The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive’s success in 2003:

- Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,268
- Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 386
- Pages of classified U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 62,696
  These included such newsmaking revelations as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger’s “green light” in 1976 to the Argentine death squads, special envoy Donald Rumsfeld’s instructions for his friendly 1983 meeting with Saddam Hussein, and the 33 occasions between 1996 and 2001 when the U.S. government unsuccessfully pressed the Taliban to expel Usama bin Laden from Afghanistan.
- Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher of reference collections – 34,553
  1- *U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part I: 1954-1968*, 2,479 documents, 13,675 pages; and
- Books published by Archive staff and fellows - 4
- Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows - 21, bringing the Web site total to 107, and winning the Archive’s second selection by CoolSiteoftheDay.com and the Archive’s 33rd and 34th awards from the Internet Scout Report of the University of Wisconsin, which recognizes “the most valuable and authoritative resources online.”
- Research requests to the Archive by letter – 8
- Research requests to the Archive by e-mail - 2,137
- Research requests to the Archive by phone – 1,220
- Visiting researchers at the Archive’s reading room in Gelman Library – 448
- Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers – 28,972
- Pages downloaded from the Archive’s website – 7,631,340
- Successful visits to the Archive’s website – 11,159,544
- Bytes downloaded from the Archive’s website – 1,417 Gigabytes
- Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis - 50
- Wire service news stories citing the Archive found on Lexis-Nexis - 82
- News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis - 557
- Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted on a newspaper front page or broadcast news - 8 (Russia, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Mexico, India, Japan, Taiwan)
Proceeding Month by Month, the Following are Highlights of the Year:

**January 2003:** As a result of a FOIA request drafted by Tamara Feinstein (director of the Archive’s Peru Documentation Project) on behalf of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, on January 6 the Department of State released a collection of 326 previously classified documents on human rights abuses in Peru. The Commission requested Feinstein’s assistance in analyzing the documents for their final report (see August 2003 entry), and she ultimately produced a cross-indexed digital collection including a total of 1226 documents that Commission staff termed invaluable.

On January 5, Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne appeared on NPR’s *All Things Considered* to discuss *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents* (Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press, 2002, 598pp.)—the third volume in the National Security Archive Cold War Reader Series. Steve Inskeep of NPR reported that “a book filled with formerly secret documents offers a new look at a desperate struggle to break free from what was then the Soviet Union. Citizens of Hungary revolted in 1956. You might have read about the uprising in school, but it is hard to reconstruct what really happened. Even eyewitnesses disagree, though it’s been half a century since Hungarians turned on their radios to learn their revolt was doomed. A new book from George Washington University’s National Security Archive collects some of the original documents from that time.”

The Archive sparked headlines across India and South Asia with new documents detailing the U.S. “tilt” in favor of Pakistan during the 1971 crisis, including a staff revolt by U.S. diplomats against the Nixon policy because it did nothing to stop the brutal genocide conducted by Pakistan’s military in then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in March and April of 1971. Nixon declared to a Pakistani delegation that “President Yahya is a good friend.” Rather than express concern over the ongoing brutal military repression, Nixon explained he “understands the anguish of the decisions which (Yahya) had to make.”

**February 2003:** The Archive filed an amicus brief written by Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs and Wiley Rein & Fielding partner Thomas W. Brunner in the pending U.S. Supreme Court case, *Department of the Treasury v. City of Chicago* because the case posed a risk to freedom of information by limiting the purpose of the FOIA to evaluating government conduct. The Archive filed the amicus brief to defend the broad statutory intent of the FOIA. The case involved the gun trace database maintained by Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which seeks to prevent Chicago from obtaining information such as names and addresses of gun purchasers from the database.

The Archive also filed detailed comments written by Meredith Fuchs on the new Homeland Security Department's FOIA rules, suggesting eight specific changes for effective records management and applauding Secretary Ridge’s stated commitment (in response to Congressional questions) to transparency and the Freedom of Information Act. The new Department’s agglomeration of 22
agencies will pose an enormous management challenge--not only in the FOIA--and will be a focus of future Archive FOIA requests.

On February 7-9, the Archive’s freedominfo.org network sponsored an unprecedented meeting bringing together freedom of information advocates with advocates of openness and transparency in multilateral institutions--especially the international financial and trade institutions (IFTIs). The meeting was a tremendous success, with 27 people from 15 countries (South Africa, Philippines, Uruguay, Ghana, Canada, the U.K., the U.S., Hungary, India, Thailand, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Switzerland, and Germany) coming from around the world to St. Simon’s Island, Georgia for the weekend. Included were not only half of the freedominfo.org Editorial Board (from the Philippines, South Africa, Bulgaria, Canada, the U.K., and the U.S.), but in addition to the working group members, other FOI and IFTI accountability campaigners from Ghana (ISODEC), the Czech Republic (Central and Eastern Europe Bankwatch Network), Uruguay (Third World Network), India (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative), and Thailand (Focus on the Global South). The goal of the meeting was to develop collaborative projects to open up the IFTIs, using the new national FOI laws to open files on controversial development projects, and using new IFTI disclosure policies to leverage additional information from the banks themselves.

In the lead-up to the Iraq War, Archive analyst Joyce Battle published on the Web a series of declassified U.S. documents detailing the U.S. embrace of Saddam Hussein in the early 1980s, including the renewal of diplomatic relations that had been suspended since 1967, due to a Reagan administration fear of an Iraqi collapse during the Iran-Iraq War. The documents showed that during this period of renewed U.S. support for Saddam, he had invaded his neighbor (Iran), had long-range nuclear aspirations that would "probably" include "an eventual nuclear weapon capability," harbored known terrorists in Baghdad, abused the human rights of his citizens, and possessed and used chemical weapons on Iranians and his own people. The U.S. response was to renew ties, to provide intelligence and aid to ensure Iraq would not be defeated by Iran, and to send a high-level presidential envoy named Donald Rumsfeld to shake hands with Saddam on December 20, 1983. Among the highlights of the media coverage was a February 27 appearance by Joyce on a segment of the Washington Post’s online discussion forum Live Online.

March 2003: Kate Doyle (director of the Archive’s Mexico Project) launched Archivos Abiertos, a monthly series in collaboration with Mexico’s Proceso magazine to publish and examine U.S. and Mexican declassified records on a range of issues on U.S.-Mexican relations. The first in the series revealed a secret “informal understanding” made between the Johnson administration and the PRI government of Adolfo López Mateos in 1964 that gave Mexico a pass on U.S. efforts to diplomatically and economically isolate the Cuban government of Fidel Castro. The documents, posted on the Archive website on the day of release of the Proceso article, also showed that Mexican diplomats provided intelligence on the Cuban military, Soviet weapons shipments and the economy, among other issues, to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City in the late 1960s.
On March 14, Archive executive director Thomas Blanton, general counsel Meredith Fuchs, FOIA coordinator William Ferroggiaro and research associate Barbara Elias released results from the first-ever government-wide audit of federal responses to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests in a presentation at the 2003 International Freedom of Information Day, hosted by the Freedom Forum. The audit showed dramatic variations in agency reactions to the restrictive FOIA guidance issued by Attorney General John Ashcroft in October 2001—a handful thought the guidance in effect overturned the FOIA, another handful didn’t even notice the guidance, and most made few tangible changes to their FOI programs. Requests to the 35 agencies handling 97% of the FOIA load for records relating to any guidance, regulations and training resulting from the Ashcroft memo revealed a system in disarray. A lack of central oversight within the agencies resulted in lost requests, response times failing to meet the statutory standard and inability to track the progress of requests.

On the occasion of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Conference in Dallas, Carlos Osorio (director, Southern Cone Documentation Project) posted a briefing book (The Pentagon and the CIA Sent Mixed Message to the Argentine Military) of key documents to accompany the LASA panel he had organized on Argentina and human rights. The Archive formally released the documents at the panel, which featured former Assistant Secretary of State Patricia Derian, who had written a number of the reports. "You and I both know that as we speak, people are being tortured in the next floors," Derian told the junta member Admiral Massera in 1977. To Interior Minister Haguindeguy, “Mrs. Derian said that the instinctive reaction to terrorism is to do what the GOA [Government of Argentina] had done and that it makes the people victims of the state." Derian's own personal notes of the time remark that, "Through these [U.S. military and intelligence] agencies the United States government is sending a dangerous and double message. If this continues, it will subvert our entire human rights policy.”

In addition to the extensive World Wide Web publication of the documents, Carlos Osorio reproduced and distributed among human rights groups, lawyers, and judges in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Spain, Italy, France, Israel, and the United States 40 copies of a CD-ROM containing electronic copies of the entire State Department Argentina release (nearly 5,000 documents), a spreadsheet of titles, dates, and other key information for each document, hyperlinked to electronic images of the documents, and a text search engine. These materials have created major new opportunities for human rights research and legal and political work in Argentina and the region, which the Archive is pursuing with partner institutions such as Argentina’s Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS) and Memoria Abierta.

On March 25, President Bush signed an executive order delaying until the end of 2006 the release of documents that would have been declassified by April 17 under a Clinton administration directive for automatic declassification after 25 years. The order also revoked the Clinton standard of “when in doubt, release”. Both The New York Times and The Washington Post quoted Archive director Thomas Blanton, who criticized the order as “a significant step back from government openness.” (NYT, March 26, 2003). The Cleveland Plain Dealer editorialized on March 30 against the new order with a headline drawn from one of Blanton’s quotes: “As open as Uzbekistan.”
Archive fellow John Prados’s *Lost Crusader: The Secret Wars of CIA Director William Colby* was published by The Oxford University Press. Based on newly declassified documents and extensive interviews uncovered and conducted by Prados, the book offered a fresh analysis of Colby’s involvement with U.S. policy in Vietnam and Indonesia prior to becoming CIA director from 1973 to 1976. A review a month later in *The Washington Post Book World* said “by portraying William Colby’s life in all its nuances, *Lost Crusader* makes an important contribution to intelligence literature.” Steve Weinberg of the *Denver Post* called the book “well-researched” and said that “Prados is correct in suggesting his life of Colby ‘is a parable for today, when the CIA and U.S. intelligence in general again stand in need of visionary leadership’.”

**April 2003:** As North Korea’s nuclear weapons program moved back to the front pages with the unprecedented acknowledgement by North Korea during talks in Beijing that the North has developed nuclear weapons, Archive senior fellow Robert Wampler launched on April 25 the first in a planned series of Electronic Briefing Books on U.S. policies toward the Korean Peninsula to contribute to public understanding about this potential crisis and its historical roots. This first briefing book included 24 of the most important U.S. intelligence and policy documents regarding North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs.

**May 2003:** The Archive sparked worldwide headlines on “dubious secrets”, an Electronic Briefing Book compiled by Archive senior fellow Dr. Jeffrey Richelson, Archive senior analyst Dr. William Burr, and Archive director Thomas Blanton. One highlight was a 25-year-old joke item in a weekly terrorism report about a terrorist threat to Santa Claus and the North Pole, one version of which was released in full and another was classified and withheld on national security grounds from Freedom of Information Act release by the CIA. The briefing book’s compilation of declassified documents illustrated the arbitrary and capricious decision-making that all too often characterizes the U.S. government's national security secrecy system and highlighted the reflexive thinking embodied in "classification icons," such as intelligence budgets that are still classified from 1947 (!) and the locations of nuclear weapons such as the Jupiter missiles in Italy that were only deployed for a few years. Other dubious secrets revealed cover-ups, such as death squad activities in El Salvador that would have undermined Congressional approval for military aid. The *Bulletin of The Atomic Scientists* turned the posting into the center spread of their September/October 2003 issue.

**June 2003:** The Archive co-sponsored and helped organize the George Washington University Cold War Group’s (GWCW) first annual Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR) held on the GW campus on June 4-5. The purpose of the institute was to train graduate students to conduct archival research on Cold War topics. The Archive also presented each participant with a CD-ROM featuring a first draft of *The National Security Archive Research Guide: Finding Primary Sources on International Affairs, Intelligence, and the Military*. The CD-ROM provides scholars with a four-part guide to the U.S. national security bureaucracy; NGO, private and international sources of information on diplomatic and security issues; a step-by-step guide on how to make Freedom of Information Act and Mandatory Declassification Review requests to federal agencies; and a cautionary note on the limits of governmental records.
Archive executive director Thomas Blanton gave a keynote luncheon address at the annual Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations conference in Washington on June 7. Blanton’s address refuted recent discussions that the advent of e-mail and the digital age is ending the traditional craft of history and that the government is no longer saving the types of operational documentation on which historians rely. Blanton argued that “e-mail has actually resulted in the generation of far more documentation on policymaking than previous generations of historians could ever imagine having access to, and we have actually succeeded in saving the most important, highest-level material.” He argued that the real threat to sources on history is the rising tide of secrecy within the Bush administration. The SHAFR publication Passport later printed the full text of the speech.

July 2003: On July 4, Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs, research associate Barbara Elias and director Thomas Blanton released their annual Freedom of Information Act birthday posting—marking the 37th anniversary of the signing of the FOIA into law on July 4, 1966. The posting reported that more than 2 million FOIA requests are filed at a yearly cost of just over $1 per citizen, and provided summaries of 20 of the most important news stories generated over the past year by FOIA releases, ranging from revelations of major public interest such as the use of electronic highway toll data in criminal, administrative and civil probes, the failure of government agencies to prosecute water pollution violations, the misuse of federal student aid, and defective military airplanes, to the loss of explosives, mines, mortars and firearms from U.S. stockpiles.

Archive senior analyst William Burr posted the key document describing the “Nth country problem,” or the question of how many countries could develop nuclear weapons and how quickly. The document describes a mid-1960s experiment sponsored by the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory meant to determine whether a non-nuclear power could develop a nuclear weapons capability without access to classified information. In the experiment, two recently graduated physicists working over a period of only a few months with no access to classified information successfully produced a credible design for an implosion nuclear weapon. The document sparked major articles in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and The Guardian.

August 2003: With front page coverage in The Washington Post and El Comercio (Lima, Peru), the Archive marked the August 28 release of the final report of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, by posting on the Web 33 of the most important declassified U.S. documents used by the Commission in its work. The documents detail 20 years of human rights atrocities in Peru, recording a progression of events through three Peruvian regimes (Presidents Fernando Belaunde, Alan Garcia, and Alberto Fujimori) and highlighting key human rights violations committed by government security forces and Peruvian insurgents. The Archive’s Tamara Feinstein played an integral role in the Commission’s work. In a letter to Archive director Thomas Blanton, Javier Ciurlizza, executive director of the Commission, wrote “the support of Miss Tamara Feinstein, from the beginning of our work and during these days, has been extraordinarily helpful in the difficult task of analyzing and understanding the nature, scope and utility of the declassified documents we received from the State Department last January. Taking into account the short period of time the Commission has to perform its mandate, and the complexity of the information contained in those documents, the active and generous involvement of Miss Feinstein is crucial to accomplish our goals.”
Also in August, Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya and Dr. Vladislav Zubok of the Archive’s Russia and Former Soviet Union Initiative organized a fourth summer school, in the series supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, entitled: “Eastern Europe and the Great Powers: The Regional Aspects of the Cold War.” It was held in Gelendzhik, on the Black Sea, in partnership with Kuban State University. The 29 participants of the school came from 12 universities representing all regions of Russia--from St. Petersburg to Irkutsk--as well as from Azerbaijan and the United States. Highlights included numerous discussions and roundtables which explicitly involved students in an attempt to encourage greater initiative and independent thinking on their part. The main focus of the discussions--driven by student interest--was the Cold War’s legacy in the countries of South-Eastern Europe, and the expansion of NATO.

Mexican project director Kate Doyle and research assistants listened to every audio tape in the Nixon Library that mentioned Mexico, transcribed the best ones (45), and posted them on the Archive’s website as part of the Archivos Abiertos collaborative effort with Proceso magazine (August 17 issue). The recordings of meetings between Nixon and Mexican President Luis Echeverría caused a sensation in Mexico. Echeverría’s repeated declarations to Nixon of his anti-communism and his fears about Cuban influence in the hemisphere contradicted his historical image as a left-leaning President who supported Salvador Allende and Fidel Castro. Javier Solórzano, the well-known TV and radio reporter, produced a news report on the article and played clips from the audio tapes on the show.


Also in September, research associate Sajit Gandhi expanded the Archive’s September 11th Sourcebook series, recognized by the National Journal in December 2001 as one of the top five sites on the Web for terrorism information. The new volume, titled The Taliban File, included 32 documents obtained through the FOIA covering the Taliban’s rise to power. A November 2001 Defense Intelligence Agency cable included in the volume led to an appearance by Sajit Gandhi on CNN’s Wolf Blitzer Reports for a discussion of the possibility that Afghan opposition leader Ahmad Shah Massoud was assassinated two days before 9/11 because he had knowledge of a terrorist attack and tried to warn the West. The documents triggered news stories in the Indian press and by CNN and Voice of America and provided essential evidence for the book Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 by Washington Post editor Steve Coll.
October 2003: On the 30th anniversary of the 1973 October War, Dr. William Burr published newly declassified documents showing that former secretary of state Henry Kissinger gave Israel a green light to violate a U.S.-Soviet brokered cease-fire agreement, touching off a crisis that lead to a U.S. Defcon III nuclear alert. This episode was not discussed in Kissinger’s new book, Crisis, and was downplayed in his memoirs, but the new documents triggered worldwide news coverage by Reuters and Agence France-Presse.

The New Press published White House Tapes: Eavesdropping on the President edited by Archive fellow John Prados—a set of 8 digitally remastered CDs of the secretly taped oval office conversations of 8 presidents beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt through Ronald Reagan. The accompanying book offered transcripts of the conversations along with the author’s historical prefaces for each recording. Stephen Smith of NPR’s American RadioWorks would later air soundbites of the recordings on NPR’s Weekend Edition Saturday (November 15) and state that “the secret recordings offer a rare and intimate glimpse of Lyndon Johnson using his powers of one-on-one persuasion to shape history.”

November 2003: On November 2, Russia and Former Soviet Union Initiative staff organized another scholarly event in our series in the Caucasus, this time with partners in Baku, Azerbaijan, on “The Study of the Cold War in the Southern Caucasus.” Attended by 20 young professors, graduate and undergraduate students from Azeri universities, the event featured a training session on principles of access to information and use of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act in scholarly research. As with the Russian summer schools, Initiative staff focused on drawing out student discussion, independent of traditional academic strictures. Archive staff also visited Georgia and Armenia and started discussion on how to promote expanded, innovative scholarly investigation of the Cold War and its legacy in the Caucasus/Asia Minor region with participation from Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iran, Russia, and the United States.

The Archive and GWU’s Elliott School of International Affairs hosted the Washington premiere on November 18 of the Discovery Times Channel’s new documentary film Kennedy & Castro: The Secret History based on Peter Kornbluh’s (director of the Archive’s Cuba Documentation Project) article that originally appeared in October 1999 issue of Cigar Aficionado. Kornbluh served as a producer and consultant on the documentary, which revealed that Kennedy had sought a dialogue with Castro and approved a meeting of a U.S. United Nations official with Castro in Havana for secret talks on improving relations. The film showed how the Kennedy administration used ABC News correspondent Lisa Howard as a secret intermediary in a rapprochement effort that was cut short by Kennedy’s assassination.

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The History Channel anticipated extensive media attention on the 40th anniversary of the Kennedy assassination with the world premiere of *JFK: A Presidency Revealed* on November 16. The Archive’s Russian Initiative director, Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya, served as the Moscow field producer of this three hour documentary focusing on the character and times of John F. Kennedy. Svetlana facilitated and translated the interviews of several close advisors to Nikita Khrushchev as well as the Soviet naval captain who took nuclear weapons to Cuba on his submarine and the Soviet general who wanted to fire the tactical nuclear weapons at the American forces during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

On November 17, the Archive released the results of the second phase of our FOIA Audit--“Justice Delayed is Justice Denied”– seeking the oldest still pending FOIA requests, showing that despite a law that calls for prompt responses, some information requests to the federal government have been pending since the 1980s. In January 2003, the Archive filed FOIA requests with 35 federal agencies asking for copies of their “ten oldest open or pending FOIA requests currently being processed or held pending coordination with other agencies.” Agency responses demonstrated that FOIA processing backlogs persist--with some requestors waiting more than ten years without their requests being processed. The single oldest pending request found by the survey was a 1987 request from San Francisco Chronicle reporter Seth Rosenfeld seeking documents on FBI activities at the University of California during the Cold War. Annual agency FOIA statistics mask the true extent of the backlog problem. The audit sparked an Associated Press story that ran in papers across the U.S., as well as stories in Editor & Publisher and the San Francisco Chronicle.

**December 2003:** While presenting at a Woodrow Wilson Center conference in Buenos Aires, Carlos Osorio (director of the Southern Cone Documentation Project) made front page news in Argentina and in the Miami Herald with documents revealing that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger gave his approval to the “dirty war” in Argentina in the 1970s in which up to 30,000 people were killed. The documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that in October 1976, Kissinger and high ranking U.S. officials gave their full support to the Argentine military junta and urged them to hurry up and finish the “dirty war” before the U.S. congress cut military aid. Congress was about to approve sanctions against the Argentine regime due to widespread reports of human rights abuses by the junta. The story was picked up in several major papers including the Financial Times, The Washington Post and The Guardian.