

The National Security Archive

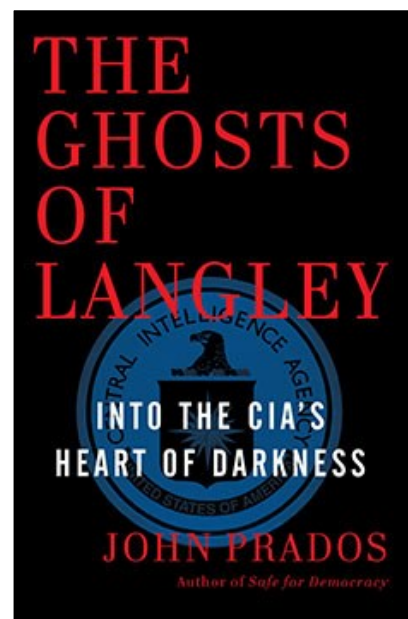
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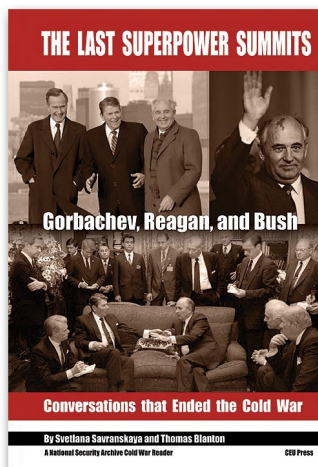
Annual Report for 2017

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

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – **1,561**
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – **194**
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – **241,667** including such news-making revelations as the Secret Service admission there is “no system for keeping track of Presidential visitors” at the Trump properties thus enabling unchecked access by lobbyists and foreign agents who pay the Trump membership fees; the specific mitigation guidance in February 2017 from the Department of Homeland Security for preventing attacks from the GRIZZLY STEPPE group of suspected Russian hackers; how the U.S. succeeded in pressuring South Korea to stop its nuclear program in the 1970s but by the 1990s found no viable military options (without mass casualties) against North Korea's nuclear weapons efforts; the top Air Force general's endorsement of nuclear war in 1971 since “we could lose 200 million people and still have more than we had at the time of the civil war”; the \$5 million a year the CIA spent on election meddling in Italy from the late 1940s to the early 1960s; the fierce but secret internal critiques of the U.S. supporting the Japanese “plutonium economy” planning that has now created a massive unusable excess supply of this deadly fissile material; the objections by Chiquita staff against the banana company's pay-offs to paramilitaries and to guerrillas in Colombia's civil war; and the U.S. Embassy Jakarta's detailed tracking of and support for genocide in Indonesia in 1965.
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – **29,270** in two reference collections: *Targeting Iraq, Part I: Planning, Invasion, and Occupation, 1997-2004* (edited by Joyce Battle); *Cuba and the U.S.: The Declassified History of Negotiations to Normalize Relations, 1959-2016* (edited by Peter Kornbluh).
- ◆ FOIA Lawsuits: *National Security Archive v. United States Department of Defense* (seeking release of Donald H Rumsfeld's “Snowflake” memos, filed 3/17/17); *Kate Doyle, National Security Archive, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security* (seeking disclosure of the White House visitor logs, filed 4/10/17); *National Security Archive v. U.S. Department of State* (seeks disclosure of State Department's “Dissent Channel messages,” filed 4/26/17); *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, National Security Archive v. The Hon. Donald J. Trump, Executive Office of the President* (challenging actions of the President, his staff, and the Executive Office of the President that seek to evade transparency and government accountability, filed 6/22/17)
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **1**; *The Ghosts of Langley: Into The CIA's Heart of Darkness* by John Prados (The New Press, November 2017).
- ◆ E-Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **36**, bringing the Web site total to **614**
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive – **4,302**; Visiting researchers at the Archive's Smith Bagley Research Center – **292**
- ◆ Archive Web site usage – Sessions: **1,560,852**; Users: **1,138,976**; Page Views: **2,762,817**
- ◆ Posts by Archive staff on *Unredacted* blog – **71**; Readers of *Unredacted* blog — **183,711** page views
- ◆ Subscribers to the Archive's e-mail alerts – **9,796**; Followers on the Archive Twitter feed – **16,200**; Followers on the Archive Facebook page – **9,890**
- ◆ Awards: Order of Bernardo O'Higgins for special contributions to Chilean society (Peter Kornbluh for decades of work to obtain the declassification of secret documents on the Pinochet regime); Choice Magazine's “Outstanding Academic Title 2017” (Tom Blanton and Svetlana Savranskaya for *The Last Superpower Summits*); honorable mention for the “Best of Slate” for 2017 (Nate Jones for “The Week the World Almost Ended”)
- ◆ Transcripts of Archive broadcast interviews – **21**; News stories citing the Archive – **814** (from Factiva, Lexis-Nexis)



January 2017: On January 17 an Italian tribunal in Rome reached a landmark verdict in a major case involving the coordinated, cross-border system of repression in Latin America known as Operation Condor. Archive Southern Cone project director Carlos Osorio provided testimony and 100 documents as evidence to the tribunal, which sentenced two former heads of state and two ex-chiefs of security forces from Bolivia and Peru, as well as a former Uruguayan foreign minister, to life imprisonment for their involvement in the deaths or disappearances of 42 dual citizens from the region.



On January 23 the Washington History Seminar featured Archive director Tom Blanton and Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya for the presentation of their book *The Last Superpower Summits: Gorbachev, Reagan, and Bush: Conversations that Ended the Cold War*. The volume is the fullest verbatim account ever in print of the historic summit meetings between Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, and George H.W. Bush from 1985 to 1991. It contains virtually every word the three leaders said to each other, thanks to an extraordinary trove of records obtained through the Freedom of Information Act in the U.S., from the Gorbachev Foundation and the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow, and from the personal donation of Anatoly Chernyaev, among other sources. The seminar—a joint venture of the American Historical Association and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars—was covered by C-SPAN and nationally broadcast.

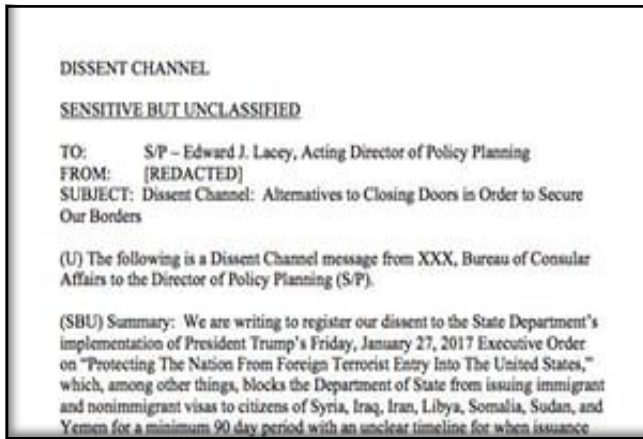
Prosecutors in Guatemala’s “Military Diary” case brought Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle to Guatemala City for an expert report in this criminal case charging more than a dozen senior military, intelligence, and police officers for the mass forced disappearance of 183 Guatemalan civilians during the 1980s.

February 2017: On February 15 the Archive’s *Nuclear Vault* showcased declassified excerpts from the diaries of JCS Chairman Admiral Thomas Moorer, which shed light on how the Pentagon organized command and control arrangements to keep the Joint Chiefs in the loop for Presidential nuclear use decisions. During one of the discussions, in September 1971, the Air Force chief of staff offered an eye-opening admission about senior military attitudes on nuclear survivability by asserting that in a nuclear war the United States “could lose two hundred million people and still have more than we had at the time of the Civil War.”

March 2017: On March 11, during the annual celebration of Sunshine Week, the Archive released its 16th FOIA Audit (since 2002) finding that three out of five of all federal agencies are flouting the FOIA Improvement Act of 2016, the new law designed to strengthen the Freedom of Information Act, including ignoring the requirement to update all FOIA regulations. The Audit found that only 38 out of 99 federal agencies and departments have updated their regulations in compliance with the new act, which passed with bipartisan, bicameral support. The law requires agencies, among other things, to update their regulations within 180 days of passage. The law passed on June 30, so agencies should have updated their regulations no later than December 27, 2016. Members of Congress from both parties cited the Archive’s finding in their own Sunshine Week statements.



On March 17, Colombia project director Michael Evans served as an expert witness in a “communication” delivered to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court seeking an investigation of top officials from Chiquita Brands International for millions of dollars in payments to illegal armed groups in Colombia. Working with the Harvard International Human Rights Clinic, the International Federation for Human Rights, and the *Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo*, Evans submitted more than 48,000 pages of evidence from the



On April 26 the Archive, represented *pro bono* by Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher and Flom LLP, sued the Department of State under the Freedom of Information Act for records transmitted through the State Department’s “Dissent Channel”—the formal mechanism through which State Department employees can voice their disagreement with U.S. government policies—for the period 1971 to 1991. Release of these documents will reinforce the internal right to dissent—needed now more than ever. The suit is also the first enforcement action under the new Exemption Five 25-year sunset provision of

the 2016 FOIA reform bill.

May 2017: On May 3 a posting on the Archive’s web site showcased the 828-document Cyber Vault repository covering all key aspects of cyber activity—including computer network defense (and other facets of cybersecurity), computer network attack, and computer network exploitation. A highlight of the collection—launched in March 2016 under project director Jeff Richelson—was a 2016 order from the U.S. Cyber Command to set up a unit with the mission of debilitating and destroying computer and communications operations of the terrorist group ISIS. This order established a joint task force designed to bring the resources of the Defense Department, Intelligence Community, and Justice Department to bear against the terrorist group that the Trump administration has since designated its top foreign policy priority, and the posting sparked coverage in *The Washington Post*.



On May 18 Archive Colombia project director Michael Evans, working with journalists at *VerdadAbierta.com* in Colombia, capped off a four-part series of e-books on the Archive’s web site and companion articles at *Verdad Abierta* from a new tranche of “Chiquita Papers”—released through the Archive’s 2015 FOIA lawsuit victory which denied Chiquita International’s request for confidential treatment of corporate records it had turned over during the course of the SEC’s investigation of its illegal payments to Colombian insurgent

groups like the FARC and the ELN. The articles were published in English on the Archive’s web site and in Spanish on *VerdadAbierta.com*. The first installment (April 24) focused on how access to records from Chiquita’s archives have made it possible to know the identities and understand the roles of the individual company executives who approved and oversaw years of payments to groups responsible for countless human rights violations in Colombia. The second installment (May 2) examined the roles of Chiquita financial officers, security staff and hired intermediaries on the ground in Colombia who managed payments to illegal groups—a process one official described as a “leap of faith.” The third installment (May 11) provided a detailed accounting of the amount of money the banana giant paid to Colombian insurgent groups like the FARC and the ELN, while the fourth installment (May 18) published the key records behind the March 2017 “communication” on Chiquita executives to the International Criminal Court and was timed to correspond with a press conference given the same day by Archive partners from

the Harvard International Human Rights Clinic, the International Federation for Human Rights, and the *Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo*.

On May 25 the Archive published the 12th installment of the diary of Anatoly S. Chernyaev—marking what would have been the 96th birthday of the former chief foreign policy aide to Gorbachev and leading architect of *perestroika*. The posting also recognized with sadness the loss of Anatoly Sergeevich, who passed away on March 12 in Moscow at the age of 95. The new diary installment for 1977 was translated into English by the Archive’s Anna Melyakova and edited by Archive Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya. The posting chronicles the ongoing atrophy of the Soviet political system—represented by the decline in health of then-Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev along with the rest of the aging and ill generation of Soviet leaders at that time and the simultaneous decline of the International Communist Movement which no longer used the USSR as its model. Both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* quoted Savranskaya in their moving obituaries of Chernyaev (March 2017) and discussed the serial translation and publication of his diaries done on a yearly basis by the Archive. “He was one of the key actors in ending the Cold War,” Savranskaya told the *Times*, “It’s hard to overestimate his role in pushing Gorbachev toward arms control, mutual security and the integration of Russia into Europe.”



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June 2017: On June 8 Archive senior analyst Bill Burr and the Nuclear Nonproliferation International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars posted a document collection showing that Japan’s long-standing aspirations to develop a “plutonium economy” troubled U.S. officials going back decades, as early as the Jimmy Carter administration. The Japanese government appealed repeatedly in the late 1970s for authority to utilize American spent fuel for reactor experiments and for acceptance of the country’s right to resource self-sufficiency. Tokyo’s

position sparked intense debate within the Carter administration, between those who wanted to avoid damaging ties with Japan and those—including the president—who placed a high priority on curbing the availability of sensitive nuclear technologies. Among the newly declassified documents in this e-book is a National Security Council memo expressing concern that the inevitable surplus from Japan’s desired processing plans would “more than swamp” global requirements and create a significant proliferation risk involving tons of excess plutonium by the year 2000. Indeed, as a result of reprocessing activities since then, Japan possesses 48 tons of plutonium and could be producing more, with no clearly defined use and significant proliferation danger, when a new reprocessing facility goes on line in 2018.

On June 15 Archive Iran-U.S. Relations project director Malcolm Byrne hailed the State Department’s release of a long-awaited “retrospective” volume of declassified U.S. government documents on the 1953 coup in Iran—part of the venerable *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) series. The publication is the culmination of decades of internal debates and public controversy after a previous official collection omitted all references to the role of American and British intelligence in the ouster of Iran’s then-prime minister, Mohammad Mosaddeq, and restoration of the Shah. For decades, neither the U.S. nor the British governments would acknowledge their part in Mosaddeq’s overthrow, even though a detailed account appeared as early as 1954 in *The Saturday Evening Post*, and since then CIA and MI6 veterans of the coup have published memoirs detailing their activities. Byrne was interviewed about the significance



of the documents in stories in the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *Tehran Times* and the *Daily Beast*.

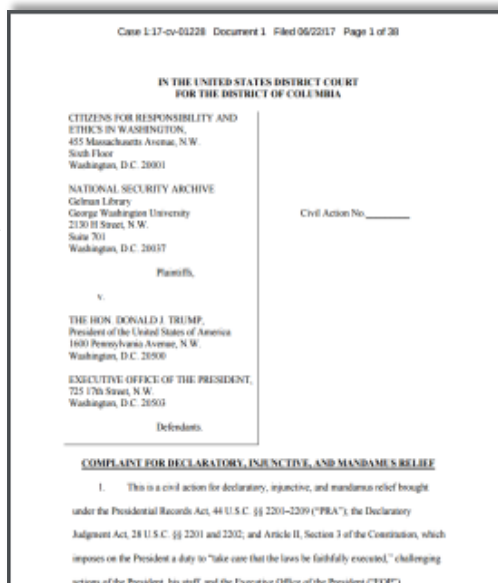
On June 16 *Newsweek's* print edition ran a major piece by Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne connecting Donald Trump's bubbling independent counsel troubles to one of their nearest historical equivalents—the Iran-Contra scandal. Entitled “The Great Miscommunicator,” the article asked “Can Trump pull a Reagan and beat the rap?” Based on years of collective research and a mountain of declassified documents gathered over time by Archive staff, the piece pointed out the similarities between the two presidents' circumstances and the array of legal, political, and other devices Trump may be able to draw upon to escape meaningful judicial sanction in the event Robert Mueller III levels formal charges against him.



On June 21 the Archive and its publishing partner ProQuest added a 49th documentation set to the Digital National Security Archive (DNSA) series titled *Targeting Iraq, Part 1: Planning, Invasion, and Occupation, 1997-2004*. The collection—consisting of 2,141 primary-source documents on U.S. policy leading to the 2003 invasion of Iraq curated by Iraq Documentation project director Joyce Battle—includes historical background on U.S. policy

debates dating to the Clinton administration; internal records that detail the Bush administration's decision-making prior to Operation Iraqi Freedom, including the controversial use of false intelligence to justify military action; materials that flesh out the campaign to build domestic and international support for the operation; and documentation covering the first 18 months of U.S.-led occupation. Composed principally of declassified U.S. documents, along with a significant selection from the United Kingdom, the collection illuminates the path to war and its many unanticipated consequences. Battle will produce a follow-on publication in 2019 picking up the history of the Iraq War from 2004.

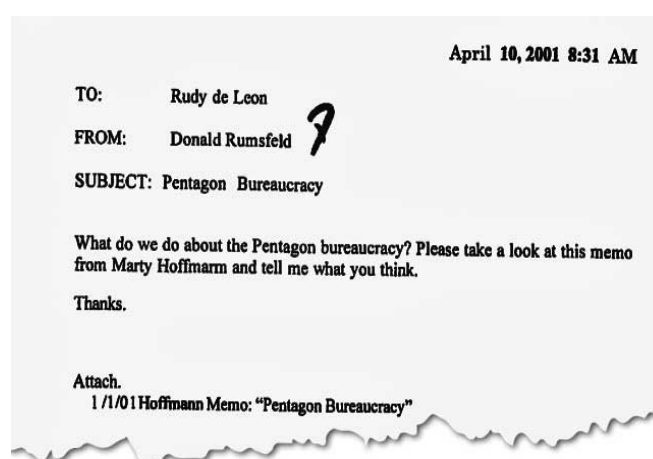
On June 22 the National Security Archive joined Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) in a lawsuit to ensure that the Trump administration preserves its presidential records—as required by law under the Presidential Records Act. The lawsuit specifically challenges widely reported White House staff use of encrypted, auto-delete messaging apps and deletion of tweets from President Trump's Twitter account. “Thanks to Congress, since 2014, government employees have been required to copy any private server e-mail messages about government business to official systems within 20 days,” said Archive director Tom Blanton. “Reports that Trump administration officials are disregarding this requirement—either by not following private e-mail protocol or by using encrypted messaging apps that prevent any kind of preservation—raise serious concerns that presidential records are at risk.” The lawsuit was widely covered in media outlets including *Newsweek*, *Politico*, the *Huffington Post*, NPR and an op-ed in *The Des Moines Register* (“Fight for your right to information,” July 4, 2017).



On June 28 Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones returned from a three-month research fellowship as a Nuclear Proliferation International History Project fellow at Odessa State University's Center for Nonproliferation in the Ukraine. There, he attended seminars, gave presentations on the Archive's work including Able Archer 83, and conducted research in the newly opened KGB archives in Kiev. In the archives he was able to locate and copy hundreds of

pages of previously secret and unreleased Soviet KGB documents about Soviet nuclear history, including a transcript of Yuri Andropov's speech announcing the creation of Operation RYaN ("Nuclear Missile Attack," in English) the Soviet plan to detect and preempt a western nuclear strike in the 1980s.

July 2017: Using the human rights exception in Mexico's access law, the Archive's Mexico project unearthed more than 4,000 pages from the investigative file on the March 2011 Allende massacre, in which members of the Zetas criminal group, in league with local authorities, kidnapped dozens (and perhaps hundreds) of people, burned and razed numerous homes and properties, and "cooked" the remains of their victims at ranches located just outside of town. The files, which include the complaints of victims and their family members, the declarations of suspects and other witnesses, and reports describing the crime scenes, the analysis of human remains, and other physical evidence provide the most complete possible picture of how the Zetas were able to coopt and coerce local authorities (including the police and other municipal officials) to participate in grave abuses of human rights. The Archive's work on Allende stems from a partnership with Sergio Aguayo of the Colegio de Mexico and Ginger Thompson of ProPublica, two of the leading researchers on the case.



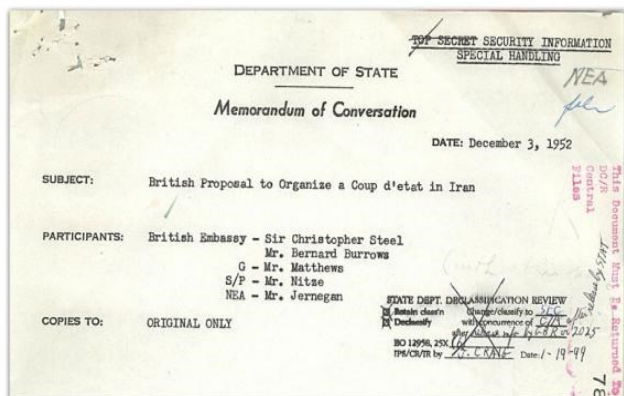
On July 5 the Archive received the first batch of former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's famous "snowflake" memos after the government agreed to the court-ordered release in 1,000-page increments of the 80,000 memos sought in the Archive's March 2017 suit against the Department of Defense. The memos should help historians and future policymakers better understand the reaction to 9/11, the lead-up to the Iraq War, and the inner workings of the enormous Pentagon apparatus. The Archive plans to build a special "vault" on our web site to house the collection for scholars to parse through for their own research.

On July 18 the Archive along with *OpenTheGovernment*, *Defending Rights & Dissent*, and *Demand Progress* submitted comments to the U.S. National Archives (NARA) in an effort to stop the CIA from destroying a large number of potentially important documents, including classified information related to the Agency's official actions abroad, investigative files from the offices of the Inspector General, Security, and Counterintelligence, and files relating to CIA assets (spies) that the CIA itself does not deem "significant." As reported in the *Daily Beast* ("CIA Plans to Destroy Some of Its Old Leak Files" July 18, 2017), the National Archives tentatively approved a CIA records retention schedule to destroy information that is more than 30 years old. In addition to the files listed above, the Agency is also attempting to destroy files related to CIA investigations into alleged unauthorized releases of classified information (which the Agency wants to change from a permanent to temporary designation). The comments were submitted to the acting director of records appraisal and agency assistant, Margaret Hawken, requesting her agency "reconsider its pending approval of the CIA's proposed schedule, N1- 263 -13-1, until NARA can better assure the public that records of permanent historic value will not be allowed to be destroyed by the CIA." Public outcry has forced the agency to withdraw its records management schedule in the past, as in 2016 when it had to pull its plan to destroy agency e-mails of all except its top 22 employees.



On July 20, the Archive posted its 600th e-book on its web site. Our first e-book—"The United States, China and the Bomb"—was published over 20 years ago in January 1996. These postings

of declassified documentation are routinely coordinated with leading newspapers, TV news programs, and online outlets to generate “front page impact” on the public discourse over U.S. foreign policy, human rights, and secrecy issues. The Archive's web site has won numerous awards including *USA Today's* "Hot Site" designation, *Forbes' Best of the Web* citation in 2005 for “singlehandedly keeping bureaucrats’ feet to the fire on the Freedom of Information Act,” the International Political Science Association’s “Top 300 web sites for Political Science” in 2007, and 50 citations from the University of Wisconsin’s Internet Scout Report recognizing “the most valuable and authoritative resources online.” The site has attracted more than 2 million unique visitors a year, more than 200,000 every month, who download every day more than 589,000 pages (in pdf) and 39,000 pages (in html).



August 2017: On August 8 Archive Iran-U.S. Relations project director Malcolm Byrne posted new documentary evidence confirming the long-accepted but never officially acknowledged fact that the British approached the U.S. during the final months of the Truman presidency in late 1952 about ousting Mohammad Mosaddeq, the elected prime minister of Iran. The two previously-Top-Secret memoranda reveal that the British Foreign Office queried the Truman administration on more than one occasion in late 1952 about a coup—something the British

government continues to refuse to concede—although Truman advisers rejected the idea, punting the ultimate decision to the incoming Eisenhower team. The new posting consists of the most explicit, officially declassified records on the subject released to date by any government.

On August 14 the Archive launched a re-designed web site with all new landing pages, mobile-friendly customization and integration with the open-source Drupal Content Management System. The new design brings the Archive’s web site into the 21st century with a much more appealing look; a platform that will streamline publications and allow the Archive to publish more content more quickly; an improved search ability with drop-down menus for ease of navigation and multiple points of access. Importantly, the site incorporates significantly updated approaches to requesting donations through Network for Good, and beefing up our mailing list.

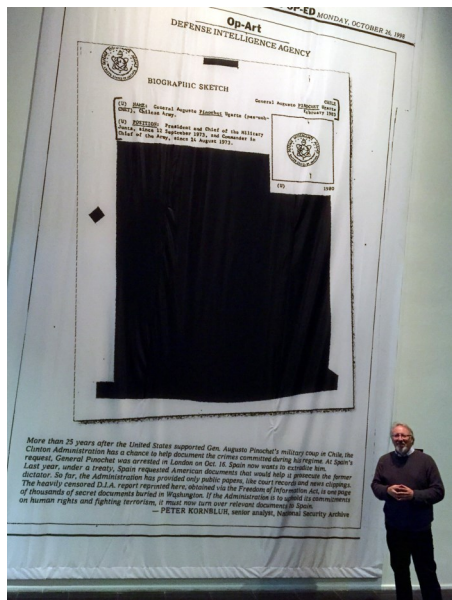


On August 31 Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle submitted a 50-page expert report to Canada’s Ministry of Justice, Office of War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, regarding the 1982 Dos Erres massacre in Guatemala. The report provided support for the government’s case against former Kaibil Special Forces officer Jorge Sosa Orantes, who was indicted for his role in the massacre by a Guatemala court, but is currently serving a ten-year sentence for naturalization fraud in a U.S. federal prison. Sosa Orantes obtained U.S. and Canadian passports after fleeing Guatemala, and Canada now seeks to strip him of his citizenship based on his crimes during the massacre, which resulted in the killing of over 200 defenseless residents of the village of Dos Erres.

September 2017: An appeal filed by the Archive through Mexico’s transparency system forced the release of key records from Mexico’s Secretariat for National Defense (SEDENA) on the March 2011 Allende massacre. The documents confirm that Mexican military units were aware of the massacre as it was happening and received at least two reports about the ongoing violence during the events of March 18-20, 2011, but did nothing.

On September 4 the editor of *freedominfo.org*, Toby McIntosh, published the ultimate global guide to using freedom of information laws, with country-by-country guidance and links, together with tips and models tailored to journalists. Sponsored by the Global Investigative

Journalism Network, the new global guide builds on *freedominfo.org's* coverage since 2002 (sponsored and hosted online by the National Security Archive) of the worldwide phenomenon of new access to information laws—now in 115 countries—and the scores of success stories of human and policy impact from those laws.



On September 11 the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile, opened a major new exhibit—*Secretos de Estado: La Historia Desclasificada de la Dictadura Chilena* (Secrets of State: the Declassified History of the Chilean Dictatorship)—curated by Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh. The exhibit consists of 45 formerly classified documents dated between 1970 when Richard Nixon ordered the CIA to instigate a coup in Chile, and October 1988 when General Augusto Pinochet sought to orchestrate a second coup after losing a plebiscite to stay in power. Timed with the opening, Kornbluh posted 25 documents on the Archive’s web site on the U.S. role in the Pinochet dictatorship. The unusual exhibit offers visitors an immersive experience including listening to reenacted phone calls between Nixon and Henry Kissinger and galleries of dramatically lit documents and newspaper front pages from the Pinochet era. Kornbluh spoke at the opening of the exhibit which generated extensive social and media interest in Chile and around the world, including a special broadcast on Telesur which was

seen throughout Latin America and in Cuba. *The New York Times* highlighted the exhibit and Kornbluh’s declassification work in persuading the Clinton administration to release 23,000 documents on the Pinochet era in a special Chile Declassification Project—a small sample of which were included in the exhibit.

On September 11-12 Archive Iran-U.S. Relations project director Malcolm Byrne co-organized (with Archive senior fellow and GWU history professor Jim Hershberg) a scholarly workshop to delve into the underlying history and significance of the newly-released FRUS volume on the U.S.-backed coup in Iran in 1953 which had been held up for years over classification claims. Former Archive staffer and current director of the History and Public Policy program at the Woodrow Wilson Center Christian Ostermann hosted the event. Byrne tracked down the volume’s editor—now off the grid and working for “another agency”—and brought him together with other current and former CIA and State Department officials as well as major scholars such as Mel Leffler, Haleh Esfandiari, and Mark Gasiorowski to assess the new documents’ value for the academic community and the public.

On September 20 the Archive, together with the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University and the Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), filed a court motion asking that “the Court issue an order requiring the government to show cause for its failure to comply with its court-ordered obligation to produce all responsive and non-exempt Mar-a-Lago records.” This action followed the release of exactly two pages of Mar-a-Lago presidential visitor records in response to our original FOIA lawsuit (filed April 10, 2017). The only document the government released concerned the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe—after telling Judge Failla and the plaintiffs that the Department of Homeland Security had identified hundreds of responsive e-mails and would produce all the visitor records, according to a court order filed in July. “The government misled the plaintiffs and the court,” Tom Blanton commented. “I can only conclude that the Trump White House intervened and overrode career lawyers.”



Also in September, the escalating bellicose rhetoric between the United States and North Korea led *USA Today*, *Slate Magazine*, Bloomberg, *The Atlantic*, and other news outlets to revisit a 2010 posting of documents by Archive Korea project director Dr. Robert Wampler on the Nixon administration's struggles with contingency options on how to respond to North Korean military provocations—contingencies that have only increased the risk of sparking a wider war from the options of nearly 50 years ago. Wampler told NPR in 2010 that declassified documents won through FOIA showed that the Nixon administration struggled to identify an adequate response to the 1969 downing of an American EC-121 spy plane flying off the coast of the Korean peninsula, killing all 31 crew members. Wampler said: "The U.S. did not have a very good menu of options when this happened, which sort of constrained them in their ability to pick and choose amongst something that would work, and also contain the situation... The military produced the options, ratcheting up the level of military force all the way to all-out war and to using nuclear weapons. But constantly you find the military saying, 'But the risks probably still outweigh the potential gains.'"



October 2017: On October 1 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh was inducted into "the order of Bernardo O'Higgins." Chile's Ambassador Juan Gabriel Valdes presented the award, which the Chilean government gives to foreigners who have made a special contribution to Chilean society, during a ceremony at the Chilean Embassy. In presenting the award, Ambassador Valdes recognized Kornbluh's leadership role in decades of efforts to obtain the declassification of secret documents on the coup and the Pinochet regime. In his acceptance speech

Kornbluh noted that the documents were invaluable to "speaking truth to power" because there "was no better way to reveal the truth than to reveal the words those in power spoke and wrote." Also receiving the O'Higgins Award was Archive advisory board member John Dinges for his decades of investigative reporting on Pinochet.

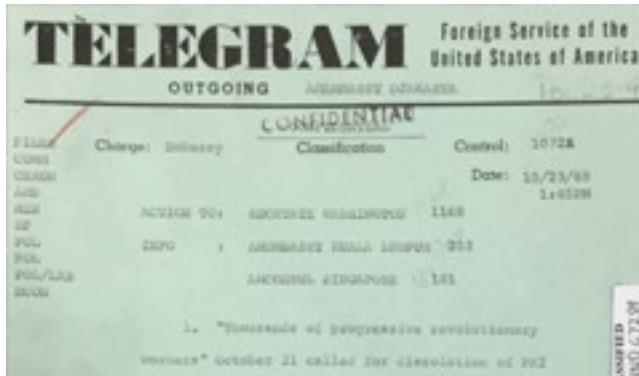
On October 3-4 the Archive co-organized a 2-day forum in Havana on the 55th anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis—a historic episode that has assumed new relevance as tensions rise with North Korea. The forum, titled "*Crisis de Octubre: 55 Años Después*," was held at the Instituto Superior de Relaciones Internacionales for the purpose of educating Cuban students of diplomacy and foreign policy on the lessons of crisis leadership and diplomatic communications, as well as to create an opportunity for release of further Cuban documentation on the missile crisis. The Archive brought a delegation of five analyst/historians: Cuba project director Peter Kornbluh; Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya; Archive director Tom Blanton; Michael Dobbs, author of *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War*; and American University professor and Cuba scholar Philip Brenner, who is co-author of *Sad and Luminous Days: Cuba's Struggle with the Superpowers after the Missile Crisis*.



On October 3-4 Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne served as an expert adviser at an international workshop in Colombo, Sri Lanka, organized by the United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The title of the event was "The role and Importance of Archives for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Processes—Sharing of Country Experiences, Practices and Challenges." Building on the work of Archive Evidence Project staffers Kate Doyle, Michael Evans, and Carlos Osorio, Byrne delivered two presentations about the Archive's unusual experiences in Guatemala, El Salvador, and the Southern Cone, as well as in the former Communist states of Eastern Europe, to a broadly-based group of Sinhalese and

Tamil peace and reconciliation specialists, human rights experts, and international organization representatives.

On October 16—the actual 55th anniversary date of the start of the Cuban missile crisis—Archive senior analysts Peter Kornbluh and Bill Burr posted the U.S. Navy occupation documents drawn up as part of the preparations to invade and take control of Cuba in 1962. The plans called for establishing a temporary government headed by a U.S. “commander and military governor.” according to the recently declassified “Military Government Proclamation No. 1.” “All persons in the occupied territory will obey immediately and without question all enactments and orders of the military government,” stated the proclamation. “Resistance of the United States Armed Forces will be forcefully stamped out. Serious offenders will be dealt with severely,” it warned. “So long as you remain peaceable and comply with my orders, you will be subjected to no greater interference than may be required by military exigencies.”



On October 17, in partnership with the National Declassification Center (NDC), Archive staff published 39 newly declassified documents from a much larger collection on Indonesia from the files of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta dating from 1963-1969—a subject of great public interest because the mass murder of at least 500,000 Communist Party members by the Indonesian military led by then-Major General Suharto took place during that time period. The documents show that the U.S. government had detailed knowledge

that the Indonesian Army was conducting a campaign of mass murder against the country’s Communist Party (PKI) starting in 1965 and even kept a record of PKI executions—actively supporting Indonesian Army efforts to destroy the country’s left-leaning labor movement. In an unprecedented collaboration, the National Security Archive—led by Indonesia and East Timor project director Brad Simpson—worked with the NDC to make the entirety of this collection available to the public by scanning and digitizing the collection, located at the National Archives (NARA), which will be incorporated into NARA’s digital finding aids. When completed, scholars, journalists, and researchers will be able to search the documents by date, keyword, or name, providing unparalleled access, in particular for the Indonesian public, to a unique collection of records concerning one of the most important periods of Indonesian history. The success of this joint declassification project provides a blueprint for future declassification and dissemination of important collections. Revelations from the documents were covered worldwide including extensive coverage in *Tempo Magazine*—Indonesia’s premier weekly news magazine.

Also on October 17 Archive Iran-U.S. Relations project director Malcolm Byrne penned a timely op-ed for *The Washington Post* on President Trump’s decertification of the Iran nuclear deal titled “The Trump administration’s tragic misstep on Iran: There is no better deal to strike with Iran.” Byrne stated “the president missed the real takeaway from his stroll through history. Precisely because the relationship has been so bitter, getting a major deal of any kind with Tehran—even one as unsatisfying as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—was a remarkable feat that is unlikely to be replicated. This is the reality of the deal that Trump and other critics simply haven’t grasped—and why they’re on track to make a major, perhaps irreversible, mistake in U.S.-Iran relations.”

On October 25 Archive senior fellow John Prados posted key documents relating to a 1942 Department of Justice effort to prosecute *The Chicago Tribune* for publishing classified government information under the Espionage Act—the U.S. government’s most significant prosecution of an American media outlet prior to the Pentagon Papers. The *Tribune* had published a series of stories in 1942, based on leaked information, implying but not saying directly that the



U.S. had broken the secret Japanese code, which significantly assisted the U.S. Navy in winning the Battle of Midway. A 1942 grand jury decided against indicting the *Tribune*, worrying that further publicity would alert the Japanese. In 2013, Prados, along with the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and interested historians, argued in court that the jury transcripts should be unsealed due to their historical and public interest; a federal judge agreed and ordered them opened in June 2015. The government lost a final appeal in the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in September 2016, thus expanding the precedent from earlier judicial decisions—including in the Julius Rosenberg case—concerning the opening of grand jury records of historical importance.

November 2017: Colombian advocates for transitional justice brought the Archive's Colombia project director Michael Evans to Bogota to participate in a series of events related to the implementation of justice mechanisms under the new peace treaty in Colombia. In the first, Evans discussed the use of declassified sources with lawyers and advocates preparing to litigate human rights cases before the Special Jurisdiction for Peace, a tribunal established to adjudicate crimes related to decades of civil war. In the second event, Evans discussed how access to declassified sources can support the participation of victims in the coming truth commission in Colombia.

On November 7 *The New Press* published Archive senior fellow John Prados's latest book *The Ghosts of Langley: Into the CIA's Heart of Darkness*. Coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the CIA's establishment as an independent intelligence agency, the book is a provocative and panoramic new history of the Central Intelligence Agency that relates the agency's current predicament to its founding and earlier years, telling the story of the agency through the eyes of key figures in CIA history, including some of its most troubling covert actions around the world. *Publishers Weekly* praised the book, stating "Prados admirably aims to highlight positive moments in agency history, but a primary motivation is to document the means spies have employed to 'escape from criticism and accountability....' The American intelligence establishment's yearning to outdo its rivals, both foreign and domestic, has produced a mixture of both genuine and comic-opera horrors that make for entertaining, if dismaying, accounts such as this one."



On November 9 Russia programs director Svetlana Savranskaya engaged in a remarkable one-on-one public discussion with former Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott focusing on the end-of-Cold-War historical question: "Bush/Clinton/Yeltsin: 'Losing Russia?'", at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. Savranskaya's analysis of the Moscow perspective, backed by years of unusual access to Russian archival and interview sources, was a perfect counterpoint to Talbott's view from the Clinton administration, based

on his own unique first-hand experiences. The panel was part of a three-day conference, "U.S. Presidents Confront the Russians: A Century of Challenge, 1917-2017," that featured an all-star array of scholars and former policymakers. The full video is available on the Miller Center's site.

On November 11 the Archive mourned the passing of its most senior fellow, Dr. Jeffrey T. Richelson, prolific Freedom of Information Act requester and critically-praised author of extraordinary reference works on intelligence, nuclear weapons, China, terrorism, military uses of space, and espionage. Jeff passed away on Saturday, November 11, at his home in Los Angeles after a months-long battle against cancer. He ranks among the founders of the National Security Archive vision—that systematic Freedom of Information Act requests could force the government to open files that otherwise would remain secret indefinitely, and once open, these files could enrich scholarship and journalism and the public debate on issues like nuclear



weapons and spying that very much need public attention and skepticism. As an Archive senior fellow since the 1990s, his most recent Archive initiative was as founding director of the *Cyber Vault* web portal that publishes primary sources on cyber security policy. His legacy will live on with his numerous books including *The U.S. Intelligence Community* (Westview Press), which entered its 7th edition in 2016. Tom Blanton wrote a tribute to Jeff and his influential career that was posted on the Archive’s web site and later picked up by numerous Richelson admirers.



On November 17 Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle led a full-day workshop in Mexico City on using Public Access to Court Electronic Records (PACER)—a service that provides on-line public access to documents of United States federal courts—for the purpose of training 20 Mexican human rights investigators in the use of the service for human rights investigations. In

addition to Doyle, experts Roxanna Altholz (U.C. Berkeley International Human Rights Law Clinic), and Jason Buch (journalist with the *San Antonio Express-News*) helped participants locate and download records with PACER and understand how to read, interpret and analyze the resulting documents for human rights purposes. Participants were a selection of Mexican human rights defenders seeking U.S. court records as research tools in the investigation of cases in which the intersection of organized crime, drug trafficking, and corrupt state actors has resulted in human rights crimes and contributed to the human rights crisis in Mexico. The broader goal of the training was to help strengthen accountability efforts in Mexico by facilitating access to court records in the United States that may serve as important sources of information and investigative tools.

On November 30 in light of growing concern about nuclear war and presidential control of nuclear weapons in the Trump administration, the Archive’s *Nuclear Vault* published documents on an important norm that emerged after the atomic bombing of Japan: the socially constructed taboo against first use of nuclear weapons in combat operations. Beginning with President Truman, who declared that atomic bombs must be treated



“differently from rifles and cannon and ordinary things like that,” the e-book provided examples of nuclear taboo thinking, including statements by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon and analysis by CIA and State Department officials. It also included documents from 1991 on U.S. proposals for very small nuclear weapons (“mini-nukes”) that a senior Soviet official worried would make it too easy to use nuclear weapons.

December 2017: Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle and others held a series of meetings and Skype conferences with colleagues from WOLA, Due Process of Law Foundation, Human Rights Data Analysis Group, and human rights lawyer Naomi Roht-Arriaza to coordinate strategy around developing criminal human rights cases in El Salvador now that the amnesty law has been overturned. The Archive is working on assessing available declassified documents for ongoing cases (including the El Mozote massacre, the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, and the killing of the Jesuits), as well as helping define U.S. archives that remain classified but would be critical for the work of a new “Commission on the Disappeared” recently created by the president of El Salvador. In addition, the Archive is developing a campaign with our colleagues to press for the release of Salvadoran military and police records, and the opening of the archived records of the U.N. Truth Commission in El Salvador (now under seal inside the United Nations).

On December 8 the Archive’s *Nuclear Vault* showcased the second of two e-books on Bush 41 and Clinton administration efforts to engage North Korea and reverse its fissile materials production program, and received widespread media coverage in light of the heightening crisis between Washington and Pyongyang over the latter’s weapons and missile tests. So did an earlier e-book on Nixon’s search for military options against North Korea (“How Do You Solve

A Problem Like Korea?” June 23, 2010). The documents underscored the terrible risks involved in a military confrontation with North Korea, and how previous administrations had pursued diplomatic engagement with Pyongyang with full recognition of the challenges involved in negotiating with North Korea. The e-books were the subject of widespread media coverage including *The Washington Post*, *Slate USA Today*, *The Atlantic*, and the Associated Press.



On December 15 the Archive announced the publication of *Cuba and the U.S.: The Declassified History of Negotiations to Normalize Relations, 1959-2016* in the *Digital National Security Archive*—marking the 50th documentation set in the series. The collection of 1,704 primary-source records on more than 50 years of dialogue between the

U.S. and Cuba reveals the hidden history of back-channel diplomacy aimed at seeking common ground amid the perpetual antagonism of relations between Washington and Havana. It documents the little-known efforts of Fidel Castro and 11 U.S. presidents to use behind-the-scenes communications to resolve crises, collaborate on mutual interests, and even, at times, to seek a rapprochement, which finally came to fruition during the Obama administration. Archive senior analyst and editor of the set Peter Kornbluh plans to donate the collection to various Cuban academic and research institutions to further Cuban scholarship and understanding of this important history, and to inspire a process of Cuban declassification of its own records. Kornbluh also posted a “top ten” selection of documents from the documentation set on the Archive’s web site just prior to the 3rd anniversary of “17-D”—the iconic date of December 17, 2014, when President Barack Obama and President Raul Castro made a public breakthrough in U.S.-Cuba relations.

On December 28 Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones’s article—co-authored with J. Peter Scoblic—received an honorable mention for Slate’s most popular stories for 2017. The article, “The Week the World Almost Ended” (*Slate*, April 13, 2017) examined how in 1983, the NATO war game Able Archer 83 simulated a U.S. nuclear war with Russia—and only narrowly avoided starting a real one. *Slate* published more than 11,000 articles in 2017 and chose the most popular based on how long readers clicked on the article and kept reading.

