

The National Security Archive

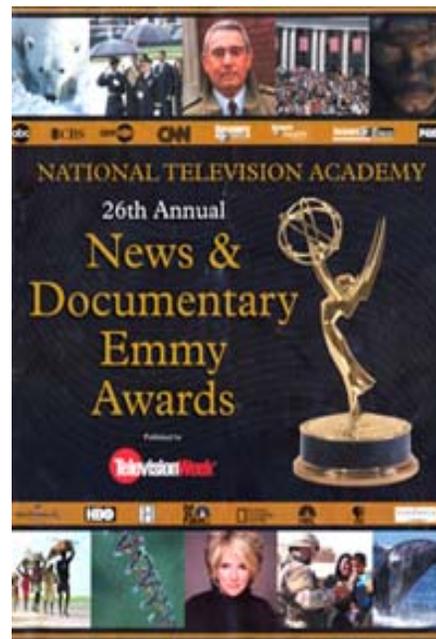
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Annual Report for 2005

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2005:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,844
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 307
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 64,570, including such newsmaking revelations as the January 2001 Richard Clarke memo to Condoleezza Rice warning of the need to review U.S. counterterrorism strategies regarding al-Qaeda; Pentagon confirmation that images of war casualty honor ceremonies belong in the public record; CIA and FBI documents detailing the U.S. connections of international terrorist Luis Posada Carriles; and State Department documents warning of “serious planning gaps for post-conflict public security and humanitarian assistance” in Iraq.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 37,123, in two reference collections:
 - The Kissinger Transcripts: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977*, 2,163 documents (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest Information & Learning/ Chadwyck-Healey, 2005) and *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited: An International Collection of Documents, from the Bay of Pigs to the Brink of Nuclear War*, 1,463 documents (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest Information & Learning/Chadwyck-Healey, 2006)
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – *A Cardboard Castle?: An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991* by Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne (Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press, 2005, 726 pp.) and *Operación Condor: Una Década de Terrorismo Internacional en el Cono Sur* by John Dinges (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones B, 2005, 432 pp.)
- ◆ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 29, bringing the Web site total to 175
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 20
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by e-mail – 2,000
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by phone – 1,500
- ◆ Visiting researchers at the Archive's reading room in GWU's Gelman Library – 577
- ◆ Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers – 29,198
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive Web site – more than 2,391,488
- ◆ Successful downloads from the Archive's Web site – 16,279,552
- ◆ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 9,400,200 (25,754 html pages per day)
- ◆ Bytes downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 3,616 Gigabytes (9.9 GB per day, equivalent to 330,000 pdf pages per day)
- ◆ Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 62
- ◆ News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 665
- ◆ Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted in newspapers and broadcast news – 11 (Argentina, Britain, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico, Peru, Spain, Venezuela)
- ◆ Awards: the 2005 Emmy for outstanding achievement in News and Documentary Research for *Declassified: Nixon in China*; the Archive's 42nd and 43rd award from the Internet Scout Report of the University of Wisconsin recognizing “the most valuable and authoritative resources online”; Forbes.com *Forbes Best of The Web* citation for “singlehandedly keeping bureaucrats' feet to the fire on the Freedom of Information Act.”

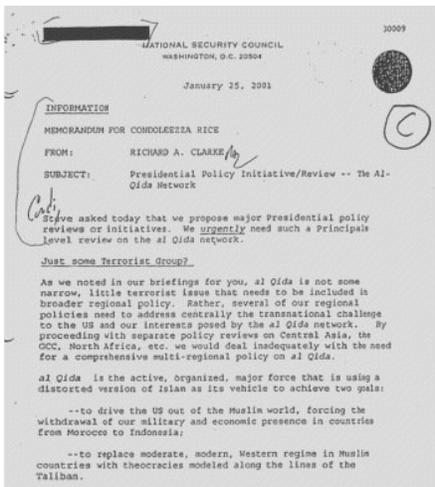


The National Security Archive in 2005

January 2005: The annual meeting of the American Historical Association provided the opportunity for extended discussion of the AHA and National Security Archive lawsuit against President Bush’s attempt to undermine the Presidential Records Act (a lawsuit still pending in federal district court in Washington), and also featured several presentations by Archive analyst William Burr and director Thomas Blanton. Blanton spoke on the panel, “Secrecy and Access in the Archives: Washington, Moscow, and the Vatican.” Burr delivered a paper on Henry Kissinger’s recently released telephone conversations for a panel entitled “Kissinger Revised: The Challenge of New Sources,” and chaired a roundtable discussion on “Hubris and the Irrationality Principle in the Foreign Policy of Recent Presidents.”

Fulfilling the Archive’s watchdog role over federal secrecy regulations, the Archive submitted comments on the Central Intelligence Agency’s decennial review of record categories the CIA has designated as exempt from search and review under the FOIA. The letter, from Archive director Thomas Blanton and general counsel Meredith Fuchs to the CIA’s director of Information Management Services, urged the CIA to allow search and review of operational records concerning publicly acknowledged CIA operations and activities that provide historically valuable information, the release of which would not harm national security—especially where CIA components that no longer exist are concerned. The letter also urged the CIA to adopt its own history staff’s 1994 recommendation that all operational files older than 40 years be subject to the FOIA.

February 2005: On February 7, Archive director Blanton joined the Brookings Institution’s Ann Florini and the Bank Information Center’s Jen Kalafut to launch the first-ever index of transparency in the international financial institutions (IFI), unveiled at a standing-room-only Brookings seminar. The IFI Transparency Resource covers the 11 major international banks (World Bank and multilateral development banks) and compares their openness practices across more than 200 indicators in a sophisticated matrix that took two years of effort by BIC and the Archive-hosted *freedominfo.org* network to develop. The project found that the Asian Development Bank has pulled markedly ahead of other international financial institutions in its standards for disclosure and civic participation, but like the other IFIs, the ADB continues to make slow progress when measured against the increasingly refined transparency agenda of critics. While still not meeting ideal standards, the IFIs have instituted many reforms worthy of note and imitation, and, increasingly, are looking at each other for “best practices.” The ADB representative at the Brookings event specifically noted that the BIC/*freedominfo.org* effort to compare and contrast openness practices had pushed her own bank towards greater transparency.

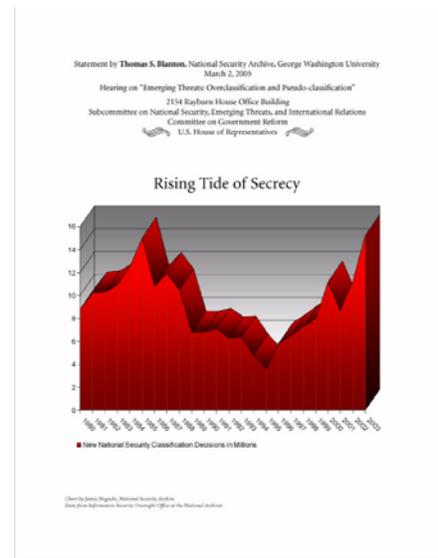


The front page of the February 12 *New York Times* featured a major story on the widely debated but previously unavailable January 25, 2001 memo from former counterterrorism coordinator Richard Clarke to then-national security advisor Condoleezza Rice that had been obtained under FOIA and posted on the Archive’s Web site by FOIA coordinator Barbara Elias. The document, described during the 9/11 hearings, was central to debates over the Bush administration’s policies on terrorism before September 11, 2001. The 13-page memo warned the White House at the start of the Bush administration that al-Qaeda represented a threat throughout the Islamic world, urgently recommended that administration officials meet to discuss the magnitude of the threat, and offered strategies for dealing with it. The document casts doubt on how seriously the new

administration took the threat of al-Qaeda before 9/11, especially since the meeting requested by Clarke did not take place until September 4, 2001.

On February 20-23, Archive Mexico project director Kate Doyle and Archive director Thomas Blanton spoke on five panels at the third annual International Conference of Information Commissioners in Cancún, Mexico, hosted by Mexico's Federal Public Information Access Institute (IFAI)—the government office created to operate Mexico's Freedom of Information Act, which took effect on July 12, 2003. With the support of the Archive, the meeting became an extraordinary public session involving representatives from non-governmental organizations around the world discussing the power of the right of access to information. This was the largest single gathering of freedom of information activists ever to have occurred, and it dramatically raised the profile of the issue in Mexico, where IFAI is leading an effort to institutionalize the new openness regime. Blanton and Doyle participated in crafting the "Declaracion de Cancún," in which dozens of NGOs formally committed their organizations to the principles of transparency, accountability and the right to know, and pledged to promote the principles of open societies in their work.

March 2005: Congressman Christopher Shays (R-CT) invited Archive director Thomas Blanton to testify at the March 2 congressional hearing on "Emerging Threats: Overclassification and Pseudo-classification of Information". The hearing examined the rapid proliferation of categories of information that are not classified but are withheld from public disclosure. Blanton presented the latest statistics on government secrecy, demonstrating that secrecy had reached all-time-record levels, and pointed to the findings of the 9/11 investigations that excessive secrecy had prevented timely action by the government to prevent terrorism. Blanton argued that, in the Internet age, openness is not necessarily in tension with security, but rather, is essential for greater security. As for the proliferation of new "pseudo-classification" categories that now protect documents from public inspection without being classified, Blanton called for central oversight (such as the role the Information Security Oversight Office plays for classified data) and a common set of standards for the new categories to ensure that information is not improperly withheld.



On March 10, the Archive joined 15 historians and the American Library Association in requesting that Congress suspend the proposed transfer of the Nixon presidential materials from their present location at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, to the Nixon Library & Birthplace in Yorba Linda, California. The move followed the Nixon Library's controversial cancellation of a scholarly conference, "Richard Nixon as Commander-in-Chief: The History of Nixon and Vietnam," that was to take place at the Library in April. The historians who signed the letter, drafted by Archive director Thomas Blanton, argued that the papers and tapes should not be turned over until stronger guarantees of public access are written into the transfer agreement. The protest sparked major news coverage, prompted NARA and the Nixon Library to revisit the issue, and produced a public commitment from the Nixon Library to restore the 800 hours of "personal political" conversations that Nixon's litigation had previously forced the National Archives to cut from the 3,200 hours of tapes that exist.

During the week of March 13-19, the Archive joined a wide range of journalism groups, open government organizations and civic groups to celebrate Sunshine Week—a week-long event organized by the American Society of Newspaper Editors where well over 500 media organizations showcased news stories and events to increase public awareness of the importance of open government and access to government information. During the week, three different witnesses and two U.S. senators, in addition to Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs, cited the results of the Archive's 2003 FOIA Audit, which found the FOIA system to be in extreme disarray due to a lack of central oversight within federal agencies. U.S. Senators John Cornyn

(R-TX) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT) invited Fuchs to testify at the March 15 congressional hearing on “Openness in Government and Freedom of Information: Examining the OPEN Government Act of 2005.” The proposed Cornyn-Leahy legislation is designed to force government officials and agencies to respond more quickly to requests for information under the FOIA. Archive director Thomas Blanton was a featured speaker at the March 16 Freedom of Information Day, hosted by Freedom Forum, and also spoke at a March 17 CNN-covered National Press Club forum on the use of anonymous sources.



On March 18, the Archive, with pro bono assistance from the law firm of James & Hoffman, filed suit against the Department of the Air Force for engaging in a pattern and practice of violating the FOIA. The suit describes in detail the handling of 82 separate FOIA requests and administrative appeals filed by the Archive since 1987 in which the Air Force failed to acknowledge requests, lost or failed to process requests, and generally mishandled Archive FOIAs. The Air Force answer in the case admitted all of the Archive’s core allegations. The Air Force reorganized its information management hierarchy in May and made FOIA a priority; without the Archive’s lawsuit, FOIA and disclosure policy would not have been a consideration. Also as a result of the suit, the Air Force is processing the Archive’s requests and seeking guidance from us on across-the-board reforms in regular face-to-face meetings. A related e-mail from the Air Force to us dated June 13, 2005, was titled “FOIA Get Well Plan.”



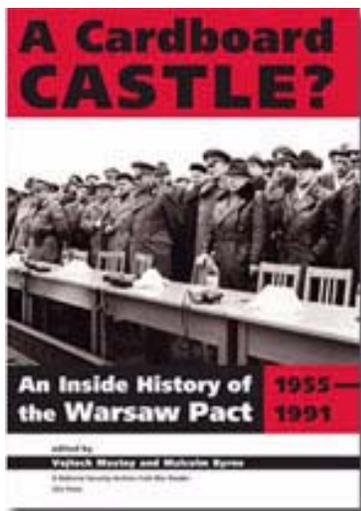
April 2005: On April 27, the Department of Defense released hundreds of images—one was featured on the front page of *The Washington Post*—in response to our October 2004 Freedom of Information lawsuit against the Pentagon and against the 14-year-old policy, created by then-secretary of defense Richard Cheney, banning media coverage or public photographs of the honor guard ceremonies for returning casualties of foreign wars. The Pentagon gave us and our lead plaintiff, University of Delaware professor Ralph Begleiter, more than 300 new digital images of those somber events surrounding flag-draped caskets—thereby acknowledging

that these images are public records. This admission, and the Pentagon’s commitment to process all subsequent FOIA requests for such images and for any related video, allowed Professor Begleiter and our pro bono legal counsel, Daniel Mach of Jenner & Block, to negotiate the subsequent settlement of the lawsuit.

May 2005: Archive Cuba documentation project director Peter Kornbluh played a pivotal role in generating media attention to international fugitive and Cuban exile Luis Posada Carrile’s asylum request in the United States—a case that dominated U.S.-Cuban relations and became a political embarrassment for the Bush administration. Intelligence documents obtained by Kornbluh and posted on the Archive’s Web site in conjunction with a *New York Times* investigation into the case, revealed that Posada was a former CIA asset and an “engineer” of the 1976 terrorist bombing of Cubana Airlines flight 455 that killed 73 passengers. The documents made headlines in *The New York Times*, the BBC, CNN, *The Miami Herald*, and around the globe. In addition, Kornbluh provided documents to, and appeared on, ABC Nightline. The media uproar generated by the Archive’s documents, changed the nature of the political discourse about Posada’s presence in the U.S. and contributed to his arrest by the Department of Homeland Security on May 17th.

On May 11, the Archive and a coalition of library, archive, historical and public interest groups

who participated as amici curiae in March 2004 obtained a mixed court decision over the names of private industry individuals who may have participated in the activities of Vice President Cheney's Energy Task Force. Although the plaintiffs (Sierra Club and Judicial Watch) were unable to obtain the discovery they sought into industry lobbying, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals also did not accept the absolute position Cheney had taken about executive privilege and separation of powers, which would have completely eviscerated the Federal Advisory Committee Act. The decision heightens public dependence on whistleblowers, since the court did not allow the discovery that would have been necessary to prove or disprove undue influence by industry.



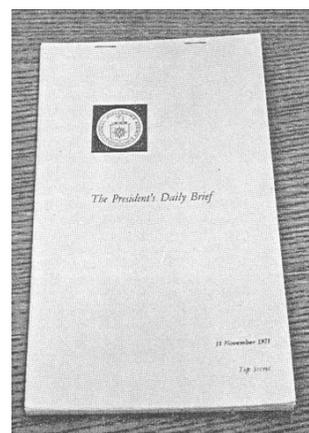
On May 14, the Central European University Press published *A Cardboard Castle?: An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991*, edited by Archive fellow Vojtech Mastny and Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne—the fourth volume in the National Security Archive Cold War Reader Series. The 726-page document reader (including 192 documents from all eight Warsaw Pact members), published on the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, revealed that the Soviet-led alliance had a long-standing strategy of attack that included plans for preemptive nuclear strikes against Western Europe in order to preempt NATO aggression. The newly declassified documents also revealed that Pact members saw themselves at a disadvantage compared to the West in the military balance from the 1970s on, especially with regard to technology. Byrne and Mastny wrote an op-ed summarizing the book for the *International Herald Tribune*. The volume was the focus of a special feature in the May 30th *U.S. News & World*

Report, and garnered highly positive reviews in the European press and in *Foreign Affairs*, which called it the “early culmination” of the Archive-sponsored Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, described in the review as “by far the most ambitious and integral project in the burgeoning field of Cold War history.”

June 2005: On June 3-6, Archive partner Vilém Prečan of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre organized a landmark conference on “The Helsinki Process and the Demise of Communism” in Prague. The Archive was a co-sponsor of the event, which brought together scholars of the Helsinki process and human rights movement veterans from all countries of the former Soviet bloc. President Vaclav Havel opened the conference and presided over two sessions. Numerous other public figures participated, including U.S. Ambassador William Cabaniss. Timothy Garton Ash prepared a keynote address, although he was forced to cancel his appearance at the last minute. Among the presenters were the head and founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Lyudmila Alexeeva, and representatives of the Open Society Institute, Transparency International, Amnesty International, and other non-governmental organizations. Archive Russia program director Svetlana Savranskaya made a presentation based on Soviet sources, which will be included in the published proceedings of the conference.

On June 29, Archive senior analyst William Burr posted recently released documents contained in the State Department's Foreign Relations of the United States series that revealed that the Nixon administration saw India as a “Soviet stooge” in the 1971 South Asia crisis triggered by East Pakistan's (now Bangladesh) quest for independence. The posting prompted headlines across India and Pakistan, as well as in the U.S.

July 2005: On July 15, U.S. District Judge David Levi ruled against the December 2004 lawsuit filed by the Archive and University of California, Davis professor Larry Berman, with pro bono assistance from the law firm of Davis Wright Tremaine, to have the President's Daily Brief (PDB) be reviewed for declassification like any other document. The CIA's current policy of withholding even 40-year-old PDBs at all costs prevents the public from ever learning what intelligence the President and top policymakers rely on when they make



significant foreign policy decisions. In siding with the CIA, Judge Levi never actually examined the two Briefs at issue, which are from 1965 and 1968, instead relying solely on an Agency affidavit contending that they could never be released, no matter how old. The ruling directly contradicted the U.S. Supreme Court, which held that presidential privilege erodes over time, as well as the Archive's filings, which placed more than 30 previously released (by accident, says the CIA) PDBs on the court record.

In a more positive legal development, the Pentagon in the Archive-supported lawsuit to secure public access to photographs of American war casualties agreed in July not only to provide more than two dozen additional images that had been censored in the April 2005 release of 721 images, plus five photographs that were not previously released, but also to continue to process further FOIA requests for images and video of honor guard ceremonies taken in the period since the lawsuit was filed. On July 28, the Archive and Ralph Begleiter, who formally filed the suit with pro bono representation from the law firm of Jenner & Block, agreed to settle the suit in the light of this clear victory.



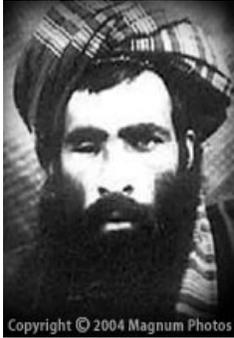
Archive analysts Carlos Osorio and Tamara Feinstein generated broad coverage in the Peruvian press during a visit to that country at the request of Peru's Procuraduría Ad Hoc – a special government prosecutorial office that is handling the corruption and human rights investigation into the crimes of Fujimori and Montesinos. The Archive has been asked to assist the Procuraduría in drafting FOIA requests that could produce U.S. documents to further assist the investigation. Feinstein has regularly obtained and provided declassified documentary resources to the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, among other groups in Peru; and Osorio provided the Peruvians with lessons learned from his cooperative work in the Southern Cone with human rights groups, judges, universities and others on techniques of

computerized preservation and organization of documents.

In late July, homicide charges were filed against former strongman Juan Bordaberry in an Operation Condor case of the murders of exiled Uruguayan Senator Zelmar Michelini and Congressman Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, who were abducted and assassinated in Buenos Aires in May 1976. Southern Cone project director Carlos Osorio met with the lead Uruguayan lawyer, Hebe Martinez, and supplied more than 70 declassified CIA and State Department intelligence records relating to Condor and to these specific murders, which were incorporated as key evidence into the legal presentation of the case. In the following month, forensic teams began to excavate areas of a military installation in search of remains of disappeared political prisoners – some of them Argentines who, as the Uruguayan air force would later admit, were secretly ferried into Uruguay for execution and disposal. The Archive has begun working directly with Uruguayan judges, lawyers and human rights teams as Uruguay, for the first time, has begun to address human rights atrocities in its past.

August 2005: On August 3, the Archive, along with other secrecy experts, filed an amicus curiae brief in a lawsuit challenging the FBI's authority to issue national security letters (NSLs) without judicial oversight and under a blanket gag order that prohibits the recipient from speaking with anyone about the NSL. The brief was filed with the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which is reviewing a lower court decision that held that the NSL authority violated the First and Fourth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The brief argues that secrecy does not always serve the goal of protecting national security, as the numerous investigations into the September 11 attacks all concluded. Noting that there has been an upsurge in secrecy over the last four years—and that military and intelligence officials ranging from Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to now-Director of the CIA Porter Goss all admit that a significant amount of the secrecy is unnecessary—the brief argues that the judiciary must provide a meaningful review of government claims for secrecy.

New documents posted on the Web about inadequate U.S. planning for the Iraq war garnered substantial news coverage across the U.S., including a major article in *The Washington Post*. The materials, obtained under the FOIA by Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne, revealed concerns at high levels of the State Department in February 2003 – just before the invasion of Iraq – about “serious planning gaps” on the part of CENTCOM that could threaten “post-conflict public security.” Appearing at a time of growing American public worries over precisely that issue, the new revelations added to the debate over administration planning for the conflict and the reluctance of the military to serve a “policing” role after the conclusion of major fighting. Also published on the Web were State Department materials indicating that administration planning for the “Future of Iraq” began as early as October 2001.



In a further update to the critically praised September 11th Sourcebooks section of the Archive’s Web site, FOIA coordinator Barbara Elias posted additional new materials describing U.S. diplomatic efforts to get the Taliban regime to expel Osama bin Laden from Afghanistan in fall 2000. According to the documents, the Taliban retorted that there was insufficient evidence against bin Laden and blamed Saddam Hussein for the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam embassy bombings. They also claimed that the United States had supported bin Laden during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, but the American diplomats insisted “we had never heard his name during that period.”

Commemorating the 60th anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan, Archive senior analyst William Burr published on-line the key documents that scholars have used in framing their arguments about the policymaking process in Washington that led to the first use of the bomb. The collection included first-time-ever translations of primary-source Japanese accounts of the emperor’s decision to accept U.S. terms of surrender. The University of Wisconsin’s *Scout Report*, which recognizes the “most authoritative and valuable resources online”, praised the collection as one of the Archive’s “well-devised electronic briefing books for consideration by the general public.” The briefing book was also cited by the Society for Military History, the United States Embassies in Germany and the Dominican Republic, *Secrecy News* (Federation of American Scientists) and chosen for the *Picks of the Week* on the Natural Resources Defense Council Web site .

September 2005: On September 9, Archive FOIA coordinator Barbara Elias posted on the Web newly declassified documents revealing that ten minutes after the first plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, controllers of the the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) believed that the second plane (American Airlines Flight 175) was heading toward New York for an emergency landing. Minutes later, Flight 175 hit the south tower of the World Trade Center.

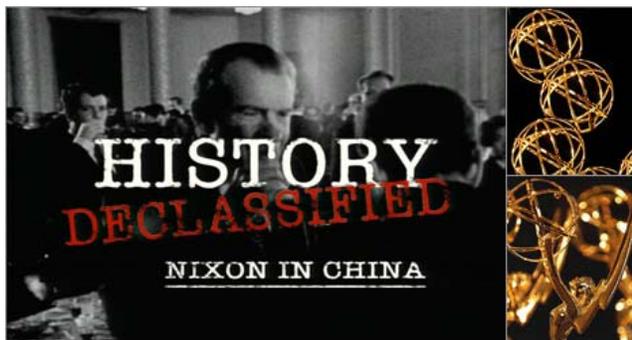


The documents, referenced in *The 9/11 Commission Report* and then requested through the FOIA by Barbara Elias, detail the unprepared and disorderly FAA response to the attack.

On September 13-19, the Archive sponsored the latest in its highly successful series of Summer Schools for young Russian scholars. Held at Kuban State University in the Black Sea town of Gelendzhik, the session included two dozen graduate students and junior professors from most of the former Soviet republics. The group was selected from an ever-widening pool of applicants. Speakers from Moscow and the West, under the direction of Archive Russia project director Svetlana Savranskaya, gave talks and led discussions centering around the theme of European security during the Cold War. Speakers included the legendary human rights advocate Lyudmila Alexeeva from the Moscow Helsinki Group, former diplomat Yuri Kashlev, who led Soviet delegations to the CSCE meetings, Oliver Bange from Mannheim University and Archive deputy

director Malcolm Byrne. As part of the school's mission to disseminate new sources and build capacities, Savranskaya oversaw the distribution of several CD-ROMs and copies of recent Archive publications (totaling thousands of pages of documents) for the participants to take back to their host institutions. This is the one of the only programs of its kind in the former Soviet space and has already produced an extraordinarily vibrant network of approximately 200 alumni, who are increasingly being incorporated into the international scholarly community.

In September, the Archive won the 2005 Emmy Award for outstanding achievement in news and documentary research. The National Television Academy recognized the Archive for its work on the documentary *Declassified: Nixon in China*, produced by ABC News Productions for the Discovery Times Channel, which premiered the show on December 21, 2004. Named Archive recipients were director Thomas Blanton (who wrote the original treatment for the show) and analyst William Burr (who spearheaded the substantive research on the program).



The Archive team also included research associate Rachel Bradsell and Professor Chen Jian of the University of Virginia (subsequently Cornell). Burr attended the ceremony at the nationally televised 26th Annual News & Documentary Emmy Awards ceremony in New York City on September 19, where he accepted the award from Charlie Rose on behalf of the Archive. The Archive trophy case now includes the Emmy in addition to the George Polk Award (April 2000) for “piercing self-serving veils of government secrecy,” and the Archive’s share of the 1998 George Foster Peabody Award given to the landmark documentary series *Cold War*, produced by CNN and Jeremy Isaacs Productions with the Archive as the primary source researchers.

October 2005: The Archive succeeded in breaking loose one of three key CIA assessments of the intelligence process leading up to the war in Iraq when the Agency released its July 2004 report, “Intelligence and Analysis on Iraq: Issues for the Intelligence Community.” Released in response to a FOIA request and appeal by Archive fellow Jeffrey Richelson, the document is the only publicly available one of the series, prepared by a group of intelligence experts led by former CIA deputy director Richard J. Kerr. *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *TomPaine.com* and other outlets picked up on the report’s revelations that the White House “was receptive to technical intelligence (the weapons program) where the analysis was wrong, but apparently paid little attention to intelligence on cultural and political issues (post-Saddam Iraq), where the analysis was right.”



The Archive’s Colombia Documentation Project published the first in what will be a monthly series of articles in Colombia’s leading news magazine, *Semana*. The series, initiated and authored by project director Michael Evans, is based on declassified U.S. records relating to major issues in the two countries’ bilateral relations including the drug war, security assistance programs and human rights. The inaugural article, published on *Semana.com*, was entitled “Paramilitaries as Proxies,” and detailed the tangled relationships between Colombian security forces and their

paramilitary allies who have involved the government in abuses and even atrocities. The publishing partnership follows the model established by Archive analysts Kate Doyle with *Proceso* magazine in Mexico City, Robert Wampler with *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper in Tokyo, Peter Kornbluh with *Diario Siete* in Santiago, Chile, and senior fellow Vladislav Zubok with the now-defunct journal *Istochnik* in Moscow.

The Archive’s Russia project marked the passing this month of the “architect of perestroika,” Alexander Yakovlev, with the publication of a compilation of previously unavailable Russian

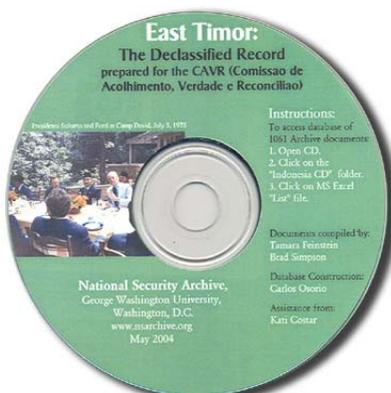
documentation describing the remarkable range of influence Yakovlev wielded on a variety of issues during the administration of Mikhail Gorbachev. Project director Svetlana Savranskaya obtained the documents during research visits to Moscow's State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF).



November 2005: *The New York Times* front page on November 21 highlighted the Archive's role in the extraordinary recovery and preservation project involving some 75 million pages of newly-discovered Guatemalan police files. Following the staggering July discovery of rooms full of records from the National Police, Guatemala's main security branch, officials from the government's human rights office, the Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos, contacted Archive analyst Kate Doyle for assistance in determining how to protect the files. With support from the Fund for

Constitutional Government, the Stewart R. Mott Charitable Trust, and the Open Society Institute, the Archive sent international experts, including former U.S. National Archivist Trudy Huskamp Peterson and the leaders of an Argentine effort involving similar police records, to examine the files and make recommendations for their preservation and access. The importance of this find in helping Guatemalans, who suffered more than 30 years of violent political conflict, to recover recent historical memory and provide a basis for ending police impunity cannot be overstated. The Archive is committed to continue to support this unparalleled historical salvage project.

The Archive generated nationwide headlines during Thanksgiving week by publishing for the first time on the Web a collection of 29 newly declassified documents on the nuclear war plans that constitute the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP), among the most closely guarded secrets in the U.S. government. Archive senior analyst William Burr obtained and compiled the documents, which include the first publicly available declassified information on the SIOP's major features, including preemptive and retaliatory nuclear options. The collection also covered the Nixon administration's initial efforts to revise the SIOP to allow for limited-use scenarios that included smaller, more discrete nuclear strike options that would supposedly be more credible and politically useable than the massive, catastrophic nuclear strike options that characterized the SIOP. The documents are relevant to the long-standing search for 'usable nukes'— as the present Bush administration pushes for 'bunker busters' and other types of low-yield weapons. The briefing book prompted an *Associated Press* story, articles in *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe*, and a full-page story in *The Chicago Sun-Times*.

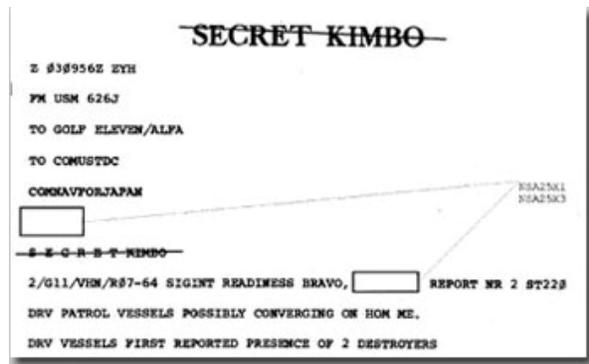


On November 28, the Archive's Indonesia and East Timor Documentation Project published on the Web a selection from more than 1,000 formerly classified U.S. documents it provided to East Timor's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) on human rights violations committed in the region between 1974 and 1999. The CAVR had just turned over to the Timor parliament its 2,500-page report, which included strong criticism of the international community's role in supporting Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor. Project director Brad Simpson noted in the posting that the documents "point to the need for genuine international accountability for East Timor's suffering, especially as Indonesia

embarks on its own truth commission process.” *The International Herald Tribune* and the *Jakarta Post*, among others, carried the story, and British members of Parliament cited the posting in their demands for an inquiry into the British government’s coverup of journalists’ murders in East Timor at the time of the Indonesian invasion.

Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne traveled to Iran on behalf of the Archive’s Iran-U.S. Relations Project. After waiting 10 months, the Iranian government finally issued the necessary visa allowing Byrne to follow up on the project’s ongoing research and conference activities relating to U.S.-Iran relations following the 1978-79 revolution. These include two critical oral history conferences in 2004-2005 involving both international and American participants, events the Archive took the lead in organizing under the auspices of the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Cold War International History Project and Middle East Program. Byrne was able to meet privately with former foreign minister Kamal Kharrazi, current deputy foreign minister Ali-Reza Moayeri and other officials, and gave a formal presentation at an international conference in Tehran on the Caucasus and Central Asia which was convened by the new foreign minister, Manoucher Mottaki. The visit also allowed an unusual look at the current political situation under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whose relationships with supreme leader Ali Khamenei, the parliament and other institutions are more complex and erratic than they appear from the outside.

December 2005: Important confirmation about the true nature of the 40-year-old controversy over the Tonkin Gulf incidents came out in the form of more than 140 formerly top secret documents released by the National Security Agency, a portion of which were posted on the Archive’s Web site. Archive Vietnam specialist John Prados noted that the new records prove what historians have long argued: that there was no second attack on the U.S. ships in the Tonkin Gulf on August 4, 1964. In his posting, which the *Associated*



Press, *The New York Times* and CBS News picked up, Prados said, “The parallels between the faulty intelligence on Tonkin Gulf and the manipulated intelligence used to justify the Iraq War make it all the more worthwhile to re-examine the events of August 1964 in light of new evidence.” Prados published an extensive electronic briefing book on the subject, including first-ever-published electronic intercepts, on the 40th anniversary of the event in 2004.



On December 9, the Archive celebrated its 20th anniversary with an afternoon of public discussion about “the future of secrecy, journalism and national security policy based on 20 years of opening governments at home and abroad”. The former studio of CNN’s Crossfire, in George Washington University’s School of Media and Public Affairs, hosted the event, which featured Bill Moyers as the keynote speaker. GWU’s president Stephen Joel Trachtenberg welcomed Moyers and praised the Archive’s partnership with the University. In his opening remarks, Moyers praised the Archive as an organization that “has become indispensable to journalists, scholars, and any other citizen who believes the USA belongs to the people and not to the government.” Speakers and panelists included Sherry Jones (television documentary producer at Washington Media Associates), Morton H. Halperin (executive director of the Open Society Policy Center), Walter B. Slocombe (partner in the law firm Caplin & Drysdale and former Archive Board chair), Geneva Overholser (Hurley Professor of Journalism at the University of Missouri), Scott

Armstrong (investigative journalist and founding director of the National Security Archive), Seymour Hersh (investigative reporter with *The New Yorker*) and Tina Rosenberg (editorial writer at *The New York Times* and Archive fellow). C-SPAN broadcast the entire event live, and re-broadcast it several times during the following week. To mark 20 years of opening governments at home and abroad, the Archive also posted 20 of its “greatest hits” declassified documents with the headlines they made around the world. Some of the revelations that made the top 20 list included the Oliver North Notebooks, the FBI Library Awareness Program, the Inspector General Survey of the Bay of Pigs operation, the January 2001 Clarke memo on al-Qaeda, the briefing notes on Rumsfeld’s 1984 visit to Baghdad, the Guatemala Death Squad Diary, and many more. David Corn marked the Archive’s anniversary in his blog on the Web site of *The Nation*, saying “when it comes to consistently forcing important secrets out of the US government no journalist or investigator rivals the National Security Archive...”

Also on December 9, while one set of TV monitors at the School of Media and Public Affairs showed the C-SPAN live broadcast of Bill Moyers speaking, the other monitors featured MSNBC and CNN news stories on the latest Web posting by the Archive: a declassified State Department cable showing that the U.S. government had warned top Saudi officials in the summer of 1998, more than three years before 9/11, that Osama bin Laden might target civilian airplanes for hijacking or other terrorist operations. Obtained by Archive FOIA coordinator Barbara Elias, the documents described a meeting in Riyadh where the U.S. regional security officer warned the Saudi civil aviation chief about bin Laden’s statement “we do not differentiate between those dressed in military uniforms and civilians.” The document was not mentioned in the 9/11 Commission report, and the Archive’s posting sparked headlines in *The New York Times* and dozens of other broadcast and print media around the world.

20 Years of Opening Governments at Home and Abroad:

- ▲ 32,000 Freedom of Information and declassification requests to more than 200 offices and agencies of the U.S. government.
- ▲ 7 million pages of previously-secret documents opened to the public.
- ▲ 500,000 pages of former secrets published on the Web, in books, microfiche, and CD-ROMs.
- ▲ 46 books in print by Archive staff and fellows, including winners of the 1996 Pulitzer Prize, 1995 Gelber Prize, 1996 James Madison Award Citation of the American Library Association, 1999 *Boston Globe* Notable Book Award, and 2003 *Los Angeles Times* Best Non-Fiction Books.
- ▲ 175 electronic books of newsworthy documents on the Archive’s Web site, winner of *Forbes* magazine’s 2005 Best of the Web award, CoolSiteoftheDay.com (twice), and 37 citations by the University of Wisconsin’s Internet Scout Report for “the most valuable and authoritative resources online.”
- ▲ 210,000 pages per day downloaded from the Archive’s Web site by more than one million visitors each month.
- ▲ 39 lawsuits featuring the Archive as plaintiff, counsel or amicus against the U.S. government, forcing declassification of documents ranging from the Kennedy-Khrushchev letters during the Cuban missile crisis to the previously-censored photos of homecoming ceremonies with flag-draped caskets for U.S. casualties of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- ▲ 40 million White House e-mails saved by lawsuit against the Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and Bill Clinton administrations.
- ▲ Partnerships in 35 countries with journalists, scholars, truth commissions, human rights monitors, freedom of information campaigns, and openness advocates, including the virtual network freedominfo.org.

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Founded in 1985 by journalists and scholars to check rising government secrecy, the National Security Archive has evolved from a Cold War counter-institution into the U.S. outpost of a global freedom of information movement. The Archive combines a unique range of functions: investigative journalism center, research institute on international affairs, library and archive of declassified U.S. documents (“the world’s largest nongovernmental collection” according to the *Los Angeles Times*), leading non-profit user of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, public interest law firm defending and expanding public access to government information, and indexer and publisher of former secrets.

Based at George Washington University’s Gelman Library, the Archive relies for its budget on publication revenues and grants from foundations and individuals, and receives no government funding. Incorporated as an independent Washington D.C. non-profit, the Archive is recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a tax-exempt public charity, and is rated “4 Stars” by Charity Navigator.