



R E S U L T S

SPRING 2014



The National Security Archive

**Putting Freedom of
Information into Action**

Carnegie
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Go to

 How to Use

or

 Table of Contents

The National Security Archive

Putting Freedom of Information into Action

1



Introduction

4



Putting FOIA to Work

12



Disclosure in the Digital Age

15



Post-Cold War Partners



Masthead



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COVER

United States Department of Defense photo. (See page 6.) All images courtesy of The National Security Archive

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Digital image by Svetlana Savranskaya

Introduction

Spilled secrets make great headlines. Stories appear daily about activists and whistleblowers risking all to expose government cover-ups, ratcheting up suspicion and damaging public trust—something the National Security Administration (NSA) does little to counter. To many, headline generators such as Julian Assange and Edward Snowden seem less like disrupters than heroes, their revelations just the latest proof of government’s penchant for concealment. Meanwhile, others are working less conspicuously to shine a light on what’s been hidden, no matter how deep or for how long, among them scholars, journalists, authors, and true believers determined to expose and check government secrecy, foster transparency, and protect democracy.

Dino A. Brugioni collection, The
National Security Archive

In the United States, one organization, the National Security Archive, has spent over 25 years working for more open government at home and abroad. This independent nonprofit covers the waterfront: investigative journalism; research on international affairs; open government advocate; indexer and publisher of former secrets; and archive of declassified U.S. documents. The Archive is the leading nonprofit user of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), which exists to increase government transparency by creating a public right of access to government information.

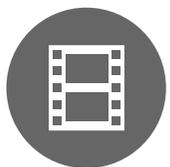


FOIA aims to end the government’s practice of denying access to information by labeling it “top secret,” “classified,” or a “threat to national security.” Upon written request, agencies of the United States government are required to release their records, except those protected from public disclosure by one of nine specific exemptions.

Here are just a few of the countless fascinating facts uncovered by the National Security Archive via FOIA:



- The Cuban Missile Crisis was not the sudden and brief episode it was once believed to be, but rather the culmination of deteriorating relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and between the United States and Cuba. New revelations about the have shown that the Russians had originally intended to leave tactical nuclear weapons in place in Cuba (they weren’t removed until November 1962) and that Soviet nuclear submarines had been in the area during the crisis. According to the late Theodore Sorensen, political strategist and policy advisor to President John F. Kennedy, the crisis “came close to spinning out of control before it was ended.”



- Thirty years ago, the NATO exercise Able Archer 83 utilized “new nuclear weapons release procedures” to simulate the transition from conventional to nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Although U.S. officials saw Able Archer 83 as a routine exercise, it resulted in an “unprecedented Soviet reaction,” which U.S. intelligence eventually inferred “was an expression of a genuine belief on the part of Soviet leaders that the U.S. was planning a nuclear first strike.”
- The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was involved in nearly every aspect of the war in Indochina. Six volumes of formerly secret

histories document CIA activities in South and North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia in great detail. New revelations include the fact that as early as 1954, the Agency foresaw that Saigon leader Ngo Dinh Diem would ultimately fail to gain the support of the South Vietnamese people. The CIA and U.S. embassy engaged in secret diplomatic exchanges with enemy insurgents of the National Liberation Front, at first with the approval of the South Vietnamese government. CIA raids into North Vietnam took place as late as 1970, and the program authorizing them was not terminated until April 1972.



- Nevada’s [Area 51](#), long the focus of interest among ET enthusiasts who saw it as a clandestine site for UFOs and the like, is better understood as a U.S. government facility for the testing of a number of secret aircraft projects—including the U-2, OXCART, and the F-117. Declassified documents show the central role Area 51 played in the operational employment of aircraft, and reveal its role in testing foreign radar systems including, during the Cold War, secretly obtained Soviet MiG fighters.
- At the height of the Vietnam War protest movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the National Security Agency (NSA) tapped the overseas communications of prominent Americans, mostly critics of the war. Some of the NSA’s targets were: civil rights leaders Dr. Martin Luther King and Whitney Young; champion boxer Muhammad Ali; Senators Frank Church (D-Idaho) and Howard Baker (R-Tennessee); *New York Times* journalist Tom Wicker; and veteran *Washington Post* humor columnist Art Buchwald. 

The photos and videos featured in this publication come from the National Security Archive, home to thousands of declassified images and documents obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act.

Putting FOIA to Work

The National Security Archive started out in 1985, “the brainstorm of a handful of journalists who had worked with FOIA, some since 1966, and found that it didn’t work,” says the organization’s director, Tom Blanton. It took until 1974, after the Watergate scandal when the act was amended to force greater agency compliance, for FOIA to become effective, “making 1975-85 a golden age,” he says. The Archive’s founders, led by Scott Armstrong, former Watergate investigator, reporter for the *Washington Post*, and a confirmed FOIA user, was originally focused on requesting documents related to American activities during Central America’s guerilla wars, along with information on the Iran-Contra affair. “Apparently, when the documents were publicized there was talk on Capitol Hill, in Congress, etc., and questions were raised,” Blanton says: “Where are you getting documents? Can I have them?’ So they started cataloging everything. Armstrong in particular believed the Archive should include more than documents related to Central America; it should be for all kinds of FOIA documents, all kinds of records.”

United States Department of
Defense photo

By fall of 1985, the Archive had secured two rooms at the Brookings Institution as its headquarters. A “handful of visionary philanthropists from Carnegie Corporation, the MacArthur



Thomas Blanton, Director of the National Security Archive, in his office surrounded by declassified documents and Archive publications.

Photo by Karen Theroux



Foundation, and the Ford Foundation provided initial grants,” Blanton says. By June, general support grants were coming in from major funders, and Armstrong had recruited Blanton, whose prior experience included working for Ralph Nader and filing FOIA requests as a reporter in Minnesota. “Boxes of documents were piled to the ceiling in March of ’86 when I came on board,” he recalls. “What put us on the map was when the Iran-Contra story broke. Scott Armstrong was the CBS commentator for the hearings; I was on NPR. We had all the documents and we were the experts. We would plug it into our database at any point and give an opinion based on what the documents said. Some were incredibly damning of the administration’s actions.” The Archive’s core methodology arose from those Iran-Contra days, Blanton says: putting documents side by side to compare what’s covered up (redacted) and what’s revealed.



One of hundreds of previously secret images of casualties returning to honor guard ceremonies from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as other conflicts. The photos were released by the Pentagon in response to FOIA requests and a National Security Archive-supported lawsuit.

United States Department of
Defense photo

Tap for more images.



Another big moment in Archive history came in 1989 when word got out that the Reagan administration intended to erase all the White House e-mails upon leaving office. The Archive fought—and won—a five-year lawsuit preventing the destruction of the 3,000-plus e-mails, which were then released. Blanton put the best of them in his book, *The White House E-Mail*, published in 1995. It offered the public a glimpse of “the secret e-mail messages behind the most scandalous policies of our times,” the jacket copy exclaimed, “such as the e-mail that Oliver North and John Poindexter thought they had deleted from their computers before leaving the National Security Council in disgrace.”

Archive headquarters, now located in George Washington University’s Gelman Library, is still crammed full of file boxes, especially in Blanton’s office, but the bulk of the documents are cataloged, shelved, and retrievable for use by hundreds of mostly

international visitors—grad students, historians, journalists, memoirists—who access the valuable information for books, scholarly articles, and lawsuits. Even with most of the cartons tucked away, a distracted visitor finds it slow going through the hallways, which are hung with framed copies of significant historical documents, from Elvis’s request for a meeting with Richard Nixon to the notorious briefing memo, “Bin Laden determined to strike in U.S.,” all competing for attention. The Archive’s strategy is as bold as ever: by gathering, indexing, publishing, and making available to the public its unique collections of documentary materials on U.S. foreign policy issues, it aims to enrich research and public debate about issues of national security.

These days, most researchers, both in the United States and abroad, make use of the Archive’s digitized resources, downloading thousands of pages per day. The Archive produces an ever-expanding collection of Electronic Briefing Books (EBBs), which are updated frequently by expert staffers who scrutinize every document that goes into a book and onto the Web. These resources provide online access to declassified records on such issues as U.S. national security, foreign policy, diplomatic and military history, and intelligence policy—everything from the Cuban Missile Crisis to the collapse of the USSR, to Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. The Archive also has a digitized library of more than 40 collections documenting world events from post-World -War II through today. Considered the most comprehensive set of declassified government documents available, many published for the first time by the Archive, its contents are seen as central to U.S. foreign and military policy.

The Archive’s output is huge: 40,000 targeted Freedom of Information and declassification requests to more than 200 offices

LOOK CLOSER

Eric Schlosser’s
bestseller *Command
and Control* cites
National Security
Archive documents



and agencies of the U.S. government, resulting in more than 10 million pages of previously secret U.S. government documents. Over one million pages of former secrets published on the Web, in books, microfiche, CD-ROMs, and DVDs; over 350 “electronic briefing books” on major topics in international affairs on the Archive’s Website, which attracts more than 2 million visitors each year downloading more than 13.3 gigabytes of data per day. Of its 47 Freedom of Information lawsuits against the U.S. government, 27 have been successful (and four are pending), forcing the declassification of documents ranging from the Kennedy-Khrushchev letters during the Cuban Missile Crisis to the previously censored photographs of homecoming ceremonies with flag-draped caskets for U.S. casualties of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Incorporated as an independent tax-exempt public charity, the National Security Archive receives no government funding. It is supported by revenue from its publications, which contribute significantly to meeting the \$3 million yearly budget, along with grants from foundations such as Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Open Society Foundations.

“Every country needs a National Security Archive,” says Deana Arsenian, Carnegie Corporation vice president, International Program, and program director, Russia and Eurasia, whose division has provided several major grants to the organization. “It is a key responsibility of the private sector to push for the openness of historical documents that may pertain to domestic and foreign

continued →

1998

George Foster Peabody Award for outstanding broadcast series (CNN's *Cold War*).

1999

George Polk Award for “piercing self-serving veils of government secrecy...in the search for the truth and informing us all.”

2005

Emmy Award for outstanding news and documentary research on the unknown story behind [President Nixon's historic 1972 trip to China](#)

2005

Forbes magazine's “Best of the Web” award

Among the more than 60 books in print by Archive staff and fellows are winners of:

- 1995 National Book Award
- 1996 Pulitzer Prize
- 1996 Lionel Gelber Prize
- 1996 American Library Association's James Madison Award Citation
- 1999 *Boston Globe* Notable Book selection
- 2003 *Los Angeles Times* Best Book
- 2010 Henry Adams Prize for outstanding major publication on federal government history



continued from p. 8

policy,” she says. “Opening archival documents only to governments is not likely to produce the kind of results we’ve been seeing under FOIA, when individual actors get access to sensitive historical material that could be of considerable value to policymakers moving forward.”

Arsenian sees the Archive’s work aligning with the Corporation’s strategy in fundamental ways. For one, the Archive plays a significant role in preserving history in the United States, particularly through current programs that capture oral histories, supported with documents, and makes it possible for those who have played a critical part to share their experiences. “The key is not just access to individuals, but access supplemented by the historical documents that they have produced,” she says. “It’s the marriage between access to people and documents that makes the Archive unique.”

Building on their accomplishments in the United States, National Security Archive leaders have been pushing the envelope of sensitive historical material in other countries where the culture of openness is less prevalent. Thanks to the success these other countries have had working with the Archive, “there is now greater openness abroad,” Arsenian says. “Both of these accomplishments directly address historical Carnegie Corporation concerns, advancing knowledge and understanding here and overseas, on critical global issues—using the lessons of history toward the future. The reality is that we live in a fast moving, changing global environment. What is secret today will be of relevance but may not be important to keep secret 10 or 50 years from now. Preserving, then getting access, is fundamental to any government or institution.”



LOOK CLOSER

The complete Pentagon Papers—all three versions for side-by-side comparison



The activities Arsenian points to are at the heart of the Archive’s mission, which is to open governments at home and abroad, challenge unnecessary secrecy, and educate the public, scholars, and journalists via primary sources. Such an organization is necessary because secrecy is, by many accounts, the greatest barrier between informed scholarship, an engaged citizenry, and an accountable government. Blanton and others in the field believe there’s massive overclassification of historical documents; that close to 50 percent of what’s hidden shouldn’t be. For example, after the 9/11 Commission released its report, Governor Thomas Kean, who led the investigation, said that 75 percent of the classified material they studied should not have been kept secret. Some estimates go even higher, which, according to Blanton, makes for a “target rich environment.”

Of course, there are legitimate secrets: designs for weapons systems; the identity of an asset in Beijing or a human rights advocate in Burma; the bottom line of a diplomatic negotiation that would undercut the country’s goals. But there’s such a thing as reflexive secrecy, which some activists see as an outgrowth of what they call the paranoid post-9/11 mindset. For example, the location of the exit doors on Air Force 1 was once classified, until the nation’s fire chiefs objected, according to Blanton. Another example is the widespread reaction (some say overreaction) to Wikileaks. Proponents of open government contend that most of the leaked documents were already unclassified and should have been made available to the public. Antisecrecy activists predicted that there would be a lot less damage to U.S. security from these leaks than officials claimed, and there was no need to amend the espionage act. At the Archive, the feeling is that the real problem is “way too much secrecy,” or, as Blanton says, “low fences around vast prairies... the opposite of what we need.” 



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Disclosure in the Digital Age

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR

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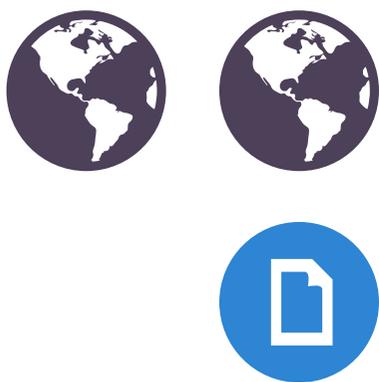
Today's digital revolution has had a marked impact on the Archive's operations. In the last 12 years the Internet has become its main voice, and e-books its biggest project. At the same time, the explosion of digital material presents a significant challenge. Presidential records are a good example: When the Archive fought the Reagan administration for its e-mails, a total of 250,000 records existed, of which 3,000 were released. George H.W. Bush's administration produced some 400,000. By the end of President Clinton's term, there were 32 million electronic records, followed by George W. Bush with 220 million. Given that President Obama is the first to use a smartphone, and that his White House team is highly tech-centered, their digital output defies imagination. Volume and qualitative assessment of this material are a constant challenge for researchers. To return to the Wikileaks example, if there are a million cables sent per year, how do analysts determine which are valuable? Which ones have private information that shouldn't be online? Fortunately, an increasing number of digital tools can be brought to bear for search, retrieval, and storage. So technology can work in the Archive's favor as well as work against it.



In an ideal world, the government would disclose all its digital material and FOIA requesters could focus on particular data sets where there is a potential conflict of interest. In reality, a limited amount of resources are available to force open an unlimited body of evidence. As a result, new requests slow down the disclosure pipeline, and what's already been requested takes longer to get. One solution has been for the Archive to focus requests on bodies of information with the most relevance, for example, documents pertaining to events in Guatemala or the Ukraine. But as the tools improve, researchers should be able to use computer analysis to churn through larger masses of information. Then, if all the White House e-mails were declassified, computer scientists could run social network analysis on the most active or influential targets. The payoff would be that instead of an organization's time being spent pushing back against secrecy, that time could be used to advance important stories.

Proponents of openness recognize that permanent secrecy is the default setting of the system. Still, there's hope for a future when information will be released automatically, mainly because there are just too many pages of too many documents to conceal. When this happens, as it did when the data from the Challenger disaster was proactively posted online, demand could drop substantially. For now, FOIA requests still take years, so "if you want to be ready for a truth commission someday, you'd better start now," Tom Blanton advises. Yet there are successes, and you never know what's in the day's mail, he says. At any given time the Archive may be involved in 50 or more lawsuits. All the law firms handling the procedures work pro bono, but to staff it adequately is a huge investment. So the Archive only brings a lawsuit in response to a major stonewall by an agency that would affect other requesters, or to obtain front-page-worthy documents. Despite the delays, the Archive has produced

a truly chilling series of revelations—from the unheard-of nuclear submarines in the Cuban Missile Crisis, to the military murder squads in Guatemala; plus the stories behind world-class miscreants from Alberto Fujimori to Charles Taylor, Augusto Pinochet to Saddam Hussein. Every story teaches something new, and all seem to echo Santayana’s warning that if we do not remember the past, we’re condemned to repeat it.



Along those lines, a National Security Archive project on preventing genocide is in the works in partnership with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Salzburg Global Seminar, which will look at experiences in Rwanda and Guatemala, among others. The “Failure to Prevent” project seeks to document modern genocides and draw lessons for genocide prevention. It involves a multiyear process from the release of relevant documents, to declassification of internal information on the Dayton Peace Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example.

The goal is to invite key people to the table, starting with former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, along with others such as Kofi Annan’s chief of staff; a French colonel embedded with the Rwandans; the former Czech ambassador; and Prudence Bushnell—former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who tried to pressure the Rwandan government into taking steps that could have headed off the genocide, but failed. The discussion will aim to uncover what interventions, seen in retrospect, might have worked at the time. The goal is to develop a form of practical history that would bring readers back to that point in time to consider alternate scenarios. “After 15 or 20 years, it’s possible to have these conversations when the intention isn’t to assign blame but to develop lessons,” Blanton says. 

Post-Cold War Partners

Over a decade ago, Carnegie Corporation of New York and the National Security Archive came together to develop projects based in the Former Soviet Union (FSU). Since the end of the Cold War, the Archive had been working with organizations in Russia and other former Soviet states on an initiative aimed at opening archives throughout the FSU, building academic capacity in contemporary history in the post-Soviet states, and helping to prepare a new generation of scholars able to employ internationally recognized standards and methodologies in their research—work that mirrored the priorities of the Corporation’s international peace and security and higher education programs in the region, and that ultimately was successful enough to merit several rounds of funding.

Svetlana Savranskaya, a Russian citizen with a Ph.D. in political science from Emory University, led the program, which included summer school training for regional Russian university faculty, followed by creation of an alumni network among the graduates and linking of Russia-based academics with colleagues in the Caucasus. The Russian scholars participated in several research projects on historically relevant topics: the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Iranian revolution of 1979, and NATO’s relationship with the Warsaw

Official White House photo by
Pete Souza

Svetlana Savranskaya with Mikhail Gorbachev, former president of the Soviet Union, in 2010. She is presenting Gorbachev with a copy of the just-published book, *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*, by Thomas Blanton, Vladislav Zubok, and Savranskaya.

Photo courtesy Svetlana Savranskaya



pact. They also assisted in the Russian human rights organization Memorial's publication of then-secret historical files from the Kremlin and KGB archives in the Russian journal *Istochnik* and on the Archive Website. These opportunities, made possible by the FSU's decentralization of political power, depended on the ability of organizations outside Moscow to play a role in gaining greater transparency in the Russian Federation overall. Just as importantly, it allowed the Archive to help Russian partners challenge the system.

Today, Savranskaya is the Archive's director for its cooperative projects with Russian archives and institutes as well as editor of its Russian and East Bloc Archival Documents Database. Asked what aspect of her work she is most proud of, she cites the "connection to young Russians, in particular through the summer schools. The program ended in 2007, but many of the young regional professors

continued →

LOOK CLOSER

The remarkable career of Crimea-born human rights legend Lyudmila Mikhailovna



To: President Lyndon B. Johnson

From: Prime Minister Fidel Castro

Verbal Message given to Miss Lisa Howard of ABC News on February 12, 1964 in Havana, Cuba.

1. Please tell President Johnson that I earnestly desire his election to the Presidency in November ... though that appears assured. But if there is anything I can do to add to his majority (aside from retiring from politics), I shall be happy to cooperate.

Bin Ladin Determined To Strike in US

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

~~TOP SECRET~~

April 15, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT.

Attached is a first (rough) cut of the Joint Chiefs of Staff concept of possible targets in North Korea which might be struck in retaliation for the shoot down of our ECM aircraft. General Wheeler realizes this by no means represents a completed tactical command plan.

Documents from the Files



continued from p. 16

are still in touch,” she says. “Some went into government and all subscribe to our Russia page. They write to us with requests and are using our documents.” Several years ago the Archive created this special page, in Russian, which Savranskaya terms “a big success among Russian partners. A lot of these documents are not available in Russia,” she says; “some are donations from policymakers such as Gorbachev’s advisors. We also have Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan’s diary donated by his son—a uniquely valuable resource.” Savranskaya’s goal is to stay connected with Russian scholars, activists, and the young thinking strata of the population in order to have an impact on the relationship between the nations. “These young people form opinions and relationships and create knowledge based on original documents, not biased commentary. The way they view the United States was certainly shaped by their experience at the summer schools.”

In his review of the summer school program in conjunction with the Archive’s other Corporation-sponsored work, Melvyn P. Leffler, Edward Stettinius Professor of American History at the University of Virginia, said “Carnegie Corporation should feel enormously proud of the return on past investments.” Praising the program’s “stunning achievements,” Leffler listed what he admired about the organization’s work with young academics: the way they have combined the promotion of scholarship; the dissemination of documents; the support of information freedom; the training of young scholars; and the nurturing of civil society.

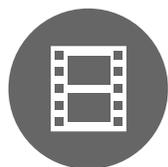
The Archive has also been building and nurturing a network of FOIA organizations in the Former Soviet Union with Corporation backing. About this work, Leffler wrote, “if you believe, as I do, that civil societies are prerequisite for effective democratic governance, and that democratic governance helps nurture peace and security

over the long run, then you cannot help but admire the unique comparative advantages afforded by the programs and initiatives of the National Security Archive.” In recent years activists interested in pressuring the government to provide access to information were invited to the Archive’s conferences in Georgia, resulting in the creation of several organizations based on the National Security Archive model and operating within the local context.

“Last year we had representatives from Ukraine, Kazak, Georgia, Armenia, and Russia,” Savranskaya says. “They’re having a very significant impact in their countries. The organization in Georgia is one of the most powerful nonprofits in the country, and is often invited to brief the government.”

Tom Blanton finds it gratifying to share the Archive’s devotion to primary sources globally. There are partnerships in over 50 countries with journalists, scholars, truth commissions, human rights monitors, freedom of information campaigns, and openness advocates, including the virtual network freedominfo.org, to open government files and enrich scholarship and journalism with primary sources. “Some of the most fun of the last decade has been the leveraging of our work in other countries,” he says. “A little openness anywhere makes for a lot of openness everywhere.”

The Archive’s work, especially documents focused on the end of the Cold War, is relevant for U.S.–Russia relations today, according to Savranskaya. “We can succeed in very significant issues when we have real interaction and respect and trust,” she says. The Archive’s “End of the Cold War” project looks at historical conversations between Russians and Americans—both the quality of interaction and the willingness to solve problems together and overcome suspicions, which she sees as critical lessons to be learned today.



“We see what the leaders were able to achieve in Angola, Nicaragua, southern Africa, and on arms control—achievement that does not exist today. This is what is possible if the two countries are talking to each other.”

Decades ago, the level of trust and willingness to engage was such that the United States gave financial help toward finding jobs for nuclear, bioscience, and weapons scientists from the Former Soviet Union, and the Soviets were willing to let the U.S. representatives come in and dismantle top-secret nuclear facilities. It was an unprecedented success that led to destroying nuclear material, stopping brain drain, and preventing proliferation to rogue countries. “This is something that would be so hard to accomplish now,” Savranskaya says.

Carnegie Corporation support for the Archive’s efforts to get public access to classified nuclear proliferation material is entering its fifth year. Part of the Corporation’s larger nuclear security strategy, the project’s goal is to strengthen policy debates on global nuclear issues through declassification and dissemination of secret documents. This material is considered critical to understanding how the U.S. and its allies have assessed and responded to nuclear developments around the world. Prying free information related to important events in the history of nuclear nonproliferation for presentations and publications by scholars in the field greatly increases the possibility of success in the nonproliferation sphere. And because disclosure of formerly secret documents makes news, the impact on target audiences such as policymakers, think tanks, nonproliferation advocates, and the media is virtually assured.

The Corporation’s most recent grants to the Archive address both U.S.–Russia relations and nuclear security, especially the

Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR or Nunn-Lugar) program, which carried out the denuclearization of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus in the 1990s. These two subjects overlap, sharing historical time frames as well as primary actors, and depend equally on transparency and access to information. The first year of this combined program saw over 80 targeted requests filed on nonproliferation policy and arms control. Significant document caches were uncovered, including the Reagan administration’s 1986 review of a zero ballistic missiles proposal, leading to new declassification requests on test ban policy reviews during several administrations and proliferation cases in other countries including India, Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, and South Africa—a total of over 10,000 pages in just that one year.



The [Cooperative Threat Reduction program](#) is the subject of a current research project by the National Security Archive, which organized the first “critical oral history” gathering in September 2013, bringing together U.S. and Russian veterans of the initiative that enabled Russia to sell nuclear material to the United States for peaceful purposes. The primary goal of this review, “Nunn-Lugar Revisited,” was to begin to gather lessons learned from one of the most impressive peace and security accomplishments of the past 50 years. (Two more conferences on the topic will take place in the Former Soviet Union over the next few years.) Longer-term objectives of this work include building capacity in the United States and Russia for research into nuclear policy and security issues, and facilitating cooperation among established analysts and the new generation of international nuclear specialists.

Patricia Moore Nicholas, project manager in the Corporation’s International Program, who attended the first oral history meeting

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LOOK CLOSER

“The Power of Decision,” a United States Air Force training film dramatizing the ultimate Cold War nightmare

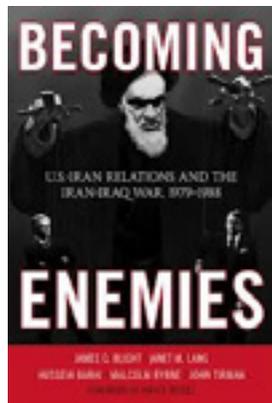


BOOKS BY ARCHIVE STAFF & FELLOWS

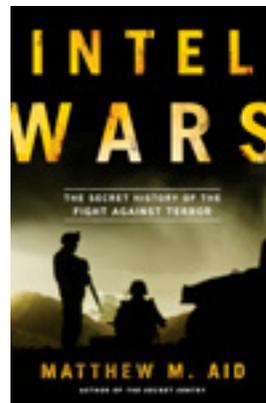
A FEW OF THE MORE THAN 70

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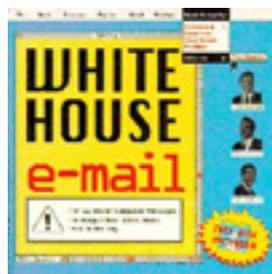
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James G. Blight
Rowman and Littlefield



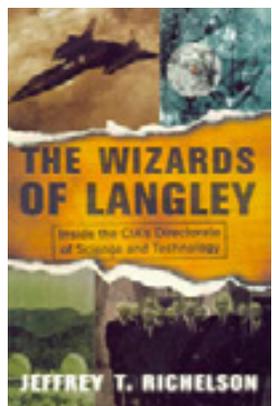
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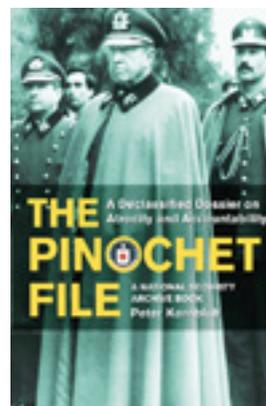
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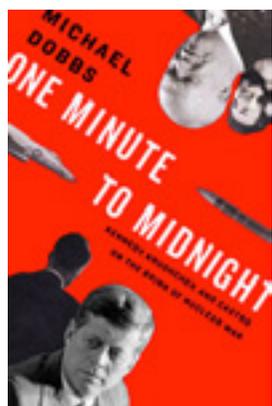
Avner Cohen
Columbia University Press



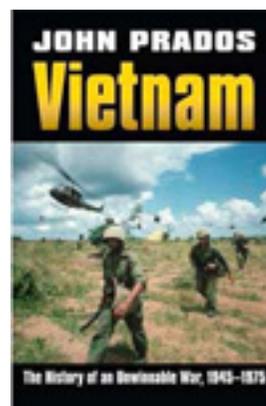
Jeffrey T. Richelson
Westview Press



Peter Kornbluh
The New Press



Michael Dobbs
Alfred A. Knopf



John Prados
University Press of Kansas



continued from p. 21

in September 2013, saw it as a validation of CTR and the National Security Archive's work. As she pointed out, among the 20 expert attendees were “three key U.S. government figures who came and stayed throughout: Rose Gottemoeller, acting undersecretary for arms control and international security; Laura Holgate, senior director for WMD terrorism and threat reduction; and Andrew Weber, assistant secretary of defense. They were all there because of their direct involvement with, and respect for, CTR and the other people at the table,” Nicholas says. “The National Security Archive has credibility. The organization is well known for looking at turning point events in history through the security lens, and it has the capacity to get the critical documents and gather the right individuals.”

The event aimed to flesh out relevant documents with firsthand testimony in order to develop an understanding of the U.S. side of the origins of CTR. This program began in the early 1990s with then-Senators Richard Lugar and Sam Nunn proposing the authorization of money, then physical goods, as compensation for the destruction of thousands of former Soviet strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. As recently as November 2013 the final shipment of highly enriched uranium from these nuclear warheads was sent to the United States. That same month, President Obama awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to former Senator Richard Lugar, shining a rare light on the initiative's accomplishments. For the most part, the extraordinary successes of this ongoing experiment in joint U.S.–Russia cooperation are known only to members of the expert communities involved, and remain unrecognized by the general public. Perhaps this low profile will change with the rollout of the Archive's oral history work. Professor Leffler's review mentions the impressive media contacts and networks the organization has nurtured as reasons for the Archive's “multiplier effect.” He also

praises the “skill and motivation of the people who work for and collaborate with them.”

Deana Arsenian says the Archive’s high points are “too many to count. Nearly every major event in U.S. foreign policy has been of interest to the Archive and has been a source for their attention.” At the top of her list is the Cuban Missile Crisis, followed by the détente in U.S.–Russia relations under Nixon. Most recently, of course, she cites the nuclear threat reduction of the Nunn-Lugar act after the fall of the Soviet Union. “The stories are many and mimic or reflect peaks within U.S. national security history as well as international security, particularly Cold War history,” she says. “The information technology revolution is clearly altering the very notion of secrecy, which Snowden has illustrated, and we are questioning the secrecy of all documents—personal and governmental,” Arsenian adds. “But regardless of what policies or practices will be adopted by the government and their agencies and by individuals to protect privacy, there has to be some way to preserve and then, years down the road, unearth documents of national and international relevance.” 



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HOW TO USE



Learn how to browse and read stories, as well as how to use an entirely new tool for sharing content. Tap one of the “play” buttons  below or swipe forward:

-  **How to browse and read stories**
-  **How to access multimedia content**
-  **How to share content**
-  **How to navigate the app**

continued →





How to Browse and Read Stories

To begin browsing, swipe your fingers from the right side of the screen to the left side. The first page you'll encounter is a table of contents; tap one of the triangular "play" buttons  to jump to a specific section in the list, or just keep swiping forward to see all sections. **1**



At the bottom of every page you'll find three buttons: tapping the left-hand "home" button  takes you back to this publication's cover page; tapping the center "table" button  brings you to its table of contents; and tapping the right-hand "help" button  returns you to this how-to section. **2**



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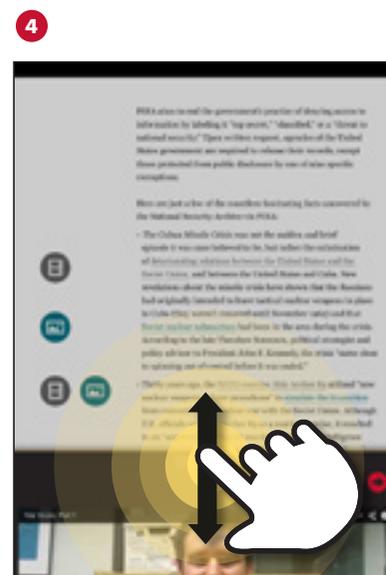
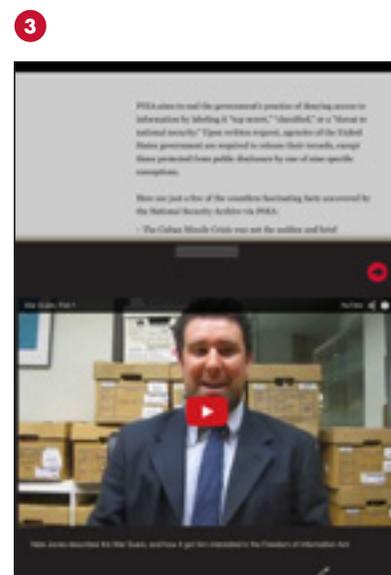
How to Access Multimedia Content

At various points throughout this magazine, tapping special buttons will open additional multimedia content:

-  the purple “globe” icon opens a link to an outside website containing related content;
-  the green “image” icon opens photographs and other graphics;
-  the grey “filmstrip” icon opens an audio-video player;
-  the blue “document” icon opens images of related documents.

These extra multimedia items will open in a small window pane within the magazine itself. When the pane contains multiple items, you can navigate between them by tapping the red right  and left  arrows in the pane’s upper right and upper left corners. **3** When you’re done browsing, swipe down on the grey handle at the top of the pane. **4**

PLEASE NOTE: you must have a wireless connection or cellular data plan to view supplementary multimedia content.



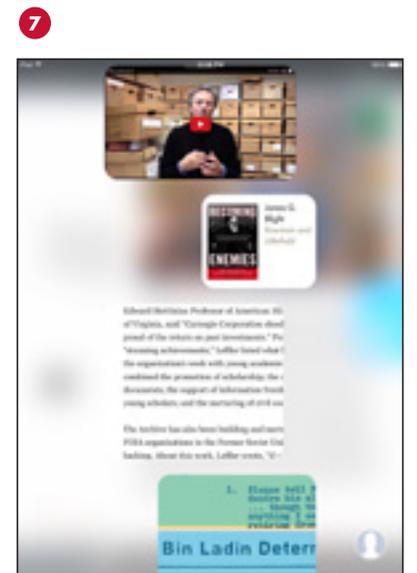
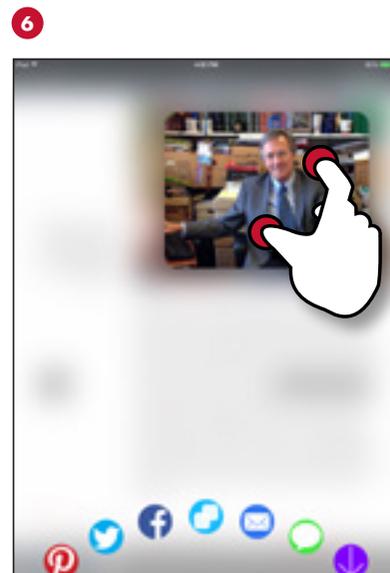
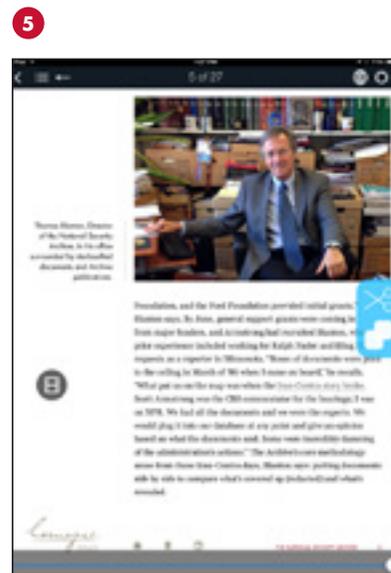
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How to Share Content

Briefly tapping the screen calls up additional features of The Carnegie Press app, which is powered by the MAZ publishing platform. At the center right side of the screen **5**, displayed in the color blue, you'll find buttons that enable an exciting new way of sharing content from the app with other people:

-  tapping the “scissors” icon allows you to highlight a portion of the page you’re on and easily share it as a “clipping” image file via Pinterest, Twitter, Facebook, e-mail, or text—or save it to your mobile device’s photo storage area; **6**
-  tapping the icon that resembles two overlapping squares takes you to a Stream: an account that you can create, with MAZ, that allows you to store all of your clippings from publications in The Carnegie Press. **7**



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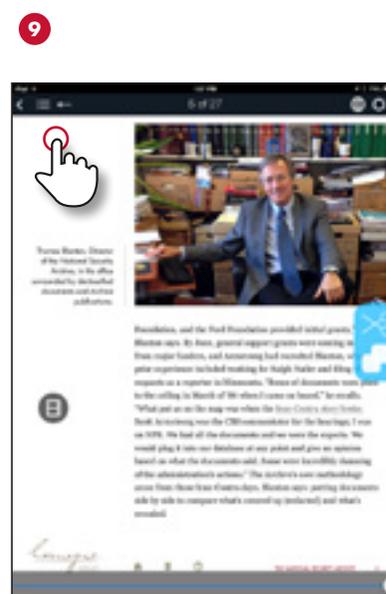
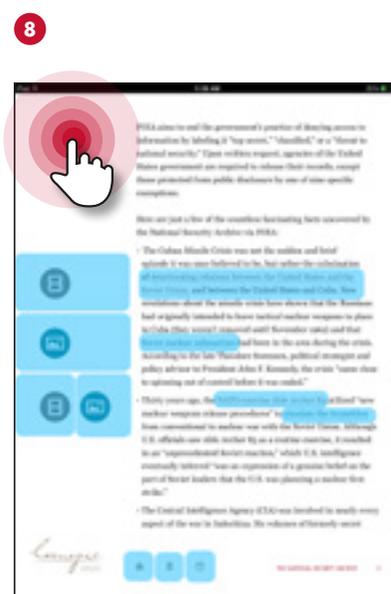


How to Navigate the App

At any point within the app, tapping the screen and holding your finger down for more than one second will reveal—in the color blue—all the hyperlinks contained on that page. **8**

A lighter, short tap reveals additional features : **9**

-  a short “back” button at the top left of the screen returns you to the main bookshelf of The Carnegie Press app;
-  a “list” button on the top left takes you to the table of contents within a single magazine issue;
-  a longer “back” arrow in the top left takes you back to whatever page you previously opened in the same issue of the magazine;
-  a “globe” button in the top right corner takes you to a printable PDF version of the issue;
-  a “gear” button in the right corner brings up help text as well as app credits and legal disclaimers;
- a scroll bar at the bottom of the screen allows you to jump between pages;
- and in the right-hand portion of the screen, two buttons enable you to share content from the app ([as described in the section above](#)).





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