other government agencies. 25 This synergism of activity indicates to me just how

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aggressive the government is in achieving our
 collective goal of openness.

3 Some of these recommendations may be 4 difficult to accomplish because of legitimate national 5 security concerns, however, I assure you that all of 6 your recommendations will receive full consideration by 7 the Senior leadership of the Department. Good luck 8 today in your formal session. Thank you, sir.

DR. GOLDBERG: Thank you. We've had some 9 10 interesting proposals presented by Misters Wampler and Davis, which I think are moving in the right direction. 11 The question that remains, of course, is how fast can 12 13 we move in that direction given the usual problems of declassifying, of priorities, et cetera. We must bear 14 in mind that the services and other entities in the 15 16 Department also have their priorities, and in effect, 17 we are going to be competing with them. If they have dedicated themselves to declassifying 15 percent of 18 19 hundreds of millions of pages of documents, and they genuinely intend to do so, then I think it likely that 20 21 they are going to start with those that will be easiest 22 to declassify and permit them to reach their goals. 23 So what I am suggesting is that we can go

ahead and make these recommendations, but we probablyshould not expect that they will be carried out

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expeditiously. It may take time, it probably will take 1 time to do the sort of thing we want done because 2 declassifying highly classified records can take much 3 longer than declassifying the lower level records. Ι 4 think it's practical considerations of this kind -- and 5 we're dealing with a very pragmatic situation here --6 not only a matter of money and resources, it's a matter 7 of a lot of different entities within Defense -- OSD, 8 the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the four services, three 9 departments, 15 agencies -- all of which have their own 10 programs, their own priorities and varying resources 11 12 and goals.

13 So we're operating within something of a maze 14 and the problem is going to be, as far as possible, to 15 make our way out of that and get some people in 16 authority to make decisions. I think we will get that, 17 but I don't expect it to be done overnight, and I hope 18 that you won't either. Yes, Mr. Leffler.

19 PROF. LEFFLER: My observation is that there 20 is a great deal of emphasis on -- on openness, but the 21 initial effort, as I see it in almost all the agencies, 22 has been to specify all the records that were exempt 23 from order of declassification, and I'm sure that this 24 is an understandable first move.

25

But I would put on the table and follow up on

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1 (inaudible) by saying it would be desirable if we could agree to ask for services to identify perhaps for our 2 next meeting three months from now, the top ten 3 priorities that they would suggest to us for 4 declassification amongst the categories enumerated for 5 systematic declassification. That would sort of move 6 us forward to sort of getting into an actual give and 7 take about what -- what's to be the priorities -- those 8 records that we all submit to be of greatest value. 9

DR. GOLDBERG: I think that can be done. We have every right to ask for information, and I trust that we will get it. Colonel Ponnwitz?

COL. PONNWITZ: I'd like to make one comment 13 on Professor Wampler's memo of 19 February. In your 14 second paragraph you asked about FOIA's information. 15 16 Now, our service is personnel oriented, so the charge of our FOIA requests are for verification of medical 17 claims that go before the VA and legal issues against -18 19 - individual services. So in this light, you wouldn't get the kind of information out of that that you might 20 21 expect.

However, there is on matters that don't apply to those two categories, this may be another approach that we could certainly look at.

25

DR. WAMPLER: Well, it was just an effort to

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try to find at least a paper trail that is the first 1 cut at public interest, and also a first cut in which 2 returned records have been pulled most often in 3 response to those requests as a way of getting to set 4 some of these priorities. The sense I get after 5 looking at the work plans -- that these are sort of 6 7 like (inaudible) plans -- talk about requirements, and we're coming at this from two different approaches. 8 And how we mesh these two is going to part of what we 9 10 may butt heads on.

Now, what I would like to get down to, as Mel 11 12 said, is particulars, to get a sense of how the people 13 who are dealing with this -- what use do they see for 14 this panel? Are we just muddying the waters for them? 15 Are we actually helping them in any way? How can our 16 advice be structured to be of most use to them? Ι 17 mean, we're trying to mesh some ongoing traffic here, 18 and give some direction to it. Well how do we do that?

And I know he doesn't want to jump into this, he's got documents that I want from him, he might get back at me eventually, but Brian -- do our things on Record Group 330, I mean, do the ideas I'm putting forth in any way make sense for what you're trying to do in terms of your review, or do we just create headaches for you if we try to do this?

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1 DR. GOLDBERG: That's an appropriate 2 question.

MR. KINNEY: (inaudible) if you come up 3 with -- makes sense to me, anyhow -- interested in --4 It seems to me that following 5 DR. GOLDBERG: up your remarks, Al, that these plans which have been 6 7 submitted really give you a handle to start with. They list records that they want to exempt and these 8 presumably -- not presumably -- it seems to me are the 9 10 kind that you are very much interested in, and they 11 actually give you then listings of the kinds of things you might want to ask for, and give priority to. Did 12 13 that occur to you?

14 PROF. LEFFLER: Well, it occurs to me --15 that's what we got into discussion about, right now 16 it's simply an enumerated list of those documents that 17 are going to be automatically declassified. Sure, I 18 mean, but most of these of subject oriented categories, 19 which would create impossible barriers for orderly 20 declassification. You need, as Bob Wampler said, you 21 need to do it by accession groups in order to make it 22 reasonable. So you need to identify the accession 23 groups. I think Bob has put it in a very reasonable 24 way, within the category of the OCRG-230 -- that 25 perhaps we can agree on certain categories of that

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sort, depending on Air Force and Army et cetera as
 well.

3 DR. GOLDBERG: You mean specific accessions
4 within the record groups?

PROF. LEFFLER: Yes.

5

6 DR. GOLDBERG: Not the record groups as such? 7 PROF. LEFFLER: Right.

MR. DAVIS: What -- as it stands now -- are 8 the parameters in category 3 of the various DOD 9 components? And what sort of effort required to review 10 those to see if they would be automatically 11 declassified? The reason I ask this question is for 12 example, if category 3 records of the Department of the 13 14 Navy include let's say, bureau of medicine and surgery records in RG-52, it would seem to me that it would be 15 more constructive to spend or to devote the reviewer's 16 17 time to let's say, reviewing C&O records or ECNO records or something along those lines. 18

This of course, lowers the potential numbers of records that would be automatically declassified, but as I understand it, there's such limited resources in the declassification area, I think (inaudible).

PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I'd like to make some
comments about the general problem. The first point is
that I don't think the historians on the panel should

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be viewed as simply the advocates of opening up as much 1 2 sensitive material as possible. I think our fundamental approach is adversarial in that sense. 3 ₩e all have a common problem here -- that's the problem of 4 striking a balance. What's the balance between the 5 6 need to have a rational declassification system --7 because the present system, I believe everybody agrees doesn't serve anybody's interest -- and the need which 8 9 I think, historians by and large recognize, to make sure that certain kinds of material are innocuous. 10

11 What can we do? We could offer advice, but 12 in order for that advice to be effective, it has to be 13 targeted on real issues. It's up to the agencies to 14 come to us in a more specific way and say, where should 15 we allocate our priorities? Here's the list of 16 different possibilities. Here are the different series. This is what's inside such and such a series. 17 18 Where do you think the emphasis should be placed? This is -- this is -- this means that we have to move 19 eventually to getting a list of holdings that are being 20 21 -- you know, they're excepted from automatic 22 declassification -- but they're being declassification -- so that we can have some meaningful 23 24 input.

25

Until that's done, what can we do? What

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1 should we talk about today? Well, there are certain 2 principles of a general nature that we could, I think, 3 agree upon, that should possibly guide the -- the people who are actually doing the declassification work 4 in their efforts. And the principle that occurred to 5 me -- and I think most of the academic historians would 6 7 agree with this -- is that there is a basic cluster of 8 issues that we are very interested in, and which we do 9 not believe would seriously, or in any significant way, 10 compromise legitimate national security interests.

11 What are these issues? Not things like 12 weapon design or any kinds of nuts and bolts things -you know, details of intelligence gathering or anything 13 like that. We're interested at the top of the policy 14 15 process. High policy. High strategy. Fundamental 16 issues that bear on the core of the story. Issues of 17 medicine; issues of what are you going to do if you 18 have a particular problem like -- you know, Soviets' cutting off access to Berlin to take a particular case 19 20 that a lot of us are interested in? How does this 21 relate to fundamental strategy for the defense of 22 Europe? How much independent authority do military 23 commanders have? What can we say about the strategy 24 making process? To what extent do parochial service 25 interest bear on the final decisions that are made?

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Issues relating to the control of nuclear weapons, to
 the sharing nuclear weapons with allies.

All those kinds of issues of a conceptual nature. There's no reason to keep those things a secret. And that's where the efforts should be targeted, in my view. Not --- not all these kinds of technical things which do not bear on questions of hard policy.

How does this relate to the whole question of 9 how should the declassifiers allocate their efforts? 10 There's a fundamental tension, it seems to me, between 11 the requirements of the Executive Order and what the 12 historians are interested in. The Executive Order says 13 you've got to declassify X percent of documents by such 14 15 and such a date -- and that means that there's an 16 incentive for the declassifier as to concentrate on the 17 documents that are of least interest, frankly. The things that are least sensitive and nobody cares 18 19 about -- this is the stuff that they're going to be 20 releasing first.

To my surprise and delight, a number of the agencies said that they were going to concentrate on the most sensitive stuff --- not that this is going to be released first, but that this is where their efforts were going to be allocated.

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Now, we all know that's bureaucratic process 1 2 to a certain degree and the requirements of the 3 Executive Order have to be respected, but in terms of the internal allocation of efforts within the agencies, 4 it would make sense, I think, to say that a certain 5 percentage of time, a certain percentage of that 6 7 effort, should be devoted to the areas of greatest 8 interest, not the sorts of things that are going to 9 compromise, you know, the legitimate national security 10 interests, but the sorts of things that historians in the public as a whole, I believe, would be interested 11 12 in, and will give us insight into what was going on in 13 that period.

One final point. It was mentioned that we have to worry about foreign governments about the NATO documents and so on. When we think about the whole issue, how can historians help, just here in an advisory capacity? We can only do what people ask us to do.

How can we help? One of the ways we can help is a number of us have worked in foreign archives. We know what the British are releasing -- and the declassifiers should come to us and say, well, we're a little leery about releasing these kinds of sensitive documents that bear on NATO strategy in the 50's, but

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1 what do you get on this stuff from European sources? 2 And I can say, well, I saw such and such in the British 3 archives, French archives they're releasing this and that, NATO itself has been declassifying documents just 4 5 very, very recently through MC14 Section 3 -- NATO's 6 documents have been coming out. It's that sort of give and take interaction, based on the sense that we're 7 involved in a common process. And we're here to help 8 each other -- that I think should form our basic 9 10 approach to these issues.

DR. GOLDBERG: Well, I am gratified that the 11 panel members -- the academic members of this panel --12 13 have given as much thought to this problem as they have 14 and I hope you will continue in the future. I hope the 15 kind of interaction that you were talking about -- can it really take place? I know that you're all very busy 16 people. There's always the question, how much time can 17 you devote -- how much time will you devote to this 18 19 sort of thing. This is the practical problem; it's 20 another one of the pragmatic considerations which seems 21 to me may be overriding in the whole process. Ernest? 22 PROF. MAY: I just wanted to ask a question 23 Suppose that we were to recommend that on this. 24 Assistant Secretary Page that -- agrees to an order of 25 priority based on Bob Wampler's list. Suppose that he

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1 said that one of the -- the NFC files should have top 2 priority. Then what happens? What's the actual 3 procedure by which -- suppose that Secretary Page 4 agreed to this and then what?

5 DR. GOLDBERG: That's a good question. It's 6 a question of how much attention the services and 7 others will pay to what Secretary Page says. He cannot -- he can tell them what he would like to see done; he 8 cannot enforce the doing of it. They have their own 9 priorities; they have their own resources; they have 10 11 their own plans. And as you heard and you well know, 12 orders coming from (inaudible) are not always 13 observed -- sometimes in the breach. So we don't' 14 really know.

15 On the other hand, we can certainly make the 16 recommendations; we can urge OSD to put out a request 17 or establish a priority, and then if we can do some 18 policing thereafter, fine, but I wouldn't guarantee it.

MS. DAVIS-HARDING: If I could add to that. I could maybe go over the mechanical process that we envision, using the listing as an example. Once the panel here comes to an agreement on the priorities on that listing, we would then formally shoot it out to the DOD declassification management panel members who are comprised of all of the services and DOD agencies,

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for comment, and give them maybe 30 days to coordinate that within their agencies and get us an official position on whether they feel that all or some or none of those topical areas or records should be declassified.

6 At that point, once we get the responses back 7 from all of the agencies, then we would consolidate 8 that information and come up with any issues where 9 individual agencies non-concur in release of 10 information, and then we would go through a process of 11 raising the issue to the senior leadership within the 12 Office of the Secretary of Defense to make sure that 13 the senior leadership makes a DOD-wide decision on whether something should be released. 14

For example, if -- to pick on the Navy -- if the Navy said nonconcur in release of a particular topic and the DOD leadership felt that it was in the best interest of the Department to release that information, then the senior leadership within the department would override the Navy decision.

So the process would be a -- a process that would take into account all of the comments from all the DOD agencies on each one of the topical areas suggested, and then we would, through that process, get the -- get a decision from senior leadership. And we

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could also envision at some point maybe calling in some
 of the historians or/and some of the dissenting
 agencies to justify why the information should not be
 declassified.

5 DR. GOLDBERG: This should give you some 6 notion as to why it takes a long time to get things 7 done. Dr. Horton?

8 DR. HORTON: If I could just something before I have to depart for another activity -- what Renee is 9 10 describing, I would characterize as an attempt to 11 develop a consensus from those who ultimately, as the 12 doctor indicated, have the power to accept or reject 13 that -- our recommendations. We are coming to what I might characterize as the first mid-term, and whatever 14 the outcomes of the election, those who are in the 15 16 permanent government have a tendency, as we all know, 17 to sometimes treat those who are at the end of a term 18 as lame ducks.

So if you really want this to be done and carried on into the next four years and beyond, what you've got to do is get involvement of players and their concurrence -- their buy-in, so the method that we create here now carries on to the end of this century and beyond. So that's what we're about -- once we get these recommendations is to get that consensus,

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get that buy-in, get that commitment of all players
 throughout the bureaucracy. Thanks again to the panel
 for a green search. Good to see all of you.

4 PROF. LEFFLER: Could I just make one observation before you leave? It might be very 5 6 difficult, as you say, a very cumbersome bureaucratic 7 process to get all the agencies to agree, and as Dr. 8 Goldberg said, to actually get them to comply. But I 9 would suggest that it would be a wonderful thing for 10 OSD itself to set an example with its own records, 11 because if you're talking about those that are of 12 greatest historical interest in terms of foreign 13 policy, people in OSD have the opportunity to set a 14 model for everybody, and I would encourage you to do 15 so.

16 DR. HORTON: That's a fair challenge. I
17 think we'll get arrested if (inaudible)

18 (laughter)

19DR. GOLDBERG: Better stick around for four20more years.

21 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Can I just make a 22 comment? In terms of the procedure. It seems to me 23 that what we should do --- and I'm curious to get other 24 people's reaction to this --- is ask the different 25 agencies to come in with their --- you know, their fair

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descriptions of what their holdings are, what the
 contents of their holdings are so that we can give this
 kind of input. We can ask them for presentations and
 then we could make our comments.

In the plans that went out, there was a great 5 variation, you know, in terms of what was said -- of 6 how the holdings were described. If you look at the 7 Air Force plan, it's like -- their description of their 8 9 files there that are except from immediate 10 declassification or automatic declassification -- like 11 whole record groups. Or they can't even give that, 12 they just give the numbers. You can't give any input when that's all you're getting. You have to get it in 13 so that there's some content to it, not file by file, 14 15 but series. 16 DR. GOLDBERG: That's a preliminary step that

17 could take a very long time though.

18 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Well then -- then what
19 are we supposed to do?

20 PROF. LEFFLER: We could at least identify 21 ten priorities that we think are really important; come 22 in describe them and just talk about them. I think 23 trying to describe everything is too much, but to 24 identify a few and to come in and talk and make some 25 decisions is perfectly possible.

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PROF. TRACHTENBERG: They knew what our
 general priorities are and on the basis of our general
 priorities, let them operationalize it in terms of plan
 for which specific files they're going to work on.

5 DR. GOLDBERG: So you would make as a first 6 step establishment of general priorities, rather than 7 specific ones and ask the services to come back and if 8 possible, particularize what might be made available. 9 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: So that we can discuss 10 it.

11 PROF. LEFFLER: Actually, I think the type of 12 thing that Bob did for the OSD papers is what I'd like 13 to see done for some of the other agencies -- to enumerate some of that. I mean that gives you some 14 concrete notion of what we're talking about. So for to 15 16 be too general is a way for us to sort of eviscerate 17 our ability to do anything. So I would focus on getting some real enumeration of high priority files, 18 19 record groups, within the general category, and to describe them for us and then let us -- let us have the 20 21 input so that we can make our recommendations. 22 DR. GOLDBERG: Start with a single agency.

PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Can I just ask Bob howhe got that RG-30 list?

DR. WAMPLER: Okay.

25

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PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Because how do we know
 those are the most important things.

DR. WAMPLER: I said that these are 3 illustrative of a much longer list, and this is my 4 first selfish opinion of some things I think are 5 important. Suitland, the National Records Center ---6 you've got files and files and files of these things 7 called From 135s, which are turned over to Suitland 8 9 whenever an agency retires records there for storage, pending either destruction or transfer to the National 10 11 Archives.

OSD, DOD, has got some very detailed inventories of these. Also they've got a pretty good data base, computerized. You should be able to give them, let's say a time frame, and they can turn out for you, at least line item entries with accession numbers and the number of boxes that are say, in record group 330 --- and also for some of the other services.

Now anything you've kept within your own storage, I would imagine the JCS records at Ft. Ritchel or elsewhere — they don't have any information on those yet because you haven't really transferred them, have you?

24 OBSERVER: Some.

25

DR. WAMPLER: But you can get a first cut, at

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least, at the size of the problem, and you can get a 1 listing that gives you the title, the dates, and how 2 many boxes, and probably the location. And you can 3 work from that and that would be the sort of 4 information DOE had to work with. I mean, I just spent 5 days going through the records out there, taking notes 6 on what was available as part of other projects I'm 7 working on, and I just culled this from a much, much 8 longer list of everything that at least chronologically 9 10 would fall in the purview of the Executive Order.

Now, the question I have -- you were talking 11 about mechanics here -- logistics and resource 12 13 allocation. Now you can fiddle around with your work plant on the basis of what we put forth in terms of our 14 I wonder how much wiggle room you're going 15 interests. to have, in terms of shifting your work plan, and then 16 how much leeway do you think you've got in terms of the 17 guidelines that are being developed by the new 18 19 Executive Order for declassification?

I think we need more of a dialogue here than we can in an open session, over -- you know, when you get down to the nuts and bolts of really doing this, you know, how much leeway do you really feel you have? I mean if we kick in something on an issue where you feel that under the law, under the guidelines, you're

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1 just going to look at it and say no, no, no, no, no. We need to know that. We need to feel if we're kicking 2 something at you that you really have no flexibility on 3 it at all, in order to make this process work. 4 DR. GOLDBERG: Brian Kinney handles 5 declassification for OSD. How do you respond to that, 6 7 Brian? What would happen if you had to -- somebody had 8 to go through all the accessions? MR. KINNEY: Well, I don't quite understand 9 10 the question, but as I said before, I think you all have a good approach here and for Brian Kinney -- and 11 I'm the one who does the declassification for OSD, and 12 I've prepared a statement which I'd like to read at 13 14 this point. 15 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright, and after you finish 16 we'll take a break. MR. KINNEY: But it will give you a feel for 17 18 what's involved here. I feel very responsible for OSD records and I have a list -- I'm going to read this 19 because I don't want to leave anything out. 20 DR. GOLDBERG: 21 I think this is appropriate in 22 view of the turn the discussion has taken. 23 MR. KINNEY: I have but a small staff of four personnel that has been performing systematic 24 25 declassification review for the Office of the Secretary

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of Defense since 1980. They've gone through most boxes
of records from what accessions were at the Suitland
Record Center for the years 1947-63. We're working on
the 60-63 time frame when the new Executive Order came
out.

Of those records we have declassified much 6 and have extended a portion of them -- I'm not quite 7 sure what the percentage -- maybe ten percent we 8 Our effort during the life of the office has 9 extended. 10 always had to conform to the strictures of records 11 management procedures and live with the fact that 12 there's a significant percentage of other agency 13 material interfiled with OSD records.

Often people get OSD mixed up with DOD and I
want to make it clear that we're responsible for the
Office of the Secretary of Defense records, not the DOD
records.

18 We began operating under the rules of the new Executive Order on October 14, 1995 in an effort to (1) 19 20 make forward progress during the transition, and (2) to 21 see how the new rules would affect our review. ₩e 22 began this work despite slowly, evolving implementing 23 guidance that is still not in place, despite the fact 24 that Secretary Perry on behalf of the entire DOD asked 25 for and was granted a six month extension to name the

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files he proposed for exemption, despite the fact that there was obviously no immediate recommendations from the Herdal -- this committee -- or the information security policy advisory council mandated by the Executive Order.

6 Our experience during the last several months 7 has been that we've had to make numerous changes to our 8 procedures, and with assistance still evolving, we know 9 we still need to be flexible to respond to future 10 changes and further changes.

We eagerly await the implementing guidance most affecting us and to see what we will ultimately be reviewing when things sort out. So that in a nutshell is where I am and I hope it partially answers the guestion. We --- we're ready to do whatever and you all come up with priorities that you want to see worked on, we'll be happy to respond and try to do it.

However, I do have a small staff, as I 18 emphasized, and if somebody comes up with something --19 20 a bunch of war planning information or whatever that 21 they want to see declassified, we'll have to prioritize 22 things because there are certain things that I know that I can't declassify and there's certain things that 23 24 will bog me down to a standstill. And I want to go forward and review as much as I can. So -- that's 25

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1 about all I had to say on it.

2 DR. GOLDBERG: So at the very least, you would be prepared to respond ---3 MR. KINNEY: Sure. 4 DR. GOLDBERG: -- to any list of priorities 5 that this panel submitted to you and give us some 6 7 explanation of what's involved in reviewing. 8 MR. KINNEY: Right. MR. NORRIS: I'm Robert Norris. T'm a 9 10 participant in the DOE advisory experience, and I'd 11 just like to relate a concrete way of approaching this. This is where Bob Wampler started with with his model 12 13 of doing things. And also Professor Trachtenberg, he 14 makes the point that we can't do anything unless we know what's there and need a concrete list of things, 15 16 which is what happened int the DOE experience. 17 A small group, maybe 15 or 20 people who 18 participated, were given I think about 30 record 19 groups, dates and what they contained, and basically we 20 were told and voted on and after collating those different votes, a certain half dozen or eight rose to 21 22 the top as the ones that this group decided were the 23 ones that should be attacked first, and they were 24 attacked first, and that is the way we're proceeding 25 right now. But we wouldn't have known what was there

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1 without the presentation of the documents.

2 Now, DOD is much larger situation, and it's 3 OSD and the services and on and on and on. But I think for the mechanics, the logistics of the thing, it is 4 going to have to be a presentation from the different 5 offices of what's available before you can proceed to 6 7 identify as a panel here what should go first. 8 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright, suppose we take a ten 9 minute break now. 10 (Whereupon, a brief period off the record 11 ensued.) DR. GOLDBERG: 12 In order to better record the 13 proceedings of this meeting, will those of you in the 14 audience please stand when you are speaking, it will be 15 easier to get your remarks and make certain that they 16 can appear in the transcript? Ponnwitz? 17 COL. PONNWITZ: Yes, I'd like to make one comment -- an observation, really. You know, as the 18 only uniformed representative here from a service, I'm 19 20 pretty familiar with the kind of records we hold -- and 21 we have our chief archivist Fred Graboske here who's 22 going to make a comment after I do. What -- when we look at Dr. Wampler's list, 23 24 we don't really hold, as a service, a lot of these policy decision matters. We hold contingency plans; we 25

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hold operational records; we hold the kinds of things that are derived from these policy decisions. Our fifteen percent, then, can focus to certain operations that were derivatives of these policy decisions that may help, but they're not going to answer the questions you want.

7 The priorities you have here really take the 8 fifteen percent and dump the majority of that fifteen 9 percent to OSD, the higher levels of the Department of 10 Defense, where if you want that information from them on these policy matters, they have to do the majority 11 12 of the work first. Unfortunately, that's not the way 13 the system is structured with resources to support this 14 effort. We all have our own archivist; we all have our 15 own archival records; we all have our own fifteen 16 percent of the resource that we can contribute -- and 17 it's going to be at our level because we can only 18 declassify the records that we originated. We can't 19 declassify a record that OSD has originated.

20 So there's a little bit of a conflict here 21 between the way the priorities are going to be 22 structured, and the way the resources are allocated. 23 In the Persian Gulf Syndrome declassification effort, 24 there was sufficient resources allocated to change the 25 structure. We got money to do that. With this effort,

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we don't. We can only use the resources that are
 currently available to us now.

Now Fred Graboske, our chief archivist, would
like to add a suggestion, and I would ask him to do
that at this time.

MR. GRABOSKE: Well, first let me kind of put 6 7 things in perspective for you -- and that calls for 8 both the Executive Order implementation and the Gulf 9 The Department of Defense is spending, I would War. 10 guess, \$10,000,000 this year on the declassification of 11 about 20,000,000 pages. There is not one penny 12 budgeted for the billion pages we have to declassify 13 under the Executive Order. So we really have a 14 resource problem. And so I'd like to comment on the 15 suggestions I've heard about us providing a list of 16 what we consider the priorities to be declassified.

17 If you ask us to do that, you're taking our 18 time away from declassification. Let me kind of turn 19 the tables on you and suggest that you do some research. Go to the National Archives or the National 20 21 Records Center, get copies of the 0-1 reports, the computer printouts from every record group held in 22 23 classified stacks -- stacks one, two, and three. They're done by record group and it was every accession 24 25 in those record groups. If you see something that

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strikes your interest, go on out to the record center 1 and look at the Standard From 135 that lists all the 2 3 folder titles in every box in that particular accession. Then come back to us and say, hey, you know 4 RG-127, which is the Marine Corps records, and this 5 particular accession 65-8599, boxes 42 through 49 look 6 like they're really interesting. Could you focus on 7 8 those?

9 And if you tell us that, you're more than 10 likely to get a positive response, because we're making 11 our plans to five years, and if you tell us right up 12 front what you're interested in, specifically by 13 accession and boxes, then maybe we can devote our 14 resources to those particular boxes and get them to you 15 quickly.

16 I see Cuban Missile Crisis is one of your 17 particular interests. Okay, those records have been 18 declassified --- all our records from the Cuban Missile 19 Crisis have already been declassified. We're waiting 20 to ship them to the Kennedy Assassination Records 21 Review Board which has demanded them. That's one of the problems -- demands for our resources. 22 So as soon 23 as we finish that, we'll retire the records to the 24 National Archives and you can go look at them there. 25 But you know, that's my suggestions.

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1 DR. GOLDBERG: How extensive are your 2 accession list? How long would it take to go through 3 an accession list for the Marine Corps. It may be even 4 longer for the other services, but how about the Marine 5 Corps?

Our accession lists comprise 6 MR. GRABOSKE: 13 binders -- that's about 4,000,000 pages, several 7 hundred accessions. It covers materials from World War 8 II through mid-eighties. It would take you a little 9 bit of time, but if you would just start with the 0-110 11 reports, computer generated by the records center --which by record 127 -- look at RG-127, look at the list 12 of accessions, some you're not going to be interested 13 Files in general (inaudible) 1950-52 you're 14 in. probably not much interested in. 15

But the operation records, the war diaries, 16 17 the command diaries that were generated back three, 18 four years from World War II through 1964 when the series changed -- those are in the record center. You 19 can find those in several different accessions. If 20 you're interested in them, go to the SF-135 or come to 21 22 my archive and look at the SF-135s, and we can get stuff declassified for you. 23

24 DR. GOLDBERG: Do you think it would be
25 useful to have representatives of the major elements of

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the services, OSD and JCS give us here, perhaps at our next meeting, a notion of what you have. People here have been asking for inventories, for lists, et cetera. I know that is a near-impossibility, but would it be possible to get the essence of the sort of thing you have, especially at the levels in which people here are interested in this information?

8 MR. GRABOSKE: I would suggest the National 9 Archives could do that. This is a joint effort between 10 us and the National Archives. The 0-1 reports are 11 generated by the Washington National Records Center.

12 DR. GOLDBERG: MS. Schauble?

MS. SCHAUBLE: Yes, I'd like to make a 13 comment on that. The Washington National Records 14 15 Center holds a majority, I guess, of the records that 16 are still in the agency custody. These 0-1 reports are going to be very extensive, not only that, but not all 17 the records that will be in the records center are yet 18 19 scheduled as to whether they are permanent or not. And 20 of course we could only be focusing on permanent 21 records for the purposes of this Executive Order.

I produced a list of all the classified series that have been accessioned in the National Archives, and that comes out to something like four inches of paper -- and I don't think that's as much as

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are actually in the records center.

2 DR. GOLDBERG: How did you get it down to 3 four inches?

MS. SCHAUBLE: Small print. I would be happy 4 to work with you in -- as a liaison with the records 5 center. I'm not sure that the center is really set up 6 7 to provide access to the committee members to their records of 135s and so on. I would also say that as 8 part of our moving to our new building, a lot of those 9 records that are in the records center that had been 10 scheduled for accessioning by the archives through 1995 11 and the accessioning had been postponed for various 12 13 reasons, are being moved into the archives now.

As a matter of fact, as we speak, we are in the process of bringing some of those records in. That creates a bit of a problem for this group because they're going off the record center rolls and onto mine, so to speak, and there's going to be a period of transition while I get them into my database and get figured out as to what exactly we have.

21 So, I would suggest that in terms of -- in 22 those terms, you might want to work with me as a 23 liaison with the records center.

24 DR. GOLDBERG: How close to date is that25 accessioning now? In general?

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MS. SCHAUBLE: We are going to still be moving records probably through about the middle of April, and at that point we would have brought in everything that the agencies have agreed for us to bring in at this time.

6 DR. GOLDBERG: How far is that going to make 7 you set beyond?

8 MS. SCHAUBLE: Some of it -- most of it 9 probably is within the time period of this Executive 10 Order. Some of it may go a bit beyond. Whether it 11 would cover everything in the center that is subject to 12 the Order, I don't know, because as I say, it's only 13 what the agencies have actually agreed for us to take 14 at this point.

DR. GOLDBERG: Thank you. Ms. Smith? We are hearing now here from the Presidential Libraries, an area, I think that most scholars are very much interested in, and one which certainly holds high level policy materials. Would you stand, please?

20 MS. SMITH: Yes. I don't want to feel like 21 I'm beating a dead horse with this group, but in 22 November, I went over the fact that the Presidential 23 Libraries do hold a small group of high level policy 24 papers — that we come under the Executive Order. The 25 archivist is entrusted with the declassification of

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those materials, and we would really like this group to
 consider some way of attacking the 7,000,000-plus
 classified materials in the Presidential Libraries.

In December, the archivist sent out a plan to 4 each one of the intelligence groups for proposing 5 250,000 items at three libraries dealing with Viet-Nam 6 and Eastern Europe -- they're from the National 7 8 Security files, so they sort of go with Dr. Wampler's 9 idea, but they also -- they're from a file, but they also deal with the subject. They would be easy to 10 11 declassify; they're extremely high policy level. As yet we really have not gotten any feed-back from you 12 13 all in terms of how you want to respond to that plan.

14 The archivist said that we're more than willing to listen to something else. If you want to 15 16 attack the 80,000 at Truman -- the 80,000 classified 17 items at Truman, the 250,000 at Eisenhower and do a 18 whole Presidential collection, we can go that way, but 19 we really --- really want this group in some way to attack the high policy level materials at the 20 Presidential Libraries have and in some way address 21 22 those so that the archivist can comply with the Executive Order and get something declassified in the 23 first year dealing with Presidential papers. 24

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Of course, they have multiple equities,

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1 involve coordination. NARA, the Presidential Libraries 2 will have to coordinate multiple decisions, but we are interested in working with you all in any way we can to 3 4 address this. We have sent each one of the 5 intelligence agencies specific planning aids -- they're much larger than the four inches that Jeanne is talking 6 about -- we couldn't get it down in as small a print. 7 8 But I think we can give this group any more specific 9 knowledge that they want, if there are other ways they want to go, but we'd just like to be part of your 10 11 consideration. 12 MS. DAVIS-HARDING: That was sent to the 13 intelligence community? Did you send it to ---14 MS. SMITH: Pardon? 15 MS. DAVIS-HARDING: The listing -- your 16 listing -- your recommended listing? 17 MS. SMITH: Who did we send it to? 18 MS. DAVIS-HARDING: Yes. 19 MS. SMITH: Well, I'd have the copies because 20 it seems -- it's one interesting thing to me is that 21 every intelligence meeting I've been to, the agencies keep telling me I haven't sent it to them, but I sent 22 it to Dave Whitman at OSD --- you want me to go through 23 all the different names? 24 25

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MS. DAVIS-HARDING: No, that name's in my

1 office.

2 MS. SMITH: My office is right next door and I have each different person in the military that I 3 sent it to --- Rich Warshot (ph), CIA -- you want me to 4 5 keep going? MS. DAVIS-HARDING: 6 No ---So that plan has gone out. 7 MS. SMITH: 8 PROF. LEFFLER: Have you had any responses? 9 MS. SMITH: The one response that we have, 10 and I was telling Dr. Trachtenberg about it, is that 11 CIA is proposing to the various intelligence 12 communities a way of dealing with presidential papers, 13 and this is a proposal which is to scan presidential 14 papers, put them on an optical disk -- the agency would bring them back , and then we would -- they would be 15 involved in transferring equities to other agencies and 16 17 the libraries would coordinate the declassification 18 decisions. And that plan would involve the other 19 intelligence agencies buying into it. 20 We've had several meetings on it. It is still at the talking stage. NARA's feeling on that 21 plan is we're more than willing to listen. 22 We have 23 preservation concerns of that screening, but certainly 24 the agency has indicated to us that they're more than 25 willing to cooperate with that. And several of the

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agencies have indicated interest because it's working
 out cheaper to do that sort of plan and buy into that,
 than it would be to do onsite review.

I really don't care. We just want to see something declassified, and if the plan works and the preservation of the documents is good -- and I think CIA is willing to work with that -- with us on that -we will be more than cooperative.

9 We believed onsite review of the Presidential 10 Libraries was the way to go and we've had a few 11 situations with onsite reviews that worked extremely 12 well. Iran Contra sat over at the OJ and amazingly 13 enough, the reviewers from the different agencies were 14 given the authority to make a review decision on Iran 15 Contra documents, so we know it can work.

But if it's too expensive to go to 16 17 Presidential Libraries, then this other proposal is a real option. What we have proposed is that they do the 18 250,000 or small number of items the first year so that 19 20 we can see if the technology is really working, and 21 they have come back and said maybe one library would be 22 better than three different libraries because we 23 proposed collections in Kennedy, Johnson, and Ford. So we said, okay, we'll up it at Johnson which has the 24 25 largest amount we're proposing for the first year and a

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larger staff, in this particular case, to deal with it. 1 So that is now the only real discussion 2 that's going on right now -- that I've been involved in 3 in terms of some response on this issue. And I've also 4 heard a lot of we know you're out there -- Presidential 5 papers contain multiple equities, you're too expensive 6 7 to visit, and we'll deal with you at four and a half 8 years. DR. GOLDBERG: As an aside if we observe that 9 all of you will speak up as well as Ms. Smith does, you 10 won't have to stand. 11 MS. SMITH: That's why I did not stand. 12 DR. GOLDBERG: You did very well. Are the 13 14 Presidential Libraries willing and capable of doing this? 15 MS. SMITH: We really want to do this. 16 We do 17 not have large staffs, but it is extremely expensive to maintain the classification on our documents which are 18 over 25 years old, and we believe that what we proposed 19 20 are 80-85 percent documents that you all will 21 declassify, and that will make researchers happy, like 22 Professor Trachtenberg. So, yes. 23 You know, are we going to have problems in terms of our resources in coordinating four ---24 sometimes four different decisions which as no surprise 25

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to you all, may not match up at all? Well, we've been
doing it for years. It's on a much larger scale.
There will be some time lag from the time we get the
documents back to coordinating it, but we will make our
best effort.

DR. GOLDBERG: Well, it seems to me that this 6 panel would certainly welcome what you propose and 7 support it and perhaps help provide some guidance. 8 Is -- we probably couldn't get to any high level of 9 policy, and if we could relate it to OSD, perhaps JCS, 10 I think we certainly would have the highest levels and 11 12 perhaps we ought to think in terms of some kind of a 13 pilot project, initially, which you give us some notion 14 of what is possible and what is not possible to be I'd like to hear some reactions. 15 done.

DR. CLARKE: I'd like to -- the Marine archivist pointed out that as soon as you get into scanning redaction -- declassification right on a scanning document, that gets extremely expensive. Do you really have money to --

MS. SMITH: Let me make it very clear. NARA is not the one who is proposing this scanning proposal. The CIA is the one who is proposing and has come to NARA and put this on the table, and they are the ones who seem to have the money to implement this proposal.

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1 What we are saying as an agency is we're more than 2 willing to work with you and listen to a possible 3 alternative. And they feel they have the -- when you look at going out and doing onsite review, and the fact 4 5 that DOD wants to look at every presidential paper that is security classified, if you're doing that -- if you 6 7 can't implement the Executive Order without looking at every one of our 7,000,000 pages, then probably 8 9 scanning is the less expensive proposition than doing 10 onsite interagency ---DR. CLARKE: The CIA would establish a 11 12 scanning center, say ---13 MS. SMITH: Yes. 14 DR. CLARKE: -- at the presidential library 15 that other agencies could ---16 MS. SMITH: They would go to the libraries to 17 scan, come back here, and then what we were talking 18 about at the last group meeting was that agencies could 19 either -- if they buy into this -- and I am not the CIA 20 spokesperson here, I'm just telling you of a plan ---21 you could either go out to where the redaction center 22 is or they would give you diskettes that would have, 23 say, all the Truman classified presidential papers on 24 that diskette. It is still in the talking stage, but -

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BG. ARMSTRONG: Let me -- I'm Dave Armstrong, I'm a Historian. I am not an archivist, and I think, quite honestly, that's one of the problems this group is having. Because if we're talking about archival matters, it takes an archivist to talk knowledgeably about the nuts and bolts of doing things in an archive.

7 It seems to me that what the historical -the academic historical community wants and what the 8 9 archival bureaucracy -- the people who have to do the 10 declassification -- are capable of producing is -we're not making connection between what Professor 11 12 Leffler wants and what the Marine Corps is saying. And 13 I would suggest that that connection can only be made 14 if the academic community -- Dr. Wampler, whoever --15 the individuals in it who are interested in the particular set of records, whether they're OSD, JCS or 16 17 some service records, contact the archival people 18 responsible for those sets of records and find out what 19 is the nature of the general descriptive listings that 20 those people keep, and then work from there to specify 21 amongst those listings, what particularly they would 22 like to see first in the queue for declassification.

I'm emphasizing archivists, as they've
repeatedly said, they have a problem. They have a 15
percent mandate to do. Period. And they have to do

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1 that. And so what you're asking for which is perfectly 2 reasonable from my point of view as a historian, has to 3 be matched up with this mandate -- and they have 4 workloads to juggle and so forth.

I'm very serious about suggesting to the 5 historical community -- what has to be done is a lot of 6 work, guite frankly, on the part of the historians who 7 are interested in access to particular records. This 8 is like telling a graduate student and go out, like 9 Bill Holly did to me 30 years ago, threw me in the 10 11 archives and basically said, you know, go in there and 12 find where this information is. And until you od that, I don't think you're going to be able to make a 13 connection between what you want in terms of getting 14 your interests first in the declassification queue and 15 what the people charged with doing the work are capable 16 of doing. 17

Now, I would be perfectly happy to get the Joint Staffs people, the documents people, here next time to talk to you about JCS records. They have gone through systematic declassification up through '63, and I believe they are now accession --- those records are available or at least positioned in the National Archives.

25

Since that time the records sit out at Fort

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Ritchie. Now, those records, there is a degree of
 specificity about what's in those files. The JCS
 files up to 1986 or so were very carefully organized
 because of the idiosyncracies of the organization. And
 we can get you that kind of information, I think.

But I would simply try to emphasize to you 6 7 that as historians, you're used to dealing with the 8 specific, and the problems you face here are specific, 9 and they're idiosyncratic to each organizational set of records, and I really do think that trying to get this 10 11 group to establish sort of general priorities -- I don't think you're going to make the connection between 12 13 what you want and the people who actually do the work.

Now if -- I would endorse what 14 DR. DUDLEY: Dr. Armstrong is saying, and my concern as representing 15 the Naval History Center and Naval history in general, 16 17 is that the impact of a different set of priorities on 18 top of our capabilities -- our capabilities are very 19 strained, very limited in terms of declassification. The initial burden of Desert Storm declassification 20 21 program, which is immediate, and which is dealing with 22 events that only three -- four or five years ago -- is 23 going to consume us for a while, at least at the center and with regards to some other particular locations. 24

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The Navy system for declassification is

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decentralized. Each location has a very limited number 1 of people who can work this problem, so I see that 2 there's a potential tension here, existing tension, 3 which may be relaxed -- and I'm certainly willing to 4 listen to priorities coming from the academic side. 5 In order to be a little more specific, 6 7 though, I'd like to ask Mike Brown from the C&O's Information Security Oversight Team, to make a 8 statement. 9 DR. GOLDBERG: Will you also ask him to stand 10 11 up, please? 12 DR. DUDLEY: I will do that. 13 I am in a position of making a MR. BROWN: security profession here. I am neither a historian or 14 an archivist by profession. But I've dealt with 15 16 declassification as an issue for many years. We 17 submitted our declassification plan and we got the requisite blessing on it -- they said we did very 18 19 well -- good plan. That's what we were striving for. 20 We have a plan. We haven't finished that 21 plan. We haven't identified a series of exempt records 22 yet. We have begun a process, and this process has 23 been ongoing, well, since June. In taking this 24 decentralized process and trying to bring those records 25 in together and determine how they're going to achieve

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their part of the 15 percent -- and that's the goal.
That's the goal that they're striving for. And this is
the kind of information that you're probably not
interested in, because we're going to have the people
in NAFC (ph) looking at what they can declassify in
1950's technology -- on weapons systems.

Similarly, for the people who do aircraft.
They're going to be looking at the technology of
aircraft. They're not looking at political decisions.
They're not looking at procurement decisions. Those
are by and large declassified by now, anyway.

12 So they're approaching this thing in a -- in 13 a very narrow focus, which is the only way that they 14 can do it -- they can't start looking at broader 15 spectrum -- they have to concentrate on their area of 16 responsibility.

17 Resources, Desert Storm, POW-MIA and the 18 other directed efforts. We have a dilemma here, in our 19 need to do, to comply with the Executive Order requirement. And we also have some directed actions 20 21 come down from the Secretary of Defense that said, 22 we'll concentrate on doing this and okay, we'll have to 23 bring all our resources if we start concentrating on 24 those efforts. We still have some other things to do. 25 I think that our plan that we put together

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was a pretty good plan. At a meeting we held yesterday 1 that Dr. Dudley attended -- mechanic went over all 2 these things. Ray Schmidt who had been probably 3 described in very great detail what's contained in 4 records or what's not identified. I asked the group at 5 6 large (1), has the declassification factory turned out anything yet. And the answer is no. Not a single 7 product has rolled off the assembly line. (2) Can you 8 target a subject if we give you a subject to go after? 9 The overall response was no. 10

11 Now, again, I'm not a historian. I'm not an 12 archivist. So I'm not that familiar with the 13 precision, the specificity, that the records are identified by means of the 135 and other depictions. 14 15 But what I have seen is that they are very, very generalized kinds of things, so all you can do is focus 16 17 on the records of an activity, for a time point, and 18 not target a subject.

DR. GOLDBERG: I think that what you indicated is that this panel would probably not be interested initially in giving priority to some of the things that you mentioned.

23 MR. BROWN: Exactly.

24 DR. GOLDBERG: That said of the agencies,
25 would you imagine this panel would be interested in the

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Navy and the Office of the Secretary of the Navy, the
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, that's
different. This is where policy is made, and this is
where the focus of this panel will probably be in
establishing priorities. Did you want to say
something?

PROF. LEFFLER: Did I want to say something?
DR. GOLDBERG: Yes.

9 PROF. LEFFLER: Not right now, thanks.

10

DR. GOLDBERG: I thought I saw you -- yes.

I accept the invitation to review 11 MR. DAVIS: planning aides in 105 at the National Archives and 135s 12 in the record center. But there's a gap here, and that 13 14 is there's very little information available to the 15 public on holdings still in the physical custody of DOD components. For example, the Army Intelligence and 16 17 Security Commands, per its handouts last November ---18 listed about 7000 feet of records, but to the best of 19 my knowledge, there's no information publicly available 20 on the dates of these records, classification status, 21 types of records and so on and so forth.

And that's, I think, something that needs to be addressed, because at this point the public, for the most part, can determine what's in the National Archive system, what's in the record center system, but cannot

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determine what records are still in physical custody of
 these various DOD components.

3 And I think if the panel can identify in specific offices and organizations' records that are of 4 interest, that will greatly assist in the 5 identification of specific collections -- let's take 6 for example, two or three entries in the record group 7 in the National Archives of 100 or 125 accessions in 8 some record group at the record center. But without 9 10 that focus, it's -- I wouldn't say an impossible task, but an overwhelming task. 11

So, for example, if the focus wants to be -focuses on the outset on OSD records, that greatly
narrows the search.

15 DR. GOLDBERG: I think this is probably the 16 disposition of the panel, to focus on particular 17 offices and organizations. It seems to me that the nub of all of this is how do we start here? Do we want to 18 19 explore first and find out more about what is there? 20 What are the things that we're interested in that we find out about? And then do something about it. Or do 21 22 we want to start with some kind of a pilot project and 23 say these are subjects that we would like to see looked 24 at, given priority in the records of: the Office of the 25 Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff and

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especially the Presidential Libraries? These are the
 kinds of decisions you have to make.

3 Today, do we want to make up a list of recommendations and in priority order, and say this is 4 what we would like to see done, and then forward it up 5 6 the line and wait to hear from it? Or do we want to find out more about what is there and what the 7 procedures are and what the possibilities are? 8 This 9 involves having some knowledge of where our 10 recommendations go and what might happen to them. I, personally, think it would be a good idea 11 12 for some of us to establish direct relations with some 13 of the offices and organizations that we'd like to see declassifying specific areas that we might prescribe or 14 15 ask for, would be more accurate. I'd like your reaction to this. Are we prepared to make some 16 17 specific recommendations at this point or do we want to 18 make some further preparations and explorations so that we may have a much better informed proposal to make at 19 20 the next meeting or at the one after that? Yes. 21 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Well I like the idea of 22 a pilot project because first of all, it enables us to focus in on the issues that are at least the crowning 23

concerns of the historians, plus also, in the process
of working out a pilot project, we'd be able to come to

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grips with all kinds of general problems that are going
 to be faced throughout the whole effort. And the whole
 idea on focusing on OSD, Presidential Libraries, JCS,
 makes sense for obvious reasons.

The other thing I was going to say is I think 5 it's great to hear from archivists saying, you know, 6 come talk with us and tell us what your priorities are, 7 something very easy that we can do along those lines. 8 9 I think, get the names, addresses and phone numbers of 10 the relevant contact people that can be disseminated to practicing historians because we -- in terms of our own 11 12 work -- are a very small proportion of a very large 13 profession, and it would be very nice to kind of get 14 this information out so that people can go through the process that you outlined and speak with you. Because 15 16 you know, it's a very big bureaucracy; it's very hard 17 to kind of target the right people, and people get frustrated. 18

19 And I can say also that there is a certain 20 variation in terms of how receptive different 21 archivists are. Your attitude, I thought, was 22 wonderful, but I can tell you that that's not what we 23 encounter on a uniform basis. Sometimes it's quite 24 frustrating. So just going through the process of 25 identifying people who are receptive would be of

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enormous value. So that's on the one hand.

2 The other hand is proceeding with a pilot 3 project of the sort of thing Al Goldberg just described. Here the question is how to proceed? 4 5 DR. GOLDBERG: That's what I wrote down. 6 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: And there are at least 7 two basic choices, you know. Who is going to take the 8 lead? We can go your route -- historians can go and 9 get these forms and so on and say this is where we 10 think priority emphasis should be placed. 11 My own preference would be to kind of go the 12 other way and have a presentation, kind of giving a 13 general description of the holdings, and then a general 14 philosophy of where efforts are going to be 15 concentrated, and then -- and then open issues. These 16 are the specifics where we would like you to give us 17 Here is some typical problems of a concrete advice. Tell us -- tell us -- you know, give us some 18 nature. 19 sort of feedback. This is our inclination, or this is 20 an open issue -- but the -- but instead of asking the 21 historians to kind of go and do this work, I think it 22 would be much more efficient to have the main thinking 23 going on among the archivists who then would have 24 specific problems in mind that they could just come to us with, and then our advice would fall on prepared 25

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ears.

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2	COL. PONNWITZ: Just remember we're still
3	plodding along with our fifteen percent, and each day
4	we do another percentage of that 15 percent, whether we
5	get guidance or not. To come any time that we have
6	to pull the archivist off his task to come up with
7	these problems and everything else to educate the
8	panel, is part of that 15 percent that doesn't get
9	done. And we're not going to be our compliance with
10	the Executive Order says do 15 percent.

11 Now we hope that eventually we'll get the 12 right 15 percent, but for the services, from what I'm 13 hearing here, anything we tell you is not going to 14 satisfy what you want anyway because we just don't have 15 it.

16 Now the other agencies perhaps do, and maybe 17 if you focus on the prime agencies first that you want 18 information from in that order, the higher level government agencies, and certainly the suggestion that 19 20 the CIA has for the Presidential Libraries is excellent 21 for that kind of policy, we cannot scan all the 22 information we have, nor would we want to because it's 23 not economically possible for us, nor would it help you 24 get any data that you particularly need.

25

But I think if we set the priorities in

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certain categories and don't burden everybody with the
 same priority determination, we'll get to the thing,
 the conclusion, you want a lot quicker, a lot more
 efficiently.

I don't want to burden 5 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I think that these -- people who have been 6 people. 7 working with this problem -- they know what the problems are. They can come in with scarcely any 8 9 preparation at all and give a presentation just the way any of us can on the basis of what our current work is, 10 and then -- then it would provide a framework for 11 12 interaction.

The -- and that's why focusing on OSD, JCS
makes sense.

DR. GOLDBERG: You are aware that marinescarry out orders better than anybody else.

PROF. TRACHTENBERG: We don't give orders.
DR. GOLDBERG: I'm not talking about our
orders, the ones they already have.

20 PROF. LEFFLER: I want to endorse what Mark 21 Trachtenberg said. I think that we should focus on 22 three things: First, carrying out a plan for the 23 Presidential Libraries and underscoring the importance 24 of grappling with those materials because they're 25 clearly the ones that least --- ostensibly relate to

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1 high policy.

And secondly, focusing on the Office of the
Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I
think that's a very good beginning.

5 And these allusions to you know, making a preparation for us and taking away from 15 percent, 6 don't strike me as terribly persuasive because what 7 8 we're asking for is a presentation that should take 9 somebody sort of two hours to prepare. We want a sort 10 of -- some type of survey of what you, who deal with 11 the records, think are the most important record groups 12 that deal with high policy making and what are the 13 particular problems that might inhere in the declassification of those documents. 14

To those of you who have spent years and years working with these records, it doesn't seem to me that this should be a voluminous assignment. It's something that we want to hear your best judgement on so you can inform us so that you can then go ahead and declassify these very records that you are most interested in.

So I think that's a very good way to proceed.
DR. GOLDBERG: It depends on whose most
interesting --- your most interest does not necessarily
mean that the declassifier's are. But on the subject

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of Presidential Libraries, would you be interested in
 visiting some of them?

3 PROF. LEFFLER: No, I have been to almost all4 of them. I don't need to go back to them.

5 DR. GOLDBERG: No, for this purpose, to find 6 out what it is that ought to be declassified.

7 PROF. LEFFLER: Well ---

8 DR. GOLDBERG: Or any other panel members9 interested in such visits?

10 MS. SMITH: Well, I mean we're more than 11 willing to have onsite visits, but I think that we have 12 -- we can provide this group with very good knowledge 13 if I know what you all want. We have provided what we think is the most sensible plan which deals with 14 15 VietNam and Eastern Europe and national security files 16 of the Kennedy, Johnson and Ford libraries. I can give 17 you the breakdowns for Truman, Eisenhower. I can tell you what they have. We can write back to you -- if you 18 19 wanted this at one of the libraries, that's great too.

20 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: About the — the general 21 philosophy of how to do this. It doesn't make sense to 22 start with the oldest stuff first and then just kind of 23 move forward — the oldest stuff systematically so we 24 get the sense of an inexorable tide sweeping its way 25 through the —

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MS. SMITH: Well, there was a method to our madness. We sort of thought that too. In our plan, by the way, we have the Hoover library which is 22,000 classified materials and also contains a bunch of Louis Straus's files -- he was chair of the Atomic Energy Commission -- and those materials would largely be exempt from declassification.

But basically, we picked the three libraries 8 9 we did and the sublibraries we did because the 10 Eisenhower library have some duplicative material that the National Archives has, that we are hopeful will get 11 declassified and so were trying to prevent the agencies 12 from doing duplicative declassification efforts. 13 So we 14 were staggering the Eisenhower library, hoping that the declassification effort would be done in the office of 15 the National Archives material and then we would do 16 17 Eisenhower the second year.

18 The Truman library we could start out at the 19 Truman library; the Johnson library, one reason we picked the Johnson library, it has 150,000 items held 20 21 out for VietNam and Eastern Europe. They're already segregated; they're very ready for review and we have 22 23 had huge research interest in VietNam, Soviet Europe and Eastern European countries. So then the Ford 24 25 library said, well, we're very ready and the Kennedy

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library said we're very ready on this issue, and it was
 sort of like we were getting feedback to respond to Dr.
 Goldberg in terms of how we could best serve the
 declassifiers to be sure that their time was wisely
 used.

6 But we can go -- if you want to go with the 7 older libraries, we can do Eisenhower and Truman. I 8 mean we're very flexible. We too, have a resource 9 component, so we were figuring that into our plan too 10 as to where we would be most ready.

DR. GOLDBERG: You have already proposed a plan. Now what can this panel do to complement that, to support it, to add to it, perhaps?

MS. SMITH: Well, I think that maybe someone from the panel should be involved in this group that Ray and several of the other of us in the room are involved in with the CIA in terms of optical scanning. I think that might be interesting to see if -- if that is the way to go. That would be one thing I would suggest.

Another thing is that the group endorse the plan, if you agree with the plan, and try to put resources in terms of doing the plan in those three libraries. I think that DOD has already indicated its agreement with the CIA scanning proposal. I don't know

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1 exactly.

2 DR. GOLDBERG: Can we add subjects and 3 establish priorities?

MS. SMITH: Yes, you can add subjects. You can -- but all I'm saying is I don't think it takes a visit to a Presidential Library, because you tell me the subjects and I can go out to the libraries and get you the information back. I can get you detailed lists, searches, whatever.

You can have libraries, if you -- or some one
wanted to go older, we could go older. We were just
holding it out for certain reasons.

DR. WAMPLER: Essentially your work plan is based on their data base and DOD equity documents that have been pulled from the accession records in each of the libraries?

17 MS. SMITH: These were very, very ready 18 materials and we -- we proposed for several different 19 reasons -- research interest, readiness, and the 20 likelihood that most of the stuff would be 21 declassified, wouldn't be exempt from declassification. 22 So that was why we pulled these areas -- Eastern 23 Europe, it's changed; VietNam, it's changed. We know 24 from what we're sending in on inventory review that we're getting a high rate of declassification on these 25

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1 areas, and we have tremendous amount of research 2 interest. But we're more than flexible. If this group wants to go some other way, you all just need to tell 3 me what you want me to give you lists on and I can 4 5 pretty much give you the list. DR. WAMPLER: Is it organized according to 6 7 the way it is in the libraries? I mean --MS. SMITH: Yes. 8 DR. WAMPLER: -- you know, DDL you would have 9 wide read files, or you would have the staff files --10 11 DOD ---MS. SMITH: No, the wide read files, the 12 13 Presidential files are organized somewhat differently, 14 because they really reflect the Office of the 15 President. 16 DR. WAMPLER: That's what I mean. They're 17 organized on those ---MS. SMITH: Most of what we're proposing are 18 19 national security files that deal with countries ---20 national security country file for VietNam at all three 21 libraries, then the key national security staffers that 22 dealt with those issues and Eastern Europe. So that's what we're proposing from those. 23 24 DR. WAMPLER: What would be most useful to

25 you then, would ---

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MS. SMITH: Pardon?

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DR. WAMPLER: What would be most useful to you is if we accept the chronological progression would be to see whether we want to endorse or play around with the priorities you set within each library for dealing with the files or records. That could be done pretty easily on the basis of what you have here, I would say.

It doesn't -- it's not very 9 MS. SMITH: helpful for my review to say you're interested in DOD 10 materials because they're all intermixed. But if the 11 12 libraries you tell us you want materials dealing with the Mid-East war of '67, then we'll give you a search 13 14 of where all that material is. The USS Liberty, we 15 know where that material is. VietNam, we know where that material is, so the library files are somewhat 16 17 more organized around subject, although we're pulling 18 from different places.

DR. WAMPLER: All I'm saying is that it makes more sense to make recommendations based on the way in which the stuff is already organized, not try to pull -2 -

23 MS. SMITH: Right.

24DR. WAMPLER: -- that apart and reassemble25it.

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MS. SMITH: Yes.

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DR. WAMPLER: Yes.

3	PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Before we take these
4	questions, I just have one specific follow-up. You
5	said you wanted to avoid these competing
6	declassification efforts at the Eisenhower library. I
7	think one of our concerns should be, again, to get a
8	sense of what these efforts are so that we can think in
9	terms of a coordinated plan. Could you talk a little
10	bit more about why, from the DOD, it's being done in
11	that area, the Eisenhower library?
12	MS. SMITH: AT the Eisenhower library?
13	PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Yes.
14	MS. SMITH: It's specific Jeanne, maybe
15	you can help me out here. The archivist that deals
16	with mandatory review there felt that we had some
17	record groups that were coming out that were fairly
18	duplicative of some materials he has.
19	DR. GOLDBERG: Could you stand please?
20	MS. SCHAUBLE: The Eisenhower library has a
21	microfilm of some of the records that we have in paper
22	that deal with World War II. Most of the microfilm
23	actually should be declassified except for individual
24	items on each reel that have been withheld. So we have
25	to then review those items that have been withheld to

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see if they can now be declassified and released. If we can release those items, they will be able to release the entire microfilm. So it doesn't make a lot of sense to go out there and try to start from scratch and review the whole microfilm.

6 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: This is the World War II 7 stuff?

8 MS. SMITH: Yes, but one thing you all may 9 not realize is that presidential papers were the only 10 papers that were exempt from the (inaudible) dealing 11 with declassification of World War II materials.

PROF. TRACHTENBERG: But nobody's working on a competing declassification effort on presidential materials in the Eisenhower library. Right? So if we -- so that whole argument for not focusing in on the presidential materials in the Eisenhower library because there's a competing declassification effort doesn't carry any weight.

19 I guess we're not being clear. MS. SMITH: 20 Jeanne has some stuff that has been declassified that we have microfilm out at the Eisenhower library. 21 We 22 need to do the work to pare it out, to get that collection taken care of so that people aren't going 23 24 out to the Eisenhower library and doing duplicative 25 work that we can take care of. And we have not -- NARA

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has not done that work. We want to make sure that the agency that because it's declassified one place and it exists at another place that we're not having the few resources that there are, spend their time on a duplicative situation.

6 So I'm sorry if I'm not being clear. We 7 could do Eisenhower library, but our priority was that 8 it should go with the second year and we should address 9 this one situation internally to the agency and not 10 waste anybody's resources.

11 DR. GOLDBERG: Tony?

MR. PASSARELLA: OSD (inaudible) office -DR. GOLDBERG: Would you stand please?
MR. PASSARELLA: I'm neither a records holder
nor a historian.

DR. GOLDBERG: Your voice is not quite asgood as Ms. Smith's.

MR. PASSARELLA: Okay. I just would like one 18 clarification. All of these components are working 19 very hard to make plans to declassify all the records 20 that are 25 years old over the next five years. 21 Ι 22 still haven't heard what is the urgency to rearrange 23 all these hard efforts that are going on. Why is it --24 I mean we're talking about 25 year old records. Why is 25 it that we have to rush some when everyone has to have

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them finished by five years? I mean is there a valid 1 2 reason for the urgency? DR. GOLDBERG: Yes. It's a guestion of what 3 will happen to the exempted records which contain, I 4 think, most of the material that people here are 5 6 interested in. MR. PASSARELLA: As I read the Executive 7 Order and your employing a systematic review apply. 8 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, but the question is when 9 will they get around to a systematic review of the 10 exempted records at the higher levels? 11 MR. PASSARELLA: Well I guess my question --12 DR. GOLDBERG: Without -- without some kind -13 14 MR. PASSARELLA: -- here (inaudible)--15 automatic declassification, you're still going to have 16 to review the records, and you've got all these people 17 working damn hard to do the requirements of the 18 Executive Order for the next five years, and now we're 19 20 going to force down their throat -- when they're going 21 to have to review them anyhow over five years -- in a 22 different direction. That's what I guess I don't understand. 23 MS. SMITH: Well, there is one requirement 24 under the Executive Order that the archivists in the 25

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United States declassify 15 --- some percentage of the papers of the former presidents in the first year. So, what NARA is asking is how are we going to declassify that? We did not pick 15 percent. We picked a small sample --- sort of a pilot project to see if it would work. So that's the one requirement.

MR. PASSARELLA: Well, I'm not worried
about -- I'm wondering from the historian's standpoint
what their urgency is on certain areas?

10 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I can answer that by actual -- giving you a specific reference, because the 11 answer is there's certain skepticism about whether this 12 project of total review in five years is going to be 13 14 successful. Alright? An example is the plan for the 15 Defense Nuclear Agency. It says in their section on 16 compliance methodology, that they propose to review 20 cubic feet per month for the next four and a half 17 18 years. You do the arithmetic, that gives you 1080 19 cubic feet.

It turns out that the material that they're going to have to review adds up to 12,900 cubic feet. So -- so the realities of the limited budget are such that there is no way, in spite of what they say, that in this period they're going to be going through 100 percent of their material.

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MR. PASSARELLA: I'm not representing anyone
 here.

3 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I'm just saying -- I'm
4 saying on the basis of information that we were given,
5 there is certain grounds for skepticism, alright? And
6 it's simply a budgetary reality.

That's my point --MR. PASSARELLA: 7 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: So given that, this 8 budgetary reality, that means that it makes sense to 9 talk about priorities. Let's not waste time on junk 10 when we could be focusing on real things. Let's be 11 12 realistic about this whole problem. That's the answer 13 to your question.

14 MR. PASSARELLA: Okay.

DR. GOLDBERG: Not only that but most of the plans call for 75 percent within five years, at least not -- which leaves 25 percent, which could very well be the kinds of things that people here are most interested in. This is another reason for the priorities. Yes.

21 MR. NORRIS: Robert Norris again. Just a 22 quick point of information about how would this get 23 implemented? Who would give the order to set you -- or 24 upon recommendation perhaps of the panel here to make 25 this the pilot project. What are the mechanics for

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ordering you to attack those particular files? 1 MS. SMITH: Well, NARA's problem is -- for 2 the whole of the National Archives, we have very little 3 original declassification so any in this material will 4 have to get, because of the multiple equities, will 5 6 have to get reviewed by the different agencies, so if 7 this group endorses the plan and perhaps gets involved with the CIA optical scanning plan, someone will be 8 9 reviewing the materials and getting the archives back 10 the declassification authority, so we can coordinate those and get those available to the public. 11 But without people doing -- attacking the 12 13 libraries in some sort of systematic way, all that 14 we're faced with is sending in our individual mandatory review requests which we've been doing for years and 15 16 years and years, but it is not going to address the 17 Executive Order. 18 DR. GOLDBERG: Ernest? 19 PROF. MAY: I wanted to ask -- first off, 20 make a proposal which is, that we ask Ms. Smith to 21 provide this plan to this panel and to the extent that

she can do it, to give us some hint as to what works, some alternatives to be thought about, other categories and things that you might have considered --

25

MS. SMITH: Oh, well -- I think in this other

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group they were asking if we could do one library. 1 2 Yes, we can do one library; we can -- someone on this 3 group asked can we do one older library. Yes, because 4 if it's an older library we can up the figures that say the library that had the most of what we were 5 6 proposing, which was Johnson, and try and get more like 200,000 classified items there. We can go two 7 libraries. All we need is the input as to where you 8 9 want to go. What we were trying to do was do it where 10 we felt we were the most ready. But we are more than 11 going to try to shift. I mean ---

PROF. MAY: I just thought it would be useful to us if we could look at some alternative conditions that if you thought --

MS. SMITH: Well, you can do middle Eastern
policy; you can do national security files; or you can
do a whole collection, like all of the Eisenhower or
Truman libraries' classified materials.

19 PROF. MAY: The second part, I have a 20 question for you. You said that it's expensive to 21 review many of these classified documents. How 22 expensive?

MS. SMITH: It's extremely expensive because
we have classified storage facilities at each
presidential library, and I can give the figures that

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we gave to Moynihan's Commission -- see, I don't have 1 them with me, but we have to maintain them there. When 2 we ship them back for review, if they are at certain 3 level -- Top Secret -- or they contain departmental 4 5 information, they have to go a set way. Often that involves a trip of 90 miles, one way, to get it there. 6 So there's a huge amount of cost in the mandatory 7 review program is extremely costly, both from National 8 9 Archives standpoint and the agency's standpoint, because you're dealing with one document, transporting 10 11 it back and forth and getting multiple agencies to look 12 at our stuff, because most of our stuff will have more 13 than one equity in it. So it's very expensive. 14 Now we too have extremely limited resources,

and that was one reason why we tried to do something
that we feel we might be able to handle.

PROF. MAY: Did you write some thing about
this for the Moynihan Commission?

MS. SMITH: The archivist made a presentation to the Moynihan Commission with some recommendations. And certainly I can get a copy of that. I don't know if it's specifically went into the storage costs at the presidential libraries. I don't -- it didn't. Yes. But certainly, you know, we would have to work those figures up. Storage of classified materials for all of

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1 the National Archives is extremely costly. The thing 2 is it's costly through the whole federal records. It's 3 not just the National Archives. DR. WAMPLER: Are you going off with a 4 recommendation to review or a recommendation to 5 6 release? 7 MS. SMITH: I'm sorry. 8 DR. WAMPLER: Are you going off with a 9 recommendation to review or a recommendation to 10 release? Are you making a positive assertion in your 11 work plan that you think these are records that not 12 only should be reviewed, but should be released. Ι 13 mean ---14 MS. SMITH: That should be released, yes. 15 DR. WAMPLER: -- did you make that kind of 16 assessment? 17 MS. SMITH: We are saying that in the 18 presidential libraries, some of you are aware, they're 19 donated historical materials. There's a donor gift provision. What I'm saying is that these are records 20 21 that have been screened for that release, and if 22 they're declassified, once we can do the coordination 23 of the library, and there will be a time lag, the 24 majority of these materials will be released. They 25 will not be withheld for a donor deed of gift reason.

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1 They've already been screened for that.

2 DR. WAMPLER: And if you come up with a non-3 concurrence, does it then get booted up to the higher interagency panel which has been established on the 4 5 Executive Order? 6 DR. GOLDBERG: I presume appeals can be made, 7 yes. 8 DR. WAMPLER: But -- you can -- you can 9 bargain. You can try to negotiate on this if an agency 10 says no, you can go back to them and can the panel help 11 you in that regard? 12 MS. SMITH: Yes, and as I said, the CIA plan 13 is still in the talking stage, and it's not clear to me if it's like a CIA letterhead document or they feel 14 15 it's their equity. They may do that too. This is the 16 part of the plan that is unclear to me as to how much 17 coordination NARA will be doing and what they will be 1.8 doing. 19 DR. GOLDBERG: Ernest, did you have anything 20 further? 21 PROF. MAY: No, thank you. 22 DR. GOLDBERG: Let me remind you that the 23 Moynihan Commission is the commission of protecting, 24 reducing government security established by statute and 25 has a two year life after its first meeting.

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Lunch has been brought in and I suggest that
 we stop at this time for perhaps 45 minutes to an hour
 for lunch and then resume.

4 (Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the meeting was
5 recessed, to reconvene at 12:45 p.m., this same day,
6 Friday, February 23, 1996.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

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12:45

p.m.

DR. GOLDBERG: Earlier this morning I 4 mentioned some areas of records that -- from which 5 6 access is excluded by statute. One of those areas is 7 prisoner of war -- some prisoner of war records. We 8 have with us today a gentleman who is engaged in doing 9 research in prisoner of war records who would like to 10 make a few remarks on this subject. Mr. Hall.

11 MR. HALL: Thank you Dr. Goldberg. I am an 12 independent POW-MIA researcher. I do research for a 13 number of families, a number of missing relatives that 14 were very possibly captured and not returned. The 15 intelligence records that I'm speaking about are those such as the 500 (inaudible) records that were first 16 17 said to have been destroyed, now find that they have 18 been held at Arlington Hall and transported to INSCOM 19 (ph), but INSCOM can't locate them.

The same is true of the Air Force 7602nd 20 21 records that were previously held at Kelly Air Force 22 They disappeared too. Base.

23 Now these are two organizational records that 24 appropriately disappeared from any record group. And I 25 found some 500 MI group records out in the National

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Record Center, but they don't -- they aren't the war time records. They contain POW information and me seeking a lot of the records through the FOIA, the DPMO (ph) and OASD cannot identify these records as existing. They have identified some customer copies at the Library of Congress, but these don't come from the original records section.

8 These are probably just an indication of 9 other records that may be missing too. There are a 10 group of records called the SAA (ph) daily summaries 11 that disappeared. They were known to exist. They 12 can't be FOIA'd; they can't be found; they can't be 13 located.

So if you're going to pursue research for 14 recent declassification of records, you can't exclude 15 those records that the DOD components haven't properly 16 identified and I believe you have to inquire the 17 18 components to seek these out, because if nobody's 19 concerned about an intelligence records group for a ten 20 year period of time, and these are still classified 21 secret and above, there's really an issue of -- I'm 22 really concerned about intelligence records, first of 23 all, and what happens to the POW records when they pertain to possibly living persons. 24 The fact that they are alive now doesn't matter because the records were 25

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1 missing this year.

2	So I believe this has to be addressed before
3	you can really continue any further in considering all
4	the records that are now becoming declassified, you
5	can't continue without considering those records that
6	should exist and haven't been destroyed there's no
7	record of destruction; they just can't be found. And
8	intelligence records, I consider, as somewhat
9	important, and I hope you do something to have DOD do a
10	more serious search for these records.
11	DR. GOLDBERG: Thank you. This is not the
12	first instance in which records have turned up missing,
13	and there are other have been other occasions when

other records --- although I don't know of any on this scale --- in the past --- this large number --- a whole record group or a large portion of a record group missing.

18 I'd like to lend some more focus to this 19 discussion and point out that one of the things that 20 should come out of this meeting is the report on the 21 meeting and whatever conclusions or recommendations or 22 suggestions we have to make to higher authority.

And I'd like us to address our remarks then to what is it that we should include in this -- what are we prepared to include in a report at this time?

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As a result of this meeting? What do we have to tell
the Assistant Secretary for C3I, who presumably will
then pass this report on up the line and also,
presumably, out to other agencies of the Department of
Defense? What are the things that you believe ought to
be included in this report?

Now, perhaps one thing we might discuss
initially and certainly within our purview is our
reaction to the declassification plans as a beginning
point. Do we want to say anything about some people
are obviously dissatisfied with these plans, that they
are not adequate, they don't answer the mail. What can
and should we say on this subject, if anything?

14 Oh, I think one of the things PROF. LEFFLER: 15 we should express is our concern that efforts are being 16 primarily directed at achieving a 15 percent goal, 17 rather than identifying and declassifying records that 18 are generally regarded as highly important. And I would like to see some directive handed down that would 19 20 instruct the agencies to focus some attention on the 21 declassification of high level materials.

I also think that it would be desirable to -constraint to emphasize the need for the Secretary of Defense or somebody to allocate some additional resources to help implement the declassification of what articles -- what

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we've heard here is that there's really no prospect of
 this being realistically implemented unless some
 resources are earmarked specifically for this purpose.
 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright. That's a good start.
 Elliot.

6 PROF. COHEN: It just strikes me, looking 7 at -- browsing through these -- some of them are not 8 really plans at all, and some clearly have been more 9 effort to get somebody else off their backs -- and I 10 think it would be worthwhile to call attention to that 11 fact, or to the kind of problems Mark identified, where, even if you do the arithmetic, people can't 12 13 possibly achieve their goals.

And the problem I have with the 15 percent is that it's clear they're not going to get to 15 percent, and I think to the extent that we can force people to fact that and maybe light a fire under some of the --or at least make uncomfortable some of the people who are drafting plans which are perfunctory, that would be a useful thing to do.

DR. GOLDBERG: They may get to 15 percent, it may not be the 15 percent you would like to see, but it is possible --

PROF. COHEN: Well, I mean if it really -- if
they really do 15 percent a year for however long it

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1 takes ---

2	DR. GOLDBERG: The first year anyhow.
3	OBSERVER: The first year.
4	PROF. COHEN: Well, but I mean if they should
5	be that successful
6	DR. GOLDBERG: Jim Davis.
7	MR. DAVIS: Again, I'm concerned about what
8	they can what the records are that (inaudible)
9	declassification and how many resources are being
10	devoted to automatic declassification effort? And in
11	that regard, I would like some discussion or proposals
12	simply to automatically declassify confidential records
13	that include confidential history, thereby achieving
14	these goals over the next five years with little or no
15	declassification review effort.
16	DR. GOLDBERG: Reaction to that? Yes.
17	MR. S. GOLDBERG: Well, there is a problem
18	with that. There's two kinds of confidential material.
19	One kind is the stuff that was classified confidential
20	when it was originated and that stuff is pretty much
21	low risk stuff, maybe a candidate for bulk
22	declassifying. But the other kind of confidential
23	material is stuff that under the original group marking
24	system was group 3, and downrated in 12 year intervals
25	from top secret and is laying there in confidential

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And there's very important stuff in there and 1 now. 2 that is probably not a candidate for bulk declassification by anybody. That's probably higher 3 level stuff. You shouldn't assume it's going to be 4 5 bulk DR. GOLDBERG: Well, it's downgraded in 6 intervals with -- couldn't it be declassified after 7 that? 8 MR. S. GOLDBERG: No, that's group 4. Group 9 10 4 was automatically -- the next category is group 3, 11 not automatically declassified, which means, at the end of at least 36 years or so, it needs to be looked at. 12 13 It's not automatically. So you can't assume that 14 everything that's confidential is junk. 15 MR. BROWN: The bulk of naval propulsion 16 information -- you may remember that the bulk of the information --17 18 DR. GOLDBERG: Beg your pardon? 19 MR. BROWN: The bulk of naval nuclear propulsion information is at (inaudible). Not subject 20 21 to declassification. 22 MR. DAVIS: What I'm talking about is --23 DR. GOLDBERG: It's exempted? 24 MR. BROWN: Yes. 25 MR. DAVIS: -- you're throwing out, for

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example, the National Archives, utilizing the finding 1 aids, if necessary a 135 as the keys of the archivist, 2 identifying confidential entries in various record 3 groups, and at the same time going out to the records 4 center and reviewing the 135s and identifying 5 confidential accessions. And then with respect to 6 official histories, identifying those that are 7 classified as confidential. Simply automatically 8 declassifying them, and -- and I don't say for example, 9 10 in the records center you're going to find an accession 11 that's classified as confidential that is the result of 12 downgrading over the years. You might, you might not. 13 But I think it would be a simple task to determine that 14 versus going through whatever the records are that are 15 currently in category 3 and what I imagine use an 16 enormous number of resources required to do that sort 17 of thing. This would simply free up the very limited 18 resources available for the declassification review to 19 focus in on records of greater interest.

20 DR. GOLDBERG: Ms. Schauble.

MS. SCHAUBLE: That is kind of what we're doing right now in this year. The problem with that is that even in confidential files we are finding a lot of restricted data. You can't just say that because it's confidential you can let it go without looking at it.

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1 I wish you could.

2

DR. GOLDBERG: Colonel.

3 COL. PONNWITZ: One comment on these plans --I think we're going to have to be very careful if 4 you're going to go back to the agency that originated 5 it, to teak (ph) their plan without asking them 6 specific questions regarding each plan that you're 7 having difficulty with. Quantification of these 8 9 numbers real or no, from the very offset, are based on estimates of the volume of material that's out there. 10 We don't even have a number in DOD that's anywhere 11 12 close to what we think the requirement is going to be. 13 As we go through our plans we will develop a 14 better feel for the quantity of materials that are out 15 there. So if it's quantity and numbers that we're hung up on, I don't think that now is the appropriate time 16 17 to say that that's not right. If it's process and procedures, yes, let's critique that and say hey, you 18 19 really haven't told us in the sense -- but I think it

would -- should go plan by plan by plan, not just a
generality to the superiors that says, hey, all these
plans are no good, because there's not enough of an
understanding of what is in these plans. There was no
guidance given as to how these plans should be
organized or what they should say in them. It was just

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here's the Executive Order, tell us how you're going to
 implement it and how are you going to meet these
 targets. And I think that's what was attempted in each
 of these documents.

DR. GOLDBERG: Alright, this -- yes, Bob. 5 DR. WAMPLER: One item that's already been 6 kicked around is endorsing or in some way commenting 7 8 upon the Presidential declassification plan. It seems 9 like everyone was agreed that this is one good first 10 cut as a possible test case for working through this. The Presidential Libraries? 11 DR. GOLDBERG: 12 DR. WAMPLER: The Presidential Libraries, 13 yes.

14 We've all agree on that. DR. GOLDBERG: 15 DR. WAMPLER: From talking, during the lunch, 16 I get the sense that there is a certain consensus 17 perhaps among the historians that a lot of high level 18 material they are very interested in are these record 19 group 330, and that moving into them is going to have an impact on everybody else in this room, because of 20 21 all the coordination problems involved. 22 DR. GOLDBERG: Eventually.

DR. WAMPLER: Eventually -- well, but I mean
in some way, whereas within each service there may be
relatively much less high level policy information of

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the type that we initially are interested in. 1 2 So the question is as a body, should we focus first 3 upon trying to develop priorities within record group 330, as that's in a way the most encompassing record 4 5 group, one which creates the most coordination 6 problems, and the one in which perhaps as a test case 7 we would get a very good sense immediately in terms of feedback say, from the relevant agencies, and from 8 Frank in his office, of what are the real concrete 9 10 problems involved? If we say we would like to have 11 these -- say the list I put in, that list chronologically, would be our first cut as an idea of 12 13 what a good sense of priorities would be. What does 14 this do to you, and try to get down to specifics to 15 deal with that. This is a learning curve, that's back 16 to this.

DR. GOLDBERG: Okay, I'd like to hold that to a little bit later --- I'd like to get to that, that's important, perhaps the core of what we're talking about, reporting on, but I'd like to go through the other items that we really should consider for a possible report. And I'd like to dispose of them if possible --- but what order.

So I still would like to get a sense of what
we ought to say with reference to the declassification

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1 plans. I do think we ought to be careful in what we do 2 say, obviously. A certain amount of effort was put into them, by the people who made the reports. 3 They may not be all that they ought to be and we might 4 undoubtedly want more, and this is what leads to, I 5 think, the second point here, this need for more 6 7 information which most of us, I think, have expressed 8 at some time or other. That we want to know to a 9 greater extent than we already know, what is there --it's somewhere. We're not going to get any great 10 11 detail, not in any reasonable period of time, but we 12 can get a better notion of the essence of what is there 13 and this could help us, I think, in determining 14 priorities eventually.

So I think perhaps we ought to consider these things together -- we're talking about the declassification plans and the need for more information. Yes.

BG. ARMSTRONG: Let me suggest that it seems to me that what the academic historical community are primarily interested in are papers in Presidential Libraries, OSD papers as they pertain to the Secretary of Defense's and his principal assistants, policymaking activities, and those Joint Staff -- JCS papers that have a similar focus.

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1 It would seem -- first of all, I'm very 2 uncomfortable with signing up to any criticism of 3 anybody's declassification plan until the person who 4 wrote that plan or who owns it comes and explains it. 5 That's not -- speaking as a bureaucrat, I just don't do 6 those things.

So I would think that it would be reasonable 7 8 for this body to request that the people responsible 9 for implementing the declassification plans for OSD 10 papers, and the Joint Staff papers, come in next time 11 and brief those plans as they -- as they exist, as 12 they're implementing them. And to the degree that they 13 can, be prepared to answer more detailed questions from 14 particularly, the academic historians as to how -- if 15 not the details of what are in the archives that 16 they're talking about, at least the kinds of 17 descriptive materials that would be available to the historian who had particular interests in those 18 19 archives to pursue.

20 Once again -- I -- really -- I understand the 21 academic historians concern, but I really am 22 uncomfortable with an approach -- Professor Leffler, I 23 think, has best characterized this approach that 24 basically goes back to the archivist and says, sort of 25 tell us in these important areas what you have. I

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1 think if the historical profession really wants to 2 know, then they're going to have to do part of the work, and that work is going to be involved -- and I 3 think they have a right to expect the archivist to come 4 5 and explain his collection as best he can, and how to 6 get further information. But then if you want to get information to the degree that Bob Wampler has put it 7 out here on the table, that involves some work by 8 9 historians.

10 And that's just sort of my view of the way 11 the world works. And I think it's sort of the official 12 historian point of view of the way the world works. I 13 hesitate to speak for my colleagues, but I think that's 14 right.

15 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, I find that all the 16 things that I've jotted down, talked about, form a 17 seamless fabric here -- all related to each other 18 because the next point I had was the need for liaison 19 with the archivist, the declassifiers. It's going to 20 help a great deal to know them and for them to know us 21 when we want what they have and what they can do, and 22 having perhaps come in and give a briefing to this 23 panel would serve to establish a relationship which 24 might be more difficult to get otherwise. How does 25 that strike you?

1 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Perfect. 2 DR. GOLDBERG: I like that. Any other 3 reactions to that? From the panel? Yes. 4 MR. DAVIS: When you speak of archivists 5 (inaudible), are you thinking of the archivists focus in on the records, still physically in their custody in 6 7 the other DOD components? Again, with considerable 8 effort, depending on the size of the records, you can get a fairly good idea of what the National Archives 9 10 holds, much -- generally a much more detailed idea of what's at the record center or record centers. 11 12 With respect to collections in the physical 13 custody of DOD components, for the most part, the 14 public has no information. 15 DR. GOLDBERG: Do you have any notion how 16 extensive those are for the period prior to 1970? 17 MR. DAVIS: No, I don't. No I don't but ---18 for example, in the Army declassification plan under 19 the Army Intelligence and Security Command, holdings of 20 approximately 7,000 feet are listed at some repository in Virginia, and no further information is given on the 21 dates of those records, classification status, types of 22 records. Are they all paper clipped -- no, obviously 23 24 not. What kind of records are there? 25 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, we're going to have to

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1 take this step by step, aren't we?

2 MR. DAVIS: It's just -- I mean that -- for 3 example, the repository, the public can't visit them --4 I'm not talking about reviewing the records, but simply 5 going out there and talking with a records manager --6 something along those lines.

7 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, I think we're going to have to start with the very large bodies which are 8 already in the National Archives and in the federal 9 10 records center, because I think that's the bulk of it 11 all. If you're correct, there are some collections 12 which are still held by agencies of DOD, most of them I would guess, are highly exempted records, and that's 13 14 why they're being held, and it would take a lot of 15 time, a lot of effort to get anything on them. I think it's some thing we should keep in mind and eventually 16 17 get around to, but initially, I think we'll have our hands full if we deal with what's in our National 18 19 Archives and record centers.

20 MR. DAVIS: For example, to inquire of what 21 Office of the Secretary of Defense record before 1970, 22 are still physically in the custody of OSD, where would 23 somebody go?

24 DR. GOLDBERG: I don't think -25 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: This is precisely the

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sort of issue that we would want to talk with whoever 1 2 is in charge of the OSD declassification effort. This 3 is not anything we have to bring up in our report, but 4 we simply want to talk with people in an unadversarial way about what their thinking is about how they're 5 6 tackling the problem and -- and the issues that you 7 raise will be brought up at that time. 8 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes. 9 DR. DUDLEY: I would hesitate to accept the 10 statement that seems to indict all the plans that are 11 offered here as being inadequate, as Professor Cohen did. 12 13 PROF. COHEN: Excuse me, that's not what I 14 I said some of these are perfunctory. said. 15 DR. DUDLEY: Well, then ---16 PROF. COHEN: I said some of them are very 17 clearly not perfunctory. 18 DR. DUDLEY: Well, good, would you be willing 19 to name the plans you consider to be perfunctory? PROF. COHEN: I looked at this -- that 20 21 paper -- but I'm sorry if I was misunderstood. I would 22 be in favor of asking people from those organizations 23 to come and talk to us about what they're planning on 24 We should ask them questions and I agree with doing. Mr. Trachtenberg's --- a cordial conversation. 25 Btu some

of them really just don't tell you anything except that we're going to declassify 20 percent a year, and that's highly implausible.

DR. DUDLEY: Okay, well, I just think if you 4 5 have a list of things you consider to be perfunctory or 6 inadequate, that should be passed to Mr. Goldberg. Then people can respond to it. Otherwise, you're going 7 to have everybody come in here and explain their plan. 8 Now, if that's what you want, if that's what everybody 9 10 wants, fine. But I mean -- you simply made an 11 allegation.

12 PROF. COHEN: I'm sorry if I was unclear but13 I believe you misunderstood me.

14 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, I don't think there is 15 any necessity for us to pass judgement in a report of these plans. We may want to make some general remarks, 16 and in particular we may want to say we would like to 17 know more from some plans, or perhaps all of the plans, 18 and we would like to establish some kind of 19 20 relationship with these people, have them come before 21 us, visit us, tell us what's there and find out how they can help us and what we would like to ask of them. 22 I think that's reasonable in a report of this kind. 23 I'm not looking to make criticism of individual plans. 24 25 DR. WAMPLER: Oh, yes, in terms of request

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for information, if you're going to assume that these 1 15 or 20 percent tranches (ph) include not only 2 category 3, but two and one, you want to know how 3 they're planning on doing it over the next five years. 4 You may find some things that we say we don't want to 5 mess with this. You're getting to some of the things 6 you want to look at perhaps in this material, but we 7 want to get behind the numbers as Mel and Mark and 8 9 others say, to find out, okay, what are you really 10 planning on looking at in each year as part of an 11 effort to get to this level of attainment within the 12 plan.

13 DR. GOLDBERG: You should --

DR. WAMPLER: That's the sort of informationwe're talking about.

DR. GOLDBERG: You should feel at liberty to ask that. It's perfectly all right, although don't tell them there's some things you don't want them to mess with. You won't get a good reaction to that. Tony?

21 MR. PASSARELLA: From what I'm hearing from 22 everybody here, I think from everybody here, I think 23 one of the most important things that you can put 24 forward in your report here, evaluation scheme, is 25 concern that enough resources have been allocated to

executing these plans. These can be wonderful plans, 1 but if you don't have anybody to do it, then it's a 2 waste of time. 3 I think that's probably one of the biggest 4 keys to be successful in this declassification project, 5 6 is having the people and the resources to do it. 7 DR. GOLDBERG: It seems to me we have heard that theme somewhere before. 8 MR. PASSARELLA: It's probably the only major 9 10 issue at this point. DR. GOLDBERG: That's been brought home, I 11 12 think, by others also. Yes. 13 OBSERVER: If I may just remark on one thing 14 that Professor Leffler said and Professor Cohen added 15 to it -- the first remarks out of the chute here this 16 afternoon -- those comments, suggestions, 17 recommendations, are addressed to the President of the 18 United States. Nobody else can change what you suggest 19 be changed. DR. GOLDBERG: I'm just afraid I don't 20 21 understand what you're --22 OBSERVER: The problem is you can't change 23 the 15 percent because that's in the Executive Order. DR. GOLDBERG: We're not proposing to change 24 25 it.

1

OBSERVER: But that's what his recommendation

2 is.

3 PROF. LEFFLER: No, no. My concern is that -that we try to declassify some of the important 4 5 materials amongst that 15 percent, and that I think we should explicitly express our feelings on this 6 7 committee that if we proceed or things proceed as they seem to be proceeding that high level material will not 8 9 be declassified. 10 BG. ARMSTRONG: That's your conclusion. Ι 11 don't think that conclusion -- I don't share that 12 conclusion. 13 PROF. LEFFLER: Well, that's -- we can 14 discuss whether the bulk of this committee shares that 15 I personally feel that. concern. COL. PONNWITZ: Right now we're doing an 16 17 organized random declassification -- that's what I 18 would call it. We have to abide by that 15 percent and we start -- we ask our archivist, you know, how are you 19 20 going to do it? And they suggest they proceed in a

21 certain way to get to the 15 percent. Obviously OSD's
22 15 percent will include more high level information

23 than our 15 percent will.

The problem is -- and the difficulty is when you start trying to put that in a non-random order, in

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a specific order, if you're not willing to dedicate the
resources that can alleviate the time it' going to take
or interruption to the process we've already
established, we're going to spend a lot of time talking
about it, but we're still going to have to continue on
meeting the requirements of the Executive Order.

So somehow we have to decide if there is a 7 8 need to focus our efforts in a certain way, if we can 9 do it in the least disruptive manner possible --- you 10 can get with the archivist and tell them if you can do 11 this, do it in this order. If we can't do that, or 12 they come back and say I can't, this is the way I have 13 to do it, and you're not willing to put resources in to give them aid in their efforts, then you're going to 14 15 have to be satisfied with their plans and the way 16 they're going to proceed.

Because as we found out with the Persian Gulf War declassification effort, until considerable resources were dedicated to that effort, to fulfill the way DOD wanted to do it, none of us could comply with the sense of urgency that it had.

And thai's the same case here. We will comply with our 15 percent, but if they're not satisfied with the way we're going to do it, then find a way to give us resources to change our approach.

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DR. GOLDBERG: What will be the penalty if
 you don't achieve 15 percent?

COL. PONNWITZ: Well, there are no counting 3 placement. If I tell you I have 4,000,000 records, I 4 could have 10,000,000 records. You don't know that. 5 6 If I tell you at the end of this year that I've achieved my 15 percent, you're not going to know that. 7 Nobody is. And that's -- you know, the only time 8 you're going to know that is at the end of the process 9 if there's a lot of records still in a pile and 10 everybody's saying hey, we met the requirement -- and I 11 12 don't know if that's going to happen or not.

13 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, the question is if that 14 happens, what is the consequences? I understand in the 15 Executive Order you review or release but isn't there 16 another option, like to totally exempt this review 17 process for the records that are left over by the year 2000? I mean that's your out that people worry about 18 19 as well. And then the services are going to have 20 policy materials that are going to end up buried, 21 backlogged with a lot of high sensitive material --22 need to say, okay, we can't do it and there's a 23 loophole in the Executive Order which lets us take it 24 off the table. It may (inaudible), but it's an out in 25 the Executive Order.

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1 MR. HALL: In considering these 15 percent that you've declassified, any POW records were ordered 2 3 declassified under the existing Executive Order 4 12810DDM (ph) so any records, groups found, or 5 organizational records found that are POW records would 6 have to be put into this priority. The deadline of 7 November 1993 has been reached and the records haven't 8 been declassified; they still fall under the urgency of that deadline. So if you resume your classification, I 9 10 request that these records be considered in that first 11 15 percent as soon as they're located.

12 DR. GOLDBERG: So much for deadlines. We all 13 know that a lot of these orders are much more observed 14 in breach. Just because it's an Executive Order or a 15 law does not mean that all the provisions are actually 16 carried out on time. They may over time, but most programs fall behind, and I suspect that there's a fair 17 chance that this one's going to fall behind too. 18 Not 19 the first year, perhaps later on. It's a very difficult undertaking -- an enormous undertaking, and 20 21 if it does fall behind, I for one, will not be 22 surprised. At the end of five years a very large quantity of classified documents have not been reviewed 23 24 -- as I say, I will not be surprised.

25

On the other hand, I would hope that they

would not be the documents that we would like to see
declassified. We don't know. It's going to be a mixed
bag. It's going to vary from service to service,
organization to organization. They all have their own
priorities, their own limited resources and we have to
expect a very varied result. Yes.

7 DR. WAMPLER: In terms of the recommendation 8 on the resource issue, other than a pious exhortation 9 to make more money available, what would the services 10 and agencies like to see come out of here in terms of a 11 recommendation for something that would come out of Perry's office, say? Is there anything that he could, 12 13 if he could be persuaded, that would unleash resources 14 that we could recommend?

DR. GOLDBERG: Well is that the \$64,000 question?

DR. WAMPLER: Yes, what can we do in essence,
to make a recommendation ---

DR. GOLDBERG: Okay, what are some specifics? Let's recommend one thing that was discussed at lunch time as a possibility of using reserve officers and become active duty and help. This has been done before for a variety of purposes. These are not just --various periods of time; they would have to get up to speed; they would have to learn what it was all about

so that -- to have them come in for two week periods would not help very much. They would probably have to come in for at least six months or more at a stretch. But that's a possibility and I see no reason why we shouldn't make that kind of suggestion. Here is one way, perhaps, of stretching the resources. Now are there others?

8 COL. PONNWITZ: Sir, it's beyond just 9 bringing more people on active duty. If we look at the model that's been done for the Persian Gulf War 10 11 declassification, you have an executive agent assigned, 12 you have a facility that was developed, you had 13 resources, computers and people and reserve officers. 14 So depending on the magnitude of the problem and the 15 way you want to handle it, it almost requires ---16 particularly for the OSD records and the records that 17 are of the highest policy -- that's where you need the 18 augmentation of personnel and equipment and a facility 19 dedicated to this process, and civilian personnel hired 20 too who are experts in this, to help you through that 21 queue faster.

For the rest of us, I don't know that we can come up and say that we need X, Y, and Z and that you would process it for us because we pretty much have our plans established. I think we can meet them. But the

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higher levels I think is where you need to focus the
 resources.

3 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, Marines may be able to 4 do it, but I don't doubt that the other services would 5 be very glad to have some further assistance. Am I 6 correct? I think the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force 7 too for that matter. Yes?

8 MR. GRABOSKE: Well, in answer to Bob 9 Wampler's comment let me suggest that Secretary Perry 10 be asked to provide resources equivalent to what had 11 been provided to the Gulf War declassification effort 12 this year, which is roughly, I think, \$10,000,000 ---13 just this year. This is a much bigger program and 14 many, many more agencies involved.

15 DR. WAMPLER: Well, would you want to clarify 16 in some way right back to this program and say if 17 you're going to do this program on a scale equivalent 18 to what was provided to the Gulf War, it would come out 19 to this figure and then try to shoot for something --20 MR. GRABOSKE: Well, I never ---21 If it's reasonable. DR. WAMPLER: 22 MR. GRABOSKE: (inaudible) let's just say 23 equivalent to Gulf War declassification which is 24 \$10,000,000 more than we have now, and we'll worry about Secretary Perry -- I'll get those resources where 25

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1 it's most appropriate.

5

2 DR. GOLDBERG: Clearly that's a first cut. 3 DR. DUDLEY: Yes, but if I could comment on 4 comment on that.

DR. GOLDBERG: Yes.

DR. DUDLEY: The \$10,000,000 went somewhere, 6 Fred, but it didn't come down to the services -- and if 7 8 you're going to be specific about it -- the services had had to take that Gulf War declassification money 9 10 out of hide, and so if you want this to be really 11 effective, it has to be specifically appropriated for 12 the services -- the agencies which are going to take 13 part in this program, not an upper level board which 14 absorbs all the money which is going to be appropriated 15 to it. So that perhaps specific legislation has to be 16 considered.

DR. GOLDBERG: Well, perhaps we can agree and 17 18 force the complaints of the services which are 19 legitimate and make a recommendation that the resources 20 currently allowed for the purpose are inadequate and 21 that they should be substantially augmented, and that 22 we recommend that this be brought to the attention of 23 the OMB, White House, the Congress, that if they want 24 the job done, the resources will have to be made available. Otherwise it will take a much longer time 25

1 probably, than already committed. Yes.

MR. S. GOLDBERG: Perhaps not only is this 2 effort not being funded, but current contingency 3 operations is reducing the budgets that are already 4 funded, and a lot of these -- people told me -- they're 5 only getting 60 percent of what they asked for this б 7 year because of contingency operations of Bosnia. So -8 DR. GOLDBERG: So the special 9 declassification projects are detracting from the 10 11 overall one. BG. ARMSTRONG: Well, just general DOD 12 13 operations. 14 MR. S. GOLDBERG: It's operational. Yes. 15 Contingency operations in general. 16 BG. ARMSTRONG: Yes. Let me get back to 17 something Bob said a little bit earlier that I wasn't 18 aware of the concern that he expressed and that was a 19 concern, particularly with the tough nuts, the Sec 20 staff papers, the really tough declassification issues, 21 if those things are shoved out to the end of the time 22 period and then fall over the edge and by some trap 23 door basically be beyond reach of this particular activity. It would seem to me that if that is a valid 24 25 concern, which I assume it is, that it would be useful

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1 to express that to -- that this panel express that concern -- that there ought to be some priority given 2 3 within these efforts to those particular kinds of 4 papers and it ---Once again I think you 5 academic historians can do a fair job -- Bob's done, I think a fair job -- with part of that in identifying 6 7 the kinds of papers and issues -- the kinds of files and issues that you're concerned about and that these 8 be raised to the Secretary of Defense and some 9 expressions be made that these be given priority 10 11 consideration within the declassification efforts of 12 each agency, and that each agency be asked to come back and tell -- or give an estimate of the consequences of 13 14 that.

15 Because it's entirely -- it seems fair to me 16 that if you want particular things done and those 17 things are going to impact on how a particular agency, 18 whether it's OSD, the Joint Staffs or somebody else, 19 goes about implementing this Executive Order, that it's 20 fair to ask them to come back and tell you what the 21 cost is. And the cost may be that you only get 60 22 percent of the total job done. There is no free lunch 23 in this business. There just isn't.

And these guys --- Bill Dudley and several
others have been more than eloquent and forthright in

what they're currently faced with and the resource
 problems they have.

3 And I think, from a historian's point of view, it's perfectly right to say this is the -- we 4 5 like this effort, but within this body of information, 6 this is what we really want. And then to have the 7 people who have do the work get it, come back and say fine, if that's what you really want, this is going to 8 9 be the consequence for what you asked us to do by the 10 Executive Order.

11 DR. CLARKE: Can I comment on that? Not 12 being a historian, I'm really more interested in 13 records keeping -- in its existence and 14 declassification. So I have a security clearance and I 15 know that records are being dumped -- but I'm kind of 16 overloaded and I don't like to waste my time here and 17 your time. I'd like to see something more specific 18 come out of the meeting here and the whole committee.

I think what you need is -- to give to Dr. Goldberg -- not now, but pretty shortly -- is what I call an ice breaker or three icebreakers. You need to give focus and legitimacy to our efforts, and you need to get a little bit more narrow than that Dave, and really get tight records groups and files within those records groups, perhaps some exempted ones, that with

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your expertise you really think are valuable and can
 highlight those and say this is exactly -- there it is.
 This is where it is. Just as a start, a foot in the
 door. But something really concrete.

5 Now I have an advisory committee too and I've 6 got most of my academics -- academic historians. And I 7 do send them out over the country, voluntarily, of 8 course, and they lecture at West Point and they go down 9 (inaudible) to talk to reserves in Leavenworth; they go 10 out to MHI and talk to the war colleges -- those sorts 11 of things.

12 Now I know you've all been to the 13 Presidential Libraries and the National Archives, haven't we all, but if you go there sometimes, even to 14 15 just drink a cup of coffee with the fellow who's there 16 as an official member of the committee -- now that kind 17 of rings a bell bureaucratically, and my report or my 18 committee report to the Secretary of the Army and the 19 Chief, when he sees -- he's actually beginning to see 20 that these guys are not guys that just come to Washington, they've actually been there in their 21 22 official capacity to Carlisle -- I've been to Carlisle 23 unofficially many times to look at the records -- but -- and they talk to my people --- and they talk Army in 24 25 this case, but you can talk DOD or talk the records.

They talk the language and they justify these small
 things.

3 And yes, take a look at their suggestions, 4 you know, a little bit more seriously than if they 5 would maybe come to Washington for a couple days and 6 have a little lunch --- that does little work and my 7 expense for me. And they pointed out, you know, a few 8 things that really I should -- maybe my people should 9 concentrate on. They're not five percent, they're just 10 maybe half of one percent of our total effort.

11 And when we do that also something else 12 happens -- some of these records are really -- I 13 hesitate to mention this -- but they're really badly organized -- and -- especially at the upper levels and 14 15 the Lord knows exactly what records groups some of them 16 end up in. That effort -- that focus can sometimes get 17 the record management activity also in gear, because 18 when you're organizing records for declassification, 19 you often have to organize them for archival purposes 20 too, and questions begin to be asked so there's more 21 benefit than just declassification when you target, 22 say, a small group of efforts -- this office, and DOD, 23 and this time period or this office and JCS -- or these 24 minutes at JCS.

25

And again, sometimes you have to -- it helps

to have an archivist come in and give you a 1 2 presentation. But sometimes they get nervous and they don't know who they're presenting to, especially if 3 there are other high officials there. And some times 4 5 if you can meet with them ahead of time just to call them up on the phone and say hey, how you doing? My 6 7 name's Joe, I teach this, that and the other thing, and I'm working on this and here's what I think some of the 8 guys are really interested in having you address when 9 10 you come to see us.

11 Then he can tell his boss or her boss, that 12 here, this is what they really want, you know, and I'll 13 try the official briefing and I'll (inaudible) -- and 14 you get a lot more valuable information that way 15 sometimes. It involves -- I dealt with the people I 16 work with -- it involves Ira or John Shire (ph) or some 17 of the people from Michigan and Pennsylvania and 18 actually getting out there and talking to the guys. 19 Even just a phone call sometimes -- or a visit if it's 20 close by, and that face to face type thing, and it 21 really does make a difference even though it may be a 22 pain in the ass to get there many times. But sometimes 23 when you go there as an official visitor, it just does 24 something. It helps out a lot.

25

And so what I'm saying now is I think we

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should say that -- listen to these recommendations the 1 committee's giving. We've all recommended that we 2 3 ourselves come up ASAP with some really specific hard 4 nosed suggestions that are really high priority, high visibility, but they're doable but aereous (ph), and 5 perhaps someone could be even in the excepted 6 7 categories in order to break some of those open -- not 8 nuclear weapons, but some things that could be broken 9 open a little bit anyhow.

But that involves actually, your doing a little bit of legwork and going out after the archives and talking to somebody about this -- sometimes that's -- you've got teaching; you've got meetings; you've got this, you've got that. You've got a lot of things to do.

DR. GOLDBERG: So you want to frighten allthese members on the panel?

18 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I think we're all on the 19 same wavelength. I'm hearing the same sorts of things 20 being said in all kinds of different ways. Maybe we 21 could come back to your initial question which is how 22 should the report be drafted, and I --

DR. GOLDBERG: I'm pleased that you're
playing the role of mediator here. We need one.
PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Yes, how can all these

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different things that we've been saying be pulled 1 2 together and pitched in a report? And I think 3 everybody has said start out with the resources 4 problem. The example of the Defense Nuclear Agency 5 report that I cited before can be cited because the figures are so compelling, but not in the way that's 6 7 critical of the people who put it together. Because ---8 I liked it because I think these people being office. 9 The line we should take is these people have been asked to square the circle, and what are they 10 11 supposed to do? They can't say this. But we can say We're outsiders. Ideally the solution would be to 12 it. 13 allocate many resources, but we have to be realistic, 14 and if in fact resources are going to be constrained, 15 this is our concern.

16 Our concern is that a rigid cap system, 15 17 percent a year, is going to lead people, for totally 18 understandable bureaucratic reasons, to focus on the 19 materials that are of least interest, to historians and to the public as a whole. We understand that they're 20 21 constrained by the mandates of the Executive Order, but 22 we'd like that fact to be counter-balanced by a certain 23 amount of effort going into the high priority areas 24 that we've identified.

25

And then, kind of lay out what we propose to

1 do as a committee, in terms of talking to people in as informal a basis as possible, as cooperative basis as 2 3 possible, getting a sense for the philosophy underlying 4 the declassification programs, getting people to open up with us and discuss their problems with us in such a 5 6 way that we can have some meaningful input into a 7 solution here, and then stress the point about a pilot 8 project, the -- focusing on the OSD, possibly taking 9 Bob's suggestions -- have specific files. I think that 10 would basically do the trick.

11 DR. GOLDBERG: It's a good, sympathetic 12 approach. What we need, I think will need. I'd like 13 to now have us address ourselves to two related 14 elements which require prioritizing, namely, the 15 organizations that we would like to put emphasis on ---16 and we've already mentioned some, the Presidential Libraries, OSD, JCS, because that's where most of the 17 18 high policy materials are; and second, the subject 19 areas related to those elements that we would like to 20 see addressed by OSD, Presidential Libraries, et 21 cetera.

22 One other thought occurred to me in this 23 connection, then, is that perhaps if we are going to 24 place priorities on these particular elements of DOD, 25 we should also perhaps point out that they ought to be

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given priority for resources also, if we're going to demand more of them than perhaps the other elements, at least for the time being, I would think for the first year or two possibly, and it could well take that long if not more. And their agencies are going to need the additional assistance to begin with.

7 The others may well need it later on, because presumably we will want to get similar subject areas 8 allocated to the Offices of the Secretary of the 9 Services, the Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Naval 10 11 Operations, Commandant of the Marine Corps -- at least 12 one office in the Marine Corps is concerned with 13 policy. That sort of thing. They could come after, 14 but if we are going to establish priorities by 15 organization, then I think it's up to us to say this is 16 what we would like to see done; we think that can be 17 done if they are given some additional help.

18 I'd like you to address yourselves to that 19 now. Are we pretty well agreed on the actual 20 organizations to which we'd like to give priority? 21 Yes.

22 MR. S. GOLDBERG: I was just going to say if 23 you prioritize these organizations and just give them 24 the additional resources, you know we've said that 25 these organizations, these materials are going to take

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the most coordination to get reviewed. And if the 1 2 services don't get additional resources that are going 3 to have to do the coordination on these materials, then there's a little mismatch there. I think everybody 4 5 who's going to have to coordinate on these DOD documents is going to need additional resources to get 6 that done, or you're just going to drain out what we 7 8 have to do on our own.

9 DR. GOLDBERG: Tony?

10 MR. PASSARELLA: Let me try to help you put 11 in perspective the resources issue. Last calendar year, '95, the Department of Defense processed and 12 completed over 103,000 feet of information at request, 13 14 at a cost of possibly over \$33,000,000. We're talking 15 here about a tremendously amount more of work than that -- that 103,000. That's my great concern, because 16 we're going to fall on our faces here if we're not 17 emphasizing we've got to put the resources behind these 18 19 people who are working so hard to do this. If we don't, it's not going to succeed, no matter how many 20 21 lists you give people, no matter how many plans are 22 prepared or whatever.

And we're talking, you know, \$10,000,000 for the Gulf War thing; another \$33,000,000 for the Emquoia (ph). I don't know even have the costs in for NPRs

1 I mean we're spending a lot of money (ph). 2 declassifying information. This is so much bigger than anything we've ever done. 3 4 BG. ARMSTRONG: Tony, was that the entire Department of Defense -- 103,000? 5 MR. PASSARELLA: That's the entire Department 6 of Defense. 7 BG. ARMSTRONG: Okay. 8 9 MR. PASSARELLA: That's just FOIA. 10 DR. WAMPLER: How does that break down 11 between search and review? I mean what component of 12 that ---MR. PASSARELLA: That's complete cost. 13 14 DR. WAMPLER: Yes, but what -- you're 15 comparing it a little bit (inaudible) but research is -16 17 MR. PASSARELLA: Not much is research. The 18 most expensive is in review. The search problem is --19 you come down here and you couldn't find it -- and 20 that's ---21 DR. WAMPLER: Okay. 22 MR. BROWN: Another aspect to keep in mind --23 we're talking DOD and the military departments of DOD agencies right now, but soon this will require 24 25 coordination outside of the Department of Defense so

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1 we've got to make sure that their priorities are the 2 same priorities that we have, otherwise ours will 3 impact on their staff. 4 BG. ARMSTRONG: Well it goes -- they go into a FOIA queue, which is a chronological queue. 5 But there is no assurance that it 6 **OBSERVER:** 7 would go into a FOIA-like queue. I mean there are no 8 procedures for inter-agency coordination established at 9 this point, and that's what Nancy Smith and I attended 10 a meeting on a week ago -- this capture program. 11 There's no procedure yet to assure that, you know, my stuff is really important, so it's going to go to the 12 13 top of the pile, and I'm CIA. 14 BG. ARMSTRONG: There is a procedure but the 15 procedure is it goes to the bottom of the queue. My 16 stuff -- my history --17 MR. PASSARELLA: With FOIA ---18 BG. ARMSTRONG: For FOIA, yes. 19 OBSERVER: I'm not talking about FOIA 20 though -- this is an automatic inter-agency --21 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright, therefore we do want 22 an effort about --23 MR. S. GOLDBERG: They're also reviewing their records, so they're going to do their materials 24 25 first before your coordination.

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MR. PASSARELLA: So there needs to be a
 government-wide procedure for processing the inter agency coordination.

DR. WAMPLER: I thought well, the interagency commissions set up by the Executive Order is supposed to try to facilitate that alignment of priorities.

8 MR. PASSARELLA: As far as an issue, though, 9 if it isn't done well, you can end up with stalemate 10 because you're not getting things back.

OBSERVER: So that people outside the government cannot establish priorities within 26 ---DR. WAMPLER: No, that's the real high one; but I thought there was another lower one -- the one that has each agency rep on it.

DR. GOLDBERG: Appeals -- that's an appeals 17 - it's an appeals panel.

18 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Well, they'll not get
19 involved with tying to establish ---

DR. GOLDBERG: No, the other one -- council 21 - is the one that would be concerned with the means,
22 procedures. It's not in existence yet.

DR. WAMPLER: Well then, should we, as part
of our recommendations, point out the need to try to
address this on ---

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DR. GOLDBERG: On a broader scale --2 government-wide.

3 DR. WAMPLER: Because it's going to affect 4 not just DOD but everyone. You kick theirs to the 5 bottom of the list because they're kicking yours to the 6 bottom of the list. Everybody slows down.

7 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, of course you know, we 8 don't have to wait. I mean we might have to wait a 9 long time to the coordination. I've sometimes waited a 10 year or two to get the history cleared by NFC or State 11 or CIA. But there are many DOD records that can be 12 cleared, presumably, leaving those from outside agencies to be done later. It complicates things, but 13 14 I mean if you already want to get anything out, that's 15 what you may have to do. Instead of waiting for everybody, including everything. If you take a set of 16 17 files or a group, you may have to do it piece meal. 18 And I admit that's difficult, and it's complicated. 19 DR. CLARKE: If we don't get started, it 20 won't get done. 21 DR. GOLDBERG: Beg pardon? 22 DR. CLARKE: If we don't start, it won't get 23 done.

24 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, true. So I think
25 something we're going to have to face up to is that

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this is going to be a long and involved and difficult process. I think we can help. I think we get -- more may get done as a result of what we do here during the next few years that would have gotten done otherwise. So to that extent, what we are doing can be useful, and I'd like to see us continue.

7 Yes, we're going to have to make some very 8 general recommendations, but what I'm trying to talk 9 about now is the more specific ones. I think we're 10 agreed that we could report that we would like to see 11 emphasis placed on Presidential Libraries, OSD and JCS. 12 The question is do we want to suggest any subject areas 13 or clusters of subject areas. And I say suggest, 14 knowing we don't know a lot more than that at this point. Do we want to be specific in that regard? 15 We've had a number of suggestions already made here 16 today. Do we want to say some thing concrete on this 17 18 subject and say we would like to see these particular 19 areas in particular looked at? Or given top priority 20 within OSD, Presidential Libraries, and so forth? 21 I think they would have to be linked to ---

22 mention subject areas, you'd have to link them to 23 specific organizations, because I don't think you can 24 do it all the way across the board immediately. 25 PROF. MAY: Are you speaking of specific

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subjects as the Presidential Libraries spoke of Eastern
 Europe and --

3 DR. GOLDBERG: Even more specific, if4 possible, yes. Correct.

5 PROF. MAY: How much more specific?
6 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, nuclear weapons
7 planning, well for instance.

8 BG. ARMSTRONG: Let me suggest what the Java 9 tank for how she was going to do the Joint Chiefs of 10 Staff files. She has listed in there the files series exemptions. And I realize that some of these things 11 12 are pretty general, but on the other hand, some of them aren't. Here's a file thing: "Evaluation of plans for 13 the strategic air offensive". Now Elliot, that's your 14 15 bag. Do you want that kind of stuff?

16 PROF. COHEN: Sure.

BG. ARMSTRONG: Okay, fine. The historians
have to tell us that you know. That -- some other of
this stuff you probably don't care about. So ---

20 PROF. COHEN: Well -- you're right, I guess. 21 The import of that, I think, for the panel is that you 22 do have to dig fairly deeply into each of these areas 23 before you can say anything that's meaningful. That's 24 why I trust a certain amount of frustration with some 25 of these plans because there isn't even that level of

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1 detail. But I think -- you know, one advantage in
2 having a self-serving discussion with the Joint Staff
3 about what is in these files and what do the files look
4 like.

5 But I think the problem that poses for the 6 panel is that it means you do go through this piece 7 meal, but I don't really see how there's -- frankly, 8 there's that much that's general that we could say --9 aside from everybody seems to agree that all of this is 10 under-resourced.

11 BG. ARMSTRONG: But -- Al had suggested 12 that -- and I agree with him -- I think that your interest, at least initially, primarily focuses on high 13 policy. This tends to be found in three sets of 14 15 organizational records plus certain additional 16 positional records that reside in each of the services 17 record groups, and that taking some time to listen to 18 and having the people come in to you and tell you or 19 deputying someone like Bob to come and listen over 20 there where you can actually get into a holding area . and set down with the person who has the knowledge, go 21 22 through at this. It's some thing that I think is going 23 to be required. It's not required, you don't have to do the same level for the Army, the Navy, the Marines 24 25 and the Air Force.

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And I think that you also -- when you're 1 2 talking about going to the Secretary and talking about resources -- I think that Al's suggestion that if 3 you're going to focus initially on these kinds of 4 5 records -- initially, Mr. Secretary, we believe that the -- while we acknowledge that every effort is under-6 resourced and under-funded, basically it's unfunded is 7 another way of saying it because there's no additional 8 9 funds -- we believe that your priority if you choose to 10 put in additional resources, which is what we 11 recommend, should go to supporting these areas.

I understand the coordination problem, but I'll tell you, if you try to salami-slice out each of the -- what is going to be a small pot of money, you may end up getting nothing. And I know -- everybody would like to have money out of this, and it's a cinch I'm not going to get any money out of it. I know that. COL. PONNWITZ: One area I'd like to comment

on --- I concur wholeheartedly with the priorities
established through the organizations. The topics or
subjects you pick are really going to have to be
thought out well, because the product is not going to
be a perfectly organized, catalogued, indexed, under
classification product. When we get done, even though
you may have searched your files and pulled out a

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particular subject, references to that subject are buried everywhere, and in the end, you're going to have a whole lot of unclassified documents that aren't organized particularly well.

5 And that is where the challenge is going to 6 be to the user, to make sense of all this and put it 7 together in some meaningful way that you can derive 8 conclusions and interact things that aren't interacted 9 right now and won't be when you get the product.

10 So I think we have to be very careful when we 11 say we want specific information focused to this 12 subject, realize you're not going to get all of it; 13 you're going to get some of it and be patient for the 14 rest because we won't know where it is until we're all 15 done through the declassification process, if then.

DR. GOLDBERG: The rule is that with the 16 17 exception of JCS, the higher the level, the more poorly 18 organized the files -- and I speak quite seriously in 19 saying this from personal experience. The higher the 20 level, the more difficult it really will be to use the 21 files and get the information for this purpose of 22 declassification -- the more diffused they are. 23 But it's another one of the problems -- there 24 are very many -- that we face in attacking this 25 problem, and I think we do have to attack it.

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1 The question still remains, do we want to 2 specify any particular subject areas in connection with 3 the top level organizations that we've identified, and I think agreed on. I believe there's a consensus on 4 5 the organizations that ought to receive emphasis 6 initially. Now do we want to go beyond that and see if 7 we would like -- we suggest, we recommend that priority be given to -- for example, like the pilot project --8 9 to these particular areas? 10 DR. WAMPLER: Well, I think that would have 11 to be gauged in terms of this list that Dave Armstrong 12 pointed to, otherwise you're telling the archivist to 13 go search your stuff. DR. GOLDBERG: Well, it's a question of how 14 15 much ---16 DR. WAMPLER: Well we also don't know how 17 many boxes or files --18 DR. GOLDBERG: No, I'm not talking about the 19 amount of files -- how many items we want to include in our request? I mean we can -- this is an initial 20 21 effort. This is the first time. We don't want to 22 overwhelm anybody. What we're really, I think, ought to be doing is giving an indication of the things that 23 24 we'll probably be interested in. 25 DR. WAMPLER: Okay, then I would state it in

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1 terms of saying -- if we want to buy the list like that 2 -- saying this is our sense of our top ten issues, and 3 we will be guided by this general sense of priorities 4 in making further recommendations about individual accessions and files -- to indicate that that's sort of 5 6 the map or the guidelines we're following. I -- I 7 don't see any point beyond that in developing a list of 8 subjects to turn in.

9 The problem with that ---BG. ARMSTRONG: 10 Walter you're the guy who knows the files I would worry 11 about. If you list an issue, and you're talking about 12 the JCS files, that may or may not cut across whole 13 sets of files, and you really have to say guys, --14 specificity is just required here, and specificity 15 means work, and it means specific work.

DR. GOLDBERG: But is it required -OBSERVER: -- definitely, very definitely
have to key it into the wording of the JCS files -there's no other way to do it.

20 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, but we don't have to do 21 it in this report. We can do it directly with the 22 organizations involved, it's the way it ought to be 23 done. We give them to top-level general items. And 24 then we specify to them, and not necessarily in this 25 report.

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DR. WAMPLER: Okay, so you say you want nuclear weapons, strategic plans and operations, Korean War, Viet Nam War, NEDRNE (ph) -- and you know, alliance relations -- I mean, you know, you kick them off and you say these are the things that really interest us.

DR. GOLDBERG: That's right, -- and we will DR. WAMPLER: Pursue this sense of priorities
in making your further decisions.

10 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I sense that this is not 11 an issue. We don't have to put it in the report, if 12 you want to have something just very general, go ahead 13 and do it. It doesn't mean anything. We -- it's been 14 clear enough from our discussion today the general 15 sorts of issues that we place -- we consider to be most 16 important. There have been representatives from OSD, 17 JCS who are actually going to be doing this work, heard 18 this. If they want to fine tune their understanding of 19 our thinking, you do this in the process of 20 conversation. It just emerges naturally.

DR. WAMPLER: No, what I'm thinking -correct me if I'm wrong Dr. Goldberg, but you want to give these people a sense that not only are we making recommendations, we have a rationale for our

25 recommendations.

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DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, of course. DR. WAMPLER: I mean that we're not just picking these things out of thin air and saying we'd like to see this, we'd like to see this and we'd like to see this. But we chose these with priorities in mind.

7 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Is there any doubt?
8 DR. WAMPLER: Well, there might be. Might
9 be.

10 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Well, then, let the 11 people who have the doubts express them. But -- but 12 the important thing is that the people doing the actual 13 declassification work and to the extent that they're 14 interested in our thinking can ask what our thinking is 15 to factor into their own work process.

16 MR. HALL: Can I request again the POW information be requested and put on that list because 17 18 as it stands all wars, including the Korean War, up to 19 and including the present -- so it isn't listed --20 isn't limited to any one record. And I'm speaking not 21 just for myself but for different organizations, the 22 National Alliance of Families and a number of family members -- they would very much like to have you 23 consider this a priority. It's more than a few 24 individual interests. It's a large (inaudible) 25

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1 interest.

MS. SCHAUBLE: I would like to say from the
point of view of efficiency and process, you really
have to work the way the records are organized. If you
try to get too specific on topics, people are going to
jump from one place to another in the records and
you're never really going to get anything done as a
whole. I have to work on a series a record series
basis in order to work efficiently.
JCS records may be organized differently so
that it makes sense there to work on a topical basis.
But you're going to have to look at the way each
organization's records are organized in order to decide

14 what is the most efficient way to tackle those records, 15 because I'm sure we don't want to make recommendations 16 to an organization that's actually in a way that's 17 going to impede their efforts as opposed to expediting 18 it.

DR. GOLDBERG: Well, the Executive Order --the clients do talk in topical areas, but I've been skeptical of that also. I don't think we will or we should give very specific lists in this kind of report. If we're going to do that, we would do it directly in dealing with the agencies involved. Here, I think, what to do is to give the people whom we send this

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report the notion of what we consider the important things that we would like to see addressed, and we can list some of those. This is the sort of thing we think ought to be emphasized. In dealing with agencies directly we will -- we will specify more precisely what it is we're interested in. I think that would serve the purpose.

MR. S. GOLDBERG: This is a guarterly panel 8 9 meeting. The next meeting is scheduled for May. I think --- I don't see why you have to bite off too much 10 11 at this first meeting. I think talking about the 12 resource problem, the coordination problem, trying to 13 emphasize a higher level OSD, JCS, Presidential thing, is enough. I don't see where you really need to get 14 15 into the details of specific documents first. Let's chew on these issues first ---16

DR. GOLDBERG: We're not talking about
specific - MR. S. GOLDBERG: -- for two or
three months.

20 DR. GOLDBERG: We're not talking about 21 specific documents, obviously.

22 MR. S. GOLDBERG: This discussion ---23 DR. GOLDBERG: We're talking in general 24 areas. Ernest?

25

PROF. MAY: Well, it seems to me you can take

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three topics. You can take the two that were 1 identified for the Presidential Libraries because they 2 3 have already set aside documents in those areas and they're represented what the problems are for us --4 endorse their effort -- they've taken the lead in. The 5 Assistant Secretary at the Department has asked to 6 further that effort, assist in that effort -- you urge 7 that they do so -- that seems to me to make sense. 8

Then, there's an argument for choosing one 9 10 other subject and I think you in fact nailed it ---11 subject familiar to us, the U.S./Soviet Strategic 12 Nuclear Competition, because -- for a different reason. Not because it's been identified and because they're 13 well on the way, but because it provides, I think as 14 15 good a test as you can get of the exempted categories. 16 Every one of these except the one for the protection of 17 the president and the vice president.

18 And that seems to me -- and I've had a 19 disturbing sense throughout our discussion that part of 20 what we ought to be about has been neglected, because 21 we have been tending to think about this in terms of 22 what scholars want in their queue of interest, but if I understand the intent of the Executive Order, it is to 23 24 serve that interest, but over a period -- not 25 immediately, but over the five year period, but with an

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outcome, if it works, in which the number of exempted documents at the end of the five year period is reduced to its minimum. And it is defensible in these terms, in terms of -- with most of these being conditioned up, think seriously and demonstrably -- those modifiers are there.

7 So it seems to me to be important at this 8 stage to find out how hard it is to identify those 9 things that you want to have exempt at the end and to 10 try to ease the process that everything else looks ---11 so you know how to identify and find the things that 12 need to be kept classified.

13 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, I think that using 14 Presidential Libraries' plan would be a good handle for moving into OSD and JCS. They do specify the areas. 15 We could add another one. We might be well advised to 16 17 confine ourselves to a limited number of that sort --18 and say this is just a beginning; these are examples or instances of the direction in which we should be going. 19 20 We will have some more to recommend in the future. 21 COL. PONNWITZ: Sir, I'd like to add one

22 comment, if I may. I concur whole heartedly with
23 Professor May's comment. I would ask that you put one
24 caveat in there to you know, satisfy the concerns
25 regarding the POWs that since this POW issue is so

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1 significant, and since obviously some records have been 2 missing over time, that in your declassification search 3 if you find any reference to POWs that it be highlighted and segregated so that those leads can be 4 followed. Not necessarily focus the search to POWs, 5 but as you do your declassification if you find 6 7 material that obviously might have been missing or was 8 neglected before that it be highlighted.

9 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright. That may be 10 possible.

MR. S. GOLDBERG: That sort of effort is happening within the DOD at all times. The CPMO people are coming at all of us asking do you have any more --have you found any more POW stuff, and you know, when we find it we tell them and it proceeds through --

16 COL. PONNWITZ: And all I'm asking is that -17 that you reemphasize that here in this report.

18 BG. ARMSTRONG: One thing I think might -- I 19 think should be done and that is, you're going to address the issue of resources, and you're also going 20 21 to address the fact that the historical community has 22 certain interests that it wishes to highlight and it 23 wishes to have influence the declassification efforts 24 of the agencies. I think you ought to also acknowledge 25 that the degree to which those interests change the

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declassification efforts that have originally been 1 2 planned, they may in fact, without additional resources 3 -- they will influence how the declassification process 4 goes and they may well either delay it or result in additional costs. Because every time -- every time you 5 6 change something or make it more specific, you make it 7 more effective for the historian, but you may well make it less efficient for the declassifier. 8 9 PROF. MAY: What I was suggesting actually 10 was not -- that that not be done. You have the two topics which have been chosen by the Presidential 11 Libraries. They already ---12 13 BG. ARMSTRONG: Yes. PROF. MAY: -- but that's a -- it's not our 14 15 desire to have Viet Nam, Eastern Europe ---16 BG. ARMSTRONG: I thought you were going to 17 extend those into OSD and JCS records. 18 PROF. MAY: I would start with the Presidential Libraries. 19 20 Oh, okay. BG. ARMSTRONG: 21 PROF. MAY: The records are OSD. That's part 22 of their problem is getting the coordination and I 23 suggested that you add one other, not for the historian 24 interest in it, but to pass a test of how you apply the exemptions and how you -- that seems to me to be the 25

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hardest thing is to figure out how you determine what needs to be -- remain classified at the end of five years. And we ought to suggest what we can to help that. And I think if we take something hard and help test how much it would cost.

6 BG. ARMSTRONG: Well, if you take something 7 hard, you're going to expend a lot of effort doing 8 that, and that's going to have costs for how you 9 execute the overall program. That's the point I'm 10 trying to make.

11 DR. WAMPLER: But I think it's important. 12 Say you take nuclear -- or the nuclear competition, and 13 one of the things we ask for in terms of briefing and 14 liaison is say, under your existing plans, how do your plans address the review of these issues? Okay. 15 That gives you your baseline. If you want to fiddle with 16 17 it, then you start feeling out the increased costs that 18 you're concerned about, but in some way you're just trying to get some idea of the contours. 19

I mean I'm assuming that under whatever plan you've got, in each yearly tranche, that is further disaggregated down into category 1, 2, and 3 -- and maybe 3's finally getting smaller and the other two groups growing in size as a portion of the overall part. How is that happening? How are our priorities

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being reflected in your existing plans and how do we evaluate that so that we have a sense of what it costs for the recommendations that we've made? Because we're making them just in a vacuum.

BG. ARMSTRONG: Yes, that's right, but that's
going to require agencies to come and tell you --

DR. WAMPLER: Or -- I think we should have
some ongoing connection between now and May, not just
have this stop and then pick up again three months from
now.

11 PROF. LEFFLER: I worry about the emphasis on 12 the nuclear competition issue. If you recall, Nancy 13 specifically said that they had identified things that 14 they believe could be easily declassified, and that was 15 one of their benchmark criteria. She also said that 16 she would be equally happy with a different approach 17 and just go to one or two libraries and just try to 18 cover those libraries completely for all issues.

My sense is that focusing on an issue like the strategic nuclear competition is going to absorb so many resources because they're the most sensitive issues of all, that there's going to be a huge part of the academic community which is not interested in that, but interested in all sorts of other policy issues which will get nothing, while tremendous amounts of

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resources are focused on this very specific issue.

2 Keeping in mind also that this committee is 3 really weighted very heavily amongst the academic 4 people, the people that are particularly interested in 5 the strategic issue, and it may -- we may be regarded 6 very negatively for us to focus specifically on that issue which is clearly the interest of most of the 7 8 people on this committee, and not the larger interest, 9 speaking of the whole academic area.

DR. GOLDBERG: But there are other subjects you were going to propose that incur in your interest also and that will also take --

13 PROF. LEFFLER: No, I -- I --

14 DR. GOLDBERG: -- a lot of time.

15 PROF. LEFFLER: I don't believe frankly, --16 my own view is that we should not identify specific 17 subjects at this time. Having used enormous amounts of 18 resources, I very much share the view that the easiest 19 way to go through and really get things accomplished is 20 by taking categories of records, perhaps just the way 21 you enumerated them Bob, on your list for example. If 22 you really want to get something accomplished quickly, you identify the categories of high level, like you did 23 for the OSD records, and have them go through those 24 25 systematically for all the issues that may fall within

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there.

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Now, if your own interests -- and most of our interests are in atomic and strategic things -- are immediately covered when you say RG330, Assistant Secretary for Atomic Affairs. You're going to get a lot of stuff in that and it will be done very systematically. You go through ISA, you're going to get a lot of other things.

So I would say -- my suggestion is we even 9 10 try not to do too much today -- I agree with you, 11 Sheldon, very -- that we have identified high level 12 things that we want to regard, and that we begin next 13 time with a specific focus on OSD, RG330 and in 14 discussing it in some detail, we make a decision. Do 15 we want to go through it -- through these file numbers 16 like you identified? Or do we alternatively want to go 17 through it by identifying certain subjects?

But I also think that focusing or putting a statement in about the Presidential Libraries, like you said, Ernie, is extremely on target. That they've done the work -- and we all know it's high level -- let them go ahead and try to do that and begin to allocate resources for them.

24 DR. WAMPLER: But I think what we were
25 discussing was not making suggestion that they focus,

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1 but saying, these are our primary interests. If you're 2 going to arrange briefings, that gives them a way to 3 focus their briefings. To come in and say, okay, these 4 are the real hard nuts to crack, that you indicate an 5 interest in; these are the problems involved; these are 6 the costs involved --- which gives us some more data 7 upon which we can then make our recommendations.

We know more about the universe we're working 8 9 in other than our own scholarly interests, more about what it means on the other side, and if you pick the 10 hardest one -- nuclear, if you want to go into 11 12 intelligence, it may even be harder in some ways --13 you've got to figure that other things are going to be less difficult than that and you can then factor back 14 15 from that by using your worse case to get a sense of 16 just what the problems are. And you're just using that 17 as a way of structuring the briefings in your initial 18 communication with these people, not as just a way of 19 saying this is what we think you should focus on.

20 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: Why not leave the 21 structure of the briefings up to them? Because you're 22 saying this is what we're interested in, you're saying, 23 speak to this specifically and it's distorting the 24 structure of the briefing. Just let -- let them --25 they're the ones that have to do this whole

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declassification project. Let's let them do the -- lay
 out what their thinking is, their whole philosophy of
 approaching it. If they have problems --

DR. WAMPLER: But shouldn't we lay out questions we'd like to have answered, rather than have them come here to air a briefing and then discover that they're not prepared to answer the questions we're interested in.

9 PROF. TRACHTENBERG: I think maybe the people
10 who actually do this can answer this. What do you want
11 from us? What do you want from us? Do you want
12 specific questions that we --- you do? What --13 questions of what nature?

MR. BROWN: We have submitted plans for
declassification --

16 DR. GOLDBERG: Can you speak up, please? 17 MR. BROWN: -- following guidelines that were 18 laid out by Steve Garfinkle when he gave us guidelines 19 for agency declassification. And we followed them. And that's what we reported in our plan. And those 20 21 plans were then approved by Steve Garfinkle, which was 22 the requirement, that Steve Garfinkle approve those 23 He did. plans.

Now if there's a problem with those plans, or
we need to put something else in those plans, I don't

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want to keep coming in and taking an essay test and 1 2 getting an F. I want to know what it is you want to 3 know.

4 PROF. COHEN: Then isn't the solution then 5 that we ask to be briefed on declassification plans? 6 DR. GOLDBERG: That's one of the things we're 7 talking about, yes.

PROF. COHEN: And then you have -- I don't 8 think people are disagreeing as much as it may sound. 9 10 If you have a briefing on the declassification plans, 11 then you have a conversation basis.

12 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, in asking for a 13 briefing, I think it probably would be desirable to ask 14 for some thing conditional that may not be there, to 15 give us more of an idea of the kinds of things that 16 they have that we might get at, and even in terms of 17 some specifics. What sort of things do you have on 18 this subject? Or this subject?

PROF. COHEN: Well, I don't think ---20 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, some may be prepared on 21 their own and others may not be --

19

22 PROF. COHEN: Well, if you asked to be 23 briefed on the declassification plan, they wouldn't 24 submit, you know, here's a list of the major -- certain 25 files that we have ---

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DR. GOLDBERG: Not necessarily, no. Some might and others might not, that's why you want to give them some guidance at least, but I sense from this discussion that perhaps we need to give some more thought and some more attention to whether we do want to specify any areas, any topics, subjects, whatever.

7 We might be well advised for the time being, 8 to confine ourselves to saying that we think that 9 emphasis ought to be placed on these particular offices 10 -- the Presidential Libraries, OSD, JCS. We think that in order for this to be done, because these are the 11 12 places where the most important and many of the most 13 sensitive materials are, in order for this to be 14 accomplished additional resources are needed. Now we think that the most serious consideration ought to be 15 16 given at the highest levels to provide additional 17 resources to these agencies in order to do this.

18 We would like, in the future, perhaps in the 19 near future, to provide some further thoughts on the 20 subject of how they might go about this. The 21 particular areas of greatest interest and importance to 22 the public perhaps ought to be addressed in some order 23 of priority. We're going to give it some more thought, 24 and in the future, we would like to provide this kind 25 of material information.

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1 Does that strike you as a reasonable 2 approach? 3 DR. WAMPLER: As a way of being even more 4 concrete, say on the basis of the Fowler series 5 exceptions on the JCS ---6 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes. 7 DR. WAMPLER: Can they very quickly give you 8 a little mark to the side saying second year, third 9 year, fourth year? When they get at these? I mean 10 that at least would --11 DR. GOLDBERG: Well, can't we get that 12 directly from them instead --13 DR. WAMPLER: If they come prepared to 14 answer. 15 DR. GOLDBERG: Beg pardon? 16 DR. WAMPLER: If they come prepared to 17 answer. 18 DR. GOLDBERG: Sure and that's ---DR. WAMPLER: That's -- I would tell you --19 20 DR. GOLDBERG: That's what we would have to 21 do with them directly. It would not be part of this 22 report. 23 DR. WAMPLER: No. 24 DR. GOLDBERG: Part of this report we would 25 say, we look forward to having briefings, of having

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direct connections with all of these organizations or working with them to achieve the goals which we had in mind.

4 BG. ARMSTRONG: I think it would be fair, if 5 you want a JCS briefing, if before you get that 6 briefing, you go through their plan and you tick off --first of all, you tick off questions like Bob has --7 when are you going to get to this stuff? The second 8 9 thing you tick off is okay, looking at all these pages 10 of things, I'm interested in -- and maybe each 11 scholar's interested in this general subject area could 12 list four or five of these that he particularly wants 13 to know what's in there.

14 You're not going to get him to come in and 15 tell you what's in -- in any sort of detail -- in every 16 one of these exemptions. But if you have a particular 17 interest in how Joe Stalin was going to go up in a mushroom cloud in 1952, then you go in there, you find 18 19 where that is or is likely to be in these exemptions, 20 and you ask them to talk about it as best they can, 21 defining aids that define that particular file.

But you've got to ask them in advance. You don't -- you're not going to get a GS-13 over here -you might get a 15 that could tell you that, but you're never going to get a 13, and the 15 works for

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1 Passarelli, he doesn't want ---2 PROF. COHEN: You can do that on the basis of 3 the information of the Joint Chiefs --4 BG. ARMSTRONG: Yes. 5 PROF. COHEN: Some of these ---6 BG. ARMSTRONG: Sure. 7 PROF. COHEN: --- you don't have enough 8 information to do that. 9 BG. ARMSTRONG: Well, you know SAC --- I mean 10 Curtis Lemay. 11 DR. GOLDBERG: Would it be useful to have 12 members of the panel specialize in one declassification 13 plan or another so that somebody has some 14 responsibility in some special interests in a particular area, JCS, OSD policy or some of the others, 15 16 and would be prepared to interact with the 17 representatives of that agency in a knowledgeable way? 18 Otherwise we might well diffuse our efforts and talk 19 around the subject instead of getting to the heart of 20 it? Perhaps we can work that out with you individually 21 to see which particular declassification plans you 22 would be prepared to undertake. 23 MR. DAVIS: Talking about a few of the 24 category 1 or 2 records, what is everybody thinking of 25 with respect to the type of ordinary, systematic review

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without redaction or some sort of declassification
 review with redaction? Of course that impacts greatly
 on the resource question.

DR. GOLDBERG: Yes.

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5 MR. GRABOSKE: This is to be a non-redaction 6 review. It's up or down -- you're going to look at it. 7 A document's going to be up or down; a series is going 8 to be up or down -- not (inaudible) shakedown. There's 9 no time or resources for that.

10 MR. DAVIS: That I think is -- and correct me if I'm wrong -- but I think that will save greatly on 11 12 the amount of time (inaudible) document. I would ask 13 that whenever a document is pulled, because this has 14 been a problem, that some sort of adequate description 15 of the document be placed on a pull card and the pull card is inserted in the files. And that may appear at 16 17 a first glance to be very technical matter, but if 18 information, for example, the author of the document, 19 the date of the document, the recipients of the 20 document, an unclassified subject line -- if 21 information of that nature isn't on a pull card, you 22 folks who work in the declassification area often get a 23 lot of unnecessary FOIAs and NPRs.

24 DR. GOLDBERG: That means you have to ask for
25 still additional resources.

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1 DR. WAMPLER: But NARA does that when they 2 process these ---3 MR. DAVIS: That's standard procedure. 4 DR. WAMPLER: Yes. 5 DR. GOLDBERG: Alright. 6 DR. WAMPLER: Well, sometimes there's 7 information, for example, on the contents of the 8 document on the pull card, and sometimes there's not. 9 MR. DAVIS: Well sometimes they classify the title. 10 11 DR. WAMPLER: Pardon? MR. DAVIS: Sometimes they classify the 12 13 title. 14 DR. WAMPLER: Well, sometimes it's a 15 classified subject in these documents, but oftentimes -16 - even though it's a TRSD (ph) document, it's an 17 unclassified subject. 18 MR. S. GOLDBERG: Sometimes it's not. 19 MR. DAVIS: Sometimes it's not, but when it's 20 not, all I'm asking is that -- as an example that unclassified subject line be placed on the pull card. 21 22 So the people in subsequent years can make an informed 23 decision on whether they're going to include it in the 24 FOIA or the NPR. 25 It's mostly the documents we MS. SCHAUBLE:

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1 get are not portion marked, we can't always tell how 2 much information we can put on these withdrawal cards 3 without going over into unclassified areas. 4 MR. DAVIS: Well, at a minimum we could ask 5 that if there's an unclassified subject line on the 6 document that please place it on the pull card. 7 PROF. MAY: We could endorse that. We would also endorse the principle of the specific basis for 8 the exemption being there -- not the general, but it is 9 10 one of the exempt categories. 11 DR. GOLDBERG: Which of the specific? 12 PROF. MAY: For example, there certainly is 13 some form of restrictive data that low classification 14 that (inaudible) by; but there is on the other hand, 15 top secret restrictive data that is known to every 16 physicist in the world. 17 DR. GOLDBERG: Such as how to make a bomb. PROF. MAY: There's a lot of stuff and if we 18 19 know that, then it's possible -- you're not going to 20 know that or probably the people who are making the 21 choices and block the matter out, but there might be 22 some way in which the laboratory or other committee 23 that reviews this stuff --- I don't know which things they ought to look at -- label that this is exempted --24 25 exempted under the nuclear weapons provision.

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DR. GOLDBERG: Well, this is the kind of 1 2 subject that we should deal with when we have 3 representatives of the agencies and offices up here to 4 talk with us. With reference to our report, I think 5 we've got a pretty fair idea of what we're going to 6 include in it and what we should not include. Ι 7 suggest that the probably procedure ought to be to draft such a report and send it out to members of the 8 panel for their review and comment. On the basis of 9 10 that, prepare a final report of which you'll also 11 receive a copy and submit that to Secretary Page.

12 I think we have a long way to go here before 13 we can make more specific suggestions that I think have 14 been agreed on for inclusion in this report -- this 15 first report. This is a first report. It seems to me that it ought to be in general terms. 16 I think we have highlighted the specific instances or specific items 17 18 that we think ought to be included in it, namely the 19 need for more resources to see to it that something 20 effective comes out of all this; the desire of the 21 panel for more information to be gotten initially 22 directly from representatives of the services and some 23 of the agencies appearing here at our next meeting 24 perhaps and giving us this kind of information; the ---25 where we'd like to see the emphasis placed, the

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particular offices which we've already mentioned
 several times that ought to have priority.

I think that would probably be sufficient for 3 4 our first -- that in the future we would like to go 5 beyond this; take some additional steps; to specify 6 areas that we think ought to be given priority for 7 declassification. And beyond that, perhaps specify particular files, series, that ought to be given 8 9 priority if we -- if and how we can determine it from the declassification plans. 10

11 Now, what more would you like to see included 12 in this report? Sounds good. If that satisfies you, 13 if you think that's enough for an initial step, then 14 that's how we will proceed. We'll draft a report, see 15 that you get a copy of it. Make your comments into 16 consideration and send out the final. We will -- I'll 17 try to homogenize it to everybody's satisfaction ---18 possibility, of course, but I will try, and I hope that 19 you will give me your best thoughts on the subject. 20 Language can sometimes be important in a report of this 21 kind and you can help improve both language and the 22 thought, it would be very much appreciated.

Is there anything else anyone would like tobring up?

25

MR. BROWN: (inaudible) member of the panel

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in the meeting here to come over to the Navy Yard and
sit down and talk to us, give you some insight to the
Navy declassification plan. Sit down and talk with us
about elements of the plan.

5 DR. GOLDBERG: Yes, I think something we can 6 do for the panel members is probably give you a list of 7 the people in the services and the other agencies who are concerned, who are responsible for the 8 9 declassification security. That might help if you want 10 to make any further connections with them. I think we 11 can do that, can't we? Yes. Alright, if there's 12 nothing else, we stand adjourned. Thank you.

13 (Whereupon, at 3:00 p.m. the meeting in the14 above captioned matter was concluded.)

