

The National Security Archive

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

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

Annual Report for 2002

The Archive achieved quantifiable success in 2002. Here are some of the key statistics:

- Freedom of Information and Declassification Requests Filed - 885
- Freedom of Information and Declassification Appeals Filed - 257
- Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher of reference collections - 46,356
 - 1- *Terrorism and U.S. Policy, 1968-2002*, 1,509 Documents, 22,744 Pages; and 2- *Presidential Directives on National Security, Part II, Harry Truman to George W. Bush*, 1,836 Documents, 23,612 Pages. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest/Chadwyck-Healey, 2002)
- Books published by Archive staff and fellows - 3
 - 1- *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents* Edited by Csaba Békés, Malcolm Byrne and János Rainer (Budapest, Hungary: Central European Press, 2002, 598 pp.)
 - 2- *Stalin in History and in the Assessment of Historians* Edited by Vladislav Zubok, Kety Rostiashvili and George Mamulia. (Tbilisi, Georgia: 2002, 334 pp.)
 - 3- *America Confronts Terrorism: Understanding the Danger and How to Think About it*. Edited by John Prados (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002, 436 pp.)
- Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows - 17, bringing the Web site total to 86, and winning the Archive's 32nd award 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 - 9
- Research requests to the Archive by e-mail - 2,713
- Research requests to the Archive by phone - 2,226
- Visiting researchers at the Archive's reading room in Gelman Library - 173
- Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers - 29,816
- Pages downloaded from the Archive's website - 5,456,687
- Successful visits to the Archive's website - 7,427,781
- Bytes downloaded from the Archive's website - 742 Gigabytes (more than 2 Gigabytes per day)
- Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis - 49
- Wire service news stories citing the Archive found on Lexis-Nexis - 143
- News stories citing the Archive on Factiva.com (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis - 516
- Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted on a newspaper front page - 5
(Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, India and Spain)

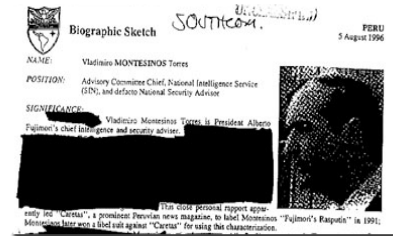


**THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 1962:
THE 40th ANNIVERSARY**



Proceeding Month by Month, the Following are Highlights of the Year:

January 2002: In early January, the U.S. Embassy in Peru posted on its Web site 38 declassified U.S. documents found in response to requests from the various **official Peruvian investigations of former intelligence chief Montesinos and former president Fujimori**. Quickly reviewing the new documents, the Archive's Peru project director Tamara Feinstein identified multiple censored items there that had already been released in full to her under the FOIA, as well as several censored paragraphs in her documents that were uncensored in the Embassy's versions. On January 22, Tamara posted her own electronic briefing book of 41 documents, together with an analysis of the Embassy's release and a call for more declassification – thus making front page news in Peru (*El Comercio, La República*), across the U.S. (“U.S. Knew of Peru Spy’s Troubles,” the Associated Press, January 22), and around the world (“US was aware of political killings in Peru, documents show,” Agence France-Presse, January 23).



U.S. Southern Command Biographic Sketch: Vladimiro Montesinos

February 2002: The Bush administration's obsession with secrecy, starting well before September 11th, finally reached the status of news in February, with the cover story of the Sunday *New York Times* Week in Review on February 3, headlined “When Government Doesn't Tell” – featuring Archive director Tom Blanton as the first quoted expert. Tom had argued for coverage of the Bush **administration's attempts to roll back open government** in his keynote speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors' freedom of information summit in December. The *Times* story started a cascade of coverage, culminating on February 22 with a lengthy segment on *ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings*, reported by Jackie Judd, titled “Fighting for Executive Secrecy” and including an on-camera interview with Blanton.

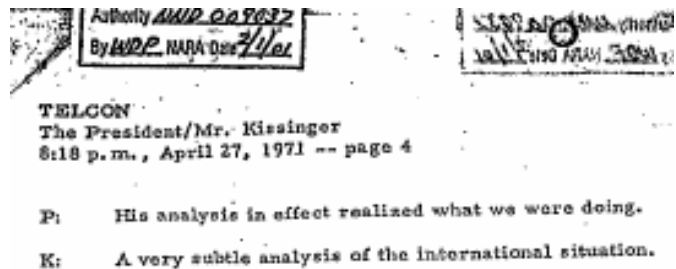


On February 5, the Archive posted the latest in a series of collaborative efforts with Bill Moyers's Public Affairs Television and Sherry Jones's Washington Media Associates, timed for the national broadcast on PBS of the Moyers-Jones documentary “Trading Democracy.” The documentary **exposed an obscure provision of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that has given multinational corporations the power to demand compensation** if any of the three NAFTA countries threatens potential profits with environmental or public health laws, or even jury verdicts. Edited by webmaster Michael Evans and Archive director Tom Blanton, the Web posting included legal briefs, witness statements, and actual rulings from two of the three cases explored in the documentary, plus the full transcript of the show and streaming video excerpts.

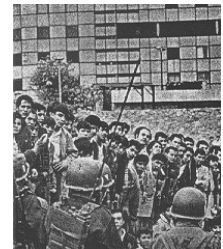


On February 11, the National Archives & Records Administration (NARA) took custody of 20,000 pages of **transcripts of Henry Kissinger's telephone conversations** conducted while he served as President Nixon's national security adviser from 1969 through 1973. In August 2001, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher had credited the National Security Archive for prompting State to recover 10,000 pages of the Kissinger telcons from his tenure as Secretary of State, but the White House telcons had

remained under lock and key in Kissinger's papers at the Library of Congress. The Archive's legal strategy, developed by general counsel Kate Martin and pro bono counsel Lee Rubin and Craig Isenberg at Mayer Brown & Platt, won the State Department's decision first, thus putting the Bush administration on record as conceding the legal point, after which Mr. Kissinger could hardly refuse NARA when they came calling for the White House records. The handover sparked AP and Reuters worldwide news stories citing the Archive's successful three-year battle to recover this history, and coverage in papers ranging from the *Washington Post* to the *Newark Star-Ledger*.



On February 14, *National Public Radio* called up the Archive's Kate Doyle in Mexico City for her comment on newly public photographs of the **1968 Tlatelolco massacre** – pictures that had been hidden for three decades because they provided gruesome details of the killings. Kate's segment with "All Things Considered" host Noah Adams covered the history of the massacre, the news from the photos, and the building pressure on President Fox towards greater openness and accountability.



On February 18, *Slate* magazine ran Archive director Tom Blanton's posting entitled "Kissinger's revenge: While Nixon was bugging Kissinger, guess who was bugging Nixon," which compared the Nixon tape of a key phone call to Kissinger (on the secret negotiations about the opening to China) with **Kissinger's own transcript** of the call, typed up by his secretaries who listened in – unbeknownst to the President.



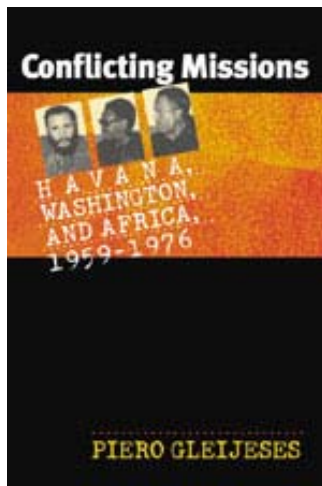
On February 27, the Archive published on the Web the nearly complete record of Henry **Kissinger's secret trip to China in July 1971**, his talks with Zhou En-lai, and the use of the Pakistan back channel to make the arrangements – compiled and edited by William Burr. The release generated worldwide coverage, including Mr. Kissinger's first-ever acknowledgment that his memoirs had been misleading. As reported by the *New York Times'* Elaine Sciolino, in "Records Dispute Kissinger On His '71 Visit to China: U.S. Backdown on

Taiwan Status Reported" (February 28): "Mr. Kissinger, reached by phone in London, acknowledged that his memoirs could have been interpreted as misleading. 'The way I expressed it was very unfortunate and I regret it,' he said." Similar stories also ran in the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse, *The Times* of London ("Kissinger told China 'you can claim Taiwan'") and many other papers.

March 2002: The **Kissinger secret trip** papers continued to spark news coverage in March, including multiple stories in Taiwan and Hong Kong newspapers. In addition, the *Baltimore Sun* ("Unvarnished thoughts on China," March 12) and the *New York Times* ("Beijing, 1971: Oh, to Be A Fly on the Great Wall," March 3) reprinted extensive excerpts from the documents.

Archive director Tom Blanton gave a keynote speech on “global trends in access to information” to the South East Asian Press Association’s conference on freedom of information, co-sponsored by Sweden’s Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the Philippines Center for Investigative Journalism, in Hua Hin, Thailand the first week of March. The conferees agreed on the need for a **Web-based network of freedom of information advocates**, along the lines of the *freedominfo.org* concept described by Blanton – and three days of discussion dramatically refined the concept and the workplan.

At the end of March, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh published on the Web a collection of previously secret Cuban government files, together with several related U.S.



documents, that Johns Hopkins University scholar Piero Gleijeses had gathered for his new book (*Conflicting Missions*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) on Cuba, the U.S., and Africa from 1959 to 1976. In the words of the *New York Times*, the “**documents seem to overturn conventional explanations of the [Angolan civil] war’s origins**” – showing that Cuban intervention in Angola followed, and did not precede, that of the U.S., and that the U.S. broadly collaborated with the apartheid South African regime despite public denials at the time. (“From Old Files, a New Story Of U.S. Role in Angolan War,” by Howard W. French, March 31). The Associated Press headlined Professor Gleijeses’s new findings (also posted on the Archive’s site) from the former CIA station chief in Angola, Robert Hultslander, as “Ex-CIA official says Kissinger policies destabilized southern Africa” (by George Gedda, April 1).

April 2002: A million Americans watched on April 5 when PBS aired the most comprehensive TV treatment of current **secrecy trends in the Bush administration**, in a 20-minute segment of “NOW with Bill Moyers.” Produced by Sherry Jones, the Moyers show on “secret government” featured extensive on-camera quotes from interviews with Archive director Tom Blanton and Archive advisory board member Thomas Susman, who co-authored the 1974 FOIA amendments that make up the heart of the law today.

On April 29, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars featured Archive fellow Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya as the lead presenter in a major international conference on the **Soviet war in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989** – a conference organized by the Wilson Center’s Cold War International History Project together with the Center’s Asia Program and Kennan Institute, as well as the George Washington University Cold War Group and the National Security Archive.

The conference brought together former Soviet officials (like Anatoly Chernyaev, Gorbachev’s national security adviser) and former U.S. officials from the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations (such as CIA Pakistan station chief Milt Bearden and Kabul chargé d’affaires Bruce Amstutz), with



scholars and newly available documents from Russian, U.S., Hungarian, Czech, German, and Bulgarian archives. Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne also presented; Archive director Tom Blanton chaired a panel; and Archive fellows John Prados, Vlad Zubok, Hope Harrison, and James Hershberg also provided commentaries.

The international **movement for freedom of information** reached a major milestone at the end of April, first when the Mexican state of Sinaloa enacted a strong access to information law with innovative public education components, and then on April 29 when the Sinaloa action helped prod the national **Mexican Congress to pass a landmark national freedom of information law**. Mexico's reform represents the



culmination of a two-year campaign by the Grupo Oaxaca coalition of newspapers and NGOs, including direct assistance from the Archive's Mexico project director Kate Doyle in the form of public presentations and private drafting sessions, and will serve as a model for other Latin American countries. (See June 2002 entry for more detail)

May 2002: Colombia project director Michael Evans capped three years of intensive, systematic FOIA requesting on U.S. policy towards Colombia by publishing on May 3 an electronic briefing book of 70 declassified documents – setting off a media tempest pitting the current Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-IL) against the former U.S. ambassador to Colombia, Myles Frechette. Frechette's cable had reported **Hastert's comments to military officers during his 1997 trip to Colombia** that human rights restrictions placed on U.S. aid were the product of "leftist-dominated" Congresses of years past who "used human rights as an excuse to aid the left," that he was "committed to correcting that situation," and that the Colombian

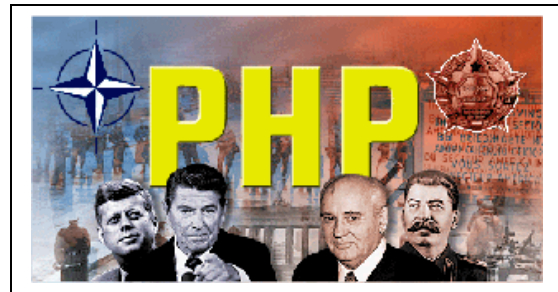
military should come directly to him and to the Congress if the administration gave them trouble. In addition to front-page treatment in Colombian media such as *El Espectador*, other headlines included: "Hastert played down rights concerns to Colombian military, declassified documents say," by Ken Guggenheim, the Associated Press, May 3, the *St. Petersburg Times* story "Documents detail U.S. role in Colombia's rights record" on May 4th, and Agence France-Presse's article "US officials stretched the law with aid to Colombia: documents" on May 3. The *New York Times* Week in Review on Sunday, May 26 then excerpted the documents at length under the heading "The U.S. Struggle to Battle Drugs, Just Drugs, in Colombia."



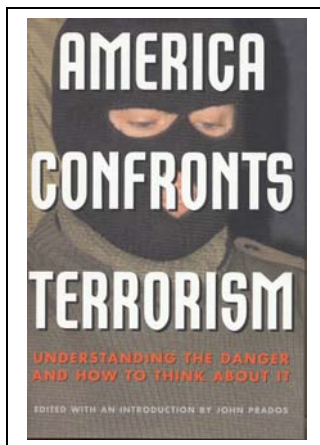
The front page of the May 19 Sunday *New York Times* carried the dramatic story of Boris Weisfeiler, a former Soviet dissident turned **U.S. citizen who died on a hiking trip in Pinochet's Chile**, supposedly by accident, but probably at the hands of a secretive and heavily-armed pro-Nazi sect protected by the Pinochet secret police. Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh had uncovered parts of the horrific Weisfeiler story in his project to open the secret history of the Pinochet regime, and worked with Weisfeiler's widow, Olga, to press the U.S. government to declassify its files on the case. The *Times'* story,

headlined “Hints of Cruel Fate for American Lost in Chile” and written by Larry Rohter specifically credited the Archive and Peter and concluded: “The United States government has never challenged that conclusion [the Chilean government’s explanation of an accidental death] publicly. But State Department and CIA reports that have recently been declassified and made public as a result of efforts by a nonprofit group tell a complicated story that is vastly different.”

As the primary U.S. sponsor of the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact network, an international consortium of scholars dedicated to the study of the historical dimension of European security, the Archive announced the release of two PHP document collections on May 21. The first collection, *NATO Military Planning and Threat Assessments of the Warsaw Pact*, edited by senior Archive analysts William Burr and Robert A. Wampler, **revealed that there are significant gaps**, as well as surprising revelations, **in the records that have been made available in the United States and Great Britain related to NATO military planning and the alliance's assessments of the threat posed by the Soviet Union** and the Warsaw Pact to West European security during the Cold War. In addition to releasing documents obtained from the U.S. State Department and the British Public Record Office that expose new information regarding NATO planning, Bill Burr and Bob Wampler discovered that many records of the U.S. Defense Department, which contain thousands of key documents regarding NATO, have been held hostage by a number of developments, starting with the fact that systematic declassification of Defense records suffered from inadequate funding and staffing throughout the 1980s and much of the 1990s. In conjunction with the release of this PHP NATO collection was another document set, *The Records from the Meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, 1976-1990*. The first in a series of comprehensive document publications from previous secret Warsaw Pact files, these documents obtained from the Czech Foreign Ministry Archives in Prague revealed a considerable diversity of opinion within the Warsaw Pact alliance.



June 2002: The Archive handed off to its publisher, ProQuest, **what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive collection of high-level documentation on modern U.S. terrorism policy available anywhere.** Urgent demand from scholars, journalists and



libraries for documentation in the wake of September 11th led the Archive to embark on an unprecedented fast track project, headed by deputy director Malcolm Byrne, cutting the usual reference collection processing time from five years to six months. Among the most significant documents included are: every declassified set of minutes of the Nixon and Ford administrations’ Cabinet Committee on Combating Terrorism, a series of hour-by-hour Kissinger-Nixon reports on hijackings in the Middle East, and previously inaccessible records on Middle Eastern terrorist groups acquired through an Archive-assisted lawsuit by former Beirut hostage Terry Anderson. The set was built on the Archive’s series of six September 11th sourcebooks which had attracted wide press coverage, including making news on National Public Radio, the *Baltimore Sun*, England’s *The Guardian*, the Associated Press, Reuters, and Agence France-Press. In

December 2001, the respected *National Journal* had cited the Archive's September 11th Sourcebook series as one of the top five sites for terrorism -related information on the entire World Wide Web. The sourcebooks were the primary source for the new documents reader, *America Confronts Terrorism: Understanding the Danger and How to Think About it*, edited by John Prados (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002, 436 pp.)

Usama Bin Ladin: Islamic Extremist Financier

Usama bin Muhammad bin Awad Bin Ladin is one of the most significant financial sponsors of Islamic extremist activities in the world today. One of some 20 sons of wealthy Saudi construction magnate Muhammad Bin Ladin—founder of the Kingdom's Bin Ladin Group business empire—Usama joined the Afghan resistance movement following the 26 December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "I was enraged and went there at once," he claimed in a 1993 interview, "I arrived within days, before the end of 1979."

During the first week of June the Archive's ongoing focus on working with regional Russian universities culminated in the summer school "Oral History and the Study of the Cold War," a joint project of Voronezh Pedagogical University (VPU), Voronezh Regional Veterans' Organization and the National Security Archive. The school brought together 20 students from VPU (Dr. Natalya Timofeeva's Oral History Group) with scholars from the U.S., Germany, and Moscow State University and Russian and German veterans of World War II. The two main topics of the summer school included local history and the origins of the Cold War and the methodology of oral history. Both Russia Project director Svetlana Savranskaya and Archive fellow Vlad Zubok made presentations and led discussions at the conference - the latest in a series of Archive-sponsored summer schools that enable younger generation Russian scholars to connect not only with their colleagues from other universities but also with the wider international scholarly community.



On June 10, President Vicente Fox **signed Mexico's new transparency law**. Senior analyst Kate Doyle, now based in Mexico City, represented the Archive throughout the debate during 2002, advising members of the Grupo Oaxaca, supporting lobbying efforts and participating in numerous public events in Mexico City. She spoke at Iberoamerican University, ITAM, the National Autonomous University of Mexico's Law School, a workshop organized by London-based Article 19, before a group of representatives and senior staffers in Congress and to various state governors and legislators. The newly established non-governmental organization in Mexico dedicated to continuing the campaign for citizens' rights to information asked Kate to serve on its board of directors.

Libertad de Información-México (LIMAC), as it is known, grew directly out of the efforts of the Grupo Oaxaca, and has planned an **ambitious program to**

educate Mexican citizens and the government on the new transparency law, monitor the law's implementation after it goes into effect in June 2003, and encourage states other than Sinaloa and Michoacán to draft their own freedom of information and sunshine laws. Kate Doyle's summary and analysis of Mexico's campaign for the right to information were posted on the National Security Archive's web site, and have since been published in the Sunday magazine of one of the Mexico's most respected newspapers, *Reforma*, and in *Kratos*, the magazine of the National Action Party (PAN). In 2002 she was appointed a Visiting Fellow at the Center for the Right to Information at the *Universidad*

LEY FEDERAL DE TRANSPARENCIA Y ACCESO A LA INFORMACIÓN PÚBLICA GUBERNAMENTAL

TÍTULO PRIMERO
DISPOSICIONES COMUNES PARA LOS SUJETOS OBLIGADOS

Iberoamericana, and has since taught several seminars to graduate law and communications students on topics related to freedom of information. In November 2002 she was awarded the annual "Right to Information" prize presented by *Universidad Iberoamericana* and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Foundation).

Also in June, Carlos Osorio, director of the Southern Cone Documentation Project, published documents detailing the **Nixon administration's broad-gauged efforts to**



prevent a victory by the leftist "Frente Amplio" in the Uruguayan presidential elections of 1971. The documents show that Nixon was aware of – and may in fact have been complicit in – Brazilian efforts

to influence the election results. Responding to newly declassified documents from the Nixon collection at the National Archives, the Archive released 15 additional documents pertaining to U.S. policy



toward Uruguay during this period, showing how the U.S. was seeking to avoid a leftist victory in Uruguay like that in Chile the previous year with the election of Socialist candidate Salvador Allende. This concern was shared by Brazil as well as Argentina, whose military intelligence components were carrying on close consultations on – and had previously had an agreement to intervene in – Uruguay's political affairs. The U.S. Embassy recommended overt and covert activities to counter Frente publications and also suggested cooperation between Brazil and Argentina to support Uruguay's internal security operations. The story was picked up all over Latin America, including by the widely disseminated *Jornal do Brasil*, on June 22, 2002.

July 2002: Hosted and staffed by the Archive, **the groundbreaking virtual network of international freedom of information advocates, *freedominfo.org***, launched in July 2002. The website attracted more than 600,000 "hits" in its first six months; won the University of Wisconsin's "Internet Scout Report" award as one of the most

valuable and authoritative educational resources online; published for the first time the new Mexican, Indian, and Peruvian FOI laws; and successfully built a one-stop portal that describes best practices, consolidates lessons learned, explains campaign strategies and tactics, and links the efforts of freedom of information campaigners globally. The launching of the site was



timed to coincide with the **high-profile publication in the July/August 2002 issue of the journal *Foreign Policy* of an eight-page article written by Archive director Thomas Blanton, "The World's Right to Know."** The article focused on global trends in freedom of information, the impact of September 11th combined with the impact of the Bush administration on U.S. access policy, and the connection between freedom of information and security, efficiency, market regulation and economic growth. The article was translated and published in Greek, Spanish (three editions), and Turkish, as the magazine is circulated in over 90 countries.

In July, Archive fellow Vlad Zubok and Russia Project director Svetlana Savranskaya participated in the book launch in Tbilisi, Georgia of the first critical scholarly account of Stalin ever published in the Georgian language. The book, *Stalin in History and in the Assessment of Historians*, came from the Archive's assessment that Georgian scholars and citizens lacked access to the burgeoning international scholarly literature on Stalin,

Georgia's native son, leaving the field to remnants of the Stalin cult. The specific essays in the book were selected and edited by Vlad Zubok, professor at Temple University and Archive fellow, by Professor Kety Rostiashvili of Tbilisi State University, and by George Mamulia. The editors underlined the aim of the book - to fill the deficiency that exists in Georgian scientific literature related to Stalinism, and in effect, to break the Georgian taboo on objective research into the personality of Stalin and the phenomenon of Stalinism. Following the book launch, Svetlana and Vlad went on to Tsinandali, Georgia, the former residence of the famous Georgian poet Chavchavadze, for a three-day conference culminating the Caucasus and the Cold War Project that was initiated by Vlad in 1999. Some 18 scholars from 6 countries (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, France, and the United States) presented papers at the conference and addressed issues relating to the early years of the Cold War and Stalin's plans of territorial expansion in Turkey and Iran, repatriation, particular roles the republics played in the overall Cold War structure, development of military industry, and preparations for war in the Caucasus. The presentations addressed how the onset of the Cold War affected internal developments in the Caucasus republics of the Soviet Union, including their unique route to independence today, and showed that the archives of the three countries contain invaluable materials for studying the history of the post-war Soviet Union, which in many instances are unavailable in the central Russian archives.



August 2002: The Archive won a major victory for human rights openness -- the only such victory to date in the Bush administration -- when we persuaded the State Department (under threat of FOIA litigation) finally to release 4,677 documents on the



“dirty war” in Argentina from 1975-1983. The documents prompted worldwide headlines and detailed more than 10,000 human rights violations in Argentina and provided evidence that Argentina's controlling military junta believed the U.S. government supported its brutal policies against its leftist political opposition. In addition to excerpts from the documents

being published in the August 25 Sunday *New York Times*, the document release prompted stories in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, Agence France-Presse and the Associated Press. To encourage access to these declassified documents, Southern Cone Documentation Project director 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, 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).

September 2002: Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle testified for the prosecution **in the Guatemalan case against three senior Guatemalan military officers charged with planning and ordering the 1990 assassination** of anthropologist Myrna Mack. Kate was asked by the Mack family's lawyers to appear as a "perito," or expert witness, and

spent five hours before the Guatemalan tribunal discussing the significance and relevance of the declassified U.S. records to the case. The trial ended in early October with the conviction of one of the military officers, who was sentenced to the full thirty years allowed by Guatemalan law. A September 21, 2002 *Economist* article reported, “the trial was a surprise - all the more so since the three defendants are in prison and have been refused bail. For the first time, the army’s order of battle and methods are being revealed in public. This evidence has been pieced together from declassified American documents by Kate Doyle, an analyst at the National Security Archive, an NGO in Washington D.C., who has been called as a prosecution witness.”



Myrna Mack



On September 22, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh and John Dinges, armed with newly declassified documents from the State Department and the CIA, published an article in the Outlook section of the *Washington Post* exposing how **the U.S. was in fact aware of the secret assassination operation planned against former Chilean minister Orlando Letelier**, a leading critic of General Augusto Pinochet’s government. Letelier and his American aide Ronni Moffitt were killed by a car bomb on September 21, 1976 while driving down Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, D.C. The documents obtained by the Archive now question whether the assassination could have been prevented.

October 2002: The Archive organized the U.S. delegation for and co-sponsored the **landmark international conference on the 40th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis** in Havana on October 11-14, 2002, which brought together surviving members of the Kennedy White House, former CIA officials, and U.S. scholars with their Russian and Cuban counterparts. Phenomenal press coverage followed, generating dozens of international headlines such as the front page of the *International Herald Tribune*, “One Word from Nuclear War,” (October 14). Among the many veterans at the table were Cuban President Fidel Castro, Soviet General Anatoly Gribkov, former Soviet Defense Minister Dimitri Yazov, former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and JFK speechwriter Ted Sorensen, as well as the U.S.



Fidel Castro with Soviet Veterans



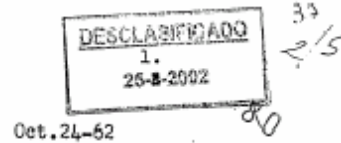
Robert McNamara, Tom Blanton, Ted Sorensen

Navy lieutenant who dropped signaling depth charges on a Soviet submarine that unbeknownst to the U.S. Navy was carrying a nuclear torpedo; and the Soviet intelligence officer on that submarine who was the only surviving eyewitness to the sub captain’s near-decision to launch the torpedo. The conference would not have been possible without the contributions of several Archive staff members, including conference coordinator Sue Bechtel, Cuba Project director Peter Kornbluh, and Soviet, Russian and Eastern Bloc director Svetlana Savranskaya. Ted Koppel devoted an entire show of ABC News Nightline to the conference and reunion; NBC Nightly News included interviews with National

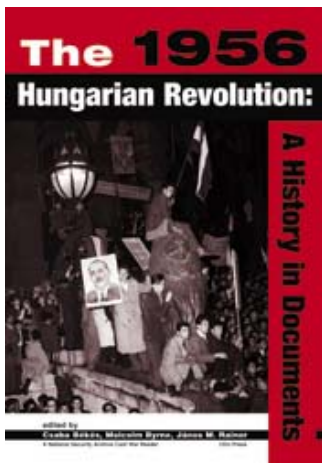
Security Archive director Tom Blanton, retired CIA analyst Dino Brugioni, and Ted Sorensen from the Kennedy administration; the *washingtonpost.com* site featured a live online interview with director Tom Blanton; Terry Gross's "Fresh Air" committed an hour to Cuba Project director Peter Kornbluh and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; and other coverage included commentary on NPR's "Morning Edition," a segment on NPR's Weekend Edition Saturday, two stories in the *New York Times*, two stories in the *Boston Globe*, two Associated Press articles, two stories in the *Washington Post*, articles in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, PR Newswire, the *Financial Times*, and Reuters, and on CNN.com. One of the Archive's greatest achievements in Cuba has been our success in convincing the Cuban government to declassify and release hundreds of pages of documentation describing Cuban actions and decisions. In fact, at the Bay of Pigs conference in 2001 the Cuban government created a "Desclasificado" stamp for the first time; and for the Missile Crisis event, it **conducted its first multi-agency procedure of centralization, review, and declassification of Cuban records.** The Archive had compiled a truly multinational collection of materials --



including documents from Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and even China -- in advance of the conference, and the Cuban government decided to produce significant materials of its own or risk not having its side of the story be told. The result was a trove of new information on Cuba-Soviet relations, weapons transfers, and local Cuban events during the crisis.



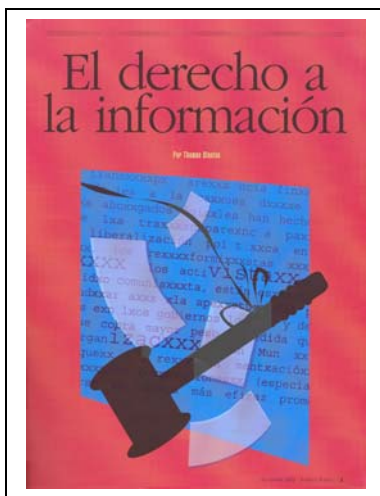
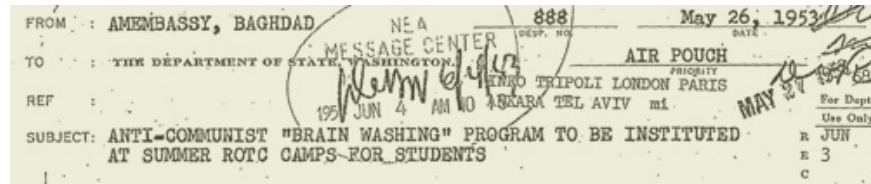
November 2002: In November, the third volume in the "National Security Archive Cold War Reader Series," *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents*, (Budapest, Hungary: Central European Press, 2002, 598 pp.) was published. Edited by Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne along with Eastern European scholars Csaba Békés and János Rainer, the book garnered excellent exposure in the United States in the Sunday December 29 *New York Times* and on National Public Radio, where Malcolm Byrne was a guest on the January 5 "Weekend All Things Considered." Documents



for the reader were taken from the former Soviet Union, Hungary, and the United States, as well as from other East European and Western archives. These materials, many of which were previously unavailable to an English-speaking audience, provide a comprehensive picture of the decision-making on all sides of the Hungarian events of October-November 1956. Istvan Deak of Columbia University stated, "There is no publication, in any language, that would even approach the thoroughness, reliability, and novelty of this monumental work." Previous titles in the "Cold War Reader" series, published by the Soros-founded Central European University Press, include *Prague Spring '68*, edited by Jaromír Navrátil et al., (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998, 596 pp.) and *Uprising in East Germany 1953*, edited by Christian Ostermann (Budapest: Central European

University Press, 2001, 451 pp.). Subsequent volumes will cover the 1980-81 Solidarity crisis in Poland and the events of 1989 from the perspective of key Eastern European countries.

December 2002: The Archive gained international attention on December 13 with the publication of documents concerning an **early Cold War campaign to win hearts and minds in the Middle East, launched 50 years before current efforts** to achieve United States "public diplomacy" goals in the region. The documents collected by Archive Middle East analyst Joyce Battle describe a 1950s through 1960s program to expand and revitalize American propaganda directed at the Middle East, and the methods that were utilized, including graphic displays, manipulation of the news, books, movies, cartoons, activities directed at schools and universities, and exchange programs. The collected documents show that many of the factors that generated resentment of the U.S. during the 1950s, and that impeded the effectiveness of U.S. propaganda, have persisted into the 21st century and are likely to prevent current public relations efforts from succeeding. Several international news television channels included RAI (Italy) and CBC (Canada) interviewed Joyce for programs to be aired around the world.



On December 12, Archive director Tom Blanton delivered a keynote presentation on the history of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act to an extraordinary gathering of Latin American legal reformers, parliamentarians and openness advocates, brought together by the Inter-American Dialogue in Buenos Aires, Argentina, "Acceso a la Información en las Americas." For the event the Archive prepared CD-ROMs in both English and Spanish containing the texts of the U.S., Mexican, and Peruvian FOI laws, the full *freedominfo.org* website, and related access resources. The leading Argentine newspaper, *El Clarín*, interviewed Blanton and described the conference as a critical step towards the passage of freedom of information laws in Argentina and in the greater Latin American region. (Daniel Santoro, "Piden una Ley de Acceso a la Información," *El Clarín*, December 15, 2002.)

On December 23 *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* published a ground-breaking article, "Nixon's Nuclear Ploy," by National Security Archive senior analyst William Burr and Miami University historian Jeffrey Kimball, that disclosed for the first time one of the Nixon administration's most secret military operations, which became known to insiders as the "Joint Chiefs of Staff Readiness Test." During October 1969, President Richard Nixon ordered the **Pentagon to undertake secretly a series of military measures designed to put U.S. nuclear forces on a higher state of readiness.** Burr and Kimball proved that the alert was part of Nixon's "madman theory" attempt to pressure the Soviets to force the North Vietnamese towards settlement. Not only was such an approach a total misjudgment of Hanoi, the Soviets may not have even noticed the nuclear alert. The release of the documents exposing President Nixon's 1969 global nuclear alert sparked December 26 articles in the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

