

The National Security Archive

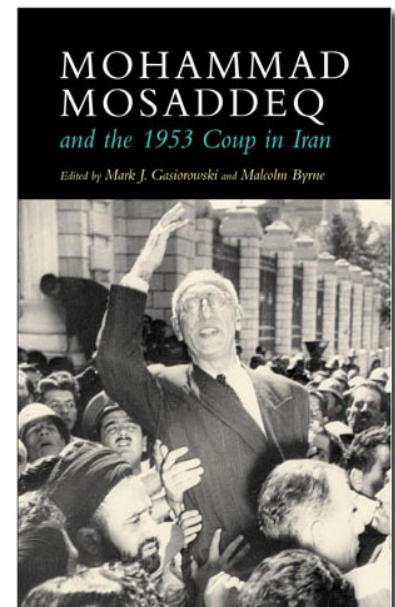
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Annual Report for 2004

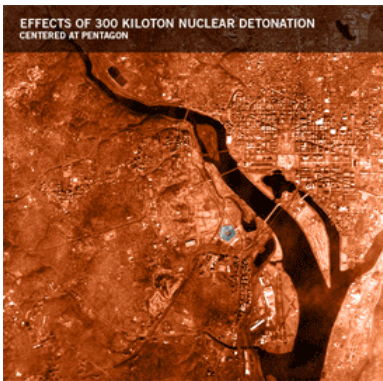
The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's success in 2004:

- Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,553
- Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 404
- Pages of classified U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 81,214
These included such news-making revelations such as the origins of overkill in nuclear war-planning, the China-Pakistani nuclear relationship, the Johnson administration role in the 1964 Brazilian military coup, U.S. intelligence agencies' knowledge of "genocide" in Rwanda in 1994, a 1991 intelligence report suggesting that Colombian President Alvaro Uribe had ties to a drug cartel, and the verbatim transcripts of Kissinger's phone calls while Secretary of State from 1969-1976.
- Pages scanned into Archive FOIA document database – 70,164
- Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher of reference collections – 8,338
Japan and the United States, Part II: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, 1977-1992, 1,751 documents (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest Information & Learning/Chadwyck-Healey, 2004)
- Books published by Archive staff and fellows - 6
 - 1- *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents*, by John Dinges (New York: The New Press, 2004, 288 pp.)
 - 2- *Hoodwinked: The Documents That Reveal How Bush Sold Us a War*, by John Prados (New York: The New Press, 2004, 256 pp.)
 - 3- *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, by Malcolm Byrne and Mark J. Gasiorowski (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004, 408 pp.)
 - 4- *Inside the Pentagon Papers*, edited by John Prados and Margaret Pratt Porter (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004, 248 pp.)
 - 5- *Pinochet: los archivos secretos*, by Peter Kornbluh (Barcelona: Critica, 2004, 381 pp.)
 - 6- *A Century of Spies*, by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Tokyo: Taiyoshuppan, 2004) Japanese translation of a 1995 book originally published by Oxford University Press.
- Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 37, bringing the Web site total to 145
- Research requests to the Archive by letter – 10
- Research requests to the Archive by e-mail – 2,200
- Research requests to the Archive by phone – 1,500
- Visiting researchers at the Archive's reading room in Gelman Library – 458
- Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers – 28,190
- Pages in html downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 7,875,473 (21,576 html pages per day)
- Successful downloads from the Archive's Web site – 12,664,020
- Unique visitors to the Archive Web site – more than 1,914,300
- Bytes downloaded from the Archive's Web site - 1,983 Gigabytes (5.4 GB per day)
- Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 56
- Wire service news stories citing the Archive found on Lexis-Nexis – 131
- News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 518
- Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted on a newspaper front page or broadcast news – 7 (Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Indonesia, India, Australia)



January 2004: research associate Sajit Gandhi expanded the Archive's September 11th Sourcebook series with an update to the *Taliban File* that included a recently declassified July 16, 2001 State Department document that revealed that Afghanistan's former Taliban rulers had rebuffed more than 30 U.S. State Department requests to expel Osama bin Laden between 1996, when the Taliban took Kabul, and just before the September 11 attacks in 2001. The approaches--most of which took place during the Clinton administration--were fruitless, with Taliban leader Mullah Omar only suggesting that bin Laden be tried by a panel of Islamic scholars or that his movements be monitored by the Organization of the Islamic Conference or by the United Nations. The documents triggered news stories by *CNN* and *Agence France-Presse*.

Afghanistan's Key Players (U)			
PARTIES	LEADERS	COMMENTS	ETHNICITY
Taliban The Taliban--colloquially a movement of religious students--emerged in late 1994. The group's stated goals are to establish a popular Islamic government in Afghanistan, rid the country of oppressors, and to disarm the various factions. Inspired by its leader's alleged vision from Allah, the group has seized approximately 60% of Afghanistan's territory and is pursuing the remaining 40% in a civil war with the Northern Alliance.	 Mullah Mohammad Omar	Leader and founder of movement... viewed by followers... wants Islamic state with Sharia (Islamic law) enforced... defends Osama Bin Laden's stay in Afghanistan.	PASHTUN
	 Mullah Mohammad Rabbani	Second in command to Omar... more moderate... periodically criticized by Omar... possibly at odds with Omar over Osama Bin Laden.	PASHTUN
	 Maulawi Wakil Mutawakil	Foreign Minister... close to Omar... helps Omar's views to outside world... well-spoken... formerly the group's spokesperson... has led delegations to other countries, including the United States.	PASHTUN



To coincide with the publication of *Whole World on Fire: Organizations, Knowledge and Nuclear Weapons Devastation* by Stanford University scholar Lynn Eden (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004, 365 pp.) and the cover story in the January/ February issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Archive senior analyst William Burr posted documentary evidence supporting Eden's findings that U.S. nuclear war plans underestimated the destructiveness of nuclear weapons by ignoring the effects of damage from fire and focusing on blast effects only. This routine underestimation of nuclear fire damage caused decision makers to be poorly informed about weapons effects and contributed to the production of far more nuclear weapons than necessary to achieve military and political objectives--the problem of "overkill." The posted documents provide evidence of the powerful influence of the "blast damage" approach in the military and the belief that fire damage was unpredictable and not worth planning for. It was not until the 1980s that studies began to look at the effects of nuclear firestorms. The Archive posting also included a computer graphic simulation of the enormous extent of the firestorm that would result from a single nuclear bomb exploding over the Pentagon.

February 2004: On February 12, Archive board member and veteran journalist John Dinges appeared on NPR's *Fresh Air* to discuss his new book *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* and how the Condor story holds a cautionary lesson for today's war on terrorism. Drawing on a trove of declassified U.S. documents obtained by the Archive and by Dinges, Pinochet's own files and Dinges's personal interviews, the book reveals the detailed U.S. knowledge of Operation Condor--the secret alliance between six Latin American dictatorships in the 1970s which was formed to track down and assassinate the enemies of their military regimes. Dinges presented new evidence that the U.S. might even have been able to prevent the September 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier. *Foreign Affairs* called Dinges's work "a remarkable book and a major contribution to the historical record."



March 2004: Archive senior analyst William Burr added to the growing concern over revelations that the nuclear weapon design that Libya obtained from Pakistan actually originated in China by posting newly declassified documents that show 30 years of U.S. concern over the extent of China's involvement with the Pakistani nuclear program. The cables and memos, obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, "provide details on how U.S. officials looked at the China-Pakistani nuclear relationship, how they persistently tried to discourage it and how Chinese diplomats

repeatedly denied any involvement,” said Dr. Burr. Major Indian, Pakistani and U.S. newspapers covered the story.

On March 11, the Archive joined leading library and archival associations and three public interest groups (the American Association of Law Libraries, the American Library Association, the Association of Research Libraries, the Center for American Progress, Common Cause, People for the American Way Foundation, the Society of American Archivists, and the Special Libraries Association) to file a joint amicus brief in the U.S. Supreme Court case brought by Vice President Cheney to prevent discovery into the makeup of his controversial energy policy task force. In the case, Cheney argued that the open government law known as the Federal Advisory Committee Act did not apply to the formal members of the task force because they are government officials--and that if the Act did apply, it would violate the constitutional separation of powers. The amicus brief argued that the Supreme Court should “reject the government’s claim that it may conduct the public’s business in secret,” and that the separation of powers claims made by the Vice President would effectively immunize the executive branch from judicial process such as ordinary discovery. The Supreme Court would later (June 24, 2004) refuse to order the Bush administration to make public the details of Vice President Dick Cheney’s energy task force, but would keep the case alive by sending it back to a lower court. The Justices decided 7-2 that a lower court should consider whether a federal open government law could be used to obtain documents of the task force.



On March 19-20, the Archive co-sponsored (along with the Cold War International History Project, the George Washington University Cold War Group and the London School of Economics Cold War Studies Centre) a workshop in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, on *Mongolia and the Cold War* hosted by the Institute of International Studies of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and Pax Mongolica. Scholars and former Mongolian officials presented papers on Mongolia’s role in manipulating Cold War tensions between China and the Soviet Union. Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne delivered a lecture on concepts of freedom of information, participated in a panel on international cooperation in Cold War research, and presented a CD-ROM briefing book of declassified American documents.











Paving new ground in terms of uncovering and sharing Cold War sources, and establishing bridges between continents, the Archive-sponsored *Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact* (PHP) co-organized an important critical oral history conference in Beijing on March 24-26. The event brought together Chinese scholars as well as former diplomats who had been based in East European countries; East European former ambassadors to China; and scholars from the PHP network. The host institutions included two centers at Peking University and the Center for Archival Studies of the Institute for the Study of the History of the Communist Party of China. The gathering took place at the party institute--the first time foreign scholars had ever been hosted for an event there. PHP coordinator Vojtech Mastny led the Western delegation. Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne participated as a panelist and prepared a CD-ROM briefing book containing U.S. documentation on China including such taboo topics as Taiwan, Tibet and Tiananmen. The conference’s success has prompted plans to draw former Soviet diplomats into a future event. While in Beijing, Byrne also was invited to inspect the Chinese Foreign Ministry’s just-opened public reading room and met for five hours with Zhang Sulin, the senior Foreign Ministry official responsible for the experimental archival policy, to discuss ways to broaden it and make it permanent.



To coincide with the 40th anniversary of the 1964 Brazilian military coup, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh posted on the Archive's Web site documents and audiotape revealing new details on how far the Johnson administration was prepared to go to ensure that the left-leaning Brazilian President Joao Goulart was overthrown. The administration viewed Goulart as a leftist closely associated with Brazil's Communist Party and wanted to prevent South America's largest country from becoming another China or Cuba. On the audiotape, Johnson tells Undersecretary of State George Ball, "I think we ought to take every step that we can, be prepared to do everything that we need to do." The documents show that preparations were made to support the coup plotters with arms, ammunition and fuel via a naval task force--which proved unnecessary because the coup succeeded in overthrowing Goulart much faster and with much less armed resistance than American policymakers anticipated. The posting made front-page news in Brazil.



WANTED FOR GENOCIDE

				
FELICIE KARUGA	AUGUSTIN BIZIMUNGU	JEAN BAPTISTE GATETE	AUGUSTIN BIZIMUNGU	THARCISSE RUZINDANA
				
YUSEF JOHN MURYAKAZI	YUSEF JOHN MURYAKAZI	YUSEF JOHN MURYAKAZI	YUSEF JOHN MURYAKAZI	YUSEF JOHN MURYAKAZI

INDICTED

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April 2004: Marking the 10th anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda in which over 800,000 Rwandan Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed from April to July 1994 by Hutu extremists, Archive fellow William Ferroggiaro published formerly top-secret intelligence reports that tell the background story, significantly contradicting the Clinton administration's public remarks regarding the crisis. Clinton administration officials now say they did not grasp the full scope of the killings until it was too late. But the reports uncovered by Ferroggiaro show that U.S. intelligence agencies provided alarming warnings before the carnage, along with detailed reports of the extent of the violence once the Hutu militias were roaming the countryside. In fact, an April 23, 1994 National Intelligence Daily report characterized the slaughter as genocide. Ferroggiaro states, "the story of Rwanda for the U.S. is that officials knew so much, but still decided against taking action or leading other nations to prevent or stop the genocide. Despite Rwanda's low ranking in importance to U.S. interests, Clinton Administration officials had tremendous capacity to be informed—and were informed—about the slaughter there." The documents sparked worldwide news coverage; Ferroggiaro served as a consultant to the BBC/Frontline documentary *Ghosts of Rwanda* marking the anniversary and appeared on a U.S. Institute of Peace panel discussing lessons learned.

Also in April, Archive director Thomas Blanton appeared on MSNBC's April 9 *Countdown with Keith Olbermann* repeating the case he made in the online *Slate Magazine* for public declassification of the August 6, 2001 President's Daily Brief (PDB) that generated the most contentious questioning in Condoleezza Rice's testimony before the 9/11 Commission. Arguing that 10 PDBs from the Johnson administration had previously been declassified and that the PDB is not as supersensitive as it is often portrayed, Blanton stated that the August 2001 PDB could be declassified by blacking out the sources and methods that are truly sensitive without jeopardizing national secrets. The PDB titled "Bin Ladin Determined to Strike in US" was declassified and approved for release on the next day.

Bin Ladin Determined To Strike in US

Clandestine, foreign government, and media reports indicate Bin Ladin since 1997 has wanted to conduct terrorist attacks in the US. Bin Ladin implied in US television interviews in 1997 and 1998 that his followers would follow the example of World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef and "bring the fighting to America."

After US missile strikes on his base in Afghanistan in 1996, Bin Ladin told followers he wanted to retaliate in Washington, according to a [REDACTED] service.

An Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) operative told an [REDACTED] service at the same time that Bin Ladin was planning to exploit the operative's access to the US to mount a terrorist strike.

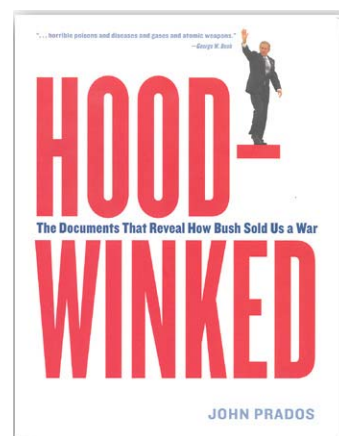
The millennium plotting in Canada in 1999 may have been part of Bin Ladin's first serious attempt to implement a terrorist strike in the US. Convicted plotter Ahmed Ressam has told the FBI that he conceived the idea to attack Los Angeles International Airport himself, but that Bin Ladin lieutenant Abu Zubaydah encouraged him and helped facilitate the operation. Ressam also said that in 1998 Abu Zubaydah was planning his own US attack.



At a Brookings Institution workshop on April 22, the Archive's virtual network of international freedom of information advocates, *freedominfo.org*, and the Bank Information Center (BIC) released preliminary results of a 250-item matrix that compares the information-disclosure policies of ten international financial institutions (IFIs)--the key multilateral development banks (such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank) and the International Monetary Fund. The matrix is meant to identify "best practices" among the institutions' transparency standards, develop a comprehensive vision for much-needed transparency reforms, and to help interested organizations and individuals access relevant information in a "one-stop" searchable database with direct links to all

of the IFI policies and procedures referenced. Preliminary findings indicated many common weaknesses in the IFI transparency policies--such as few open meetings, delayed release of many documents, confidentiality of many documents and no clear procedures to request information.

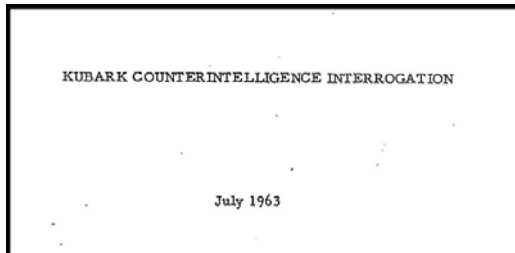
The New Press published *Hoodwinked: The Documents That Reveal How Bush Sold Us a War*, by Archive senior fellow John Prados. Prados deconstructs the Bush administration's pro-war arguments by comparing the public statements (State of the Union, Cincinnati, Colin Powell's UN speech) with the underlying, now-declassified intelligence documents. *Vanity Fair's* May 2004 issue carried a two-page spread excerpting the book and reaching over a million subscribers. Harvard's Joseph Nye, later reviewing the book in the August 14-15, 2004 *Financial Times*, wrote, "In *Hoodwinked*, John Prados provides a meticulous examination of documents with examples of how the administration manipulated language and evidence. For example, on the eve of the war, vice-president Cheney appeared on television asserting, 'I believe that Saddam Hussein has reconstituted nuclear weapons', although the National Intelligence Estimate did not say that. Six months later, Cheney admitted he had 'misspoken', but by then the war was over." The book came out four months before the Senate Intelligence Committee came to similar conclusions.



May 2004: Archive director Thomas Blanton illustrated what he termed the "reflexive, knee-jerk secrecy" of the U.S. government by posting more examples of dubious secrets to coincide with the public release of the 2003 report to President Bush by the Information Security Oversight Office, which oversees the national security secrecy system. The report revealed that the U.S. government classified more than 14 million new national security secrets last year, up from 11 million in 2002 and 8 million in 2001. Blanton posted both versions of a 1975 Defense Intelligence Agency biographical sketch of Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet, which was originally released in full in 1999 when President Bill Clinton declassified U.S. documents related to human rights abuses in Chile. The same document was re-released in 2003 with much of the material blacked out--including personal attributes such as Pinochet's penchant for scotch, pisco sours, cigarettes and parties--secrets that were thought to be much more mundane at the time of the first release. *Reuters*, the *BBC*, the *Associated Press* and *The Washington Post's* Al Kamen covered the story.

Archive Vietnam project director John Prados posted the State Department's equivalent of the Pentagon Papers on May 6. This previously top secret 1969 State Department study by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), titled "Vietnam: 1961-1968," is a 596-page retrospective study of INR's intelligence analysis and the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' decisions in Vietnam. Freedom of Information Act requests by Clemson University professor Edwin E. Moise and the National Security Archive forced the release of the bulk of the study in November 2003. This initial release was missing a significant part of the sources for section A-VI because of a processing mistake. An Archive appeal forced further release of the missing sections in April 2004. The posting includes a retrospective preface by Thomas L. Hughes, the director of INR who

commissioned the study in 1968, which was intended as an in-house classified review and evaluation of INR's performance on Vietnam. Hughes characterized INR's analysis as "tenaciously pessimistic...whether the question was the viability of the successive Saigon regime, the Pentagon's statistical underestimation of enemy strength, the ultimate ineffectiveness of bombing the North, the persistence of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, or the danger of Chinese intervention." He went on to say, "while we [in INR] were heeded, we were unable to persuade, sway, or prevail when it came to the ultimate decisions." The University of California Press has now asked to publish the study, together with the Hughes and Prados introductions, in the Press's Vietnam book series.

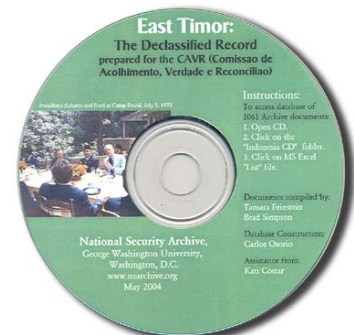


Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh and director Thomas Blanton posted the CIA and Army interrogation manuals in use from 1965-1991, which described "coercive techniques" similar to those used to mistreat detainees at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in an Electronic Briefing Book publication titled "Prisoner Abuse: Patterns from the Past." The posting also included a previously secret 1992 report written for then-Secretary of Defense

Richard Cheney warning that the U.S. Army was using interrogation manuals that incorporated earlier CIA manuals for training Latin American military officers in interrogation and counterintelligence techniques that contained "offensive and objectionable material" that "undermines U.S. credibility, and could result in significant embarrassment." Blanton discussed the interrogation manuals on MSNBC's *Hardball with Chris Matthews* on May 24 on a *Hardball/Washington Post* special report on the war in Iraq.

On May 13, a controversy involving Henry Kissinger, a review of Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh's *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* and the editorial independence of *Foreign Affairs* magazine came to a boiling point when Kenneth R. Maxwell, a *Foreign Affairs* magazine book-review editor, resigned in protest. Maxwell's largely positive review of *The Pinochet File* in the November/December 2003 issue of *Foreign Affairs* angered former Secretary of State Kissinger and former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs William Rogers (now vice president of the Kissinger Associates consulting firm). After an initial exchange of letters between Rogers and Maxwell, *Foreign Affairs* published an additional letter from Rogers but refused to publish Maxwell's rebuttal, raising questions about the editorial independence of the magazine.

At the request for assistance from East Timor's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR), the Archive's Indonesia/East Timor Documentation project presented a CD-ROM of 1061 U.S. documents to assist the inquiry into atrocities and human rights violations committed in East Timor between the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in April 1974 and the end of Indonesian occupation in October 1999. CAVR had submitted a detailed request for U.S. documents concerning key atrocities, political events, weapons sales, and other issues in East Timor to the Bush administration but did not receive any substantive response. The documents on the CD-ROM were collected by Indonesia Project director Brad Simpson from research trips to the Ford and Carter presidential libraries as well as from Freedom of Information Act requests submitted since late 2002. The materials will be incorporated into CAVR's final report due in 2005.



Also in May, the Archive celebrated the release by the National Archives of 20,000 declassified pages of the transcripts of Henry Kissinger's telephone calls (or telcons) from 1969 to 1974 from his "private" collection previously sequestered at the Library of Congress. The release of the transcripts came five years after the Archive initiated legal action to compel the State Department and the National Archives to recover the transcripts over the objections of Mr. Kissinger. On NPR's *All Things Considered* on May 27, Archive director Thomas Blanton discussed how the issues in the transcripts from 30 years ago resonate in today's headlines and should serve as a lesson in accountability for our current leadership. The transcripts triggered major news stories including a front-page *The New York Times* story "Kissinger Tapes Describe Crisis, War and Stark Photos of Abuse", and articles in the *Boston Globe*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, and every major newspaper in the U.S., as well as the BBC and major media outlets around the world.



June 2004: After months of meticulous planning, system restructuring and database reorganization, the National Security Archive fully automated and digitized its incoming FOIA correspondence. All letters of correspondence and accompanying documents received from federal agencies in response to FOIA requests as of June 2004 are tracked by the Archive's customized Microsoft Access database and also entirely captured by digital image into our connected Alchemy database. Alchemy allows the Archive to search, copy, organize and manage millions of pages of declassified documents, facilitating our research, publication processes and project integration. In its first month of being fully operational, the Archive scanned 6,646 pages of FOIA correspondence and declassified documents into Alchemy. Alchemy's full-text document and date searches eliminated the possibility of lost or misplaced documents. Additionally, in November 2004 the Archive began scanning into Alchemy all outgoing FOIA correspondence, in essence creating a fully digitized FOIA correspondence folder for each of the thousands of outgoing Archive FOIA requests. In the first six months of operation, Alchemy captured 70,164 pages of outgoing correspondence, incoming correspondence and responsive declassified documents.



From June 11 through September 5, noted conceptual artist Jenny Holzer's xenon projection exhibition *Truth Before Power* in Bregenz, Austria showcased declassified documents provided by the National Security Archive. The exhibition used text and projections of documents to explore the U.S. government's complex political and commercial relations with the Middle East from the end of the Second World War to the present, the war on terrorism, the consequences of 9/11, the theory and practice of intelligence and counter-intelligence, and the problem of excessive government secrecy. Archive documents were projected onto the façade of the Kunsthau Bregenz and the text of Archive director Thomas Blanton's essay *The World's Right to Know* (*Foreign Policy*, July/August 2002) appeared in a streaming electronic sign array installed in the top three floors of the Kunsthau at Bregenz.

On June 17, Archive deputy director and U.S.-Iran Relations Project director Malcolm Byrne celebrated the publication of *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran* (Syracuse University Press, 2004) with a book launch hosted by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The volume, co-edited by Byrne and Mark J. Gasiorowski (Professor in the Department of Political Science at Louisiana State University) grew out of two international conferences held in Tehran in June 2000 and at Oxford University in June 2002. Based on new documentation including a 200-page internal CIA history, and on interviews of participants in the coup, the volume offers an abundance of new information into the joint U.S.-British staging of the overthrow of Mosaddeq—an event that holds lessons for U.S.-backed regime-change operations of today. A *Foreign Affairs*

review of the volume began: “More books should have this pedigree ... The results are impressive: seven polished studies that speak to each other ... richly detailed and tightly reasoned ...” Byrne and Gasiorowski would also win the Geneva-based *Fondation Mosaddegh*’s 2004 prize for the best book on Iran. The prize is awarded every two years “to a book, the text of which is devoted to the geopolitical, economic and social situation in Iran, written impartially and objectively.”

On June 22-30, Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya of the Archive’s Russia and Former Soviet Union Initiative organized the fifth summer school in the Archive series supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Held in collaboration with Kuban State University at Gelendzhik on the Black Sea, the program, entitled “End of the Cold War and Contemporary Problems of Security,” featured a balance of five Russian and five American lecturers. Heading the list of American scholars was Prof. William Taubman of Amherst College, whose towering biography of Khrushchev won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for history. Twenty-seven young scholars participated from 20 universities, including ones in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan. The purpose of the summer school was not simply to expose young scholars to research and viewpoints from the West but to inculcate new methodologies—roundtable discussions designed to promote free debate, and oral histories (headlined by Alexander Lyakhovsky, a senior veteran of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Russia’s leading scholar on the war). In keeping with our previous experiences, the students took to the new approaches with marked enthusiasm.



July 2004: Archive fellows Vladislav Zubok and Dr. Savranskaya organized a workshop on “Culture and the Cold War” in partnership with Saratov State University. The gathering brought together 30 scholars from several Russian and U.S. universities to present research on the role of Western culture (rock and roll, popular magazines, art, etc.) in determining or influencing Soviet popular and regime attitudes toward the West, and to brainstorm over the possibility of establishing culture in the Cold War as a more general research agenda, which could lead to joint research projects and a major conference on culture and politics in the Cold War in 2006.

Marking the 35th anniversary of the so-called “Act of Free Choice”, Indonesia Project director Brad Simpson posted recently declassified documents detailing Nixon administration support for the Indonesian-run self-determination vote that resulted in the annexation of resource-rich West Papua by Indonesia in 1969. The newly declassified diplomatic cables indicate that U.S. officials assumed that Jakarta would accept no outcome other than annexation and revealed that Washington was most concerned with Indonesia’s support for U.S. policy in Vietnam and regarded General Suharto as a key ally. In a background memo to President Nixon on the eve of a meeting with Suharto in Jakarta in July 1969, Henry Kissinger stated that a direct election “would be almost meaningless among the stone age cultures of New Guinea.” Indonesian officials accused former U.S. Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz (now Deputy Secretary of Defense) of embarrassing the Indonesian government for nefarious purposes, although Wolfowitz had nothing to do with the declassification. *The Washington Post* picked up the story after extensive coverage in the Indonesian press.

Archive senior analyst William Burr revealed more evidence of the problem of overkill in war planning by publishing newly declassified documents on the secret U.S. nuclear war plan known as the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP). The documents, from the 1960s, showed that the U.S. planned to use more than 3,200 nuclear weapons against 1,060 targets in preemptive strikes against the Soviet Union, China and their allies in the event of an all-out nuclear war. Official estimates of casualties ran to 285 million dead and 40 million injured (and this may have underestimated radiation effects). Top military commanders complained about the destructiveness of the SIOP:



Commander-in-Chief, Pacific (CINCPAC) Admiral Harry Felt, considering the massive global fallout that would be engendered by such a strike, expressed the fear “that our weapons can be a hazard to ourselves as well as our enemy.” In his analysis of the documents, Dr. Burr said that there is some evidence that Strategic Air Command commander-in-chief General Lee Butler tried to curb SIOP’s “grotesque excesses” at the end of the Cold War by paring down the huge target lists. But “security classification, however, hides whether General Butler’s reforms took hold or whether the SIOP remains an instrument of overkill.” The documents triggered news stories by the *Kyodo News Service*, *MotherJones.com* and *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.



On July 19, Archive director Thomas Blanton served as moderator, and deputy director Malcolm Byrne as principal co-organizer and panelist, of an international conference on the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War co-sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Cold War International History Project and the National Security Archive. Scholars and former officials—including Nicholas Veliotes (former Assistant Secretary of State); Ambassador William Eagleton (former chief of mission to a number of American embassies in the Middle East, including Baghdad); George Cave (former CIA official

and chief of station in Tehran); Giandomenico Picco (United Nations official central to obtaining the August 1988 ceasefire); and two former East European diplomats—convened for a critical oral history workshop to discuss new evidence to the historical record, providing a stark reminder of how closely connected the current turmoil in the Gulf is to that earlier war and the politics of the time. Former Iranian and Iraqi officials were unable to attend the workshop due to visa problems. Due to illness, two Soviet-era officials, ex-Deputy Foreign Minister Georgii Kornienko and former Central Committee expert Karen Brutents, were also unavailable, but plans are under way for a follow-on event to feature Soviet bloc involvement during the war.

August 2004: Archive Colombia project director Michael Evans sparked worldwide headlines by publishing on the Web a declassified

82. ALVARO URIBE VELEZ - A COLOMBIAN POLITICIAN AND SENATOR DEDICATED TO COLLABORATION WITH THE MEDELLIN CARTEL AT HIGH GOVERNMENT LEVELS. URIBE WAS LINKED TO A BUSINESS INVOLVED IN NARCOTICS ACTIVITIES IN THE US. HIS FATHER WAS MURDERED IN COLOMBIA FOR HIS CONNECTION WITH THE NARCOTIC TRAFFICKERS. URIBE

1991 intelligence report suggesting that Colombian President Álvaro Uribe had ties to a drug cartel. The document was prepared by the Defense Intelligence Agency 13 years ago, when Uribe was a Colombian senator, and listed Uribe as No. 82 on a list of the 104 most important Colombian drug traffickers. Uribe was described as having close ties to the Medellín cartel and its leader, the former drug kingpin Pablo Escobar. A prepared statement from Mr. Uribe’s office took exception to several items reported in the document, but did not deny the ties to Escobar’s organization. A State Department spokesman also defended Uribe, a strong ally of Washington in the war on drugs. The source of the report was removed by DIA censors, but several details suggest it was probably obtained from Colombian or U.S. counternarcotics personnel. The posting of the document led to worldwide news stories in *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Miami Herald* as well as major Latin American papers.



On the 40th anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, Archive Vietnam project director John Prados revealed, through analysis of declassified intercepts and audio files and transcripts of key Tonkin Gulf conversations between President Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, that President Johnson and top U.S. officials chose to believe that North Vietnam had just attacked U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, even though the highly classified signals intercepts they cited to each other actually described a naval clash two days earlier (a battle prompted by covert U.S. attacks on North Vietnam). The Johnson administration used the incident as a pretext to seek a joint resolution from Congress approving the use of force in Southeast Asia—the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. In his introductory analysis, Prados remarked “the Tonkin Gulf incident has regularly been invoked in connection with the lead-up to the war in Iraq, where the administration of President George W. Bush also cited threats to the United States to obtain congressional approval for the use of force. Those claims, too, proved to be based largely on seriously flawed intelligence and possibly, according to some critics, manipulated. The parallels to Tonkin make it all the more worthwhile to re-examine the events of 40 years ago on the basis of newly acquired evidence.”

Russia Initiative director Svetlana Savranskaya and Archive fellow and *Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact* coordinator Vojtech Mastny presented papers at a conference titled “NATO in the 1960s: Challenges beyond Deterrence” hosted by the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich. Held on August 26-28, the conference brought together 25 scholars using recently declassified archival sources to provide new historical perspective on the political debates within the Atlantic Alliance during the period of its 40-year confrontation with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.



Representative Christopher Shays (R-CT) asked Archive director Thomas Blanton for examples of overclassifications as part of his subcommittee’s investigation of information-sharing problems within the federal government. The Archive compiled a bound collection titled “Dubious Secrets: A Briefing Book of Overclassified Documents,” and the volume was entered into the hearing record on August 24 for the U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations Oversight Hearing: “Too Many Secrets: Overclassification as a Barrier to Critical Information Sharing.” The hearing examined how the “excessive designation of official secrets” impedes the type of enhanced interagency and intergovernmental information sharing recommended by the 9/11 Commission. In his statement, Rep. Shays said, “recently declassified documents confirm the elaborate and costly security applied to much information is simply not worth the effort or expense.” He went on to cite two Archive examples of dubious secrets—“A former dictator’s cocktail preferences and a facetious plot against Santa Claus are no threat to national security in the public domain, yet both were classified.” No one knows how much is classified, he said, and the system “often does not distinguish the critically important and the comically irrelevant.” The Archive’s dubious secret examples also featured prominently in *Associated Press* coverage of the hearing, which also ran in *The Washington Post* on September 3.



Southern Cone Documentation project director Carlos Osorio published a document revealing that amidst vast human rights violations by Argentina’s security forces in June 1976, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told Argentine Foreign Minister Admiral Cesar Augusto Guzzetti, “If there are things that have to be done, you should do them quickly. But you should get back quickly to normal procedures”—essentially giving a green light to

Argentina's military junta to launch a "dirty war" to suppress its political opposition. The comment is part of a 13-page memorandum of conversation reporting on a June 10 meeting between Kissinger and Guzzetti in Santiago, Chile received by the Archive in response to a Freedom of Information Act request. In the version of the memorandum released first, the key passages were blacked out. After an appeal, the deleted sections were reinstated. The documents revive the debate about Kissinger's relationship with military dictators in Latin America when he was Secretary of State in the Nixon and Ford administrations—a time when military officers frequently toppled elected governments and suppressed dissidents, but were accepted by U.S. leaders as anti-communist allies. The documents sparked stories in *The New York Times*, *Newsday*, the *Guardian*, the *Miami Herald* and the *Los Angeles Times*, after which Dr. Kissinger (speaking at the Detroit Economic Club) defended his record and admitted that human rights were a lower priority than opposing communism.

September 2004: On the 3rd anniversary of the September 11 attacks, Archive FOIA coordinator Barbara Elias released Part IV of The Taliban File, a notable addition to the Archive's "September 11th Sourcebooks." The Sourcebooks continue to be one of the few online resources that provide primary documentation of the shadowy Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the larger history of U.S. policies on terrorism. The September 11, 2004 release contained a newly declassified State Department cable showing that Taliban supreme leader Mullah Omar initiated a phone call to Washington two days after President Clinton sent cruise missiles to destroy Osama bin Laden's terrorist training camps in Afghanistan in retaliation for terrorist attacks on the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The conversation remains the only direct contact between Omar and U.S. officials and gave the Taliban leader an opportunity to deny bin Laden's involvement in any terrorist activities. The State Department responded by providing evidence of bin Laden's terrorist activities in one of ultimately 33 contacts with the Taliban prior to 9/11 requesting the extradition of Osama bin Laden. The release of this document was picked up by the *The Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, AFP and Reuters. Peter Tomsen, the State Department's Special Envoy to the Afghan Resistance from 1989 to 1992, called the Archive to congratulate us on this release and reiterated the importance of such contributions by the Archive's Taliban project to the greater body of knowledge of the State Department's efforts to get bin Laden before September 11, 2001.



October 2004: University of Delaware journalism professor and former CNN correspondent Ralph Begleiter, represented by Daniel Mach, a partner at *Jenner & Block LLP* in Washington, D.C., and Archive General Counsel Meredith Fuchs, filed suit on October 4 under the Freedom of Information Act for the release of official government photos and video of the honor guard arrival and transfer ceremonies at Dover Air Force Base for servicemen and women killed in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. The lawsuit challenges the Pentagon's policy against any public coverage of the Dover ceremonies, even though an Arizona resident posted on his Web site hundreds of photos taken by military photographers and obtained through a FOIA request. A controversy erupted over what the public should know about the human cost of war after major newspapers ran the photos on their front pages. Begleiter argues that the images are important for the public to see to form educated opinions on U.S. foreign policy. "I think the American people have a right to assess the cost of war, and one of the ways of doing that is to see the

casualties of war."

The 1,500-page *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* tracing the history of events and profiles of the perpetrators of genocide and crimes against humanity was published by MacMillan Reference USA. The encyclopedia contained a 5-page entry on Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet written by Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh detailing Pinochet's human rights

atrocities during his military dictatorship in Chile in 1973-1990 and the stunning progress in efforts to hold him accountable and bring him to justice.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE, FUND, INC. George Washington University Gelman Library Suite 701 2130 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20037 Plaintiff, v. THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, Washington, DC 20505 Defendant.	Case No. _____
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COMPLAINT FOR INJUNCTIVE AND DECLARATORY RELIEF

1. This is an action under the Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. § 552, for injunctive, declaratory and other appropriate relief, and seeking the expedited processing and release of agency records requested by the National Security Archive.

On October 20, the Archive filed suit against the Central Intelligence Agency, seeking expedited processing and release under the Freedom of Information Act of the 2004 Iraq National Intelligence Estimate (NIE). As *The New York Times* reported on September 16, 2004, the NIE spells out a dark assessment of prospects for Iraq. The estimate outlines three possibilities for Iraq through the end of 2005, with the worst case being developments that could lead to civil war. The Archive filed its FOIA request on September 16, but the CIA denied expedited processing of the document, saying there was no public urgency. Archive General Counsel Meredith Fuchs made the case for expedited processing by arguing that "there is a tremendous public interest in the situation in Iraq and

the U.S. commitment to Iraq, the news media have focused significant attention on the NIE, and members of the Senate Intelligence Committee have requested that the NIE be made public to help with the formulation of policy." The complaint filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia spurred the CIA to expedite processing of the request but the denial of the record still must be considered by the court. The case has been assigned to Judge Rosemary M. Collyer. The Archive is awaiting the government's response.

November 2004: Noted conceptual artist Jenny Holzer projected former secrets onto the façade of George Washington University's Gelman Library in her *Xenon in D.C.* public art project on November 1. The nighttime projection showcased declassified documents obtained by the National Security Archive through the Freedom of Information Act and attracted hundreds of students, faculty, and passers-by for conversations about art, politics, Iraq, secrecy, poetry, the technique of high-wattage film projection, and the Archive's affiliation with George Washington University. Prior to the projection, GW's art department hosted a reception for Holzer. *By George*, GW's faculty, staff and community newspaper, featured the show in its next issue.

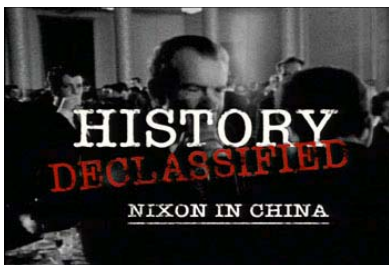


The Archive continued its efforts to share sources and promote ties to all parts of Eastern Europe, co-sponsoring a visit to Albania on November 7-9 by long-time Archive affiliate James G. Hershberg, Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at George Washington University. On the Archive's behalf, Hershberg and Cold War International History Project director Christian Ostermann discussed declassification issues and archival openness with senior government officials, archivists, scholars and journalists, garnering considerable local news coverage in the process. Of particular note were meetings with the following individuals: Deputy Prime Minister Namik Dokle; Foreign Ministry Secretary-General Roland Bimo; Dekavelli Shyqyri, head of the government's declassification commission; Prof. Shaban Sinani, Director-General of the Central State Archive; and Prof. Ana Lalaj, head of the Cold War Study Center in Tirana. Hershberg also presented a compilation of declassified CIA documents on Albania drawn largely from the Archive's holdings and put together with the help of the Archive's deputy director Malcolm Byrne, and discussed prospects for a joint workshop on Albania and the Cold War.

On November 17, marking the 15th anniversary of the student demonstrations that sparked Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, the new Václav Havel Library in Prague published its inaugural volume, *Prague-Washington-Prague: Reports from the United States Embassy in Czechoslovakia, November-December 1989*. The volume, edited by long-time Archive partner Vilém Prečan, reproduces recently declassified U.S. State Department cable traffic released in response to FOIA requests made by the National Security Archive. The 120 cables are featured in English, transcribed from the originals, and in their Czech translation. The cables not only provide “accurate reporting of the unfolding events but offer insights into U.S. thinking at the time, including how the first demonstrations on this date in 1989 completely surprised American officials and forced them to dramatically revise their estimates on the survivability of the Communist regime in Prague.” Radio Prague commended Dr. Prečan as having “worked untiringly with the National Security Archive ... to have the documents released.” Excerpts appeared in the Czech and international press as far away as São Paulo.



December 2004: front page stories in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* revealed that members of the Senate Intelligence Committee tried unsuccessfully to kill appropriations for a \$ 9.5 billion stealth satellite system first described publicly in Archive senior fellow Jeffrey Richelson's book, *The Wizards of Langley: Inside the CIA's Directorate of Science and Technology* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001, 386 pp.) The satellite project, code-named Misty, can take photographs only during the daylight hours and in clear weather, prompting several senators to question the utility of the high cost program in today's post-9/11 world where terrorists seek small quantities of illicit weapons (harder to see by satellite) and illicit weapons programs are hidden underground to avoid satellite detection. Despite votes to terminate the costly program over the past two years, it has survived due to strong support for the system among members of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and the House Intelligence Committee.



On December 21, The Discovery Times Channel premiered *History Declassified: Nixon in China*, an ABC News Productions documentary based on National Security Archive documents. The show combined previously secret U.S. documents gathered by the Archive with newly available evidence from Chinese files to reveal the details of the dramatic diplomacy of President Nixon's historic trip to China in 1972. The new evidence shows that secret initiatives on the Chinese side began as early as 1969, when a group of four marshals recommended that Chairman Mao “play the

American card” against the Soviet threat and undertake high-level talks with the U.S. The documentary featured interviews with key players and eyewitnesses such as Henry Kissinger and Winston Lord together with commentary from China experts Chen Jian (University of Virginia) and Nancy Tucker (Georgetown University) and from Archive director Thomas Blanton.

On December 23, Archive General Counsel Meredith Fuchs and the law firm Davis Wright Tremaine backed University of California professor Larry Berman in suing the CIA seeking the release of the President's Daily Briefs (PDBs) prepared for Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War. The suit challenges the CIA's “blanket policy” of refusal to release any of these high-level briefs under the Freedom of Information Act. The suit also cites 10 previously released Johnson era PDBs as well as the excerpted Bush and Clinton PDBs included in the 9/11 Report as evidence that PDBs should be reviewed and declassified like any other records. Davis Wright Tremaine attorney Duffy Carolan said, “There is simply no legal justification for the CIA's blanket policy of withholding all PDBs. The PDBs Professor Berman seeks are purely historical documents devoid of any present day national security concerns.”