

The National Security Archive

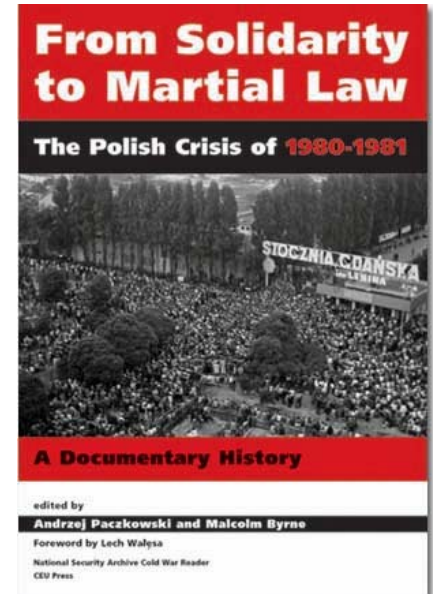
The George Washington University
Gelman Library, Suite 701
2130 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Phone: 202/994-7000
Fax: 202/994-7005
www.nsarchive.org
nsarchiv@gwu.edu

Annual Report for 2006

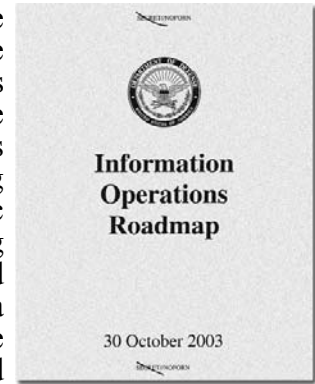
The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2006:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 2,233
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 549
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 89,153, including such newsmaking revelations as the unjustifiable reclassification of the long-public numbers of U.S. strategic bombers and missiles deployed during the 1960s and 1970s; documents that reveal that the Nixon administration came to a nuclear understanding with Golda Meir and ended American pressure for Israel to end its nuclear program; a declassified After Action report from the April 1999 Desert Crossing war games concluding that an invasion and post-war administration of Iraq would require 400,000 troops to stabilize the country following the removal of Saddam Hussein; and Veterans Administration reports indicate 1 in 4 veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars are filing disability claims.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 8,386, in one reference collection: *U.S. Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction: From World War II to Iraq* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest Information & Learning/ Chadwyck-Healey, 2006)
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows–6
From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981 by Andrzej Paczkowski and Malcolm Byrne (Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press, 2006, 548 pp.); *Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea* by Jeffrey T. Richelson (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006, 702 pp.); *Safe For Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA* by John Prados (Chicago, Illinois: Ivan R. Dee, 2006, 696 pp.); *War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War: Threat perceptions in the East and West* by Vojtech Mastny, Sven G. Holtsmark and Andreas Wenger (London and New York: Routledge, 2006, 310 pp.); *Ku zwycięstwu "Solidarności": Korespondencja Ambasady USA w Warszawie z Departamentem Stanu styczeń - wrzesień 1989 (Toward the Victory of Solidarity: Correspondence between the American Embassy in Warsaw and the State Department, January -September 1989)* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych, 2006, 419 pp.); *Vlast i dissidenty iz dokumentov KGB i TsK KPSS (Power and Dissidence from the Documents of the KGB and CCCPSU)* (Moscow Helsinki Group, 2006, 280 pp.)
- ◆ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 44, bringing the Web site total to 219
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 15
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by e-mail – 2,300
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by phone – 1,600
- ◆ Visiting researchers at the Archive's reading room in GWU's Gelman Library – 583
- ◆ Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers – 23,124
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive Web site – more than 2,610,399
- ◆ Successful downloads from the Archive's Web site – 27,156,775
- ◆ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 13,771,724 (37,731 html pages per day)
- ◆ Bytes downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 4,704 Gigabytes (12.8 GB per day, equivalent to 430,000 pdf pages per day)
- ◆ Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 68
- ◆ News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 714
- ◆ Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted in newspapers and broadcast news – 14 (Argentina, Chile, Czech Republic, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Pakistan, Turkey, Uruguay)



January 2006: East Timor’s Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) delivered its final report to the United Nations on January 20, after a delay of more than a month because of the politics of Timor’s relationship with Indonesia. The CAVR report relied on more than 1,000 declassified documents collected by Archive Indonesia-East Timor Project director Brad Simpson, and came to the conclusion that U.S. “political and military support were fundamental to the Indonesian invasion and occupation” of East Timor from 1975 to 1999. The report estimated that up to 180,000 East Timorese were killed by Indonesian troops or died of forced starvation. To encourage the subsequent public release of the report, the Archive posted the “Responsibility” chapter on the Web together with key documents, and sparked extensive news coverage of the CAVR findings in the *Washington Post* and internationally.

Also in January, Archive research associate Kristin Adair made headlines around the world by posting on the Web Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld’s 2003 directive titled “Information Operations Roadmap,” which the Archive had obtained through the FOIA. The previously secret document candidly admitted that the Pentagon’s propaganda overseas, which is prohibited by law from targeting Americans at home, “increasingly is consumed by our domestic audience,” but proposed no specific restrictions for minimizing blowback. The document generated major stories by the AP and Reuters, and a detailed report in the *Los Angeles Times* concluded that a Pentagon program paying Iraqi newspapers to publish articles favorable to the American mission in Iraq appeared to violate the Rumsfeld directive.



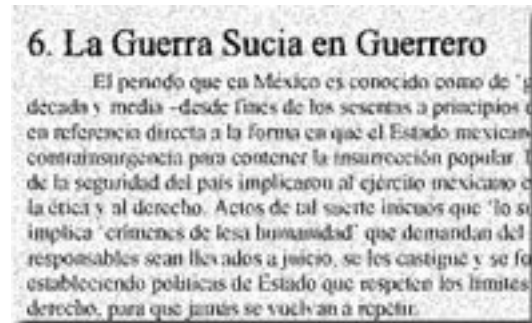
February 2006: On February 4, Archive director Thomas Blanton added significant historical context to the raging national debate over warrantless wiretapping ordered by President Bush after 9/11. Blanton posted on the Web declassified documents from the Gerald Ford Library showing how Ford’s White House counsel and attorney general decided against arguments such as those cited by President Bush, and put the Ford administration on record in favor of regulating wiretaps through the statute (the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, or FISA) that ultimately passed in 1978. The documents revealed that the Ford

administration had engaged in a major internal debate featuring some of the same actors making decisions today. Then-Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, then-CIA director George H.W. Bush, and then-Secretary of State Kissinger – all objected to having a statute govern wiretapping; but their objections were overcome by White House counsel Philip Buchen and Attorney General Edward Levi, who argued that having a statute and a warrant process would protect the telecom companies from liability and ensure that courts would admit the evidence gained from such wiretapping. “Yogi Berra was right: It’s déjà vu all over again... It’s the same debate” said Blanton in a February 4 *Associated Press* story. After the wiretapping story broke in December 2005, the Archive filed a FOIA lawsuit, together with the ACLU and the Electronic Privacy Information Center, for the Justice Department’s legal documents justifying the program; and a March 9 release by Justice made headlines with a former official’s e-mail back to the Department describing the government’s legal defenses as “weak” and “slightly after-the-fact.”

On February 21, the Archive’s investigation with historian Matthew Aid drew front page notice in *The New York Times* revealing that the CIA and the intelligence agencies were running a secret program that had reclassified and impounded over 55,000 pages of historic records from the open shelves at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Because other agencies had released 25-year-old documents without CIA getting the chance to review them, CIA led a covert effort to define the documents as “inadvertent releases” and make them secret once again, despite the fact that many



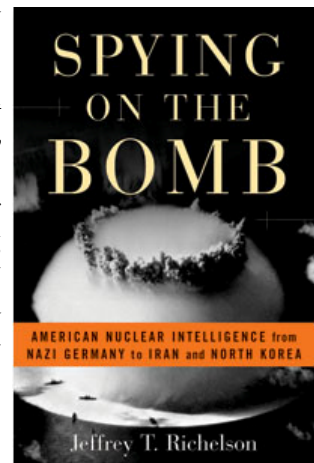
were 50 years old and had been widely published or photocopied. Archive visiting fellow Matthew Aid uncovered the secret document review when he noticed that dozens of documents he had previously copied had been withdrawn from NARA's open shelves, including embarrassing Korean War-era items describing the CIA's intelligence failure to predict Chinese intervention (the Archive featured 20 of the reclassified documents in the Web posting edited by Aid on February 21). In response to the massive publicity (including network television stories and an *NPR "All Things Considered"* interview with Archive director Thomas Blanton), the Archivist of the U.S. (Allen Weinstein) declared a moratorium on the reclassification program and commissioned a detailed audit by the Information Security Oversight Office, which oversees government classification policy.



On February 26, the Archive made headlines in Mexico (*Universal, La Jornada, Proceso, Reforma*) and in the U.S. (*New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, AP*) by posting on the Web the leaked report of the special prosecutor (Fiscalía) appointed by President Fox in 2002 to investigate Mexico's "dirty war" of the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s. Although the report's authors had submitted their draft to the prosecutor in December 2005 and copies were circulating among Mexico's elite, no official release had been forthcoming, suggesting what

Archive Mexico project director Kate Doyle called "a state of affairs reminiscent of Mexico's past, when citizens were routinely shut out of civic participation by a government determined to keep them in the dark." Posting the draft report also pre-empted possible censorship by the government, while also opening the text to critical commentary and analysis by scholars and human rights advocates, as well as by the families of the hundreds of Mexicans who "disappeared" at the hands of the state in the "dirty war."

March 2006: W. W. Norton & Company published the latest opus by Archive senior fellow Jeffrey T. Richelson, titled *Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea*. Reviewers ranging from Gabriel Schoenfeld in the *Wall Street Journal* to Jeremy Bernstein in a cover story for the *New York Review of Books* praised the book, with *Publisher's Weekly* commenting, "More than a comprehensive and often compelling history of nuclear espionage, this is an important contribution to the debate regarding American intelligence that began on 9/11." The American Library Association's *Booklist* described Richelson's work as "searching and informed"; and C-SPAN's Booknotes program featured an extended interview with Dr. Richelson. In addition to the many positive reviews, Dr. Richelson generated dozens of news stories worldwide about the book's findings by posting on the Archive's Web site during March, April and May 2006 five separate collections of primary source documents he had obtained during his research, providing newly declassified details on the nuclear programs of South Africa, India, and France, as well as never-before-published spy satellite photographs of Chinese and North Korean installations.



The Archive contributed a major headline to every day of the annual Sunshine Week celebration organized by the American Society of Newspaper Editors during the week of James Madison's birthday on March 16.

* Sunday newspapers across the U.S. started the week with stories featuring the Archive's audit of federal agencies on their oldest still-pending requests, some dating back to 1989!

* On Monday, March 13, Archive director Thomas Blanton spoke at the National Press Club in a national teleconference organized by the League of Women Voters and

OpenTheGovernment.org under the title, “Are We Safer in the Dark?” Also on Monday, the *Washington Post* highlighted the Archive’s Rosemary Award (named after President Nixon’s secretary Rosemary Woods, who said she accidentally deleted 18 and a half minutes from the Watergate tapes) to the CIA for worst FOIA performance by any federal agency over the previous year.



* On Tuesday, March 14, the House Government Reform subcommittee chaired by Rep. Christopher Shays (R-CT) invited the Archive to release our audit of government use of the “sensitive but unclassified” stamp, with Archive director Blanton testifying both about SBU and the overall problem of excessive government secrecy. The audit of more than three dozen federal agencies, carried out by Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs and FOIA associate Kristin Adair, found 28 separate policies regarding SBU and no common standards. (The full committee subsequently voted 32-0 for a Shays-co-sponsored bill limiting the use of SBU stamps).

* On Wednesday, March 15, Blanton appeared on C-SPAN’s Washington Journal program talking about FOIA, and spoke at the Brookings Institution panel on international transparency issues, presenting the U.S. retrenchment in contrast to recent progress in Mexico and India.

* On Thursday, Blanton moderated the lead-off panel at the Freedom Forum’s annual Freedom of Information Day conference; and the *Washington Post* filled its Federal Page with the top 10 oldest FOIA requests from the Archive’s audit.

* On Friday, March 17, the Archive’s work and a Blanton interview were part of PBS Now’s television special on government secrecy, titled “The Sunshine Gang.”



On the 30th anniversary (March 23) of the military coup in Argentina that launched the so-called “dirty war,” the Archive generated headlines in Buenos Aires and worldwide by posting newly-released documents on the Web from U.S. and Argentine secret files, as part of an ongoing partnership with researchers at the University of Buenos Aires. The documents included then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger’s staff meeting minutes in which he immediately supported the coup plotters, Argentine military documents detailing the operation to “disappear” two insurgent leaders, and a report from the Chilean intelligence chief in Buenos Aires back to Santiago that the Argentine military had killed or disappeared over 22,000 people between 1975 and 1978. Argentina’s own truth commission in the 1980s had been able to document 9,089 deaths, so the Chilean document – obtained and first reported by Archive fellow John Dinges – provided new contemporaneous evidence that the much higher estimates by human rights groups were on the mark.

April 2006: In April, a simmering controversy over FBI attempts to scour the files of deceased muckraker Jack Anderson – in the process of being donated to George Washington University – reached the front pages of the *New York Times*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and media outlets across the country, with a major push from the Archive. Archive staff had originally helped connect the Anderson family and GW, and supported GW professor Mark Feldstein (a long-time Archive colleague) in his efforts to bring this landmark collection documenting the intersection of politics and journalism back to Washington from Utah. FBI agents knocked on the door of Anderson’s widow only weeks after the 2005 funeral, and when family members replied that Anderson would have rolled over in his grave if they let the FBI paw through his files, agents went after Professor Feldstein, GWU staff, and even visited the repository (where the Archive’s own files are stored) which GW shares with other Washington-area universities. The critical press attention and the unified stance of the Anderson family and the GW library ultimately forced the FBI to back off and focus its investigative energies on more current threats.

On April 19, U.S. District Judge Rosemary Collyer ruled in favor of the Archive against the Air Force in a FOIA case filed in 2005, finding that the Air Force had engaged in a pattern and practice of violating the FOIA, and placing the agency under court order to fix its flawed procedures for handling requests. Represented pro bono by the Washington D.C. law firm of James & Hoffman, the Archive brought the case after documenting some 82 separate FOIA requests that the Air Force had essentially ignored, going back 18 years – one finding from the Archive’s government-wide audit of the oldest still-pending FOIA requests. The court found that the Air Force had “indeed failed miserably” to obey the FOIA, and ordered the agency to provide the Archive with detailed information on each request, notify all agencies to which the Air Force had referred requests that it was now operating under court order, and commanded a court appearance by an Air Force officer of sufficient rank “to achieve results.” David Dean, the James & Hoffman partner handling the case, commented, “The court made clear that the Air Force had better fix its broken system soon, and that the judge is watching closely.”

May 2006: The May/June 2006 issue of *The Bulletin Of the Atomic Scientists* included an article, “Israel Crosses the Threshold,” by Archive senior analyst William Burr and former Archive visiting scholar Avner Cohen that drew upon recently declassified documents to show how the Nixon White House in 1969 accommodated to the realities of the Israeli nuclear program through an informal understanding with Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir—including Israel’s official notification to the U.S. that it would not sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The U.S. ended a decade of pressure on Israel to end its nuclear program. *The Washington Post’s* Sunday “Outlook” section ran a condensed version of the article, prepared by the authors, while the Archive published an electronic briefing book that included nearly all of the documents cited in the endnotes. The article received press coverage in *The Guardian*, *Haaretz*, *Folha de São Paulo* (Brazil), as well as Al-Manar TV (Lebanon).



In May, Archive director Thomas Blanton and Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya joined the 30th anniversary celebrations in Moscow for the oldest human rights group in the former Soviet Union, the Moscow Helsinki Group. Dr. Savranskaya spoke at the Group’s press conference on May 11, presenting a series of KGB and Politburo documents about Soviet surveillance of the Helsinki Group that she and other scholars had obtained in the 1990s, especially from the collection of the late historian and general, Dmitry Volkogonov, now at the Library of Congress. Called by the Russian edition of *Newsweek*, the KGB’s successor organization, the FSB, commented that the

documents were “state secrets,” to which the reporter replied, “but they are public in Washington” (and on the Archive’s Web site). Blanton was a featured speaker in the Group’s May 12 day-long conference on past and current human rights challenges in Russia. Helsinki Group founders Ludmila Alexeyeva and Yuri Orlov included Blanton and Savranskaya in both of the celebratory dinners for the Group’s anniversary, and agreed with colleagues at the distinguished Russian NGO “Memorial” to prepare a joint publication in book form of the KGB documents.

On May 26, the Archive announced the publication in the *Digital National Security Archive* series (Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information & Learning) of the most comprehensive collection ever assembled of the memoranda of conversation (memcons) involving Henry Kissinger, who served as national security adviser and then Secretary of State between 1969 and 1977. The 28,000-page collection, edited by Archive senior analyst Dr. William Burr, was the result of a seven-year effort to obtain every memcon that could be found through archival research and declassification requests. Kissinger biographer Walter Isaacson of the Aspen Institute applauded

the publication: “Henry Kissinger’s memos of conversation are an amazing, fascinating, and absolutely indispensable resource for understanding his years in power.” Reporters from the *Associated Press* and *Kyodo News* (Japan) devoted major coverage to the publication, which in turn sparked TV stories on NBC and CNN; and *Washington Post* columnist David Ignatius cited the memcons to draw lessons for current diplomatic challenges with Iran.

Also in May, Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs addressed the 9th Circuit judicial conference meeting in California, on the subject of her major article in the Winter 2006 *Administrative Law Review* (Vol. 58, No. 1, pp. 131-176), titled “Judging Secrets: The Role Courts Should Play in Preventing Unnecessary Secrecy.” One of the judges attending the conference (but who had to leave before Meredith spoke) subsequently ruled against the government’s claim of “state secrets” and allowed standing for a lawsuit brought by a former AT&T technician over AT&T’s cooperation with the controversial warrantless wiretapping program.

June 2006: On June 14, the Archive, with the pro bono assistance of the law firm Wilmer Hale, filed suit against the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the United District Court for the District of Columbia, challenging the CIA’s new standard practice of charging Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) fees to journalists pursuing news. The FOIA law grants a waiver of search and processing fees to news organizations and their representatives and requires them only to pay copying fees since they carry out the mission of the FOIA by disseminating government information. But in late 2005, the CIA adopted an internal practice of assessing additional fees if it deemed a journalist’s request not newsworthy. Under this new policy, the CIA denied the Archive news media status for 42 separate FOIA requests based on their lack of newsworthiness. Among the “non-newsworthy” requests were requests for documents related to the Taliban and the rise of Muslim fundamentalism in Afghanistan. Patrick J. Carome, the attorney who represented the Archive in the case, said the CIA policy puts the CIA in “the position that it should decide what is ‘news’ instead of the reporters and editors who research and publish stories. If the CIA succeeds in exercising broad discretion to charge additional fees to journalists, despite the plain language of the law, then too often we will find out only what the government wants us to know.”



The Archive’s annual summer school for scholars from Russia and the former Soviet Union was held on June 23-30 on the subject “The Black Sea-Caspian Region in the Cold War and Contemporary International Affairs.” The school brought together 26 young scholars from Russian regional universities, and also from Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan. Lecturers came from the prominent Moscow academic institutions—MGIMO, the U.S. and Canada Institute, the Institute of Europe, and the Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and from Azerbaijan, the United States, and Iran. The summer school combined lectures, seminars and

roundtable discussions on issues of the Cold War and current international security in the region. Participants received a CD-ROM collection of documents and readings prepared by the Archive’s staff and copies of books recently published by the lecturers. The regional influence of Iran and issues of nuclear non-proliferation became a focus of animated discussions among the students and between the students and the lecturers.

July 2006: On July 4, the 40th anniversary of the Freedom of Information Act, the National Security Archive posted a collection of documents revealing the back story behind Lyndon Johnson’s signing of the act. According to the documents, culled from the Johnson Library and Museum in Austin, Texas, President Johnson was so uneasy about the FOIA legislation that he

distinction between trying to write history based on government misinformation, eyewitness testimony and shaky memories vs. access to public documents such as police records and autopsy reports.

On the 30th anniversary of the midair bombing of a Cuban airliner, which killed all 73 people on board, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh posted a key selection of documents that further implicate international fugitive and Cuban exile Luis Posada Carriles in the bombing. The documents included the original police reports of the confessions by the two Venezuelans who worked for Posada and who placed the bomb on the plane. This anniversary coincides with a critical juncture of Posada's case, as he is being held on immigration charges in Texas. Despite the growing evidence of his involvement, the Justice Department has refused to classify Posada as a terrorist and has been criticized heavily for holding a double standard when it comes to the Bush administration's credo that nations that harbor terrorists are guilty of terrorism. Kornbluh worked closely with the international media to generate a series of stories to draw attention to the anniversary of the bombing and to Posada's legal status—stories that appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Miami Herald*, Associated Press, *La Jornada*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Granma*, among other newspapers, as well as on National Public Radio, "Democracy Now," and Canadian and Venezuelan television.

Veterans Administration reports finally released as a result of an Archive FOIA request indicate 1 in 4 veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars are filing disability claims. It took 9 months for the VA to release the data after first denying the existence of the disability claim data because the original FOIA request had termed the conflict "the current war in Iraq and Afghanistan", rather than the "Global War on Terrorism." Even after the Archive amended its request to ask for data on the "Global War on Terrorism", it took the threat of a lawsuit for the reports to be released. The reluctance of the VA to release the data could be because the percentage of veterans filing is significantly higher than most government projections and leads to concerns about the ability of the VA to handle the increasing numbers of veterans seeking assistance. The release of the data sparked articles in *The New York Times* and *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* and numerous op-eds calling for realistic planning and budgeting to take care of veterans when they return home.

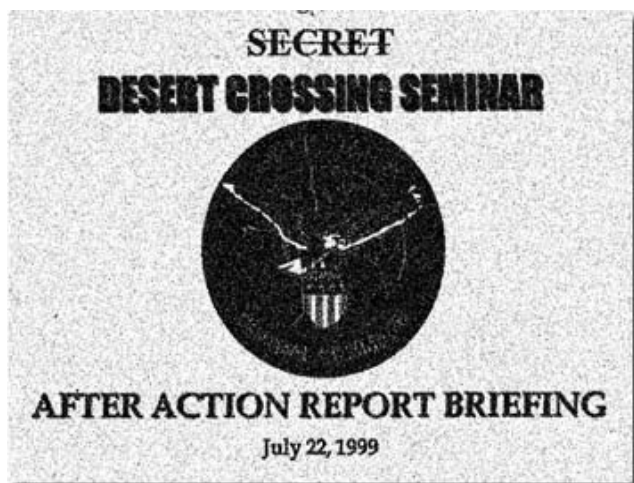


Marking the 20th anniversary of the 1986 Reagan-Gorbachev Summit on October 12, Archive director Thomas Blanton, Archive director of Russia programs Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya, and Pulitzer-Prize-winning biographer Dr. William Taubman presented a series of previously secret documents on the Summit obtained by the Archive to Mikhail Gorbachev himself at a series of events in Reykjavik, including a state dinner in the residence of the president of Iceland. The document series included newly translated Gorbachev discussions, courtesy of the donation to the National Security Archive of top Gorbachev aide Anatoly Chernyaev's diary and Politburo notes. The documents confirmed that Reagan and Gorbachev almost achieved a deal to abolish nuclear weapons, but an agreement would have required a level of trust that neither side had developed.

Fulfilling its watchdog role, the Archive responded to the October 16 "Attorney General's Report to the President Pursuant to Executive Order 23,392, entitled 'Improving Agency Disclosure of Information'" by submitting an assessment of some of the serious challenges facing the FOIA system (glossed over in the report) to both Gonzales and leaders of the Senate Judiciary and House Government Reform committees. The Archive's letter called the Attorney General's report "rosy" and said it does not "acknowledge the scale of the problems faced by

agencies and avoids making mention of two components that are necessary to improve agency disclosure of information: adequate staffing and financial resources; and cross-agency leadership.” The Archive also called on Congress to hold hearings to determine if genuine progress is being made in agency administration of the Freedom of Information Act. House Government Reform Subcommittee spokeswoman Tabetta Mueller has already stated that FOIA oversight hearings are likely to be held in February 2007.

November 2006: On November 4, the Archive’s Iraq project posted a declassified After Action report from the previously secret April 1999 Desert Crossing war games conducted to assess potential outcomes of an invasion of Iraq aimed at unseating Saddam Hussein. The report concluded that an invasion and post-war administration of Iraq would require 400,000 troops to stabilize the country following the removal of Hussein, but that even that troop level might not achieve stability. In reality, the U.S. troop level has so far not reached 160,000. The report called for co-opting and cooperation with Iraqi forces rather than the disbanding of the Iraqi military that occurred soon after the invasion. The report also stated that factors such as “aggressive neighbors, fragmentation along religious and/or ethnic lines, and chaos created by rival forces bidding for power could adversely affect regional stability”—conclusions that definitely hold true for the situation in Iraq today. Associated Press coverage appeared in more than 200 local newspapers and on broadcast TV stations across the U.S., as well as on CNN and other cable news shows.



On November 17, the administration of outgoing Mexican President Vicente Fox finally released the 859-page Special Prosecutor’s report on government use of violent repression to crush opponents during the 1960s-80s. The report, based on eyewitness accounts and military documents declassified by the Fox administration, links three former Mexican presidencies to a covert campaign of murder and torture against dissidents and political opponents—such as the killings of student protesters in Mexico City in 1968 and a brutal counterinsurgency operation in the state of Guerrero. Archive Mexico project director Kate Doyle praised the government for taking the important step of officially accepting responsibility for waging a dirty war against opponents but said that “the Fox administration failed in

its attempts to prosecute those responsible for the crimes described in it.” Doyle was quoted in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and in news media across Latin America.

On the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Iran-Contra scandal, Archive director Thomas Blanton and analysts Malcolm Byrne and Peter Kornbluh posted a series of documents on the Web recalling the still-relevant highlights of the White House-run secret operations to transfer U.S. weapons to Iran and use the proceeds to illegally fund the contra war in Nicaragua. The lead document, a secret December 1984 memorandum from Robert Gates, then director of intelligence at the CIA, generated significant publicity because Gates had been nominated by President Bush to replace Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and faced Senate confirmation hearings. In the memorandum sent to then CIA director William Casey, Gates argued for abandoning the covert war in favor of a more overt military effort for regime change in Nicaragua. The posting generated editorials and news articles around the country that called attention to Gate’s attitude toward the use of force to overthrow governments in smaller nations,

at a time when the Senate was exploring the position he would take vis-à-vis the war in Iraq.

December 2006: As Chile prepared to bury General August Pinochet, news media from around the world consulted Archive Chile project director Peter Kornbluh's briefing book *Pinochet: A Declassified Documentary Obit* — a selection of declassified U.S. documents that illuminate the former dictator's record of repression. The documents included CIA records on Pinochet's role in the Washington D.C. car bombing that killed former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and his American colleague Ronni Moffitt, Defense Intelligence Agency biographic reports on Pinochet, and transcripts of meetings in which Secretary of State Henry Kissinger resisted bringing pressure on the Chilean military for its human rights atrocities.



Kornbluh discussed Pinochet's legacy on NPR's Morning Edition and appeared on CNN. The *U.S. News & World Report* crowned Pinochet "Bad Guy of the Week" in David Kaplan's blog and linked to the briefing book.

On December 12, Archive Southern Cone project director Carlos Osorio and Archive senior fellow and board member John Dinges made headlines in Chile with the donation of nearly 5,000 digitized documents to the libraries of the Universidad Alberto Hurtado and the Universidad de Artes y Ciencias de la Comunicación (UNIACC) from the State Department's Argentina collection and from a collection of documents of Pinochet's top covert agent in Argentina, Enrique Arancibia Clavel. The digitized collection contains materials on Operation Condor, Chilean espionage operations in Argentina and information on the operations of some of the most repressive military units—such as Argentina's Battalion 316. Osorio designed a file management system and search engine for the materials so that human rights investigators can search by date and names of victims and perpetrators.

On December 13, the Central European University Press published *From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981*, edited by Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne and Andrzej Paczkowski—the fifth volume in the National Security Archive Cold War Reader Series. The 580-page document reader, published on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the crisis, includes a foreword by former Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa. The reader contains 95 translated documents from sources inside Solidarity, the Polish communist party leadership, and the Kremlin and newly declassified CIA and White House materials—providing a vivid history of one of the most dramatic episodes in Cold War history. Professor Jane Leftwich Curry of Santa Clara University commented, "This volume puts the pieces together for the last moment of communist control and the start of the end of communism. With a set of documents, it tells the story of the perceptions and misperceptions that made for Solidarity, for martial law, and for communism's failure. It is the "whodunit" of one of the major events in the Cold War and required reading for anyone who wants to understand how the communists could have so much power and be so out of touch."



Also, on December 14, Osorio gave expert testimony and supplied documentary evidence before Judge Graciela Gatti in Montevideo, Uruguay in the case against former president Juan Maria Bordaberry for violation of the constitution and accessory to the murder of 10 people in the 1970s. Six days later, on December 20, Judge Gatti indicted Bordaberry for the 10 murder cases. The Archive had also supplied key documentary evidence in another high profile Operation Condor case for which Bordaberry was also indicted in mid-November for the assassinations of exiled Uruguayan Senator Zelmar Michelini and Congressman Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, who were abducted and assassinated in Buenos Aires in May 1976. *La Republica*, *La Diaria* and many other newspapers described Osorio's special audience and hours of testimony before Judge Gatti.