

examinations are currently being field tested in introductory political science courses across the country. The results of these pretests will guide the construction of the test to be administered in May 1987.

Workshop at the 1986 Annual APSA Meeting

The AP Government & Politics Committee will sponsor a workshop Wednesday afternoon, August 27, in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the APSA convention. Those interested in learning more about the AP Program—in particular, those whose departments are likely to be receiving AP candidates and those interested in sponsoring a summer workshop for AP teachers—are invited to attend. □

Historical Documentation Advisory Committee Meets at State Department

Warren F. Kuehl
University of Akron

The Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation met in Washington, D.C., on November 8, 1985. In attendance were Robert Dallek, Carol S. Gruber, and Warren F. Kuehl, representing the American Historical Association; Ole R. Holsti and Deborah W. Larson, representing the American Political Science Association; John L. Hargrove of the American Society of International Law; and Bradford Perkins representing the Organization of American Historians. (The committee re-elected Kuehl to the chair).

The committee received helpful assistance from William Z. Slany, the State Department Historian, and his staff, both during the meeting and through written reports circulated in advance. It also welcomed the support of George B. High, Senior Deputy Assistant

Secretary of the Bureau of Public Affairs, who attended the meeting, and Bernard Kalb, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs for the Department, who met twice with the committee.

The past year has been one of meritorious accomplishment in the State Department Office of the Historian. Answers to some long-standing questions have been developed, and work on the FRUS (Foreign Relations of the U.S.) series has progressed well. Five volumes appeared in 1985 and eleven are in press. The staff has compiled all 27 volumes of the 1955-1957 series.

Positive accomplishments in the Office of the Historian are, however, accompanied by discouraging evidence that the declassification process continues to delay publication. Committee members, reflecting the position of the societies they represent, continue to insist on a 25-year line, while State Department officers consider a 30-year line the objective. While the Committee commends the Office of the Historian, the Secretary of State, and the Department of State for the positive efforts to attain and adhere to a 30-year line, it must be noted that continuing and major effort must be applied. It is evident that the 30-year line has been seriously breached. In 1985 the last volume in the 1951 series appeared. At least three volumes for the 1952-1954 set remain to be declassified, with projected publication ranging from 1986 to 1987, well beyond 30 years. Little progress has been made on clearance for the 1955-1957 series. Thus the outlook is bleak: the FRUS series seems destined to fall farther and farther behind unless direct action is taken to facilitate the declassification process. Thus while commending the substantial progress, members of the Advisory Committee find it necessary to concentrate on problems identified during their deliberations.

Clearance, the FRUS Series, and a 30-year Line

The Committee is charged with responsible advisory oversight of the nation's historical record in the realm of foreign affairs. Our society is a democratic system that prides itself on its openness,

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yet we are aware that there are sensitive issues in the realm of foreign policy. Censorship must be resisted; but security concerns cannot be neglected. To maintain a balance is difficult, but the committee's task is complicated by obscurities in declassification procedures which make it difficult to fulfill our advisory charge.

This nation once prided itself on making its historical record almost immediately available. For decades political figures and scholars boasted that our foreign policy records were open while other nations kept theirs closed. When in the post-1945 era it became necessary to extend the time between events and disclosure through publication in the FRUS series, a compromise was reached in the form of a 20-year rule. Yet a review of those years reveals that the extension in time was due as much or more to limitations of staff than to security questions. Within the past decade, the gap has widened to 30+ years. Early in 1985, Secretary Shultz set a clear 30-year line, but this already has been breached, and the Advisory Committee fears that even this time-line cannot be regained unless major changes are made.

The Advisory Committee understands the necessity for the initial classification of certain documents. It cannot understand why the process of declassification is so slow. If 30 years ago during and after a war in Korea, documents could be cleared in less than a 20-year span, why not today? If the 25 to 30 year goal could be achieved during military involvement in Vietnam, why not now?

Because the declassification process itself is unclear, the committee is frustrated in seeking explanations for the publication delay. Efforts to ascertain what the clearance procedures are have not succeeded. There are guidelines for the systematic declassification of department records, but these cannot be seen by the Committee because they are apparently protected. This Committee, charged under statutory mandate to make recommendations related to the historical documentation of the United States, cannot respond properly because of limitations imposed by the bureaucratic structure.

A number of agencies are involved in the review procedure, in addition to the Classification Declassification Center (A/CDC). Even after a document is cleared by one or more agencies, another agency can frustrate publication by its refusal to approve. While efforts are made largely through the A/CDC to negotiate a settlement, the Office of the Historian feels compelled to withhold volumes from publication when documents vital to an understanding of events have not been cleared. This position, designed to protect the integrity of the FRUS series, has been endorsed repeatedly by past Advisory Committees. In some instances the number of items to be declassified is not great; in others it may constitute as much as 20 percent of the documentation.

The following illustrate the delays that have resulted:

1. In October 1985, the last volume of the 1951 series appeared, 34-35 years after the events occurred.
2. The 1952-1954 set still has six unpublished volumes. Three of these are yet involved in clearance processing, with possible publication set for 1986 and 1987.
3. As noted earlier, all 27 volumes for 1955-1957 have been compiled by the Office of the Historian. Four are in the printing process. All the others are still under review. Only six of these are targeted for publication in 1987, and the Committee sees even that as an optimistic figure. Thus, less than half the volumes will appear within the timeline set by Secretary Shultz unless drastic measures are taken to alter the situation.

Since the Committee met, President Reagan has issued a new directive calling on all agencies to move to and adhere to a 30-year line. This is a positive and welcome step. It reaffirms in the strongest fashion the value of the FRUS series and asks the Secretary of State to "take necessary measures to ensure the publication by 1990 of the foreign affairs volumes through 1960." It further directs "agencies and staffs to cooperate with the Department of State in the col-

lection, declassification review, and publication of these volumes" pointing toward a 30-year timeframe. The Department of State is charged with setting the process in motion and making annual status reports. The Committee discussed the directive, which had been drafted before it met. In the light of past experience and the fact that the 30-year line has already been severely breached, it is cautious in its expectations. It makes the following recommendations to enhance the prospects of achieving the directive's intent.

1. The Committee suggests that as representatives meet to implement the directive they pay special attention to the following issues, which were identified during the discussions:

a) There is ambiguity whether the 30-year line applies to the first date in a combined series or the last (in triennial volumes 1955-1957 whether to 1955 or 1957). Ideally, publication by 30 years from the first date should be the goal.

b) Whereas it has been common to blame the Government Printing Office for delays, the problem now appears to lie in the failure to begin the clearance process sufficiently in advance to achieve a 30-year publication date. The president's directive clearly intends to remedy this problem where it notes the need to accord the declassification review "the necessary priority to achieve this 30-year publication timeframe."

c) It should be clearly established that any timeframe does not foreclose publication prior to any set terminal date, i.e., the 30-year line should not be viewed as a reason to postpone or delay clearance that might be accomplished sooner.

d) It should be clearly established that the word "disclosure," which appears in Secretary Shultz's letter in response to the 1984 Advisory Committee report and in the president's directory, refers not only to publication of the partial record in the *Foreign Relations* series but also to the transfer of records to the Archives where they would become fully accessible. The Committee hopes that meaning will be established as a rule.

2. The Advisory Committee requests a detailed description of the processes of declassification, including the principles established and instructions issued to prepare the *Declassification Guidelines* for 1950-1954 and 1955-1959. The Committee expects that such information will enable it to make specific suggestions to accelerate declassification.

3. The Committee recommends that additional resources be provided to enlarge the staff involved in the declassification process. Such action should increase the number of items reviewed and narrow the time gap. The need appears to be especially acute for materials held by the NSC, but the Office of the Historian also could use additional personnel.

4. The systematic review staff of A/CDC should focus its time on releasing the FRUS volumes. It should be careful about being drawn away from its primary task by becoming involved in extensive projects from other government agencies seeking declassification for historical studies.

5. The Committee hopes that President Reagan's directive will prompt a review of the subject of "foreign government information," a phrase embodied in his previous Executive Order 12356. Reports continue to circulate that it has been used as a license to deny or delay declassification of documents containing information from foreign governments irrespective of the contents.

6. The Committee recommends the creation of a special position within the Office of the Historian, to be held by a senior historian, nominated by the Advisory Committee, familiar with foreign relations records and the historical context. The person would be assigned to A/CDC and other agencies to act as spokesperson for the general public and the scholarly community when agencies become stalemated over differing views related to declassification. Acting as an ombudsman, such a person could be a significant facilitator. The Committee believes that leading scholars retiring from academic posts might be interested in such a challenging assignment. We suggest implementing this proposal by June of 1986 on an experimental basis.

Fiche

The Advisory Committee devoted considerable discussion to the fiche supplements being developed by the Office of the Historian. Considerable concern has been expressed by persons within the scholarly community that the inauguration of any fiche project might imperil the printed volumes. Committee members believe that such dangers do not exist at this time. First, the Office of the Historian is committed to the printed volumes, as its recent record testifies. The number of volumes and pages produced matches the projected figure of a few years ago. Second, it is evident that with the massive documentation available no printed series could contain all the useful materials. Third, because clearance is tied to the FRUS series, the appearance of additional documents increases the availability of materials. Fourth, fiche provide a convenient way of circulating documents that may have been missed or were cleared after the print volumes had been issued. Finally, the Office of the Historian has responded to suggestions of several years ago that it find ways to tie the fiche directly to the printed volumes. It has developed a library shelf system that should do this adequately wherever libraries are willing to accept the suggested arrangement. Thus the Committee, after reviewing this matter for a number of years, supports the fiche operation. The Committee suggests careful consultation and coordination with the National Archives and Records Service to be certain there is no duplication in reproducing documents.

The Committee urges the Office of the Historian to consider the widespread circulation of separately printed tables of contents and indexes for the fiche supplements and if possible to include such items from the print volumes as well. Such a reference tool would reveal in handy form the utility of the FRUS series and increase the number of users.

Editorial Board

At its 1984 meeting, the Advisory Committee requested a report from the Historian on how an editorial board might

be used to facilitate the preparation of the FRUS volumes. The submitted report has raised additional questions that need to be explored. Furthermore, it is evident that the responsibilities of the Advisory Committee need to be reviewed, particularly in the light of its enlargement from 7 to 9 persons. A subcommittee consisting of Carol Gruber, Warren Kuehl, and Deborah Larson has agreed to review these matters and prepare recommendations.

Distribution

At its 1984 meeting, the Advisory Committee expressed considerable concern that the FRUS volumes were not being promoted sufficiently and urged greater effort to increase their circulation and availability. The Committee was pleased at the printed and verbal reports of steps taken in response to its stated concerns.

Printing

The Committee reviewed with pleasure information that the Government Printing Office and the Office of the Historian have been working to eliminate many of the obstacles that previously delayed publication.

Preservation

In 1984, the Committee also had requested a report on the maintenance and preservation of current records. The extensive and impressive document it received, relating largely to electronic files since 1974, convinces the Committee that serious problems exist in this area. It is also concerned about paper documents and rules regarding their disposal. While the Committee feels it cannot become involved in making detailed suggestions, it strongly urges that the Office of the Historian be assigned leadership in reviewing all questions related to foreign relations document preservation and disposal. The Committee would also like an annual statement on this subject that describes what is being done, what dangers may exist to the records, and what responses have been given to concerns expressed by members of the Advisory Committee.

Office of the Historian and Department of State

This report cannot end without expressing satisfaction with the work of the Office of the Historian. It is efficiently administered and the staff is dedicated and able. The Advisory Committee especially wishes to commend the two-part 1952-1954 National Security volume as illustrative of the excellence of the series as a whole. It is also gratifying to see *Current Documents* annual publication moving so close to currency. The Committee is pleased, too, with the commitment of Department of State officers to the series and the strong support they have given. The Advisory Committee wishes to be as helpful as possible as everyone moves to implement the new presidential directive.

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Activities of National Election Studies

Membership of the Board of Overseers

With the recent appointment of Edie N. Goldenberg to the Board of Overseers of the National Election Studies, the Board membership is now as follows: Raymond E. Wolfinger, University of California, Berkeley, Chair; Richard A. Brody, Stanford University; Stanley Feldman, University of Kentucky; Morris P. Fiorina, Harvard University; Edie Goldenberg, University of Michigan (Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1985-86); Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego; Stanley Kelley, Jr., Princeton University; Donald R. Kinder, University of Michigan; Warren E. Miller, Arizona State University, ex officio; and Steven J. Rosenstone, Yale University.

Standing Committee on Congressional Election Research

The Board's new Standing Committee on Congressional Elections Research met in Tempe, Arizona, February 6-7, 1986. Membership on this Committee consists of Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, Sa Diego, Chair; Richard A.

Brody, Stanford University; Richard F. Fenno, University of Rochester; John A. Ferejohn, Stanford University; Edie N. Goldenberg, University of Michigan (Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1985-86); Thomas E. Mann, American Political Science Association; Warren E. Miller, Arizona State University; Douglas Rivers, California Institute of Technology; Steven J. Rosenstone, Yale University; J. Merrill Shanks, University of California, Berkeley; and Raymond E. Wolfinger, University of California, Berkeley.

The Committee is charged with the responsibility of representing the congressional elections research community in advice to the Board and CPS staff on overall priorities both for the 1986 study (including the identification of relevant content for the 1986 questionnaire) and for a future research agenda.

Release of Data from the 1985 Pilot Study

Beginning in November of 1985 and ending in mid-January, 1986, the Center for Political Studies, under the direction of the Board of Overseers, carried out the field work for a small pilot study designed to test instrumentation for the 1986 and 1988 National Election Studies. The respondents for the study are a subsample of the 1984 National Election Study respondents. The total sample has two components: a cross-section plus an oversample designed to produce 100 respondents in the final dataset aged 60 and over. The interviewing was conducted in two waves: the first interview was completed by mid-December and the second interview was taken about 4 weeks after the first. There were 429 Wave I and 345 Wave II interviews.

Special content areas emphasized in the pilot study were: political knowledge, group membership, identification of elderly, blacks and women with these social categories, attitudes on racial issues, and opinions on traditional moral values. The pilot study also included measures of political activism and autonomy in the workplace. In order to experiment with question wording and formats, two forms were used for both

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waves. The Wave I interview was 29 minutes; the Wave II interview was 39 minutes long.

These data have now been released and are available from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Order information is available from Janet Vavra, Director of Technical Services, ICPSR, Box 1248, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

A 1985 Pilot Study Committee made recommendations to the Board of Overseers on design and content of this study. Members of this Committee are: Steven J. Rosenstone, Yale University, Chair; Pamela J. Conover, University of North Carolina; Stanley Feldman, University of Kentucky; Morris P. Fiorina, Harvard University; Donald R. Kinder, University of Michigan; Shanto Iyengar, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Warren E. Miller, Arizona State University; John Zaller, Princeton University; and David O. Sears, University of California, Los Angeles.

The 1985 Pilot Study Committee will meet in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 20 to make recommendations for study content in 1986 and 1988 based on analyses of data from the pilot study. The technical papers reporting on these analyses will become publicly available shortly thereafter.

The 1986 Study Planning Committee

The Board of Overseers has named a committee to make recommendations to the Board about content and design of the 1986 National Election Study. The 1986 Study Planning Committee will consider recommendations from the Standing Committee on Congressional Elections Research, from the 1985 Pilot Study Committee and from the board's own review of core questions. Members of the Committee are: Stanley Kelley, Jr., Princeton University, Chair; Stanley Feldman, University of Kentucky; Morris P. Fiorina, Harvard University; Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego; Donald R. Kinder, University of Michigan; Thomas E. Mann, American Political Science Association; Warren E. Miller, Arizona State University; Ray-

mond E. Wolfinger, University of California, Berkeley; and John Zaller, Princeton University. The Planning Committee's first meeting is scheduled for May 28-29 at Berkeley, California. Suggestions about content or design of the 1986 National Election Study should be sent to Stanley Kelley at Princeton. □

Wayne State Graduate Program Celebrates 50th Anniversary

On May 15, 1985, the Graduate Program in Public Administration of the Department of Political Science at Wayne State University celebrated their 50th anniversary. The theme of the Golden Anniversary Symposium was "Education, Professionalism, and the Public Service."

The dinner speaker for the occasion was Allen Campbell who was introduced by David Adamany, president of Wayne State University. Campbell received his MPA degree from Wayne State in 1949. His distinguished academic career includes service as Dean of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and the Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas. In 1977 and 1978 he served as the Director of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and in that capacity was centrally involved in the successful efforts of the Carter Administration to reform the federal civil service system. He served as the first director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management in 1979 and 1980.

Following his address, a Distinguished Alumnus Award was presented to Campbell. A second award was presented to Richard Ware who received his MPA degree from Wayne State in 1943.

Shortly after celebrating its golden anniversary, the Department of Political Science was informed that its MPA degree program has been rostered by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. The Wayne State program is the only program in the State of Michigan to have received this recognition from NASPAA. □