

The National Security Archive

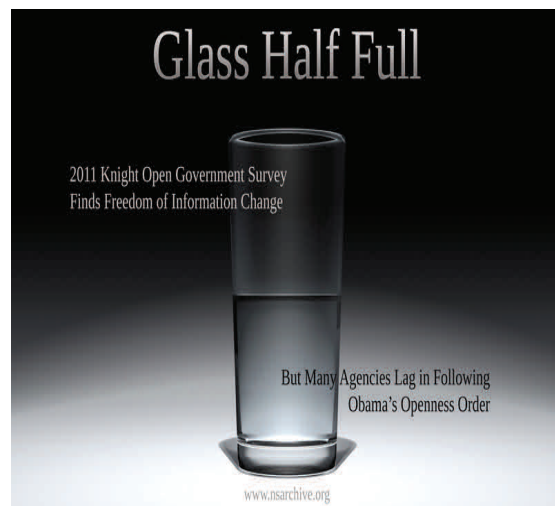
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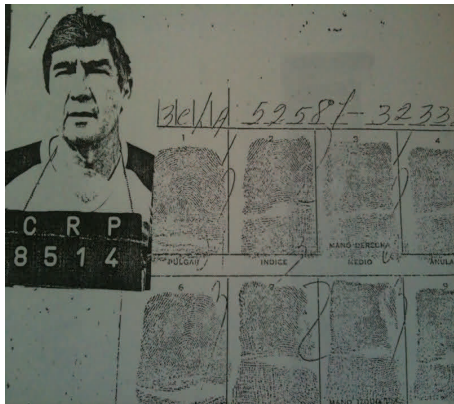
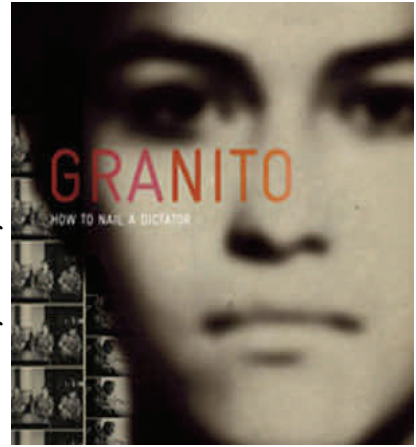
Annual Report for 2011

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2011:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 1,626
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 500
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 63,759 including such newsmaking revelations as Chiquita banana company payoffs to Colombian paramilitary terrorist groups; secret U.S. assistance to the French nuclear weapons program in the 1970s; CIA “friendly fire” on exiles’ planes during the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion; U.S. intelligence failure to anticipate the Indian nuclear test in 1974; and warnings in 2006 that minimal Afghan rebuilding helped the Taliban re-group.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 36,368 in two reference collections: *U.S. Intelligence and China: Collection, Analysis, and Covert Action*; and *Chile: U.S. Policy toward Democracy, Dictatorship, and Human Rights*.
- ◆ Declassified documents delivered to truth commissions and human rights investigators – 200 documents to prosecutors in the El Salvador Jesuit massacre case in Spain; 65 documents to Argentina’s Federal Oral Criminal Tribunal No. 5 of Buenos Aires as evidence in the French nuns case; 4 documents to Argentine Secretary for Human Rights Eduardo Duhalde as evidence for the case of the assassination of Miguel Tobias Padilla; document forgery analysis of Paraguay Archive of Terror documents distributed to legal officers and human rights organizations in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Spain; 60 documents to Argentina’s Archivo Nacional por la Memoria for the Papel Prensa newspaper factory case; 7 documents to the Guatemalan Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos (CALDH) for the Luz Leticia Hernandez case.
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 4; *The US Intelligence Community*, Sixth Edition by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011, 624 pp.); *Fighting for Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide* by Rebecca Hamilton (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 272 pp.); *Normandy Crucible: The Decisive Battle that Shaped World War II in Europe* by John Prados (New York, NY: NAL Hardcover, 2011, 336 pp.); *In Country: Remembering the Vietnam War* by John Prados (Lanham, MD: Ivan R. Dee, 2011, 344 pp.).
- ◆ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 34, bringing the Web site total to 368
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 10; by e-mail – 2,800; by phone – 1,500
- ◆ Visiting researchers at the Archive’s Smith Bagley Research Center in GWU’s Gelman Library – 382 from 19 countries
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive’s Web site – more than 2,063,513
- ◆ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 14,961,973 (40, 992 html pages per day)
- ◆ Bytes downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 6,214 Gigabytes (17.02 GB per day)
- ◆ Awards: the Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award from Tufts University’s Institute for Global Leadership; two awards from the University of Wisconsin’s Internet Scout Report recognizing “the most valuable and authoritative resources online”; the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations’ Arthur S. Link-Warren F. Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing for *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*.
- ◆ Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 9
- ◆ News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 702
- ◆ Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted in newspapers and broadcast news – 18 (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, China, Colombia, Czech Republic, Ecuador, France, Germany, Guatemala, Italy, India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela).



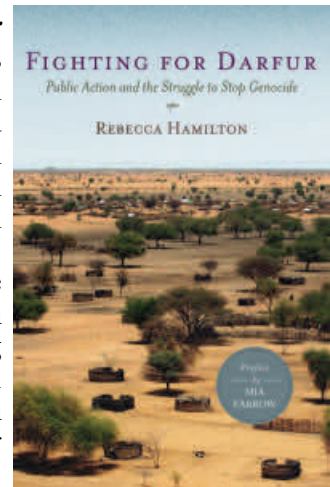
January 2011: On January 28, the documentary film *Granito: How to Nail a Dictator* premiered at the Sundance Film Festival. The documentary—directed by Pamela Yates—detailed the search for evidence in the Guatemala Genocide Case being tried under the principle of universal jurisdiction in the National Court of Spain and featured Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle as one of the three main human rights investigators/experts walking the audience through the process of proving genocide with the use of U.S. declassified documents, Guatemalan army records and eyewitness testimony as evidence. *Granito* received a standing ovation at Sundance and connected to the theme of the power of collective change as each Guatemalan massacre survivor, human rights activist, journalist, and lawyer interviewed in the film contributed “un granito”—a grain of sand—to the effort to bring justice to Guatemala.



In January, with the support of the Ford Foundation, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh provided expert analysis for media coverage at the trial of Cuban exile and indicted terrorist Luis Posada Carriles in El Paso, Texas. Although Posada was linked to the October 1976 bombing of a Cuban civilian airliner, he was on trial for immigration fraud and charged with 11 counts of perjury for lying to immigration authorities about his role in a series of hotel bombings in Havana in 1997 and for lying about how he immigrated to the United States. Articles written by Kornbluh appeared in *The Nation* and *Los Angeles Times* describing the aspects of the prosecution that highlighted the cooperation that Cuba had given to the U.S. government to bring one of the world’s

leading terrorists to justice. Ultimately, Posada was acquitted by the El Paso jury. The Archive’s Cuba Project, however, remains committed to obtaining the declassification of records that will expose Posada’s career to the verdict of history, and to keep pressure on the U.S. government to continue to pursue him.

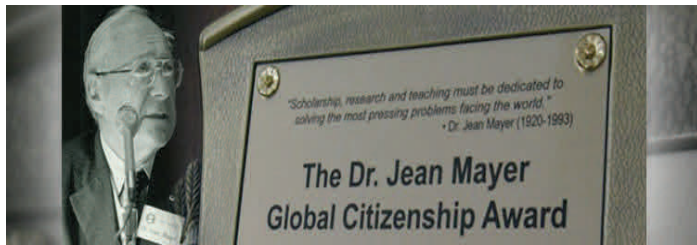
February 2011: Archive fellow Rebecca Hamilton’s *Fighting For Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide* was published by Palgrave Macmillan on February 1—a book based on interviews, first-hand reporting, and hundreds of documents received through FOIA investigations. Hamilton had approached the Archive in 2008 to collaborate on coordinated and systematic FOIA requests on Darfur on the model of the Rwanda project the Archive had undertaken in the 1990s for Hamilton’s mentor Samantha Power, whose book *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* won the Pulitzer Prize in 2003. Archive staff initiated over 80 FOIA requests in support of her research. The resulting book details a blistering assessment of policy failure due to U.S. opposition to the International Criminal Court that in turn held up deployments of peacekeepers in Sudan and slowed the indictment of Sudanese leaders responsible for the genocide.



Also in February, the Archive’s Colombia project joined Daniel Coronell of *Semana* magazine in the publication of key declassified documents on a Colombian general now facing human rights charges. In a major article published on *Semana.com* on February 12 entitled “Los Cables de Don Iván,” the noted columnist highlighted new evidence uncovered by the National Security Archive on the paramilitary ties of former general Iván Ramírez Quintero, who stands accused of human rights crimes pertaining to the 1985 Palace of Justice tragedy and may someday face charges regarding paramilitary connections in the Urabá region. U.S. Embassy sources said that Ramírez was the “godfather” of a Colombian military intelligence “mafia” responsible for human rights violations and other abuses. Ramírez “surrounded himself with loyal subordinates

who ‘covered up for him.’”

On February 22 the National Security Archive’s Mexico Project and Fundar—a Mexican NGO born out of the democracy struggles of the 1990s and dedicated to transparency and the citizen’s right to know—jointly held a workshop in Mexico City bringing together a diverse group of activists working to defend the human rights of migrants, with specialists in freedom of information and national security issues. The goal was to discuss strategies for improving access to public documents fundamental to the work of the migrants’ rights organizations by using Mexico’s transparency laws or by pursuing strategic litigation. The meeting was a major success in connecting stakeholders on migration and transparency, but it became clear that the migrants’ organizations would need much more training and experience in strategic information requesting before litigation could be used effectively.

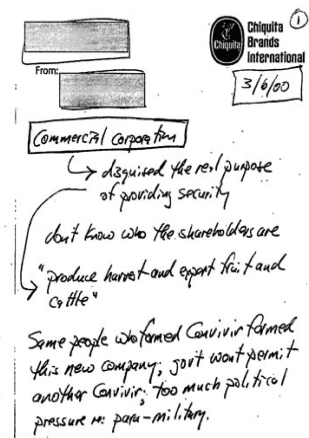


On February 26 Archive director Tom Blanton and the National Security Archive were awarded the Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award from Tufts University’s Institute for Global Leadership honoring the work and life of Dr. Jean Mayer—Tufts University President and Chancellor from 1976 to 1993—who believed that

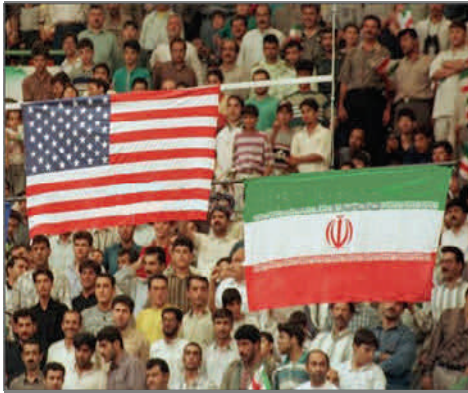
scholarship and teaching should be dedicated to solving global issues. The award honored Tom Blanton “in recognition of your decades of demystifying and exposing the underworld of global diplomacy and supporting the public’s right to know and of your pursuit of a more accountable and just world.”

March 2011: On March 14, during Sunshine Week, the Archive released its ninth government-wide Freedom of Information Act audit, funded by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation. For this Knight Open Government Survey, the Archive filed FOIA requests with all 90 agencies that have a chief FOIA officer asking for copies of concrete changes in their FOIA regulations, manuals, training materials, or processing guidelines as a result of directives from the Obama White House—specifically, the “Day One” Obama memorandum and the March 2010 memo from then-Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel and then-White House Counsel Bob Bauer. The Emanuel-Bauer memo told agencies to 1) update all FOIA material, and 2) assess whether FOIA resources were adequate. Audit results showed that only half of the polled federal agencies had made the concrete changes ordered by the White House. However, the good news established by our audit was that the number of responsive agencies had increased from 13 in the first year of the Obama administration (as of our March 2010 Knight Open Government Survey) to 49 agencies in the second year, in response to the Emanuel-Bauer memo issued at that time. Twelve federal agencies reported still-pending FOIA requests more than six years old, when the law requires a 20 -business-day response time. The Archive’s findings suggest a major part of the problem is the “daisy-chain” of referrals between agencies, since 10 out of the 12 with ancient requests reported similarly ancient referrals. The audit received extensive media coverage (by the Associated Press and *The Washington Post*) and enjoyed an extended shelf life with an editorial appearing months later in *The New York Times* (“What’s Secret About World War II,” August 30).

April 2011: On April 7, Archive Colombia documentation project director Michael Evans published on the Archive’s Web site more than 5,500 pages of internal memos turned over by Chiquita Brands International to the Justice Department as part of a sentencing deal. In that agreement, the banana company admitted to years of illegal payments to the paramilitary United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)—a Colombian terrorist organization with a long-standing record of human rights abuses—and agreed to pay a 25 million dollar fine. The collection of documents resulted from an Archive collaboration with George Washington University Law School’s International Human Rights and Public Justice Advocacy Clinics and has been used in support of a civil suit brought against Chiquita led by Earth Rights International on behalf of hundreds of Colombian victims of paramilitary violence. The Archive obtained the entire set of



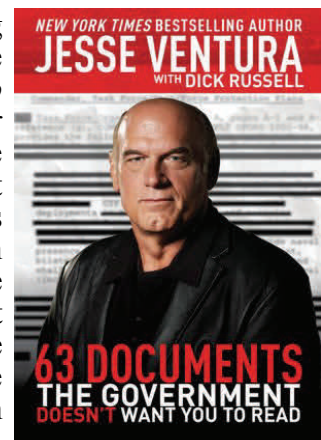
materials through a Freedom of Information Act request to the Justice Department. Evans called the documents “the most detailed account to date of the true cost of doing business in Colombia.” The *Associated Press*, *United Press International*, and numerous Spanish-language media outlets covered the lawsuit.



On April 8-10, the Archive co-organized a ground-breaking critical oral history conference of former U.S. and Iranian officials on the Clinton-Khatami period of the 1990s. This was the third such gathering in the Archive’s U.S.-Iran Relations Project led by deputy director Malcolm Byrne. The event, which Archive director Tom Blanton chaired, featured several former top U.S. officials and an unusual Iranian contingent. On the U.S. side were Thomas Pickering (Undersecretary of State), Martin Indyk (Assistant Secretary of State), Gen. JHB Peay (CENTCOM Commander-in-Chief), Bruce Riedel (CIA Iran analyst and NSC staffer), Steven Simon (NSC Senior Director for Transnational Threats), and Wyche Fowler (Ambassador to

Saudi Arabia). The Iranian side was led by Hossein Mousavian, an adviser to former President Rafsanjani, who served as Ambassador to Germany and a senior staff member of the Supreme National Security Council. The session focused on the devastating terrorist attack against U.S. forces at Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and its impact on U.S.-Iran policy. American and Saudi intelligence concluded that elements of Iran’s Revolutionary Guard were culpable, which put President Clinton, who favored opening ties to Tehran, in an acutely difficult political spot. The session uncovered a host of new historical details, and opened an extraordinary window into the notoriously opaque world of Iranian decision-making as well as surfacing new insights into U.S. thinking about the Islamic Republic. (Rowman & Littlefield, which in 2012 published the proceedings of our last conference, on the Iran-Iraq War, plans to publish the Khobar manuscript as well.)

The Archive’s FOIA investigative work reached new audiences during the week of April 17-23 when former Minnesota governor Jesse Ventura’s book *63 Documents The Government Doesn’t Want You To Read* spent the week at No. 6 on *The New York Times* bestseller nonfiction list. Ventura and his co-author Dick Russell used the Archive’s Web site heavily in selecting the 63 government documents—such as the CIA’s Secret Assassination Manual; the CIA’s Project ARTICHOKE and MKULTRA; Operation Northwoods; “Bin Laden Determined to Strike in U.S.”; America’s Blind Eye to Genocide in Rwanda; and more—to implore Americans to challenge government secrecy. Ventura recommended the National Security Archive as one of his “Resources for Curious Readers,” saying “It’s time we used the ‘information age’ to our advantage in reclaiming our democracy from the secret-keepers.” The book was reissued in paperback in 2012.



On April 20-21, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh and Mexico project deputy director Emilene Martinez contributed to the success of a 1,000-participant international conference in Santiago, Chile, commemorating the second anniversary of the 2009 passage of Chile’s Freedom of Information law. Martinez helped to coordinate the event, while Kornbluh was among the many featured speakers, who included Huguette Labelle (President, Transparency International) and Jacqueline Peschard (President, Mexican Access to Information Institute). Perhaps most important for the political success of

FOI in the country, the seminar featured an address by Chilean President Sebastián Piñera, who earlier that day had signed a probity provision designed to strengthen Chile’s Access to

Information law by ensuring that the principle of public interest always prevails over private interests in the dealings of public officials.

May 2011: On May 2—the day after Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden was killed in Pakistan by U.S. special operations forces—the Archive posted online what *Agence France-Presse* called a “trove of declassified documents on Osama bin Laden.” *The Osama Bin Laden File* traced U.S. concerns about Bin Laden as evidenced in such documents as a 1996 biographical sketch characterizing Bin Laden as “one of the most significant financial sponsors of Islamic extremist activities in the world”, the infamous August 2001 President’s Daily Brief warning “Bin Laden Determined to Strike in US,” and a 400-page Sandia National Laboratories profile of Bin Laden focusing on the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Many of the documents were previously released but benefit researchers by being collected in one place on the Archive’s Web site. With growing questions about U.S.-Pakistan ties stemming from Bin Laden’s discovery in Pakistan, Archive analyst Barbara Elias added further documents to the online compilation revealing a history of U.S. “disappointment that Pakistan ... a good friend of the US, was not taking steps to help with Osama bin Laden.” Portending momentous events to come, U.S. officials in a 1998 cable lamented that getting Pakistani help in apprehending Bin Laden would be an “uphill slog.”



Also in early May, the National Security Archive's blog, *Unredacted*, became the go-to source for discussing the methods for requesting (and chances for winning) the release of the Osama bin Laden "death photos." Managed by Archive FOIA coordinator Nate Jones, the *Unredacted* blog explained the

methods by which a request could be made for the photos (FOIA or MDR) and the likely exemptions agencies would use to censor the release of the photos (national security, operational files, or even privacy). Readers commented on the piece and enhanced the discussion by pointing out that an independent MDR appeal panel (ISCAP) would be barred from reviewing the photos if they were to become a part of a FOIA lawsuit (which eventually occurred). *Unredacted's* expert FOIA analysis of this hot topic drew thousands of readers and spread virally to other blogs, Web sites, aggregating sites (reddit.com), Facebook, Twitter, and mainstream print news organizations (McClatchey). *Unredacted* continued to follow the Bin Laden photos story throughout the year (CIA eventually claimed "equity" of the photos making the lawsuits—which are still ongoing—more difficult to argue). *Unredacted* drew readers throughout the year by complementing and pointing readers to posts on the main Archive Web site, frequent Freedom of Information Summary (FRINFORMSUM) news posts, a weekly "Document Friday" feature, and breaking news posts on human rights accountability in Latin America.

On May 17 Archive staff added the complete court file of the precedent-setting case of *Boumediene, et al. v. Bush, et al.* to our Torture Archive—an online repository of primary source material related to the detention and interrogation of individuals by the United States in the “global war on terror” since September 2001. The project is funded by the Open Society Foundations and coordinated by Archive project director Wendy Valdes. With this new addition, the resources of the Torture Archive have grown to 125,677 fully-indexed and searchable pages. The *Boumediene* decision held that enemy combatants in Guantanamo Bay have the right to file writs of *habeas corpus* and that the Military Commissions Act of 2006, which made it illegal for federal courts to hear *habeas* cases, was unconstitutional—paving the way for detainees to petition about their detention in federal court.



Archive senior analyst William Burr inaugurated a series of joint electronic publications with the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP) of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The first cooperative publication—“The French Nuclear Program, With U.S. Help”—was published on both projects’ Web sites on May 26 and featured a collection of 64 declassified U.S. government records on secret U.S. assistance to the French strategic nuclear weapons program during the 1970s. The documents confirmed major findings in a famous article by Princeton University political scientist Richard Ullman (“The French Covert Connection,” *Foreign Policy*, 1989), and added much new information to the story. While previous U.S. presidential administrations had penalized the French for their antipathy to nuclear nonproliferation objectives, declassified documents showed how the Nixon administration reversed course and secretly began a program of aid to the French ballistic missile program beginning in 1971. The materials were the subject of a detailed story by *Agence France-Presse* that circulated worldwide.



June 2011: Marking the 90th birthday of former top Gorbachev advisor Anatoly Sergeevich Chernyaev, the Archive published on the Web the latest installment of the unique and invaluable Chernyaev diary covering the final fateful year of the Soviet Union, 1991. Chief foreign policy aide to Gorbachev from 1986 to 1991 and a leading architect of perestroika and “new thinking,” Chernyaev donated the originals of his detailed diaries to the National Security Archive to ensure permanent public access to this record. The diaries are being translated into English for the first time by the Archive’s Anna Melyakova and edited by Archive Russia program director Svetlana Savranskaya. The 1991 installment chronicles the deep tensions

between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, Gorbachev’s frustrations with the lack of tangible financial support from the West that might have eased his interactions with the hardliners and radical reformers, and an inside view of the August 1991 coup. *Foreign Policy* ran excerpts of Chernyaev’s account of the coup attempt in its June 21 online edition. Pulitzer Prize-winner David E. Hoffman called the diary “one of the great internal records of the Gorbachev years, a trove of irreplaceable observations about a turning point in history.”

On June 23, Archive Russia program director Svetlana Savranskaya, director Tom Blanton, and fellow Vladislav Zubok won the Arthur S. Link-Warren F. Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing for their 2010 book, *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*. Awarded biennially by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, the prize is for “outstanding collections of primary source materials in the fields of international or diplomatic history, especially those distinguished by the inclusion of commentary designed to interpret the documents and set them within their historical context.” *Masterpieces*, released in paperback in 2011, is the sixth volume in the Archive’s acclaimed “National Security Archive Cold War Reader” series through CEU Press. *Newsweek* called the book “a treasure trove” and Pulitzer Prize winner William Taubman praised it as “a wonderful collection” and an “invaluable source book on the end of the 20th century.”

Also in June, the Archive published *U.S. Intelligence and China: Collection, Analysis and Covert Action (1945-2010)*, the 36th addition to our series, the Digital National Security Archive through ProQuest. Compiled and edited by Archive fellows Jeffrey Richelson and Matthew Aid, the collection comprises more than 2,300 documents providing new insight into the covert world of U.S. intelligence operations against not only America’s rival, the People’s Republic, but also its ally, Taiwan. The materials flesh out important new historical detail, including showing how poorly the United States understood political and military developments in Beijing, a partial result of the relatively low priority of Asia as an intelligence target in Washington’s Cold War calculus compared with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. *The Washington Post*, other

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NGIC
National Ground Intelligence Center

Date of Publication: 2005-08-17

(U) China: Medical Research on Bio-Effects of Electromagnetic Pulse and High-Power Microwave Radiation

(U) Purpose

(U) The purpose of this report is to explore the possible meanings and relevant implications of China's medical research on the bio-effects of intense high-power microwave (HPM) and electromagnetic pulse (EMP) radiation.

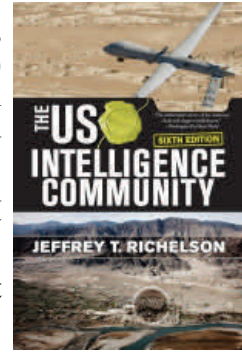
(U) Key Points

- (U) A team of Chinese medical researchers has recently reported (open forum) research activity related to studies of the bio-effects of high-power microwave (HPM) and electromagnetic pulse (EMP) radiation.
- (U) Animals studied included mice, rats, rabbits, dogs, and monkeys. Dose-related effects on eyes, brain, heart, bone marrow, reproductive, and other vital organs were reported. The researchers' interest in potential human effects is apparent.

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media outlets and especially the blogosphere picked up most intently on revelations in the set (and related electronic briefing book) about Beijing's development of electromagnetic radiation weapons as recently as 2005 for possible use against the Nationalist government in Taiwan.

July 2011: A sixth edition of Archive senior fellow Jeffrey Richelson's authoritative *The US Intelligence Community* (Westview Press, July 2011) came out on July 26. The new edition is fully revised, with new material on intelligence organization, foreign and domestic intelligence collection and analysis, covert action, and cooperation with foreign intelligence services. Reviewer Steven Aftergood of the Federation of American Scientists called the book "an indispensable guide to a subject that has often been shielded by secrets and lies. Thoroughly researched and carefully documented, this volume is the best place to begin exploring the intelligence community as it exists today."



On July 27, the Archive's nuclear project co-published another electronic briefing book in its joint series with the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project entitled "Non-Papers and Démarches." The posting detailed U.S. cooperation with France and the United Kingdom in the 1970s on efforts to check Pakistani secret purchases of 1) dual-use technology for its gas centrifuge uranium enrichment program and 2) plutonium reprocessing equipment. It was too late to stop the Pakistanis, who had already purchased enough of the proscribed technology for the centrifuge program to reproduce it domestically, but the démarches issued by the United Kingdom and the United States became a standard vehicle for Washington to warn members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (or London Club) of suspicious attempts to buy sensitive nuclear-relevant technology. During the next three years, the United States issued nearly 300 démarches on Pakistan alone. *Agence France-Presse* covered the publication in a story that received widespread international media distribution.



On July 29-31, Archive director Tom Blanton, deputy director Malcolm Byrne, and Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya co-hosted with the Georgian Institute for the Development of Freedom of Information the third annual regional conference on freedom of information and government openness in Tbilisi, Georgia. The event brought together FOI experts from the U.S., Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Kazakhstan—all countries represented in the regional Caucasian Freedom of Information Network formed in 2009. The Archive established the network in order to encourage cooperation among NGOs promoting government openness and freedom of information in the post-Soviet space, and to share ideas, best practices, and practical tools such as Web site monitoring systems.

August 2011: On August 15 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh published online four volumes of the CIA's "Official History of the Bay of Pigs Operation" obtained through the Archive's lawsuit against the CIA, which sought the Agency's internal history of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. Outside counsel David Sobel argued for the Archive that fifty years later, there was no excuse for continued secrecy on the invasion. The lawsuit obtained 4 of the 5 volumes that made up the CIA history. Among the many revelations contained in the more than 1,200 pages released was a report of "friendly fire" when CIA personnel shot at their own aircraft in the heat of battle during the invasion. The posting generated dozens of media stories, of which the 2-page spread in *Newsweek* and the coverage in *The Daily Beast* stood out for their substantive treatment of the release.

September 2011: On September 18-21, the Archive successfully launched the first phase of The Evidence Project in Lima, Peru, bringing together a transnational network of 25 government and human rights prosecutors, lawyers, judges, archivists, investigators, scholars, activists, and information experts along with five members of the Archive's Latin America team to talk about experiences and reflect on problems posed by the secrecy that surrounds government information

relevant to state-sponsored repression. The main objectives of the Evidence Project initiative—directed by Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle—are to connect the regional movement for the right to information with current and projected work under way in Latin America in support of human rights documentation and prosecutions; to compare experiences of trying to obtain and use secret files for historical investigations, truth commissions, and legal action; and to produce a mapping and diagnostic tool that is focused on access to human rights information in Latin America and based on “lessons learned” presented at the conference. Participants came away with a concrete set of recommendations on how to guide the campaign for the right to truth in Latin America and an action plan to apply pressure on governments still unwilling to open their archives to public scrutiny.

On September 20 world leaders inaugurated the 46-nation Open Government Partnership (OGP) in New York City with a one-hour ceremony highlighted by remarks by President Obama. Member countries endorsed a declaration on open government and agreed to issue national action plans in which they will make commitments to advance open government and agree to be held accountable for progress in meeting those plans. Archive director Tom Blanton logged many hours as one of the nine civil society representatives on the OGP international steering committee that guided the process with ideas and models of best practices of transparency from a variety of countries, which could become the basis for modeling future behavior. Thirty-eight other countries joined the eight founding member countries of the OGP at the New York event and agreed to prepare action plans for a December meeting in Brazil. The U.S. public interest coalition OpenTheGovernment.org—which Blanton co-chaired for its first six years—has now taken on the task of serving as the civil society reference group and monitor of Obama Administration commitments in the OGP process.



The fifth edition of the week-long media initiative México Infórmate (“Get Informed, Mexico”) took place September 26-October 2 all over Mexico with activities or events in nine different states and the Federal District, including presentations by Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle and Archive director Tom Blanton. The Archive’s Mexico program has successfully developed this initiative with funding from the Hewlett Foundation into a permanent transparency coalition of sustained media interest in

freedom of information issues in Mexico and successfully handed off the initiative to the leading Mexico transparency non-governmental organization Fundar. This agreement gives Fundar much greater national reach and media access and provides a Mexican organization the means to push back against the authorities’ attempted retrenchment on transparency, while achieving a long-standing Archive goal of transferring the network to Mexican NGO ownership and leadership.

In observance of International Right to Know Day on September 28, freedominfo.org posted its annual tally of countries that had active campaigns to pass new or amended freedom of information laws—finding 7 new laws created in 2011 with 18 more laws under consideration. Tracking freedom of information developments worldwide, freedominfo.org added new features in 2011 and experienced significant and continuing readership growth. In addition to reporting on FOI news and trends and keeping tabs on transparency at international financial institutions, the site added a FOI Blog Roll linking to more than 100 blogs featuring FOI news. Freedominfo.org also became a leading source of information on the Open Government Partnership, with an archive of more than 50 articles about



the initiative and a spreadsheet tracking member countries' commitments. Publishing about 38 articles a month and edited by Toby McIntosh with support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, *freedominfo.org* averaged 28,125 visits to the site per month, reaching 1,400 subscribers in 2011.

October 2011: The Air Force paid more than \$400,000 to the National Security Archive's pro bono counsel James & Hoffman in a settlement agreement on attorneys' fees and expenses related to a 2005 Archive lawsuit suing the Air Force for a "pattern and practice" of violating the FOIA. The judge found the Air Force had violated the law and ordered it to produce requested records to the Archive within agreed time frames set forth in a consent decree. When the required monthly filings by the Air Force demonstrated that it had failed to comply, the judge issued a string of orders in response to our recommendations of ways to reform the Air Force FOIA system. From 2006 through 2010, as a result of the lawsuit, the Air Force has procured and implemented an Air Force-wide computerized tracking system for FOIA requests; required Major Commands to report regularly on FOIA performance and backlog reductions; centralized its FOIA reporting structure; appointed a Brigadier General and then a Senior Executive Service official as "FOIA Champions" to facilitate reforms; retained additional and higher-level FOIA personnel at headquarters and in the Major Commands; and instituted regular required training for FOIA personnel Air Force-wide—all pursuant to the court-ordered plan to create, for the first time, a "functioning FOIA system" at the Air Force. The lawsuit also compelled the Pentagon to draft a new set of FOIA regulations reflecting the Obama commitment to open government, and it should be a strong disincentive against bad FOIA behavior by all government agencies.

On October 17, renowned conceptual artist Jenny Holzer won the 2011 "Outstanding Contributions to the Arts" award of the Americans for the Arts. These National Arts Awards annually recognize and celebrate the achievements of individuals and corporations who have exhibited outstanding leadership in the visual and performing arts, arts education, and philanthropy. Since 2004, Holzer has included many of the Archive's declassified documents in her international and U.S. exhibits—such installations as xenon projections on building façades and a series of silk screen paintings of the POLO STEP PowerPoint diagrams, maps, and text used in August 2002 to brief the White House on U.S. Central Command's plans for the Iraq war. Archive director Tom Blanton was proud to commend Holzer on the award in a video shown at the ceremony stating, "She turns every surface into a page, she illuminates not only texts but perception, and by projecting these secrets into the night, she transforms the words of power into transitory bolts of lightning."

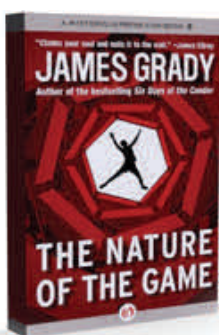


November 2011: On November 10-11, marking the 20th anniversary of the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Gorbachev Foundation hosted a two-day conference in Moscow, co-organized by the National Security Archive and the Carnegie Moscow Center, examining the historical experience of 1989-1991 and its echoes today. Archive staff compiled and edited a conference briefing book including previously-classified Soviet and American documents ranging from Politburo notes to CIA assessments to transcripts of phone calls between George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev in the final months of the Soviet Union. At the Moscow event, panels of distinguished eyewitnesses, veterans, and scholars discussed Gorbachev's political reforms of the 1980s, the crisis in the Soviet economy, the origins and impact of the "new thinking," the role of society and social movements, and the ways history is used and abused in current political debates. While Gorbachev himself was unable to participate for health reasons, he subsequently met with the

conference organizers to give his reactions and retrospective analysis.

Also in November, the Archive published *Chile and the United States: U.S. Policy toward Democracy, Dictatorship, and Human Rights, 1970-1990* through ProQuest—publisher of the Digital National Security Archive. The set, edited by senior analyst Peter Kornbluh, consists of 2,842 declassified records documenting the controversial history of U.S. policy toward, and relations with, Chile from 1970 when the Nixon administration decided to intervene against the Socialist government of Salvador Allende, to 1990 when the U.S.-supported military regime that deposed Allende was finally forced to step down. Within days of publication, coincidentally, a Chilean judge indicted the former head of the U.S. Military Group in Chile for contributing to the murder of two U.S. citizens (journalist Charles Horman and student Frank Teruggi) in the wake of the 1973 coup—subject of the Oscar award-winning movie “Missing”. The indictment cited a number of the Archive’s documents as background to the case.

December 2011: On December 5 the Archive sparked international headlines by co-publishing another electronic briefing book in its joint series with the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project, revealing that the United States was caught off-guard by India’s “peaceful nuclear explosion” on May 18, 1974—according to a recently-declassified Intelligence Community Staff post-mortem obtained by Archive senior analyst William Burr. The post-mortem showed that the intelligence community had focused on the possibility of an Indian nuclear test in 1972, when rumors abounded that India might be about to test. But, after 1972, the intelligence agencies dropped the ball and were taken by surprise when India actually tested an explosive device in May 1974. With Nixon’s low interest in nuclear proliferation, the intelligence community did not treat the Indian nuclear program as a high priority. Coverage of the documents released in the briefing book appeared in 15 publications in the South Asia and Persian Gulf regions—including *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*—with such headlines as “U.S. was caught on the wrong foot in 1974 too” and “Nixon’s Tilt toward Pak, China led India to First Nuclear Test.”



On December 22, the Archive announced on its Web site a new E-Book series by bestselling thriller writer James Grady, which features the National Security Archive as the scene of a key plot sequence, and also as the location for Grady’s video introduction to the series. The E-Book series includes Grady’s classic book *Six Days of the Condor*—which became the basis for the acclaimed Robert Redford movie that subtracted three days—and the renamed and re-introduced thriller, *The Nature of the Game*, featuring the Archive as a key source for the investigative journalist protagonist. Also included in the series are the new novella, *Condor.Net*, and the short story *This Given Sky*. Grady filmed his video introduction to the series, published by Open Road Integrated Media, in the Archive’s Smith

Bagley Research Center this fall, and testifies, “The Archive’s help and support allowed me to make *The Nature of the Game* more than just another thriller. The Archive’s work in revealing truth behind government and political spin is vital for our global culture.”

On December 24-26, Archive director Tom Blanton made his 25th appearance on a C-SPAN program—this time as guest host—when he interviewed former *Irish Times* Moscow correspondent Conor O’Clery on the *After Words* program on C-SPAN’s Book TV. The interview centered on O’Clery’s new book *The Last Day of the Soviet Union* detailing the day 20 years ago when Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as president of the U.S.S.R., the tangled history leading up to the collapse of the U.S.S.R., and the transition of Russia that is still under way.

