

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

-----)
IN RE PETITION OF NATIONAL SECURITY)
ARCHIVE, AMERICAN HISTORICAL)
ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR LEGAL) Miscellaneous Action
HISTORY, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN)
HISTORIANS, SOCIETY OF AMERICAN)
ARCHIVISTS, AND SAM ROBERTS)
FOR ORDER DIRECTING RELEASE OF)
GRAND JURY MINUTES)
-----)

DECLARATION OF THOMAS S. BLANTON

I, Thomas S. Blanton, declare as follows:

1. I am the Executive Director of the National Security Archive (“Archive”), a not-for-profit research institution located at the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. I served as the Archive’s first Director of Planning & Research beginning in 1986, became the Archive’s Deputy Director in 1989, and have served as Executive Director since 1992. As Executive Director I am responsible for all aspects of the Archive’s management and activities, including oversight of its research projects and publications.

2. The Archive was established in 1985 to conduct research and public education on U.S. governmental and national security decision-making. The Archive regularly collects, analyzes, and publishes declassified documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act (“FOIA”), the mandatory declassification review (“MDR”) procedure established by Executive Order 12958, as amended by Executive Order 13292, and systematic or special releases of historical records at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) or the various presidential libraries.

3. The Archive currently employs 33 full- and part-time analysts, fellows, research associates, and research assistants whose responsibilities include systematic, in-depth research on U.S. government documents that help to shed light on the decision-making process of the U.S. government and provide the historical context underlying those decisions. Seven of the 33 Archive staff hold Ph.D. degrees in history, political science, or international relations.

4. The Archive has an extensive history of publishing and disseminating its research and documentation in multiple formats, including paper, World Wide Web, CD-ROM, and microforms. Archive publications include more than 50 books written by staff and fellows; 29 large reference collections of declassified documents included in the Digital National Security Archive subscription series published by ProQuest; hundreds of articles in major newspapers, magazines and academic journals; and more than 230 online “electronic briefing books” which consist of narrative and analytical descriptions of important events related to U.S. foreign, intelligence, and military policy, along with the original documents illustrating the events and U.S. government decisions and activities. The Archive has also consulted on a number of documentary films and television and radio news specials.

5. The Archive’s journalistic work has received numerous awards, including most recently the 2005 Emmy Award for Outstanding Achievement in News and Documentary Research. In 1999 the Archive won the George Polk Award, one of U.S. journalism's most prestigious prizes, for—in the words of the citation—“piercing the self-serving veils of government secrecy, guiding journalists in the search for the truth and informing us all.” In 1998, the Archive shared the George Foster Peabody Award for the year’s outstanding documentary broadcast series (CNN’s *Cold War*).

6. The Archive's World Wide Web site, www.nsarchive.org, has won numerous awards including 40 citations from the Internet Scout Report of the University of Wisconsin, which recognizes “the most valuable and authoritative educational resources online”; recommendations from The History Channel and the BBC Online; *Forbes Magazine*’s “Best of the Web” award in 2005; and citation as one of the five “Top Sites” on the Web for terrorism-related information, with “fascinating primary data,” according to the *National Journal* (December 8, 2001).

7. In pursuing their work for the Archive, staff and fellows have published more than 50 books, including the winners of the 1996 Pulitzer Prize, the 1995 National Book Award, the 1995 Lionel Gelber Prize, the 1996 James Madison Award Citation of the American Library Association, the *Boston Globe* Notable Book Award for 1999, and the *Los Angeles Times* Best Non-Fiction Books of 2003. The publishers of Archive books range from university presses (such as Oxford, Harvard, Central European University, University Press of Kansas) to trade houses (W. W. Norton/New Press, Warner Books, Harper & Row) to academic publishers (Westview, Lynne Reinner, Routledge).

8. Recent books published by Archive staff and fellows include, for example: *The U.S. Intelligence Community*, 5th Edition, by Jeffrey T. Richelson (2007, Westview Press); *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*, by Vladislav Zubok (2007, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill); *From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980-81*, by Andrzej Paczkowski and Malcolm Byrne (2007, Central European University Press); *Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea*, by Jeffrey T. Richelson (2006, W.W. Norton); *War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War: Threat Perceptions in East and West*, by Vojtech Mastny, Sven Holtsmark, and

Andreas Wenger (2006, Routledge); *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA*, by John Prados (2006, Ivan R. Dee); *Inside the Pentagon Papers*, ed. John Prados (paperback edition) (2005, University Press of Kansas); *White House Tapes: Eavesdropping on the Presidents*, ed. John Prados (paperback edition) (2005, The New Press/W.W. Norton); *Hoodwinked: The Documents That Reveal How Bush Sold Us a War*, by John Prados (2004, The New Press/W.W. Norton); *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, by Peter Kornbluh (2003, The New Press/W.W. Norton); *Partnership: The United States and Japan 1951-2001*, by Akira Iriye and Robert Wampler (2001, Kodansha); *The Wizards of Langley: Inside the CIA's Directorate of Science and Technology*, by Jeffrey T. Richelson (2001, Westview Press); *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* by William Burr (1999, The New Press/W.W. Norton), *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report*, by Peter Kornbluh (1998, The New Press/W.W. Norton), and *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons since 1940*, by Stephen I. Schwartz, with myself and the Archive's William Burr as co-authors, *et al.* (1998, Brookings Institution Press). In addition to these books, Archive staff and fellows have contributed chapters and essays to numerous other books and publications on related topics.

9. The Archive also produces large reference collections of declassified documents obtained through FOIA, mandatory declassification review and other research, organized around a central subject or topic, together with commentary, indexes, and finding aids created by Archive analysts. The Archive has produced 29 such document sets, which are available digitally and on microfiche, are distributed to a broad range of libraries, universities, and research institutes, and are available to the public in the Archive's reading room in the main Gelman Library building on the George Washington University campus. The publisher of these

collections is ProQuest Information and Learning, which is also the leading publisher of Ph.D. dissertations through its subsidiary UMI (formerly University Microfilms).

10. More than 400 university libraries have purchased one or more of the Archive's reference collections, and 70 major university libraries ranging from Harvard to the entire University of California system have purchased the complete series of collections. In addition, numerous federal institutions and agencies have purchased the Archive's reference collections, including the Department of Justice, the National Defense University Library, the Smithsonian Institution, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the Naval War College, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Command and General Staff College.

11. Recent Archive document sets include: *U.S. Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction from World War II to Iraq* (2006, 8,386 pages); *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited: An International Collection of Documents from the Bay of Pigs to the Brink of Nuclear War* (2006, 8,737 pages); *The Kissinger Transcripts: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy 1969-1977* (2005, 28,286 pages); and *Terrorism and U.S. Policy: 1968-2002* (2002, 22,774 pages); *U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part I, 1954-1968* (2004, 13,675 pages); *U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part II: 1969-1975* (2004, 20,910 pages); *Japan and the United States: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part II, 1977-1992* (2000, 10,512 pages); and *Guatemala and the United States, 1954-1999* (2002, 17,244 pages).

12. Additional documents sets already in the production queue for completion in the next 12-30 months include document sets on the following topics: (1) The Kissinger Telephone Transcripts; (2) Peru: Human Rights, Drugs and Democracy, 1980-2000; (3) The United States Intelligence Community After 9/11; and (4) The History of the National Security Agency.

13. Articles written by Archive analysts based on records obtained from the United States Government have appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Congressional Quarterly*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *Harpers Magazine*, *The Miami Herald*, *Diplomatic History*, *Current History*, *The Nation*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Guardian*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *World Policy Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek*, *The International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, *International Security*, *Intelligence and National Security*, and other publications.

14. In addition to these publication activities, the Archive also distributes e-mail alerts on an almost weekly basis to over 7,000 subscribers. These newsletters directly link to documents recently released to the Archive through its research activities and update the public on issues pertaining to the operations and activities of the U.S. Government.

15. The alerts announce new “electronic briefing books” of documents on newsworthy topics, and provide direct links to the new postings on the Archive’s Web site. Updated frequently, these alerts and briefing books provide a sampling of documents in the Archive’s published and unpublished collections, and they provide online access to important declassified records on U.S. national security, foreign policy, diplomatic and military history, and intelligence policy. Approximately 240 of those electronic briefing books are available at the Archive’s website (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchive/news/>).

16. The Archive’s website attracts nearly two million successful visits per month by 230,000 unique visitors per month, who download more than 15 million pages of declassified documents per month, according to statistics maintained by the George Washington University Information Systems and Services.

17. In addition to the publication activities outlined above, the Archive has organized, co-sponsored, or provided the documentary basis for more than 60 major international academic conferences studying contemporary history and international relations. The Archive's conferences center around documentary briefing books of newly available primary sources, and bring together scholars with policymaking veterans who can provide context and atmospherics, often from opposing sides of the same international crisis or issue.

18. For example, the Archive co-organized with Harvard University's Kennedy School and then with Brown University's Watson Institute a series of six conferences between 1987 and 2002 on the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 – each of which generated worldwide news headlines and ultimately produced several volumes of new scholarship on the crisis. The first such conference brought to the table every then-living member of President Kennedy's "ExComm" during the Cuban missile crisis (such as defense secretary Robert McNamara and presidential counsel Theodore Sorensen); subsequent conferences (including one in Moscow) added leading Soviet eyewitnesses such as foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin; and the two anniversary conferences in Havana, Cuba in 1992 and 2002, attracted the full participation of Cuban president Fidel Castro, meeting with major delegations of American and Russian former officials and scholars. The Archive also was the organizer of a major 2001 conference in Havana on the 1961 Bay of Pigs operation, also hosted by Fidel Castro, that included a delegation of Bay of Pigs veterans from Miami ("Bay of Pigs: 40 years After"). The Archive also co-sponsored major conferences on the anti-Soviet uprising in Hungary in 1956 (Budapest, 1996), the Prague Spring of 1968 (Prague 1994), the Berlin workers uprising of 1953 (Potsdam 1993), the emergence of Solidarity in Poland in the early 1980s (Jachranka 1997), and five conferences marking the 10th anniversary of the 1989 collapse of

Communism in Eastern Europe (with participants such as Czech president Vaclav Havel, former Polish dictator Wojciech Jaruzelski, former U.S. national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the first Solidarity prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki). Archive partners in these conferences have included an extraordinary range of academic and research institutions, for example: leading dissident organizations such as the Moscow Helsinki Group and the 1956 Institute in Budapest; the post-Communist academies of science of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Russian Federation; six Italian universities (Florence, Pavia, Padua, Urbino, Perugia and Roma Tre); the Norwegian Nobel Institute; Ohio State University's Mershon Center; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C.; and the Federal Institute of Technology's Center for Security Studies in Zurich, among many others. The Archive has also organized seven academic summer schools for university faculty in Russian regional universities, with partners at Saratov, Voronezh and Kuban State Universities.

19. The Archive also serves as a repository of numerous collections of declassified records that have been donated to the Archive for their long-term preservation and to ensure continued access to the public. These include collections of documents compiled by authors such as Jeffrey Richelson (whose authoritative volume "The U.S. Intelligence Community" is now in its fifth edition, and who also wrote "Sword and Shield" about the Soviet intelligence apparatus), John Marks ("The Search for the Manchurian Candidate: The CIA and Mind Control"); Don Oberdorfer ("The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History"); Eliahu Mizrahi (writer and former Israeli government official); Arthur C. Helton (lawyer and human rights activist killed in the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad in August 2003 who wrote "The Price of Indifference" on humanitarian crises); nuclear researcher Chuck Hansen ("U.S. Nuclear Weapons: The Secret History" and "Swords of Armageddon: U.S. Nuclear

Weapons Development since 1945" CD-ROM); former ambassador Raymond Garthoff ("Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations From Nixon to Reagan"); and Pulitzer Prize winner Kai Bird ("The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy: Brothers in Arms" and "The Chairman: John J. McCloy, the Making of the American Establishment").

20. In total, the Archive maintains approximately 186 titled collections that were donated by outside researchers. These collections include more than 2,200 bankers' boxes worth of materials. The Archive is in the process of digitizing the most popular of these collections.

21. The Archive's archival collections are stored within the facilities of the Washington Research Library Consortium (WRLC) (WRLC's Website is <http://www.wrlc.org/>), which was established in 1987 by the major universities in the Washington D.C. area to share library collections and information technology in order to enhance the resources available to their students and faculty.

22. The above referenced collections may be reviewed by any researcher. Indeed the Archive receives approximately 500 visiting researchers each year at its research room in George Washington University's Gelman Library for the use of its unpublished collections.

23. The Rosenberg grand jury records that are the subject of this Petition would dramatically expand and complement the extensive Cold War espionage records that already are among the most used collections here at the National Security Archive. The Archive houses more than 20,000 records from Soviet and Eastern European archives that document the Cold War struggle from "the other side," including unique KGB reports that were declassified in the 1990s but now have been reclassified in Moscow and are no longer available to researchers there. The Archive also holds a complete set of the VENONA intercepts of Soviet diplomatic traffic that played a key role in the U.S. government's pursuit of the Rosenbergs, yet were never

declassified in any form at the time. The Rosenberg records will especially complement the extensive documentation collected by Archive staff over the past 20 years on the history of the nuclear arms race and the extensive intelligence efforts by both the United States and the Soviet Union to track and penetrate the other side's and other countries' nuclear weapons programs. The Archive has published thousands of pages of this documentation in multiple reference collections and a critically-praised book by Dr. Richelson ("Spying on the Bomb"). As part of the Archive collections, the Rosenberg grand jury records would remain on the public record and available for public inspection as long as the George Washington University exists, given the University's commitment to maintain the Archive's collections in perpetuity.

24. The Rosenberg grand jury records that are the subject of this Petition would provide unique and remarkable documentation for multiple publications by the Archive for the use of scholars and the public. The Archive would mark the public release of the records with an Electronic Briefing Book posted on the Archive's award-winning Web site, featuring the most newsworthy sections of the grand jury testimony, with annotations and an introduction intended for a general audience and for journalists seeking a concise version of the material. This Web posting would immediately reach more than 230,000 unique visitors who come to the Archive's Web site each month. We expect that the release of the Rosenberg grand jury records would attract significant media interest, given the enormous historical interest, both general and specific, in these records and their unavailability for 57 years, during which time scores of books and hundreds of articles have addressed and continue to address the Rosenberg case. Media coverage of the release of the records would drive additional visitors to the Archive Web site, and would reach potentially millions of readers with news of the release and substantive information from the records. For scholars, the Archive would digitize the complete set of

Rosenberg grand jury records and create a searchable database of the documents with full-text retrieval of keywords and terms, in order to facilitate scholarly work to address the many outstanding questions that remain about the Rosenberg case even 57 years later. The Archive would seek agreement with our co-publisher, ProQuest, to include this complete set of Rosenberg grand jury records in the Digital National Security Archive subscription provided online by ProQuest to more than 100 major university libraries in the United States and abroad, reaching hundreds of thousands of students and scholars. Through contracts with the libraries, ProQuest has committed to provide access in perpetuity to these records.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1764, I hereby declare under the penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed this 25 day of January, 2008, in Washington, D.C.



THOMAS S. BLANTON
Executive Director
The National Security Archive
The Gelman Library
2130 H Street, N.W., Suite 701
Washington, DC, 20037
Tel. 202-994-7000