

# The National Security Archive

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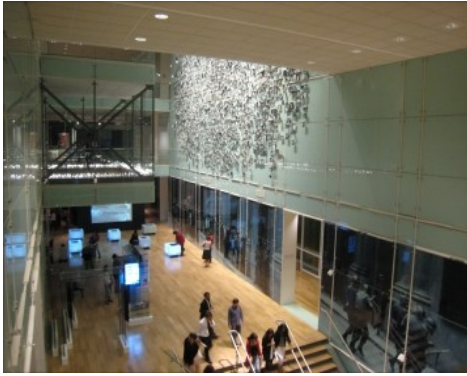
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## Annual Report for 2010

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2010:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,482
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 219
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 70,759 including such newsmaking revelations as the Taliban's use of Pakistani tribal areas to regroup after the 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, leading directly to their resurgence in 2005; the Colombian military's execution of guerrilla prisoners and the Palace of Justice cafeteria staff during the 1985 hostage tragedy in Bogota; the CIA's coverup of the limited success of the 1974 Glomar Explorer attempt to raise a sunken Soviet submarine; President Nixon's consideration of nuclear attacks against North Korea in 1969; President Clinton's 1999 correspondence with Iranian president Khatami about the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 25,092 in two reference collections: *Colombia and the United States: Political Violence, Narcotics, and Human Rights, 1948-2010*; and *The United States and the Two Koreas (1969-2000)*.
- ◆ Declassified documents delivered to truth commissions and human rights investigators – 21,560 documents to the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile as part of its permanent commemoration of human rights violations committed during the Pinochet dictatorship; 3,360 documents to Uruguay's Universidad de la Republica for use by researchers; 200 documents to Argentina's Federal Oral Criminal Tribunal No. 1 of Buenos Aires as evidence for Operation Condor indictments in the Orletti case; 12 documents to Guatemala's Department of Justice Office of Special Investigation as evidence for the 1982 massacre in the village of Dos Erres, Peten, Guatemala; 20 documents to lawyers prosecuting the case of Edgar Fernando Garcia in Guatemala, 25 documents to the Center for Justice and Accountability for the Guatemala Genocide case; 200 documents to Moscow's Memorial Society on Soviet dissidents and the Carter Administration.
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 2  
*Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989* by Svetlana Savranskaya, Thomas Blanton and Vladislav Zubok (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010, 782 pp.); *How the Cold War Ended: Debating and Doing History (Issues in the History of American Foreign Relations)* by John Prados (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books Inc., 2010, 320 pp.)
- ◆ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 29, bringing the Web site total to 333
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 12; by e-mail – 2,500; by phone – 1,400
- ◆ Visiting researchers at the Archive's reading room in GWU's Gelman Library – 313 from 16 countries (Note that the Archive reading room was closed for 4 months for renovation from June to October 2010)
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive's Web site – more than 2,086,702
- ◆ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 16,495,405 (45,193 html pages per day)
- ◆ Bytes downloaded from the Archive's Web site – 5,816 Gigabytes (15.9 GB per day)
- ◆ Awards: the University of Wisconsin's Internet Scout Report recognizing "the most valuable and authoritative resources online"; the Society for History in the Federal Government's John Adams Prize to John Prados for *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War, 1945-1975*; the Pulitzer Prize to Archive colleague and Web-contributor David Hoffman for *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and Its Dangerous Legacy*.
- ◆ Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 23
- ◆ News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 887
- ◆ Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted in newspapers and broadcast news – 19 (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Czech Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay)





**January 2010:** The Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile, celebrated its inauguration on January 11 with a featured exhibit of declassified U.S. intelligence records, provided by the National Security Archive's Chile Documentation Project, relating to Operation Condor, the DINA (Chile's secret police) and the assassination of Orlando Letelier. Project director Peter Kornbluh attended the event, accompanied a *New York Times* reporter to the infamous National Stadium to witness voting as Chile elected a conservative president for the first time since General Augusto Pinochet was forced from power, and reported for the *Nation* magazine

on the meaning of the museum in Chile's political trajectory.

On January 15, the Archive premiered on the Web a fascinating U.S. Air Force film from the early 1960s designed to refute popular fictional accounts like *Fail-Safe* and *Dr. Strangelove* which raised unsettling questions about U.S. control over nuclear weapons. "SAC Command Post" presents a detailed picture of the communications systems that the Strategic Air Command used to centralize direction of bomber bases and missile silos at the time. But the film never saw the light of day, possibly because its emphasis on SAC's readiness for nuclear war didn't match the message being sent by the Johnson administration's search for stable relations with Moscow. The Archive posted two other films from the period that Archive senior analyst Bill Burr found at the National Archive's Motion Pictures Unit in College Park, Md. He has since filed requests for other – classified – documentaries the Air Force routinely prepared over the years.

**February 2010:** On February 9, for the first time in Latin America, a judge sent a former head of state to prison for the crime of an "Attack against the Constitution" – in a case where Archive documents had contributed to the initial conviction. The unprecedented ruling in Montevideo sentenced former Uruguayan President Juan Maria Bordaberry to serve 30 years for undermining Uruguay's constitution through an auto-coup in June 1973, and for his responsibility in nine disappearances and two political assassinations committed by the security forces while he was president between 1972 and 1976. The Archive's Southern Cone Documentation Project provided documents that prosecution lawyers used to help open the "curtain of secrecy on human rights crimes committed during Bordaberry's reign of power" and subsequently posted online a full briefing book (edited by Carlso Osorio, Marianna Enamoneta and Miliette Marcos) of the documents, including Bordaberry's claim to the U.S. Ambassador that "Uruguay's democratic traditions and institutions...were themselves the real threat to democracy."

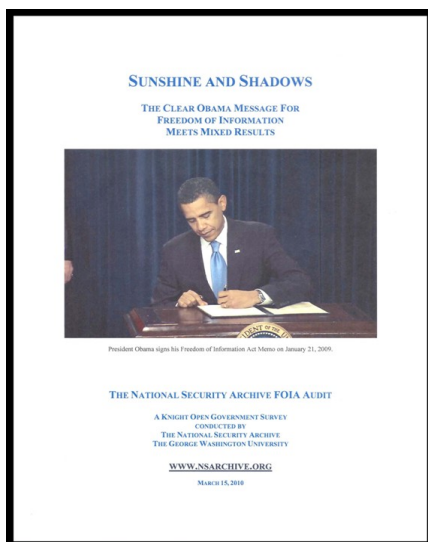
On February 12, the Archive sparked national headlines with the first-ever substantive release of information on the CIA's super-secret Glomar Explorer operation. In August 1974, an Agency salvage vessel, the *Hughes Glomar Explorer*, dredged up part of a sunken Soviet submarine from the floor of the Pacific Ocean. Investigative journalists Jack Anderson and Seymour Hersh soon discovered and wrote about the feat, but when another journalist, Harriet Ann Phillippi, filed a FOIA on the Agency's efforts to squash reporting on the subject, CIA replied that it could "neither confirm nor deny" its connection to the operation. Utilized by the Agency thousands of times since then, this Orwellian reply has been tagged the "Glomar response." But Archive fellow Matthew Aid was finally able to begin to break through decades of obfuscation by filing a FOIA in 2007 for an article in the CIA's in-house journal, *Studies in Intelligence*, which produced a 50-page piece from 1985 entitled "Project Azorian: The Story of the *Hughes Glomar Explorer*." The Archive's Web posting also included White House memoranda of conversation recording



President Gerald Ford and his Cabinet's reactions to leaks about the sub operation, and sparked *Associated Press* coverage that ran prominently in the *Washington Post*.

In February, the Brazilian government asked for the Archive's expertise to help establish a truth commission to investigate the crimes of the military dictatorship period. Senior analyst Peter Kornbluh attended a special meeting on the subject at the Presidential palace in Brasilia, and with other international human rights specialists, including the director of the OAS Human Rights Commission, spent two days briefing the Brazilian officials on the use of declassified U.S. documents as evidence in previous Latin American truth commission endeavors.

**March 2010:** On March 12, the Archive presented the 2010 Rosemary Award for worst open government performance to the Federal Chief Information Officers Council for failing to address the crisis in preservation of official e-mail. (The award is named after President Nixon's secretary, Rosemary Woods, who erased 18-½ minutes of a crucial Watergate tape.) The Archive brought successful lawsuits against every President from Reagan to Obama to save the White House e-mail, but most agency e-mail still suffers from the lack of systematic digital archiving. Formed by Executive Order in 1996, the CIO Council (responsible for annual expenditures of \$71 billion for IT purchases alone) describes itself as the "principal interagency forum for improving practices in the design, modernization, use, operation, sharing, and performance of Federal Government information resources." Yet neither the Council's founding documents, its 2007-2009 strategic plan, its transition memo for the Obama administration, nor its current Web site even mention the challenge of electronic records management for e-mail. In announcing the award, Archive director Tom Blanton said, "The CIO Council has a bad case of attention deficit disorder when it comes to the e-mail disaster in the federal government. We hope this year's Rosemary Award will serve as a wakeup call to the government officials who have the power, the money and the responsibility to save the e-mail sent in the course of the public's business."



On March 15, as part of Sunshine Week, the Archive released its latest government-wide FOIA audit, sparking nationwide headlines and editorials. Despite President Barack Obama's and Attorney General Eric Holder's 2009 memoranda calling for reform in government agencies' administration of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the audit found only 13 of 92 agencies had made concrete changes. The audit identified severe backlogs of FOIAs, requests as old as 18 years, and a widespread record of increased denials of FOIA requests by citizens. The audit was based on data obtained from government agencies through FOIA requests the Archive filed in September 2009. Meredith Fuchs, the Archive's General Counsel, commented: "One year is too early to render a final judgment on how far President Obama can move the government toward openness, but this audit finds that much more pressure and leadership will be necessary, both inside and outside the government."

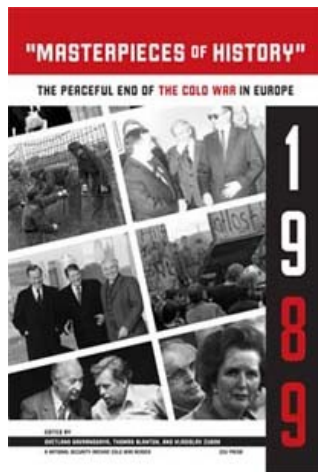
**April 2010:** On April 8, on the occasion of the signing in Prague of the new START Treaty, the Archive's Bill Burr posted background documentation showing the surprisingly wide-range of proposals for arms cuts that surfaced at various stages of the Cold War. Options raised included Adm. Arleigh Burke's concept of a "finite deterrent" relying on as few as 720 SLBMs positioned on a fleet of 45 Polaris submarines rather than on more vulnerable ground-based systems; Robert McNamara's 1964 (post-Cuban missile crisis) idea for a force of 400 strategic warheads – enough to accomplish a basic "assured destruction" deterrence mission; Jimmy Carter's call for "deep cuts" reaching as low as 200-250 delivery systems; and Ronald Reagan's proposal for zero nuclear forces in 10 years. The figures contemplated in the Prague Treaty are in the range of some



of these Cold War ideas, but the earlier records show that the process of moving toward the ultimate goal of “zero” will be a prolonged and complex one – necessarily involving negotiations with the likes of China, France, India and Pakistan, as well as other measures.

On April 15, Archive-provided documentary evidence from U.S., Argentine, Paraguayan, and Mexican intelligence sources contributed to the convictions of five Argentine military officers who were sentenced to life in prison by a tribunal in Rosario, Argentina, for their crimes against humanity carried out in the secret torture centers during Argentina’s “dirty war.” Archive Southern Cone Documentation Project director Carlos Osorio had supplied the key records to Argentine prosecutors in December 2009.

**May 2010:** The Archive continued its partnership with *The Washington Post’s* David Hoffman, posting some of the extraordinary new Soviet materials that formed the basis for his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and Its Dangerous Legacy*. The book is based in part on thousands of pages of records collected by Vitaly Katayev, a professional staff member of the Central Committee, which Hoffman obtained. They detail key decisions about the Soviet military-industrial complex and arms control in the 1980s, including their massive illicit germ warfare program. Hoffman also made extensive use of the Archive’s large collection of declassified materials on the final years of the Cold War.



Also this month, the Archive’s director of Russia/Eurasia Programs, Svetlana Savranskaya, director Tom Blanton and long-time fellow Vladislav Zubok published *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe*, a spectacular 730-page volume of top-level documents from Russian, American and European sources, bringing to life the multilateral diplomacy that led to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989. The book, which *Newsweek* cited as “essential” and “a treasure trove,” features meeting and telephone transcripts from Western and Soviet leaders, Politburo records, CIA analyses and other once-highly protected items, accompanied by essays from the editors, and the transcript of a remarkable Archive-organized conference of key advisers to the Soviet and U.S. leadership. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Bill Taubman praised “this wonderful collection of crucial historical documents” and its “penetrating essays” as an “invaluable source book on the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.” Gorbachev’s

close aide Anatoly Chernyaev, a participant in the earlier conference, gave the Archive “the highest praise for its dedication to work and truth,” and former U.S. envoy Jack Matlock, who also took part, added that the Archive had “rendered a service to historians and the public as a whole.” The volume is the latest in the National Security Archive Cold War Reader Series with CEU Press, Budapest.

On May 30, the Archive posted a long-sought-after, previously classified 1999 letter from President Bill Clinton to Iran’s President Mohammad Khatami that offered insights into the fragile nature of secret U.S.-Iran diplomacy. Published accounts of the communication, which the Omani foreign minister delivered to Khatami for Clinton, typically described it as simply another attempt to open a dialogue, but the letter’s tone was shockingly abrupt. Coming off new information from the Saudis about probable Iranian Revolutionary Guard involvement in the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, the Clinton administration was split over the need to demand accountability (and to be seen as doing so) and the desire to improve ties with the Islamic Republic, especially in light of the reform-oriented president’s recent election. (Khatami had not been in power when the Khobar attack occurred.) The Iranians immediately and publicly rejected the Americans’ demand that responsible parties be brought to justice, and the erstwhile attempt at a dialogue foundered. The Archive’s deputy



director Malcolm Byrne obtained the letter and supporting documentation through a Mandatory Declassification Review request from the Clinton Library.

**June 2010:** On June 5, on the eve of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Korean War, the Archive released a major new collection in the Digital National Security Archive series published by ProQuest. *The United States and the Two Koreas, 1969-2000*, edited by senior fellow Robert Wampler, contains nearly 1,700 documents covering diplomatic, security, and economic relations between the United States and its ally, South Korea, and the challenges posed by an adversarial North Korea. Dr. Wampler also posted a set of documents from the set on the Archive's website on June 23 that provided a fascinating window into the Nixon administration's search for military options to meet and deter North Korean military provocations, and so into the ongoing dilemmas facing the U.S. in dealing with Pyongyang's military provocations, a dilemma that has grown only more pressing in 2010. The publication of these documents received extensive press attention in the U.S. and overseas, including the story "Nixon Considered Nuclear Options against North Korea" on NPR's *All Things Considered* on July 6.

On June 6, the Archive's Nuclear Vault project published an electronic briefing book showing that President Obama's proposal for a fissile material cut-off was actually an Eisenhower idea meant to enhance national security. Titled "'We can't go on the way we are': U.S. Proposals for a Fissile Material Production Cutoff and Disarmament Diplomacy during the 1950s and 60s," the posting drew praise from Princeton University physicist Frank von Hippel, one of the leaders of the International Panel on Fissile Materials, who commented that the briefing book was an "excellent history."



On June 11, the Archive's Colombia Documentation Project marked the first-ever criminal conviction relating to the 1985 Palace of Justice tragedy by posting a selection of key declassified documents on the episode, including a 1999 U.S. Embassy cable that found that Colombian Army soldiers under the command of Col. Alfonso Plazas Vega had "killed a number of M-19 members and suspected collaborators *hors de combat* ["outside of combat"], including the Palace's cafeteria staff." Col. Plazas Vega was sentenced to 30 years in prison for the disappearances of 11 people—including members of the cafeteria staff—during Army operations to retake the Palace from M-19 guerrillas who had seized

control of the building in November 1985. In all, more than 100 people died in the conflagration that followed, including 11 Supreme Court justices. The documents were obtained by the Archive's Michael Evans working in collaboration with the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) and a special truth commission on the case established by the Colombian Supreme Court.

**July 2010:** A highlight of the year for the Archive, from a media coverage (and pure entertainment) standpoint, was the appearance by director Tom Blanton on Comedy Central's *Colbert Report* on July 27 to discuss the Wikileaks posting of



classified Iraq and Afghanistan war documents. Host Stephen Colbert took credit for pressing Wikileaks into a more responsible approach to leaks, and Tom commented that we were seeing the "Facebook mentality" applied to national security secrecy. Tom also appeared on the Kojo Nnamdi Show on Washington DC's WAMU radio to discuss the Afghan war logs.

Also in July, freedom of information advocates from former Soviet Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia and the United States came together (on July 11-13), in Aghveran, Armenia, for the second annual meeting of the Caucasus regional FOI network, founded in 2009 in Telavi, Georgia, and hosted this year by the Committee to Protect Freedom of Expression (Armenia), with support from the National Security Archive. Along with Archive staff members Svetlana Savranskaya (principal organizer), Tom Blanton and Malcolm Byrne, the 28 participants included leading FOI experts from each country discussing their specific openness challenges, identifying common problems and best practices, and planning both parallel and cooperative activities such as systematic auditing of government web sites. As this year's meeting demonstrated, the largest impediment to such cooperation comes from the ongoing geopolitical tensions – to the point of war – between the countries represented. Russian visa denials, for example, prevented a planned Georgian group training session in St. Petersburg prior to the Aghveran conference; and after the conference, Azeri television terminated the contract of one of the Azeri participants, internationally-respected journalist Asaf Kuliev, for having traveled to Armenia.

**August 2010:** As part of the Archive's Cuba Documentation Project Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh published an article in the *TEMAS* independent Cuban academic journal on the history of the U.S.-Cuban accord to combat "skyjackings" – an early form of airplane related terrorism. The article was published in Spanish in a special issue of the magazine on "Cuba-United States: Tan Lejos, Tan Cerca." (An English version of the issue is being published as a book by Routledge.) On August 5, Kornbluh made a public presentation in Havana to more than 100 academics, scholars, students and officials on the history of Cuba's efforts at cooperation and dialogue to fight terrorism. Kornbluh also met with Cuban officials to discuss plans for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

On August 8, Archive senior analyst Bill Burr published another in his series of Nuclear Vault briefing books on the historical context of current nuclear issues, focusing on "The Test Ban Challenge: Nuclear Nonproliferation and the Quest for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty." The University of Wisconsin's *Internet Scout Report*, which identifies the "most authoritative and valuable educational resources" on the Web, commended this briefing book as one that "policy experts and diplomacy types will find intriguing."



On August 11, the Archive made headlines in the U.S. and Latin America with declassified documents on the 40th anniversary of the death of U.S. security advisor Dan Mitrione in Uruguay. Organized and annotated by Carlos Osorio and Marianna Enamoneta, the posting included a cable made public for the first time showing that the Nixon administration recommended a "threat to kill" a detained insurgent and other key leftist insurgent prisoners "if Mitrione is killed" by Tupamaros guerrillas. The U.S. Embassy conveyed the threat as instructed by Secretary of State William Rogers, but to no avail. However, as the documents confirm, Mitrione's killing did lead the Uruguayan government to unleash attacks against the guerrillas.



Also in August, the Torture Archive received a major update, passing the 116,000-page mark. The Torture Archive came into being just a year before with support from the Open Society Institute and the Jeht Foundation with the goal of becoming the online institutional memory for essential evidence on torture in U.S. policy, preserving, cataloging and making widely accessible all the available primary source documents related to the detention and interrogation of individuals by the United States, in connection with the conduct of hostilities in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as in the broader context of the "Global War on Terror." The Torture Archive (built by project



coordinator Wendy Valdes) has already won accolades from numerous blogs and from like-minded advocates investigating torture, such as the ACLU and the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). The University of Wisconsin's *Internet Scout Report* awarded the site a citation, stating that its thousands of digitized pages on torture "might not be everyone's cup of tea, but this invaluable resource created by the National Security Archive at the George Washington University is a real gem and an important research tool."

**September 2010:** In a historic ruling, a judge in a south Florida courtroom sentenced former Guatemalan special forces soldier Gilberto Jordán, who confessed to participating in the 1982 massacre of hundreds of men, women and children in Dos Erres, Guatemala, to ten years in federal prison for lying on his citizenship application about his role in the crime. Calling the massacre, "reprehensible," U.S. District Judge William Zloch handed down the maximum sentence for naturalization fraud, stating he wanted the ruling to be a message to "those who commit egregious human rights violations abroad" that they will not find "safe haven from prosecution" in the United States. Among other evidence, the prosecution team relied on documents that the Archive's Guatemala Documentation Project director Kate Doyle previously provided to investigations into the Dos Erres massacre, and the special counterinsurgency unit, the *Kaibiles*, that carried it out.



Charting some of the recent history behind the fight against the Taliban, and current U.S.-Pakistani relations, the Archive posted several revealing State Department cables and memoranda from the period before and after September 11, 2001. The records indicated that the Taliban were able to exploit their access to sanctuaries in tribal regions of Pakistan to regroup and reorganize, leading directly to their resurgence in Afghanistan in 2005. U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Ronald Neumann warned Washington that if the safe havens in Pakistan were not addressed it would create "the same strategic threat to the United States that prompted our OEF [Operation Enduring Freedom] intervention" in 2001. Other cables detailed the complex dynamics in the relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan. The Archive's posting, by analyst Barbara Elias, garnered so much attention that *Wired* magazine literally decided to start its "document of the day" feature as a result.



In commemoration of Right to Know Day and in support of the freedom of information movement in Mexico, the Archive's Mexico Project held its second annual *México Infórmate* (Mexico Get Informed) session, September 26-October 2, where Freedom of Information advocates in 21 states and Mexico City conducted more than 70 public events and a myriad of

activities. *México Infórmate*, run by Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle and project deputy director Emilene Martinez, participated in the Second Transparency Fair which was held in the Zócalo in Mexico City on September 28; and organized a forum entitled "The Right of Access to Information: Challenges of Transparency and National Security" at the Law Research Institute of the National Autonomous University (UNAM), as well as workshops around the country that taught journalists and NGOs how to use the Federal Law of Transparency and Access to Information and file appeals to the Federal Institute of Access to Information (IFAI). Among the many activities conducted by the Archive's Mexico project staff for *México Infórmate* were a seminar on libraries and access to public information in San Luis Potosí; a lecture in the state of Guerrero on memory and democracy; workshops in Sinaloa to teach citizens how to monitor the 18 municipalities of the state using transparency laws; and a forum in Nuevo León entitled "The Government Under a Magnifying Glass: Transparency, Security and Freedom of Expression in

Nuevo León.” During the week, Kate Doyle and Tom Blanton also appeared on the leading drive time radio show hosted by Carlos Puig, on Universal TV, and in an op-ed in Mexico’s largest daily, *El Universal*.



On September 24, Colombia’s Historical Memory Group published its final report on the Bojayá massacre, describing the 2002 killings of some 80 people by FARC guerrillas during a confrontation with AUC paramilitary forces in a remote part of northwestern Colombia. Colombia Documentation Project director Michael Evans served as an editorial and technical assistant on the report and provided the group with an extensive report—based on declassified materials—detailing Colombia’s tolerance of paramilitary forces in the region and failure to respond to prior warnings of the FARC-AUC clash that might have prevented the massacre. On September 29, the Colombia Project made more front page headlines in Colombia with a declassified State Department cable that appeared to corroborate human rights allegations against a former Colombian Army general then on trial for fomenting illegal paramilitary groups in the 1990s. In the cable, the U.S. ambassador reported that Gen. Rito Alejo del Río’s “systematic arming and equipping of aggressive regional paramilitaries” was “pivotal” to his success.

**September-October 2010:** In a major investigative effort, the Iraq Documentation Project assembled a three-part series of Electronic Briefing Books revisiting the origins of the 2003 Iraq war, incorporating the results of Archive FOIA requests, recent publications, and the proceedings of the Chilcot Commission, Britain’s latest examination of its participation in the Iraq war. On September 22 and October 4, the Archive posted documents on the Bush administration’s Iraq policy during its first year (Part I), the question of when the decision to go to war was made (Parts I and II), and the manipulation of public opinion through U.S. and British white papers on Iraq (Part III). The initial posting by Joyce Battle focused on the months leading up to President Bush’s November 2001 order to his military commanders to begin formal planning for war, and included documents, a detailed chronology, and a compilation of significant statements by key officials and other relevant personalities. Parts II and III, by John Prados and guest analyst Christopher Ames, used, for the first time in Archive briefing books, documents obtained through both the U.S. and British Freedom of Information Acts, along with other documents and investigative materials from the U.K., including records released by the Chilcot Commission. The series was covered by *Agence France Presse*, *The Economist*, the *Independent*, and California public radio, and triggered a lively debate on the leading diplomatic historians’ website, H-Diplo.

**October 2010:** The Georgia Security Archive, renowned as the most open of its kind in the post-Soviet space, hosted its first international conference from October 22-24, with support from the Archive and the Carnegie Corporation. Held on the shores of the Black Sea, the meeting’s aim was to present findings from the Tbilisi-based archive’s important file collections ranging from Stalin to Shevardnadze. A distinguished roster of international scholars, including Ronald Suny, Michael Dobbs, Gergana Jouleva, Arsenii Roginsky, Vladimir Pechatnov and others (with the Archive’s Tom Blanton and Svetlana Savranskaya), had either used the Georgian archives themselves or made presentations putting the opening of the Georgian files into the larger international context. Along with three days of discussions in Batumi, a number of colorful organized events included an opening reception at the stunning, glass-walled headquarters of the Georgian Interior Ministry and a delegation tour through the birthplace of Joseph Stalin at Gori, and nearby Ossetian refugee villages.







On October 29-30, the Archive's Cuba Documentation Project held a special conference on "The United States and Cuba: Precedent and Potential for Dialogue" at the Musgrove conference center on St. Simons Island, Georgia. The conference, reflecting a research project being completed by senior analyst Peter Kornbluh with American University dean William LeoGrande, brought together surviving policymakers and intermediaries (including Frank Mackiewicz, Robert Pastor, William Luers, Wayne Smith and Jay Taylor) who participated in secret dialogue with Cuba over the last three decades, in order to examine the lessons for the Obama administration. A key Obama State Department specialist was in attendance, as was the

senior staffer of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

**November 2010:** Peruvian human rights prosecutors asked the Archive for declassified State Department cables relating to the 1985 Accoramarca massacre in Peru, in which 63 villagers died, more than two dozen of them children, several under the age of five. New indictments of Army officers in Peru continue the judicial sequence that began with the landmark 2009 conviction of former President Alberto Fujimori on human rights charges, in which Archive-supplied documents played a key role cited by the judges as refuting his defense.

President Obama issued a new Executive Order on "Controlled Unclassified Information" on November 4, which built on recommendations from open government groups and the findings of the National Security Archive's 2006 audit of "Pseudo-Secrets." That audit had uncovered 28 different and uncoordinated policies on marking and restricting official unclassified information. "Over the years, government officials came up with more than 100 creative acronyms like LOU or UCNI or SHSI or SBU to stamp as secret those records that did not qualify for the normal national security classification system," remarked Tom Blanton. "The new Order will bring some much-needed standards and restrictions to this out-of-control bureaucratic process – and help fulfill President Obama's pledges for a more open government." Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs had worked with OMB Watch and OpenTheGovernment.org to lead a process of developing policy recommendations for the Presidential transition of 2008-2009, including specific limits on the sensitive-but-unclassified category – limits that found official expression in the new Executive Order.

The Chilean Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago opened to the public a series of documents databases specially designed by the Archive IT team, covering documents on Henry Kissinger and Chile, the CIA intervention in Chile, State Department records from 1969-1990, as well as a collection of Chilean secret police records found in Argentina. The Archive's Peter Kornbluh made a public presentation to the Museum and appeared on several Chilean radio and television programs, including Chile's CNN station.

The outpouring of leaked State Department cables by Wikileaks and major press outlets beginning on November 29 brought the Archive intensive press coverage, as reporters came to us for analysis of the documents, background on how to read cables and commentary on the secrecy issues involved. During the weeks after the revelations began, Archive staff appeared on more than a dozen major national and international broadcasts such as National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* and *Talk of the Nation*, the BBC's *The World and Newshour*, WNYC's *Leonard Lopate Show*, and CBS *Sunday Morning*; and the House Judiciary Committee asked Archive director Tom Blanton for formal testimony.



**December 2010:** The Archive's Colombia Documentation Project completed work on a major declassified document collection that traces more than 60 years of U.S. involvement in Latin America's longest-running internal conflict, from the early days of the Cold War through a deluge of recent political scandals. The forthcoming ProQuest publication, *Colombia and the United States: Political Violence, Narcotics, and Human Rights, 1948-2010*, edited by project director Michael Evans, consists of more than 2,300 declassified documents from the State Department, the CIA, the Pentagon, the National Security Council, and other agencies, representing a unique and valuable cross-section of primary source material on U.S. policy toward, and analysis of, its most important Andean ally.



On December 9, the Archive formally dedicated and opened the new Smith Bagley Research Center in our renovated offices on the 7<sup>th</sup> floor of Gelman Library at George Washington University. The noted philanthropist, entrepreneur and activist Smith Bagley had long supported the Archive's work, dating back to our founding in 1985; and after his untimely death in January 2010, the Arca Foundation made a major grant to the Archive to establish the Bagley Center in Smith's memory. The renovated space includes a new reading room for outside researchers, an expanded reception area, the Archive's first formal conference room for large meetings, new vault space for declassified document storage, and walls of glass symbolizing Smith's and the Archive's commitment to transparency. The opening brought together several hundred friends of the Archive and the Bagley family to celebrate both Smith's memory and the 25th anniversary year of the National Security Archive.