

The National Security Archive

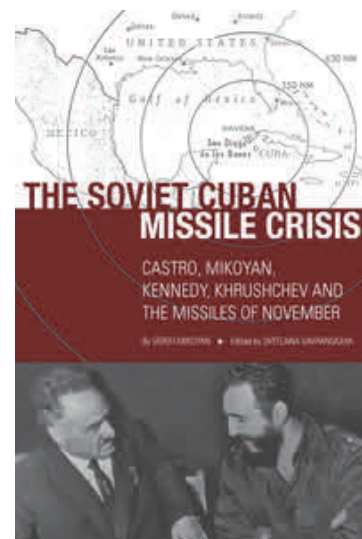
The George Washington University
Gelman Library, Suite 701
2130 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

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

Annual Report for 2012

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2012:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,264
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 292
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 59,268 including such news making revelations as the 2006 CIA “mea culpa” for intelligence failure on Iraq weapons of mass destruction; the State Department legal critique of the Bush Administration’s “enhanced interrogation techniques” as unconstitutional; and the secret 1968 plan to launch all-out nuclear attack against China and the Soviet bloc should the president go missing or be killed.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 42,535 in four reference collections: *Japan and the United States: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part III, 1961-2000*; *Argentina, 1975-1980: The Making of U.S. Human Rights Policy*; *The Cuban Missile Crisis: 50th Anniversary Update*; and *CIA Covert Operations: From Carter to Obama, 1977-2010*.
- ◆ Evidence delivered to truth commissions and human rights investigators – 295 documents to prosecutors for the Diario Militar case before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights; 181 documents to Guatemalan prosecutors for the Lucas Garcia case and 10 additional documents for the case against General Efraín Ríos Montt in the Spanish National Court; 145 documents to the Jesuits Massacre case before the Spanish National Court; 60 documents to the Brazilian Truth Commission on Brazil’s role in Operation Condor; 10 documents to Supreme Court Justice Iván Velásquez on the illegal wiretapping scandal in Colombia; and 37 documents to Colombian prosecutors for the case against “Emerald Czar” Víctor Carranza.
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 6; *Trilateralism and Beyond: Great Power Politics and the Korean Security Dilemma during and after the Cold War* by Robert A. Wampler (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2012, 192 pp.); *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Missiles of November* by Sergo Mikoyan and Svetlana Savranskaya (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012, 616 pp.); *Becoming Enemies: U.S-Iran Relations During the Iran-Iraq War, 1979-1988* by James Blight, Janet Lang, Hussein Banai, Malcolm Byrne and John Tirman (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012, 408 pp.); *America’s Space Sentinels: The History of the DSP and SBIRS Satellite Systems* by Jeffrey Richelson (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012, Second Edition, 350 pp.); *Marigold: The Lost Chance for Peace in Vietnam*, by James Hershberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012, 936 pp.); and *Intel Wars: the Secret History of the Fight Against Terror* by Matthew M. Aid (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2012, 272 pp.).
- ◆ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 40, bringing the Web site total to 408
- ◆ Posts by Archive staff on *Unredacted* blog – 99; Posts by Archive staff on *Dept of Secrets* of *ForeignPolicy.com* – 8
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 8; by e-mail – 2,900; by phone – 1,500
- ◆ Visiting researchers at the Archive’s Smith Bagley Research Center – 392 from 21 countries
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive’s Web site – more than 2,062,831
- ◆ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 13,406,991 (36,731 html pages per day); Bytes downloaded – 5,749 Gigabytes (15.75 GB per day)
- ◆ Awards: the 2012 ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism to Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle hailing her as an “indefatigable defender of human rights”; the *Washington Post*’s Ten Best Books of 2012 award for nonfiction to Archive fellow Jim Hershberg’s *Marigold: The Lost Chance for Peace in Vietnam*; *Freedominfo.org* included on *Journalismdegree.org*’s list of Best Sites for Journalists in 2012; two awards from the University of Wisconsin’s Internet Scout Report recognizing “the most valuable and authoritative resources online.”
- ◆ Lexis-Nexis radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews – 8; Factiva and Lexis-Nexis news stories citing the Archive – 614

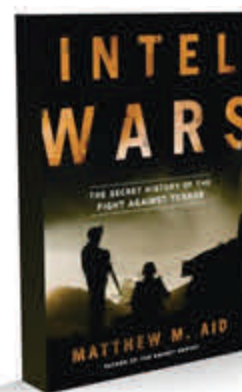




January 2012: Archive fellow Jim Hershberg set a new standard for post-Cold War multi-archival international history (26 countries' secret files cited) with his new book *Marigold: The Lost Chance for Peace in Vietnam* (Stanford University Press, 2012). *Marigold* provides the first rigorously documented, in-depth story of one of the Vietnam War's last great mysteries: the secret Polish-Italian peace initiative, codenamed "Marigold," that sought to end the war, or at least to open direct talks between the U.S. and North Vietnam, in 1966. Despite bringing authorized representatives of Washington and Hanoi within a few hundred meters of each other in December 1966, the initiative failed, the war dragged on for another seven years, and this episode sank into history as an unresolved controversy. *Publisher's Weekly* called the book "a well-written, in-depth look at the facts of a controversial and

convoluted peace effort that could have significantly altered the course of the Vietnam War." The Archive's Web site featured new documents from the book; a January 20 book launch at the Archive featured an interesting mix of "Marigold cuisine"—Vietnamese, Italian and Polish hors d'oeuvres and beverages as well as LBJ chili; and the book went on to win *The Washington Post's* Ten Best Books of 2012 award for nonfiction.

February 2012: On February 13 Archive visiting fellow Matthew Aid published his new book *Intel Wars: the Secret History of the Fight Against Terror* (Bloomsbury Press) and the Archive posted a selection of 12 declassified documents cited in the book. Aid argued that spendthrift, schizophrenic policies and a massive, multi-tiered bureaucracy more focused on preserving secrets than on mission accomplishment leave our intelligence operatives drowning in raw data, resource-starved, and choked on paperwork—despite the fact that the U.S. intelligence community consists of 210,000 personnel and an annual budget of more than \$75 billion. In one of many favorable reviews, Ken Dilanian of the *Los Angeles Times* said "Aid's book is full of ... revelatory anecdotes. It's one thing to say that the ISI [the Pakistani security service] has helped America's enemies; it's another thing to show precisely how."



On February 15 the Archive awarded its annual Rosemary Award—named after President Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods, who erased 18-1/2 minutes of a crucial Watergate tape—for worst open government performance to the Department of Justice. The Rosemary Award citation includes a multi-count indictment of Justice's transparency performance in 2011, including: selective leaks prosecutions, business-as-usual secrecy arguments in litigation, and retrograde information regulations that contradict President Obama's pledges for

open government. Archive director Tom Blanton commented, "Justice edged out a crowded field of contending agencies and career officials who seem in practical rebellion against President Obama's open-government orders," "Justice's leading role as the government's lawyer signals every bureaucrat they don't have to stretch as much as Rose Mary Woods to cover up the government's business." Al Kamen's *In the Loop* column of *The Washington Post* featured the award across the top of the Federal Page, while the *Associated Press* story on the award ran in newspapers around the country. *Politico* as well as a number of online outlets also reported on the award.

March 2012: On March 1, Archive senior analyst William Burr made headlines with his new Electronic Briefing Book on the Nuclear Vault portal documenting false warnings of Soviet missile attacks during 1979-80. "The 3 A.M. Phone Call," details a phone call to national



security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was awakened on 9 November 1979, to be told that the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), the combined U.S.–Canada military command—was reporting a Soviet missile attack. Just before Brzezinski was about to call President Carter, the NORAD warning turned out to be a false alarm. It was one of those moments in Cold War history when top officials believed they were facing the ultimate threat. The apparent cause was the routine testing of an overworked computer system. The posting provoked a blog entry on The Economist's "Lexington Notebook," which praised the "excellent" National Security Archive for a "fascinating but hair-raising new

account" of incidents during the Carter administration. In Foreign Policy magazine on-line, Jeffrey Lewis linked to the Archive's material on the false warning incidents in his catalog of the most hair-raising incidents of the nuclear era.

The Archive commemorated Sunshine Week—the weeklong initiative to promote a dialog about the importance of open government and freedom of information—on March 11-17 by participating in multiple public events and panel discussions in Washington, and publishing a detailed analysis of the Justice Department's inflated statistics on FOIA releases. The Archive's analysis effectively rebutted a speech by Attorney General Eric Holder that lauded the DOJ's work on FOIA. The Archive published a posting entitled "Holder Responds to Rosemary Award," which spurred *Associated Press* and *Politico* coverage of the DOJ's poor FOIA performance. Archive FOIA coordinator Nate Jones also made the case for why the Justice Department deserved the award on Federal News Radio's *In Depth* program.

April 2012: On April 4 the Archive posted the latest documentary addition to the Torture Archive—a recently released 2006 memorandum by former State Department Counselor Philip Zelikow strongly dissenting from the George W. Bush administration's secret legal view in 2005 that an international treaty against torture did not apply to CIA interrogation methods in foreign countries. When President Obama ordered the release of the Bush-era "torture memos" in 2009, Zelikow testified about them before Congress, and described how Vice President Cheney's office had ordered all copies of his own critical memo rounded up and destroyed. But the State Department located a draft copy and declassified it in response an Archive Freedom of Information Act request. Zelikow authored the memo in an attempt to counter the Bush administration's dubious claim that CIA could still practice "enhanced interrogation" on enemy combatants despite the president's December 2005 signing into law of the McCain Amendment, which, in Zelikow's words, "extended the prohibition against cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment to all conduct worldwide." The posting of the document generated an Editorial Page Editor's Blog by Andrew Rosenthal in *The New York Times* and coverage by the *Associated Press*, *Fox News*, the *Huffington Post* and a segment on the Rachel Maddow show on MSNBC.



On April 17, the National Security Archive's blog, *Unredacted*, reported that the Central Intelligence Agency was claiming in a US District Court that its release of the final volume of the 1961 Bay of Pigs debacle would "confuse the public." The CIA's outlandish claim went viral and drove the highest ever levels of traffic to *Unredacted*. The story was facebooked, retweeted, aggregated (reddit.com) and picked up by numerous blogs (muckrock.com) and mainstream media sites (*Miami New Times* and *McClatchy*). The quick-post platform of *Unredacted* continues to serve as a highly effective medium to cover our—still ongoing—fight against the CIA to win this history's release. *Unredacted* drew readers throughout the year by complementing and pointing readers toward posts on the Archive's main website, informing the public of the

CIA's "covert attack" on Mandatory Declassification Review, exposing the Department of Justice Office of Information Policy's attempt's to undermine FOIA, providing weekly "Document Friday" features—which eventually evolved into a collaboration with *foreignpolicy.com*—and breaking news posts on human rights accountability in Latin America.



Archive representation at the first global Open Government Partnership (OGP) membership meeting, civil society gathering, and steering committee session on April 18-19 in Brasilia included Archive director Tom Blanton who serves on the steering committee as a civil society representative, web site editor Toby McIntosh who attended the meeting to report on OGP developments for *freedominfo.org*, and Archive partner Ivan Pavlov of *svobodainfo.org* who arrived just in time to comment from the civil society perspective on the Russian government's request to join the OGP. The OGP was founded in September 2011 and is now composed of 58 nations who have endorsed a declaration on open government and agreed to issue national action plans to advance open government. Before, during, and after the Brasilia meeting Blanton invested hundreds of hours in fact-to-face meetings, phone calls and online forums with OGP participants, including several videoconferences hosted by the World Bank Institute with officials and activists in key countries developing their action plans (such as Kenya, Tanzania, Moldova, and Bulgaria), and in a wide range of follow-up activities providing technical assistance to civil society activists ranging from those testing and implementing the new Brazilian FOI law to those creating OGP monitoring coalitions in countries like Ukraine.

On April 25, 2012, Kate Doyle, senior analyst and director of the Archive's Guatemala Documentation Project, testified as an expert witness before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the case of the *Diario Militar*—or Death Squad Diary, a Guatemalan military intelligence document chronicling the forced disappearance and murder of more than 100 Guatemalans in the 1980s, which was leaked to the National Security Archive and made public in 1999. Doyle testified at the Court's 45th Extraordinary Session held in Guayaquil, Ecuador as part of a collective case brought against the Guatemalan government by the Myrna Mack Foundation for its failure to investigate the crimes of the 183 forced disappearances registered in the diary. Doyle's statement, which was followed by nearly 45 minute of questioning by seven judges, attested to the reality that the State of Guatemala has systematically hidden information despite the growing mandate of peace accords, the Historical Clarification Commission, the discovery of archives, exhumations of clandestine cemeteries, the criminal convictions of perpetrators of human rights violations, and the unceasing demand for information by families of the disappeared.



On April 27, Archive senior analyst William Burr co-published in the Nuclear Vault portal another electronic paper in the joint series with the Woodrow Wilson Center's Nuclear Proliferation International History Project featuring recently declassified documents on the Pakistani nuclear program detailing Washington's concerns that General Zia was lying about his country's nuclear activities. Tensions between the United States and Pakistan rose throughout the 1980s over intelligence reports that suggested to U.S. officials that Pakistani leader Zia ul-Haq had repeatedly lied about his country's nuclear intentions—posing a challenge to U.S. nonproliferation goals as well as threatening the even higher U.S. priority of providing aid to Islamabad and to the Mujahedin resistance fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The documents showed the lack of trust and confidence was as much an important element in the Reagan-era U.S.-Pakistan relationship, as it is today. The electronic posting catalyzed widespread press coverage in South Asia, including *The Times of India*, *Dawn* (Pakistan), *Indian Express*, and *The Himalayan*, among other newspapers. Some of the headlines: "Reagan envoy 'found' Pakistan was lying on nukes," (*The Nation*); "Strategic interests prevented US from

stopping Pakistan N-plan” (*Dawn*); Joshua Pollack wrote in *Arms Control Wonk* that The Nuclear Vault “is the place to go” for documents on the U.S. and the Pakistani nuclear program.



May 2012: On May 13 the Archive’s Kate Doyle shared one of the world’s largest prizes and greatest honors in the field of human rights—the 2012 ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism—with her friend and colleague Fredy Peccerelli, director of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation in a ceremony at the Museum of the City of New York. The award, which carries a \$100,000 honorarium, recognizes “individuals or groups whose work has an exceptionally positive impact on the advancement and/or defense of human rights,” said Puffin Foundation President Perry Rosenstein. Doyle and

Peccerelli were hailed as “indefatigable defenders of human rights” for their work to bring to light evidence of genocide in Guatemala during its 36-year armed conflict.

On May 28 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh traveled to Brazil at the invitation of the newly created Truth Commission there. As the featured speaker at only the second official meeting of the commission, Kornbluh briefed the Commission and staff on the contribution declassified US documents have made to other such commissions in Latin America. The meeting inaugurated an official collaboration of the Archive to assist the commission in obtaining a special declassification project from the Obama administration that will shed light on atrocities committed during the era of military rule in Brazil. While in São Paulo, Kornbluh met with key human rights and freedom of information groups. He also became the first foreigner to file a FOIA request for a human rights document under Brazil’s new FOIA law.

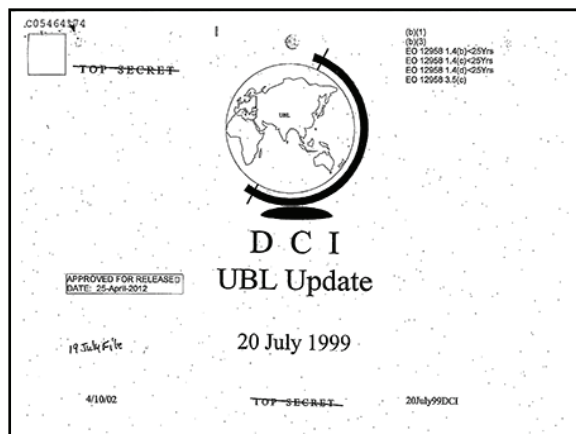
June 2012: On June 12 the Archive’s pro bono counsel Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, LLP filed an appeal in our lawsuit against the CIA seeking the only still -secret volume of the Agency’s internal history of the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 (*National Security Archive v. CIA, Case No. 11-CV-724 (GK)*). The appeal requested a review of U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler’s (May 10, 2012) ruling that the final volume of the CIA history can remain classified because it is a draft, not a finished product. Judge Kessler accepted the CIA argument that because Volume V was a draft and never officially approved for inclusion in the official history, it was exempt from declassification under the “deliberative process privilege” of the FOIA, and its disclosure would “risk public release of inaccurate historical information.”

TOP SECRET	
P SECRET when attached to Top Secret Document—Automatically removed from controlled document.	
AND COVER SHEET FOR TOP SECRET DOCUMENT	
OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE BAY OF PIGS OPERATION	
Volume II Participation in the <u>Conduct of Foreign Policy</u>	
<small>to be placed on top of and attached to each Top Secret document received by CIA and will remain attached to the document until such time as the Top Secret matter is limited to Top Secret Control personnel and Top Secret Control Officers who receive and/or release the attached Top Secret matter. Each individual who sees the Top Secret matter must sign the left-hand columns provided. Each individual who sees the Top Secret matter must sign the right-hand columns.</small>	

In opposing the CIA’s motion, the Archive received strong support from more than a dozen organizations representing tens of thousands of historians, archivists, political scientists, educators and researchers around the world, who warned that the CIA’s position could create a “chilling effect on access to historical materials.”

On June 13-15 the Archive co-sponsored a major international conference on “Challenges in the U.S.-Iran Relationship, 2001-2009” at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The latest “critical oral history” session under the rubric of the Archive’s Iran project featured high-profile participants from Iran, the United States and Western Europe. Former Iranian nuclear negotiator and senior diplomat Hossein Mousavian and former Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Maleki headed the Iranian side, with retired top diplomat Thomas Pickering, Amb. James Dobbins, Col. Lawrence Wilkerson (Colin Powell’s aide at State), and George W. Bush’s ex-Deputy National Security Advisor Meghan O’Sullivan representing the U.S. side. Joining them were former British and French representatives on the International Atomic Energy Agency. The groundbreaking discussion, a rare meeting of key figures from Iran and the U.S. on this sensitive topic, covered 9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq and the Iranian nuclear program. Iran project director Malcolm

Byrne chaired part of the session and the Archive's Afghanistan project director Barbara Elias also participated.



On June 19 Archive analyst Barbara Elias sparked national *Associated Press* coverage by posting over 100 recently released CIA documents relating to September 11, Osama bin Laden, and U.S. counterterrorism operations obtained under the Freedom of Information Act—including rarely released CIA emails, raw intelligence cables, analytical summaries, high-level briefing materials, and comprehensive counterterrorism reports that are usually withheld from the public because of their sensitivity. The documents—released as a result of a series of FOIA requests by Archive staff based on a painstaking review of references in the *9/11 Commission Report*—cover a variety of topics of

major public interest, including background to al-Qaeda's planning for the attacks; the origins of the Predator program now in heavy use over Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran; al-Qaeda's relationship with Pakistan; CIA attempts to warn about the impending threat; and the impact of budget constraints on the U.S. government's hunt for bin Laden. The collection received extensive media coverage including *Newsweek's Daily Beast* story recommending “a nice trove of documents... made public yesterday by the invaluable National Security Archive.”

On June 20, the Archive and ProQuest added *Japan and the United States: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part III, 1961-2000* as the 38th documentary collection in the Digital National Security Archive series. Compiled and edited by Archive fellow Bob Wampler, the collection of 900 formerly classified documents delves into America's complex and often shrouded relationship with one of our most important allies. The third of the Archive's fully-indexed anthologies on Japanese relations, the collection covers everything from U.S. military presence in Okinawa, to the Japanese economic crisis of the 1990s, through continual challenges on the Korean Peninsula.

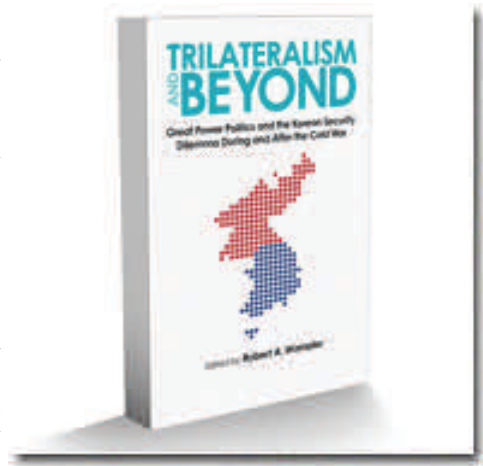
July 2012: On July 5, an Argentine tribunal convicted two former military leaders for their roles in the kidnapping and theft of dozens of babies of executed and disappeared political prisoners during the dictatorship. Drawing on critical evidence provided from the United States—including a key declassified document first obtained by the National Security Archive—the court sentenced General Rafael Videla to 50 years and General Reynaldo Bignone to 15 years in prison for crimes that epitomized the vicious human rights abuses during the military regime that governed Argentina between 1976 and 1983. The "Tribunal Oral Federal N° 6" handed down the verdict after a review of documentation that included a memorandum of conversation, written by former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Elliott Abrams, that proved the clandestine program to steal the babies of political prisoners was known at the highest levels of the regime. In his memo, dated December 3, 1982, Abrams recounted a meeting with the military's ambassador to Washington: *I raised with the Ambassador the question of children... born to prisoners or children taken from their families during the dirty war... The Ambassador agreed completely and had already made this point to his [Argentine] foreign minister and president...*



General Reynaldo Bignone (left) and General Rafael Videla (right) at their February 28, 2011 trial in Buenos Aires, Argentina. (Photo: Natacha Pisarenko/ AP)

On July 6 Archive senior fellow Robert Wampler published his new book *Trilateralism and Beyond: Great Power Politics and the Korean Security Dilemma during and after the Cold War* with Kent State University Press. The book, edited by Wampler, brings together a collection of essays by leading American, South Korean, and Japanese scholars that probe the historical dynamics formed and driven by the Korean security dilemma. Drawing on newly declassified

documents secured by the National Security Archive's Korea Project, along with new archival resources in China and former Warsaw Pact countries, the contributors examine the critical relationships between the two triangular security relationships that pivot on the Korean peninsula. The Archive posted a selection of documents cited in the book that illuminates the history of U.S. efforts to deal with the Korean security dilemma during and since the Cold War. Among the key "lessons learned" are the limits to the ability of Beijing or Moscow to influence North Korea and persuade it to adopt less provocative and destabilizing behavior and policies, and the challenges facing efforts by the United States, South Korea and Japan to work together to address this critical unresolved legacy of the Cold War. Akira Iriye, Charles Warren Research Professor of American History, Emeritus at Harvard University, said in his foreword to the book, *"The National Security Archive has been a pioneer among scholarly communities in its persistent and successful efforts to gain access to governmental documents and its sponsorship of international research projects in which declassified material forms the basis of historical inquiry. The present volume is a product of such a project, this time focusing on U.S. relations with the two Koreas. The Archive's Korea Project brought together some of the world's leading specialists, and their papers have been revised for publication. It is easy to see from the six essays included in this volume how important it is to have access to as much public record-of all countries-as possible and also why a historical perspective is a prerequisite to understanding contemporary issues."*



ARMY COORDINATION?
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 10. (S) BUT WHAT MADE THE PARAMILITARY THRUST INTO MAPIRIPAN DIFFERENT FROM MOST OTHER OPERATIONS OF THE NEW, "INDEPENDENT" ACCU/AUC, THE FIRST CONTINUED, WAS THAT IT HAD BEEN "WELL COORDINATED IN ADVANCE WITH THE (COLOMBIAN) ARMY." CHALLENGED BY POLOFF, HE STATED THAT THE COLOMBIAN ARMY HAD NO DIRECT PARTICIPATION ON THE GROUND IN MAPIRIPAN, BUT THAT "FULL COORDINATION" HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN ADVANCE WITH "THE ARMY" (NOT FURTHER SPECIFIED). THIS JOINT PLANNING, THE TWO LOCALS AGREED, HAD COVERED THE ISSUES OF "TRAVEL, LOGISTICS, INTELLIGENCE AND
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In July, Michael Evans, director of the Archive's Colombia Project produced a pair of important revelations to mark the 15th anniversary of the infamous Mapiripán massacre, sparking major headlines in Colombia. A July 13 posting on *Unredacted* (also published in Spanish on *VerdadAbierta.com*) highlighted a previously undisclosed State Department letter, written on behalf of Lt. Col. Hernán Orozco, asserting that the Colombian military

falsely blamed the junior officer for complicity in a 1997 paramilitary massacre "as part an effort to confuse and cover up the responsibility of others." A subsequent posting revealed that an individual that U.S. Embassy officials believed had "participated directly in the planning" of the Mapiripán operation told them that the massacre had been "well-coordinated in advance" with the Colombian Army.

Over the month of July, as part of the Archive's Summer Speakers' program for staff and interns, a distinguished group of presenters visited the Archive to talk about major issues of the day, the importance of historical documents for understanding current events, and career choices. This year's list included a mix of journalists, former and current U.S. officials, and Archive staff: investigative journalism icon Seymour Hersh; Scott Shane of *The New York Times*; Sheryl Walter, the Archive's ex-general counsel and currently director of the State Department's Office of Information and Program Services (which oversees the FOIA office); ex-CIA operative and author David Sharp who was part of the famous Glomar Explorer mission to salvage a sunken Soviet submarine in 1968; retired State Department Latin America expert Stuart Lippe who was a key player behind Plan Colombia; and the Archive's own Kate Doyle, fast becoming a legend for younger staff and interns in our Latin America program. These discussions are as interesting for Archive staff as they are for the summer interns.

On July 27 through 30th, Archive director Tom Blanton and Russia program director Svetlana Savranskaya participated in the annual “Pilorama” human rights conference and festival at the former Gulag camp Perm-36, just west of the Ural Mountains in Russia. Perm-36 served as a concentration camp for political prisoners doing hard labor (sawmill work) until 1987, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev closed the camps—among other prominent inmates was the subsequent human rights ombudsman of the Russian Federation, Sergei Kovalev. After the Soviet Union collapsed, human rights activists from the chapter of the Memorial Society based in nearby Perm occupied the camp and ensured its preservation as the only surviving intact gulag camp. Memorial activists founded an annual festival at Perm-36 some 7 years ago, and this year attracted several thousand attendees who camped out in the surrounding fields, listened to musical performances on 3 outdoor stages, joined political debates in 3 discussion tents, and viewed theatrical and film presentations inside several of the former camp buildings. Pilorama provided an extraordinary venue for formal and informal discussions and planning sessions between the Archive and our long-time partners from Russian civil society groups including Memorial, Moscow Helsinki Group, Glasnost Foundation, and Citizens’ Watch—focusing on the new authoritarian restrictions on non-profits such as the treason law (potentially making the publication of former secrets a prosecutable offense) and the “foreign agent registration” law (targeting any group receiving foreign grants).



August 2012: Beginning in August, Archive FOIA coordinator Nate Jones worked for a two-month period with the Archive’s non-profit partner in Saint Petersburg, Russia—the Freedom of Information Foundation (svobodainfo.org). He focused on helping [svobodainfo](http://svobodainfo.org) guide the Russian government’s implementation of its Open Government Partnership (OGP) commitments. Russia joined the OGP in April 2012, two months after Russian President (now Prime Minister) Dmitry Medvedev suggested that Russia should “look into” joining the initiative. Jones translated Russian language material (including the incredibly damaging “Foreign Agents Law”) into English and helped to produce English language content for [svobodainfo](http://svobodainfo.org)’s website. Jones also made and maintains contacts with the likeminded organizations and individuals in Russia, including the Memorial Foundation, independent Russian journalists, and historians that fight to obtain Russian documents which were once off limit to the public.

On August 4 at one of several events this year reflecting the salience of Iran in today’s international scene, deputy director Malcolm Byrne attended the biennial conference of the International Society for Iranian Studies in Istanbul. He delivered a paper on the Khobar Towers bombing of 1996 and its impact on U.S.-Iran relations, which has been one of the focuses of the Archive’s project bringing together former U.S., Iranian and other officials for “critical oral history” encounters exploring the troubled bilateral relationship. Just prior to the conference, Iranian hardliners had targeted potential attendees from Iran, publishing threats of retaliation against anyone who chose to attend. (Turkey is one of the few places Iranians can travel without a visa, which was the reason for holding the conference there.) Byrne and project co-organizer John Tirman of MIT used the occasion of their panel to express some of the sense of outrage most ISIS participants shared (but conference organizers were reluctant to state formally) at Tehran’s intimidation methods, which included personal confrontations of Iranian conference-goers, among them colleagues of the Archive, by plain-clothes officials.



September 2012: On September 5 Archive director Tom Blanton penned the inaugural feature story for a new Archive partnership with the online magazine *ForeignPolicy.com* to contribute posts to the new “Dept of Secrets” feature in the magazine’s National Security Channel—the site-within-the-Foreign Policy site covering global defense, intelligence, cyber and tech issues. The first story

titled “A Classified CIA Mea Culpa on Iraq” published an extraordinary CIA document on Iraq weapons of mass destruction that the Archive obtained through a Mandatory Declassification Review (MDR) request to the CIA. The document, “Misreading Intentions: Iraq’s Reaction to Inspection Created Picture of Deception,” dated January 5, 2006, blames “analyst liabilities,” such as neglecting to examine Iraq’s deceptive behavior “through an Iraqi prism,” for the failure to correctly assess the country’s virtually non-existent WMD capabilities. The review was one in a series of reevaluations the agency produced of its own work after Operation Iraqi Freedom. Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post* used the document for a column wondering whether the U.S. intelligence community was any more successful today in seeing the Iran nuclear issue through an Iranian prism? Blanton was also interviewed about the document on PRI’s *The World* radio program, and Mark Thompson’s *Battleland* blog in TIME’s online magazine added that the document was the CIA’s “*mea maxima culpa*.”



On September 11, the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, and in the wake of the State Department's recent designation of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Haqqani Network as a terrorist organization, Archive analyst Barbara Elias made headlines especially in South Asia by posting declassified documents offering new insight into the Haqqani family's long history with militancy. The documents on Network founder Jalaluddin Haqqani detail direct meetings between Haqqani and U.S. diplomats, his role as a Taliban military commander, his intimate ties to foreign militants, his al-Qaeda connections, as well as his potentially critical function as a major advocate for Osama bin Laden within the Taliban administration. The released documents include a confession from Haqqani that he had enjoyed very amicable relations with U.S. officials during the

Soviet war in Afghanistan, but that the friendship soured after the 1998 U.S. bombing of a Haqqani-linked terrorist camp in Khost, Afghanistan, undertaken by President Bill Clinton in retaliation for al-Qaeda attacks on the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The documents show that although the U.S. decided to officially declare the Haqqani Network a terrorist organization only on September 7, 2012, Haqqani's ties to extremism and al-Qaeda date back to the Soviet intervention and the founding of al-Qaeda. All major leaders in the Haqqani group had already been identified as al-Qaeda and Taliban affiliates and sanctioned by the UN at the request of Washington. Multiple news and online outlets such as the *Press Trust of India*, *Al Arabiya*, *Indian Express* and *BBC Monitoring South Asia* covered the documents.

On September 14 Archive senior analyst William Burr posted on the *Nuclear Vault* portal and in *Foreign Policy* online one of the most controversial nuclear policy directives of the Cold War—Presidential Directive 59 (PD-59), "Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy," signed by President Jimmy Carter on 25 July 1980, aimed at giving U.S. Presidents more flexibility in planning for and executing a nuclear war. At the time in 1980, leaks of its Top Secret contents within weeks of its approval, gave rise to front-page stories in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* that stoked wide-spread fears about its implications for unchecked nuclear conflict. The National Security Archive obtained the virtually unexpurgated document in response to a mandatory declassification review request to the Jimmy Carter Library. Highly classified for years, PD 59 was signed during a period of heightened Cold War tensions owing to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, greater instability in the Middle East, and earlier strains over China policy, human rights, the Horn of Africa, and Euromissiles. Burr's publication of the document sparked a public debate with former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in *Foreign Policy* online. The declassified record demonstrates how and why an influential former official such as Secretary Brown underestimated the risks (by ignoring launch-on-warning) of a policy that he had



An example of the extensive press coverage of PD-59 during August 1980, *The Washington Post*, 6 August 1980.

sponsored. Moreover, Pulitzer Prize-winner David Hoffman wrote in his own column in *Foreign Policy*, that the documents showed how the Carter administration mistakenly underestimated the Soviet reaction to U.S. nuclear targeting policy. As Hoffman pointed out, contemporary media coverage of PD-59, based on U.S. government disclosures, led the Soviet leadership to conclude that Washington was developing capabilities for a “surprise, decapitating first strike against the Soviet leadership,” which Soviet leaders found “extremely threatening.”

On September 18 Svetlana Savranskaya, Nate Jones and Malcolm Byrne joined long-time Archive partners from the Memorial Society and Moscow Helsinki Group in a public presentation in Moscow of a new collection of historical Russian and American materials on the Carter administration and the Soviet dissident movement. The event made public thousands of pages of new materials in hard copy and on the Web, guaranteeing wide circulation of otherwise hard-to-access resources to Russian audiences. Savranskaya and Byrne spoke about the American files (many obtained in cooperation with the Jimmy Carter presidential library) and our partners Lyudmila Alexeeva and Arseny Roginsky, among others, spoke about the Russian materials and offered personal perspectives on the period of the 1970s. A packed house at Memorial’s new facility in downtown Moscow then participated in a discussion comparing past and present dissident activity in Russia.

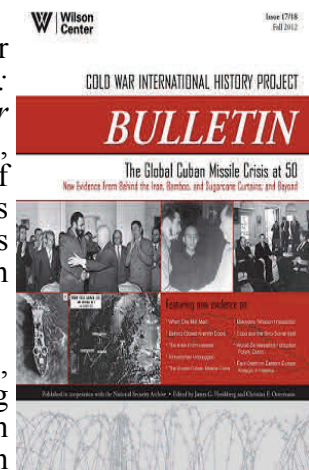
Also in September, as part of the ongoing effort to disseminate valuable historical materials, the Archive began a series of Web postings from the ground-breaking Carter-Brezhnev Project of the 1990s. By December, a special page on our site contained all the richly-sourced briefing books of documents and eye-opening transcripts of meetings of top-level former U.S. and Soviet officials who participated in the multi-part conference series co-organized by our partners, Jim Blight and Janet Lang, then of Brown University’s Center for Foreign Policy Development. Cy Vance, Zbig Brzezinski, Harold Brown, Stansfield Turner, Bill Odom, Gary Sick, and Les Gelb were among the Americans who at various sessions sat across the table from former Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh, long-time Deputy Foreign Minister Georgy Kornienko, Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, Valentin Varennikov who commanded Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Leonid Shebarshin who rose to become deputy chief of the KGB, and Gen. Nikolai Detinov who served as aide to Defense Minister Ustinov, among others.



October 2012: Commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the National Security Archive—and our many partners—drove a robust international policy debate and media discussion of newly declassified documents that suggest the nuclear danger of the Crisis was even greater than thought and lessons from the Crisis apply to today’s nuclear standoffs with North Korea and Iran. The Archive’s new evidence uncovered in Soviet policy toward Cuba a previously unknown turning point for nuclear non-proliferation, and further debunked militaristic myths about brinkmanship instead of diplomacy.

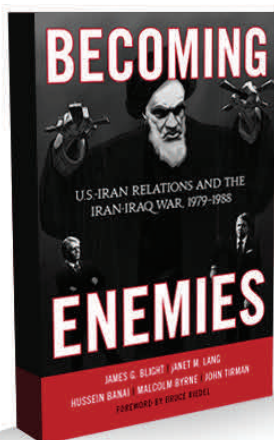
Among the highlights were:

- Publication of the book by Sergo Mikoyan, edited by Archive senior fellow Svetlana Savranskaya, *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Missiles of November* (Stanford University Press/Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012), revealing for the first time from the donated papers and diaries of Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan that the Crisis remained unresolved until well into November 1962, and that, as *Foreign Policy* headlined, “Cuba Almost Became a Nuclear Power in 1962.”
- Co-publication of the Cold War International History Project *Bulletin*, Issue 17/18, “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50”—containing over 500 newly declassified and translated documents from international sources, making the issue the most extensive collection



ever presented of original, never-before published, non-US primary sources on the Crisis. The issue featured an introduction by Archive director Tom Blanton titled “The Cuban Missile Crisis Just Isn’t What It Used to Be.”

- 6 Electronic Briefing Books published on the Archive’s web site posting new evidence on the Cuban Missile Crisis. One of these EBBs marked a milestone in the Archive’s publications—the 400th Archive e-book. The documentary revelations included a newly declassified 1962 memorandum from General Maxwell D. Taylor to President Kennedy on the possible nuclear risks of an invasion of Cuba; verbatim transcripts of the contentious Soviet-Cuban meetings in November 1962 from the Mikoyan archive; Archive Cuba analyst Peter Kornbluh’s first look at 2,700 newly declassified Robert F. Kennedy files on Cuba; documents and testimonies detailing the activities of Soviet submarines during the Crisis and how extreme temperatures, equipment breakdowns, and reckless deployment of nuclear torpedoes aboard Soviet submarines near the quarantine line elevated the already-high danger factor in the Crisis. The University of Wisconsin’s *Internet Scout Report* singled out the submarines’ posting as “an absolutely engrossing collection and one that will merit several return visits.”
- Numerous news articles, blog posts, radio interviews, and four separate BBC and PBS television documentaries on the Crisis. Highlights included: “General’s 1962 Memo Addressed Nuclear Combat on Cuba” by Scott Shane, *The New York Times*, 16 October 2012; “Secret nukes: the untold story of the Cuban Missile Crisis” by Juan O. Tamayo, *The Miami Herald*, 13 October 2012; “Cuban missile crisis beliefs endure after 50 years” by Peter Orsi, *Associated Press*, 13 October 2012; “Cuban Missile Crisis’ Untold Story: Castro Almost Kept Nuclear Warheads on the Island,” *Huffington Post* 15 October 2012; “New details paint stark picture of dangerous situation 50 years ago during Cuban Missile Crisis,” *PRI’s The World*, 16 October 2012; and “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: Five Decades Later, Lessons Are Still Being Learned From The Most Dangerous Days in History” by Peter Kornbluh, *Cigar Aficionado*, December 2012.
- Participation in over a dozen panel discussions and conference events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Crisis including events at the JFK Presidential Library (broadcast nationally by C-SPAN); American University; the University of Pittsburgh; George Mason University; the Woodrow Wilson Center and the National History Center in Washington; Harvard University’s Belfer Center; George Washington University’s Elliott School; the University of Miami; the Association of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies annual meeting in New Orleans; and at the Institute for International Studies in Havana, Cuba.

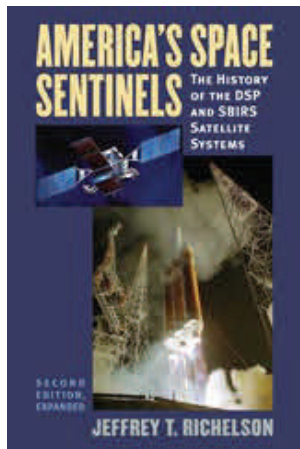


On October 12 Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne published his new book with Jim Blight and Janet Lang (Balsillie School of International Affairs), Hussein Banai (Occidental College), and John Tirman (MIT)—*Becoming Enemies: U.S-Iran Relations During the Iran-Iraq War, 1979-1988* (Rowman & Littlefield). The volume features remarkable declassified documentation and the transcript of the sessions that resulted from a previous critical oral history gathering of former U.S. State Department and Central Intelligence Agency officials centering on the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988, and the U.S. role in the war. Book launches featuring the authors took place at The Brookings Institution and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. Gary Sick, Jimmy Carter’s well-known Iran expert on the National Security Council staff, wrote a review

for the *Inter Press Service* that began: “I have never read a book quite like this ...,” and that goes

on to say “No one can emerge from this book without a sense of revelation. No matter how much you may know about these tumultuous years, even if you were personally involved or have delved into the existing academic literature, you will discover new facts, new interpretations, and new dimensions on virtually every page.”

On October 30, *freedominfo.org* sparked international debate by publishing the extensive survey written by Archive board member and *freedominfo* founding editor Sheila Coronel, describing and critiquing all the various methodologies used by open government advocates and academic experts to measure access to information. While enormously helpful as advocacy tools in legislative campaigns for FOI laws, most such metrics in Coronel’s view have failed so far to capture the actual implementation reality for citizens on the ground. Also in October, *freedominfo* editor Toby McIntosh developed and published the definitive count of the number of countries with freedom of information laws or similar administrative regulations—93. Such articles help define *freedominfo.org* as the leading source of information about access to information worldwide. Readership has grown rapidly, passing the mark of 2,000 unique daily visits in October 2012 (compared to about 1,100 the previous October). *Freedominfo.org* keeps tabs on efforts to pass new laws in several dozen countries, notably in the Philippines, Ghana and Sierra Leone. Coverage of the Open Government Partnership (OGP) continues to be a major focus, with *freedominfo* editor Toby McIntosh regularly reporting on OGP developments—including on-site reporting from the first annual meeting in Brasilia and from several of the OGP steering committee meetings—to create the definitive portfolio of independent reports on OGP. Other analytical articles included the widely read story on the emergence of more cooperation between the open data and access to information communities. In a coup earlier in the year for McIntosh and one of *freedominfo.org*’s best-read features, which reports on disclosure issues at the World Bank and other multilateral financial institutions—the IFTI Watch column—*freedominfo.org* became the first requester to convince the World Bank’s appeal committee to overturn a previous denial, bringing to light a draft FOI law for Egypt written by a Bank contractor.



November 2012: In November, Archive senior fellow Jeffrey Richelson published the second, expanded edition of his book *America’s Space Sentinels: The History of the DSP and SBIRS Satellite Systems* with the University Press of Kansas. Originally published in 1999, *America’s Space Sentinels* won the American Astronautical Society’s prestigious Eugene Emme Astronautical Literature Award and quickly established itself as the definitive book for understanding a crucial component of our national defense capabilities. It focused on the emergence and evolution of the Air Force’s Defense Support Program (DSP) satellite system, which came on line in 1970 and continued to perform at a high level through the turn of this century and beyond. In the second edition, Richelson covers significant developments during the last dozen years relating to the deployment of these satellites, especially the struggles to develop and launch the follow-on Space-

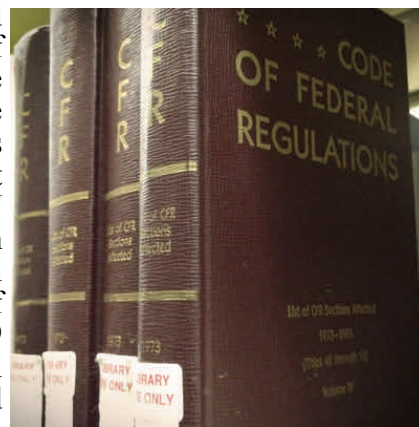
Based Infrared System (SBIRS), beginning in the late 1990s and continuing up to the present. *American Historical Review* said “An important book....Richelson’s insights and access to sources are extraordinary.”

On November 28 Archive senior analyst and Cuba project director Peter Kornbluh made news with a four-hour meeting at a military hospital in Havana with imprisoned American sub-contractor Alan Gross. Kornbluh, who has opened the secret history of dialogue between the U.S. and Cuba, was in Havana for a conference marking the 50th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis and received permission to meet with Gross from Cuban officials. Gross was sentenced to 15 years in prison for illegally distributing restricted communications equipment to members of Cuba’s small Jewish community while working as a sub-contractor



for the U.S. Agency for International Development. On the third anniversary of his arrest, Gross and his family are frustrated that the U.S. government has done nothing to gain his release. Kornbluh appeared on *NBC Nightly News* in a story on the Gross case, and in a radio interview on *PRI's The World* program, Kornbluh said "After I met with Gross, I met with Cuban officials, and the message that was conveyed to me was, 'we are willing to sit down and talk with the United States about mutual interests including the Alan Gross case whenever and wherever' (the U.S. wants)." Kornbluh went on to say, "Cuba wants to trade Alan Gross for their agents"—referring to the Cuban Five, the case of five Cubans jailed in the U.S. for spying on anti-Castro groups in Florida in the 1990s.

December 2012: On December 4 the Archive sparked headlines in *The Washington Post* with our latest Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) audit to assess agency performance under the FOIA. This latest audit tested whether agencies have amended their FOIA regulations to reflect President Obama's policy directives for open government and the most recent Congressional amendment to the FOIA—the OPEN Government Act of 2007, which mandated that agencies reform their fee structures, institute request tracking numbers, publish data on their FOIA output, and cooperate with the Office of Government Information Services. Archive staff checked 99 agency electronic FOIA pages to view current FOIA regulations and annual FOIA reports for the recent audit, and filed a series of FOIA requests with agencies whose regulations were nowhere to be found. The results were disheartening, finding that fifty-six out of ninety-nine government agencies have not updated their regulations since the most recent amendment to the FOIA – so agencies are not only ignoring the President's policies but also Congress's own changes to the law. In addition, formatting inconsistencies, broken links, and in one case a complete lack of regulations, made tracking down each agency's latest FOIA regulations unduly cumbersome. Archive director Tom Blanton stated, "Outdated agency regulations really mean there's an opportunity here for a second-term Obama to standardize best practices and bring all the agencies up to his day-one openness pledge." The audit drew coverage in *The Houston Chronicle*, the *Atlantic*, and numerous blogs; and Senators Cornyn and Leahy (authors of the 2007 FOIA amendments) both remarked on the audit and called on the Obama administration to make transparency a top priority in its second term.



On December 7 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit rejected the CIA's attempt to shortcut the National Security Archive's lawsuit under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain the last still-secret history of the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. The Archive and its pro bono counsel counsel Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, LLP had filed an appeal to the D.C. Circuit on June 12, and the CIA then filed a motion for summary affirmance—in effect asking the court to decide in its favor without full briefing or oral argument. The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals rejected the CIA's motion, agreeing with the Archive and its supporters that the case merits the court's full consideration, and set a briefing schedule through March 2013 for the lawsuit to continue. "The CIA told the courts that a decades-old draft history should stay secret because it would 'confuse the public' and make CIA historians less candid," remarked Tom Blanton, director of the National Security Archive. "In fact, that policy would put off limits half of what's in our country's National Archives, and the only confused people would be government itself, unable to learn from its own mistakes because the history was locked under Maxwell Smart's Cone of Silence."



On December 11 the Archive and ProQuest added the second documentary collection of the year—*Argentina, 1975-1980: The Making of U.S. Human Rights Policy*—as the 39th collection in the Digital National Security Archive series. The over 2,400 documents contained in the set were compiled and edited by

Archive Southern Cone project analyst Carlos Osorio and chronicle the development of U.S. policy as it grappled with political collapse of Argentina in the 1970s verging on civil war; a military coup; and the massive illegal detentions, torture and kidnappings at the hands of Argentine security forces. Many of the documents in the set are currently being used as evidence in dozens of human rights trials against former military officials in Argentina, making online access to them particularly timely.

On December 12 Archive senior analyst William Burr posted on the *Nuclear Vault* portal and in *Foreign Policy* online a recent declassification by the Interagency Security Classification Appeals (ISCAP) panel that dealt with the problem of presidential vulnerability. ISCAP declassified the transcript of a top secret meeting between President Lyndon Johnson and his advisers in October 1968 concerning arrangements, code-named “Furtherance,” for the emergency use of nuclear weapons if a president had gone missing or was killed during a nuclear or conventional weapons attack on the United States. Under existing arrangements, in the event of such an attack, military commanders would launch a massive nuclear attack against China and the Soviet bloc, even if some of those countries had not been involved in the attack and even if it had been non-nuclear. Advised that the earlier instructions were “dangerous,” Johnson revised those ordering commanders to limit the retaliation to the attacker nation only and to use conventional weapons only if the attack had been non-nuclear. The nuclear project’s posting of the transcript and related documents led to varied media coverage, including *Gawker*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Daily Mail* (UK), and the *New York Daily News*. *Foreign Policy* on-line headlined William Burr’s short essay on the transcript as “The U.S. Plan to Nuke Everyone.”

A December 21 posting by Colombia Project director Michael Evans revealed important new evidence related to the ongoing investigation of Colombia’s so-called “Emerald Czar,” Víctor Carranza, and his ties the formation and financing of illegal paramilitary groups. The Carranza dossier (also published in Spanish on *VerdadAbierta.com*) included new evidence that for the first time linked Carranza to the October 1997 Miraflores massacre. Subsequent news reports indicated that prosecutors from Colombia’s Fiscalía have expanded their investigation of Carranza, one of the wealthiest individuals in Colombia, to include the Miraflores allegations. Other documents in the declassified collection characterized the Emerald capo as both a “big-time narco” and one of the “best known” paramilitary leaders in Colombia.



Did Víctor Carranza confess to the 1997 Miraflores Massacre? (Photo: *Semana.com*)