Annual Report for 2007

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive’s work in 2007:

♦ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – 2,101
♦ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – 433
♦ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – 80,526, including such newsmaking revelations as the declassified August 2002 PowerPoint Iraq war plans based on unrealistic assumptions about post-Saddam Iraq; a link between the Chiquita banana company and Colombia’s paramilitary forces; U.S.-Taiwanese tensions over nuclear weapons; 25 years of CIA misdeeds revealed in the “family jewels” report; and further evidence of Pakistan’s relationship with the Taliban and Osama bin Laden.
♦ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – 702, in one reference collection: CIA Family Jewels Indexed
♦ Declassified documents delivered to truth commissions and human rights prosecutions – 8,000 documents to the Uruguayan “Libro Blanco” governmental report; 7,000 to Argentina’s Ministerio Público; 4,355 to the Peruvian prosecutors in the Fujimori trial; 650 to the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission; 222 to the Special Prosecutor for Sierra Leone, The Hague; 219 to the Center for Justice and Accountability for the Guatemala Genocide case; and 150 to the Guatemalan Human Rights Ombudsman.
♦ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 2
  A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev by Vladislav M. Zubok (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007, 467 pp.)
♦ Electronic Books published by Archive staff and fellows – 26, bringing the Web site total to 239
♦ Research requests to the Archive by letter – 17; by e-mail – 2,448; by phone – 1,600
♦ Visiting researchers at the Archive’s reading room in GWU’s Gelman Library – 568
♦ Pages photocopied from Archive collections by visiting researchers – 14,809
♦ Unique visitors to the Archive’s Web site – more than 2,614,950
♦ Total number of files downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 28,891,544
♦ Pages in html downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 14,430,411 (39,535 html pages per day)
♦ Bytes downloaded from the Archive’s Web site – 6,342 Gigabytes (17.4 GB per day, equivalent to 589,000 pdf pages per day)
♦ Awards: the Archive’s Web site was chosen as one of the “Top 300 web sites for Political Science” by the International Political Science Association; the Archive received two additional awards from the University of Wisconsin’s Internet Scout Report recognizing “the most valuable and authoritative resources online”; Archive director Tom Blanton was one of eight recipients of the University of North Carolina’s Knowledge Trust Access Award for promoting, expanding and enhancing access to the world’s recorded knowledge.
♦ Radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews found on Lexis-Nexis – 178
♦ News stories citing the Archive on Factiva (formerly Dow Jones Interactive) and Lexis-Nexis – 853
♦ Foreign countries where Archive staff were quoted in newspapers and broadcast news – 14 (Argentina, Australia, Chile, China, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Uruguay)
January 2007: The Archive and the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre in Prague marked the 30th anniversary of Charter 77—the landmark human rights manifesto signed by Vaclav Havel and 230 other Czechoslovak intellectuals and activists—by publishing an extensive collection of Charter documents on the Archive’s Web site. The collection included materials published for the first time (just released in Prague by the secret police archives), including copies of the original handwritten text of the manifesto, signature cards of leading Charter members, Czech secret police reports denouncing the movement, official statements of the Communist government, and U.S. intelligence reports as well as Havel’s own recollections.

February 2007: On February 14 the Archive made front page news and reached millions of people worldwide by obtaining and publishing the actual PowerPoint war plans briefed to President Bush about Iraq before the war in August 2002. The plans, under the code name POLO STEP, projected that by December 2006 the U.S. troop level would be down to 5,000 soldiers, and, among dozens of completely unrealistic assumptions, simply imagined the existence of a legitimate, internationally-recognized Iraqi-led replacement government ready on the day Saddam was toppled. Headlines citing the Iraq invasion plan as “delusional” appeared in newspapers all over the world and Archive director Tom Blanton discussed the unrealistic assumptions of the plans on CNN and ABC’s World News Tonight.

March 2007: The Archive played a leading role in the annual Sunshine Week initiative led by the American Society of Newspaper Editors to open a dialogue about the importance of open government and freedom of information.

* The Archive released the 2007 Knight Open Government Survey on March 12, 2007 as part of Sunshine Week. The Survey audited 149 federal government agencies and offices and found only one in five was in compliance with the 10-year-old law requiring agencies to post key records online, to provide citizens with detailed guidance on making information requests, and to use the new information technologies to publish government information instead of waiting for the public to ask for it. The Survey identified the worst agencies as “E-Delinquents” and the best agencies as “E-Stars,” and by demonstrating the best practices refuted the frequent bureaucrats’ argument that they just don’t have enough resources to fulfill the law. The Survey sparked an in-depth Associated Press story that ran in more than 200 newspapers and led to dozens of articles and editorials in newspapers ranging from the Boston Globe to the Casper (Wyoming) Star Tribune.

* Archive director Tom Blanton wrote the lead op-ed for USA Today on March 13 titled “Are we safer in the dark?”

* The Senate Judiciary Committee asked Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs for her expert testimony on March 14 on the OPEN Government Act of 2007 FOIA reform bill sponsored by Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt) and Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tx).

* The Archive awarded the third annual Rosemary Award on March 16 recognizing the worst Freedom of Information Act performance by a federal agency to the Air Force, citing failure to meet deadlines, lost records and broken Web links.
On March 11-17 the Archive’s Mexico project and the Consejo Ciudadano del Premio Nacional de Periodismo (Citizens’ Council of the National Journalism Prize) organized and co-sponsored México Abierto, the Mexican version of “Sunshine Week” in the U.S.—a media-driven national initiative to open a dialogue about the importance of open government and freedom of information. The first annual México Abierto was a dramatic success with 185 different organizations registering to participate in the event’s Web site, over 20 related events held throughout the country, and 52 different print, electronic and broadcast media reporting on transparency and the right to know in Mexico.

On March 29 Archive Colombia project director Michael Evans published new documents that shed light on the links between bananas and terror in Colombia and the Colombian government’s own ties to the country’s illegal paramilitary forces. In early March, multinational fruit company Chiquita Brands International agreed to pay $25 million in fines to the U.S. government for making illegal payments of more than $1.7 million to a Colombian terrorist paramilitary group. Archive records linked the Colombian government to the scandal through its Convivir self-defense groups, which facilitate many of the company’s illegal payments. The documents were featured in El Tiempo, Colombia’s largest daily newspaper, and Evans’s own article in The Nation magazine.

April 2007: On April 15 Archive director Tom Blanton was featured on Fox News Sunday with Chris Wallace as the “Power Player of the Week.” Blanton highlighted some of the best documents the Archive has received through the FOIA and made the point that government officials themselves admit there is massive over-classification ranging from 50%-90%, and therefore, the government could save some of the $7 billion that it spends per year on keeping secrets by releasing more information to the public without jeopardizing national security.

May 2007: On May 3 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh posted key documents from Venezuelan legal archives on the case of Cuban exile and indicted terrorist Luis Posada Carriles. The lead document was a “scouting report” written by one of Posada’s Venezuelan employees on targets “tied to Cuba” for potential terrorist attacks throughout the Caribbean. Among the information included in the report was the route and schedule of Cubana flight 455, which was eventually blown up in mid-air on October 6, 1976 after taking off from Barbados. The document was found by police authorities on Posada’s property after the plane was destroyed. The posting also included handwritten confessions by another Venezuelan employee of Posada describing how plastic explosive was molded into a toothpaste tube for use as a bomb to destroy the plane. The public posting of the document for the first time generated substantive news coverage in Venezuela, the United States, and Cuba. But on May 8 Posada returned to Miami a free man after a federal judge dismissed the immigration-related charges against him.

On May 8 Archive senior analyst Joyce Battle posted a January 2003 Pentagon White Paper and accompanying PowerPoint slideshow presentation that further highlighted the unrealistic assumptions of the Bush administration’s pre-invasion planning for the Iraq war. The Pentagon envisioned the creation of a “Rapid Reaction Media Team” (RRMT) of U.S. and British media experts who would—immediately upon the liberation of Iraq—train Iraqi broadcasters and publishers to promote a coalition-sponsored, American-friendly information effort and transform
the Iraqi media to an “Iraqi Free Media” network that would promote the ideals of the new, democratic Iraq. The posting included a Pentagon Inspector General’s audit revealing that the media strategy enriched three main defense contractors who were awarded $122.5 million in non-competitive contracts to carry out coalition-sponsored media activities. The Inter Press Service story on the media plan ran in several newspapers and independent sources. Joyce Battle also discussed the plan on the media watchdog group FAIR’s (Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting) weekly radio program CounterSpin.

**June 2007:** On June 5, 2007 Uruguayan President Tavárez Vásquez’s government issued the 3,612-page Investigación Histórica sobre Detenidos Desaparecidos or the “Libro Blanco” report on the fate of hundreds of citizens who were illegally detained and who then disappeared during Uruguay’s military dictatorship from 1973-1985. The Archive’s Southern Cone project, led by Carlos Osorio, provided thousands of U.S. documents to the team of scholars who wrote the report and was thanked as a key foreign provider of information and analyses used in this report.

On June 15 the Archive unveiled “The Nuclear Vault”—a one-stop portal of declassified primary sources on nuclear weapons and WMD issues and indexed compilation of all 45 National Security Archive electronic briefing books on nuclear issues. The Vault also includes a variety of other special features, including a photo gallery of the activities of the Strategic Air Command, key documents from the first decades of the Cold War, bibliographies, and links to other Web sites designed to provide the broadest possible context for the study of nuclear weapons policy issues for researchers and activists. The first highlighted feature of the Web site was a collection of newly declassified documents on the U.S. government’s secret confrontation with Taiwan during the late 1970s over the latter’s efforts to head toward a nuclear weapons capability. This secret history offered a cautionary lesson on the great difficulty of reversing a nation’s drive toward a nuclear weapons capability; it took repeated interventions and strong-arm tactics before Taiwan, a close ally, made what turned out to be a half-hearted commitment to halt suspect nuclear activity. The documents sparked international news coverage including stories in Taiwan News, Taipei Times, and the China Post. The Vault itself received praise in a major nuclear Web-log, www.armscontrolwonk.com, which cited the Archive’s “spiffy” new nuclear section.

On June 26 the CIA handed over to the Archive its so-called “family jewels” report detailing 25 years of Agency misdeeds—a full 15 years after the Archive filed a FOIA request for the documents in 1992. The 702-page collection of memos, commissioned by then-CIA director James R. Schlesinger in 1973, described illegal CIA activities in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s such as domestic surveillance and wiretapping of student radicals and reporters; partnerships with the mafia to assassinate Fidel Castro; and human experimentation in the form of behavior modification experiments on U.S. citizens without their knowledge. Although the activities described in the memos became public during the 1975 and 1976 Congressional investigations into CIA operations, much of the media coverage noted resonance with issues of today, such as rendition and warrantless wiretapping. The release of the report sparked phenomenal world-wide coverage with six network TV cameras filming the arrival of the “jewels” in the Archive’s office, and with dozens of television, radio and newspaper interviews of Archive staff highlighted by Archive director Tom Blanton’s appearances on CNN’s The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer, MSNBC’s Hardball with Chris Matthews, ABC World News Tonight, NBC Nightly News, and Comedy Central’s Colbert Report and by front-page stories in The New York Times, The Washington Post and USA Today.

**July 2007:** On July 1, as a growing number of Colombian government officials were being investigated for ties to illegal paramilitary terrorists, Colombia project director Michael Evans
published an article in the Colombian weekly news magazine *Semana* showcasing a 1979 report from the U.S. Embassy in Bogotá that implicated current and former Colombian army officials in the violent, clandestine activities of the so-called American Anticommunist Alliance paramilitary organization in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The cable revealed that the then-commander of the Colombian Army had ordered the creation of the terror operation within the Army intelligence unit to which the current Colombian army commander, Gen. Mario Montoya Uribe, was then assigned. The cable is the first hard evidence tying Colombia’s senior military leadership to the creation of a clandestine terror group.

The Archive released the second installment of the 2007 *Knight Open Government Survey* on July 2—40 years after the implementation of the U.S. Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA)—finding systematic Agency failures in tracking, processing and reporting FOIA requests. The survey—conducted by filing FOIA requests with 87 federal agencies asking for their “ten oldest open or pending” FOIA requests—found that the oldest requests still pending go back to the Reagan administration. The oldest was filed in 1987 by the Church of Scientology. The survey further illustrated that agencies often take months or years to respond to FOIA requests even though the law requires a 20-day response time. Dozens of news articles and editorials ranging from *The New York Times* to *The Cedartown Standard* (Georgia) cited the Archive’s Survey as evidence of the need for passage of the Open Government Act’s improvements of the Freedom of Information Act.

**August 2007:** On August 4, just before August recess, the U.S. Senate joined the U.S. House of Representatives in passing the *OPEN Government Act* authored by Senators Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) and John Cornyn (R-Tx.) that enacts common-sense reforms to improve the Freedom of Information Act. The improvements in the bill—better tracking, clarification of agency response time limits, Congressional reporting requirements, and a FOIA ombudsman to resolve disputes—reflect Archive recommendations on how to fix several of the most glaring problems identified by the Archive in its annual FOIA audits and numerous Archive staff testimonies before congressional hearings.

On August 14, in a further update to the Taliban Files electronic briefing book series, Taliban project director Barbara Elias posted additional new materials detailing the extent of U.S. concern over Pakistan’s relationship with the Taliban in the seven years leading up to 9-11. Islamabad has acknowledged diplomatic and economic links to the Taliban, but the documents reveal U.S. concern over military support as well. The documents show a consistent history of both military and financial assistance by the Pakistani government to the Taliban and give credence to U.S. concerns of Pakistani duplicity in the hunt for Osama bin Laden. Articles appeared in *The Guardian*, the Associated Press and the *Daily Times* (Pakistan).

**September 2007:** On September 5 the Archive sued the White House—with the pro bono assistance of the law firm Jones Day—seeking the recovery and preservation from backup tapes of more than 5 million White House e-mail messages that were apparently deleted from White House computers between March 2003 and October 2005. These missing e-mails were the subject of controversy during the Valerie Plame leak investigation and the recent Congressional probe into the DOJ firings of eight U.S. attorneys. The Archive suit accused the White House of violating both the Federal Records Act and the Presidential Records Act by improperly deleting the e-mails and failing to maintain and restore the electronic records management system put in place by the Clinton White House.
(as the result of the earlier Archive lawsuit against Presidents Reagan, Bush and Clinton) and later abandoned in 2002. White House officials have not denied the charge but claim only that the problem is being worked on and that the details are matters of presidential privilege and national security. Archive director Tom Blanton stated that the timeframe of the missing e-mails “covers the period beginning with the Iraq war until the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina; it doesn’t get more historically valuable than that.”

On September 16-24 the Archive, together with the Kuban State University and the NATO Information Office in Moscow, held the 5th annual summer school for scholars from Russia and the former Soviet Union in the Black Sea town of Gelendzhik, organized by Archive Senior Fellow Svetlana Savranskaya. This year’s program, titled *The Cold War Crises and Current Problems of International Security*, gathered together 28 young faculty from Russian regional universities, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, and Armenia and featured lectures by internationally renowned scholars such as Rodric Braithwaite (former British Ambassador to the Soviet Union), General William Odom (former head of the National Security Agency), General Alexander Lyakhovsky (Russian Afghanistan War veteran), Sergo Mikoyan (historian and son of former Khrushchev ally Anastas Mikoyan), Konstantin Sivkov (Deputy Head of the Russian Geopolitical Academy), James Blight and Janet Lang (Brown University critical oral history experts) and Archive director Tom Blanton. In the five years of their existence, the summer schools have produced an extraordinary network of nearly 200 alumni who now teach in regional universities across Russia and remain connected to the larger international networks.

In commemoration of Right to Know Day 2007, on September 28, the Archive’s Mexico project launched the new *Mexico Freedom of Information Program* Web page to promote the freedom of information movement in Mexico, promote government transparency and accountability, publicize Mexico’s national freedom of information law that went into effect in 2002, and connect NGOs and media organizations in other countries carrying out similar initiatives. The new Web page features an electronic version of the *México Abierto 2007: Publicaciones y Actividades* booklet—highlighting the media publications, editorials, tv and radio broadcasts, blogs and delegations that took part in the week-long *México Abierto* event in March, as well as describing the Mexico project’s transparency and freedom of information program activities and providing useful links to like-minded organizations.

**October 2007:** On October 10 and 12 Guatemala project director Kate Doyle appeared as an expert witness before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in a collective legal action being brought by more than a dozen families of death squad victims. The case is based on the military logbook or “death squad diary”—the explosive document smuggled out of Guatemalan military intelligence files in 1999 that lists the capture, secret detention and "disappearance" of dozens of Guatemalan men and women in the mid 1980s. Doyle submitted a declaration in the case analyzing the document's authenticity and worked with the Myrna Mack Foundation (the organization coordinating the families) and the Berkeley Human Rights Law Clinic (lead attorney for the families) to prepare the merits brief for the case arguing that the death squad operations described in the logbook were carried out or ordered by Guatemalan military intelligence. The expectation is that the case will pass to the Inter-American Court, and also prod the Guatemalan Public Ministry to advance the case nationally, where it has been stalled for eight years.

On October 31 Liberia’s Truth & Reconciliation Commission received over 4,000 pages of declassified U.S. documents on Liberia stemming from FOIA requests filed by the National
Security Archive on behalf of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights in a joint project to support the work of the Commission. The documents will be used as evidence as the Commission tries to establish an accurate record of the human rights crimes and abuses committed during Charles Taylor’s regime.

**November 2007:** *Slate* magazine picked the lead item of an Archive Web posting as the “Hot Document” of the day on November 2. The memo, written by Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin in February 1972, described how then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger conspired with the Soviets to keep U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers in the dark about the Kissinger-Dobrynin “back-channel” discussions. *Slate’s* headline was “Knee-capped by Kissinger.”

On November 13 Federal District Court Judge Henry H. Kennedy Jr. responded to the consolidated lawsuits—filed on September 5, 2007 by the National Security Archive and on September 25, 2007 by Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW)—seeking to determine whether the White House had destroyed 5 million e-mail messages in violation of federal law, by ordering the Executive Office of the President to preserve all e-mail backup media in its possession, or under its custody or control, under conditions that will preserve the data for eventual use. Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs said Judge Kennedy’s order “demonstrates how concerned he is about the White House’s cavalier attitude to its records” and stated that the Archive’s next step would be to use the legal process to determine what happened to back-up tapes of the time period before the lawsuits were filed. The Associated Press story detailing the judge’s order appeared in hundreds of newspapers.

On November 15 the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight, chaired by Representative Bill Delahunt (D-Ma), asked Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh for his expert testimony in the hearing ‘Diplomatic Assurances and Torture: A Case Study into Why Some are Accepted and Others Rejected’ on the case of Cuban exile and indicted terrorist Luis Posada Carriles, who was linked to the October 1976 bombing of a Cuban civilian airliner. The hearing examined why Posada has so far escaped penalty for his alleged crimes under the Bush administration, whereas other accused terrorists have been sent to Guantanamo or sent to other countries and tortured. Kornbluh testified that the evidence in the declassified record links Posada to the plane bombing and is a “more than sufficient” reason to detain Posada for acts of international terrorism under the Patriot Act and questions why Posada has only been charged with immigration fraud and is allowed to live freely in Miami. Kornbluh called for the committee to seek the declassification of the documentary evidence and further investigate how the Posada situation occurred in the midst of the Bush administration’s war on terror.

On November 28 the Nixon Library released thousands of pages of previously secret documents—based on specific declassification requests by Archive senior analyst William Burr—that resonate with present-day concerns about the Israeli nuclear program. The newly released documents further detail the May 2006 article in *The Bulletin Of the Atomic Scientists*, “Israel Crosses the Threshold,” by Burr and former Archive visiting scholar Avner Cohen, which revealed how the Nixon White House accommodated to the realities of the Israeli nuclear program through an informal understanding with Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and curtailed any efforts to get Israel to end its nuclear program. Israel still maintains this nuclear ambiguity today, a fact that surely weighs on the discussions at the Mideast peace summit held in Washington at the same time of this document release. Articles commenting on the similarity of past and present nuclear concerns appeared in *The New York Times, The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times.*
December 2007: On December 10, as Peru’s Supreme Court began its trial against former president Alberto Fujimori, the Archive posted on its Web site declassified documents that shed light on human rights crimes under Fujimori’s government, including the two cases for which he is now being prosecuted: the November 1991 massacre of 15 people at a barbecue in the Barrios Altos neighborhood of Lima and the July 1992 kidnapping and murder of nine students and a professor from La Cantuta University. It is alleged that the massacres were perpetrated by a death squad of military intelligence officers known as La Colina, who were under the direct command of Fujimori. The Archive provided hundreds of declassified U.S. documents to human rights advocates and officials as evidence for the trial, which could last for several months. Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh said the documents “carry a unique evidentiary value for holding even the highest human-rights violators legally accountable.”

On December 21, the 15th anniversary of the discovery of dictatorship-era secret police files of Paraguay’s Archivo del Terror, Archive Southern Cone project director Carlos Osorio together with George Washington University’s Gelman Library launched a mirror Web site of the Archivo del Terror’s catalogue and search engine by formal agreement with the Paraguayan Supreme Court. Along with the launch, the Archive posted Spanish-language documents that reveal new details of how Southern Cone military regimes collaborated in hunting down, interrogating, and disappearing hundreds of Latin Americans during the 1970s and 1980s as part of Operation Condor. The purpose of the mirror Web site is to preserve and make public to an international audience the enormous collection of Archivo del Terror and provide access to this unique human rights and historical source to hundreds of thousand of users worldwide.

On December 26 a New York Times art critic praised the transformation into art of the “Top Secret POLO STEP” documents obtained by the Archive through the Freedom of Information Act and posted on its Web site in February (“Jenny Holzer Makes Light of Poems and Beats Swords Into Paintings,” by Ken Johnson, The New York Times, 26 December 2007, p. B3). The renowned conceptual artist Jenny Holzer’s two-part exhibit includes 15 silk-screened purple or brown canvases each with a black reproduction 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. Johnson praised Holzer’s exhibit for delivering a “knock-out one-two punch” and said the PowerPoint paintings are “as efficient as hammers” and “give the impression of a cool, rational, step-by-step logic born of technocratic hubris.” Since 2004 Holzer has included many of the Archive’s declassified documents in her international and U.S. exhibits. “Projections” will be open through Fall 2008 at the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art in North Adams, MA.

On December 31, President Bush signed into law the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) reform bill (S.2488)—the OPEN Government Act of 2007—passed by Congress to fix some of the most persistent problems in the FOIA system as identified by the Archive (see August 2007 entry). Archive director Tom Blanton stated “Congress has acted to improve the FOIA for the first time in more than a decade, since the electronic FOIA amendments of 1996, but Congressional and public oversight will be essential for the law’s success.” Blanton pointed out that “Our Knight Open Government Survey in 2007 found that only one in five federal agencies fully complied with the 1996 law, even after 10 years of implementation.”