

## The National Security Archive in 2022

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

- Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – **587**
- Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – **40**
- Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – **21,197** including headline-making documents that shed light on DOD pursuit of military exemptions from emissions targets during the 1997 Kyoto climate negotiations; CIA conclusions that the sanctions imposed on Cuba by the embargo “have not met any of their objectives”; early concepts of “nuclear winter” and the impact of nuclear warfare on the environment; how Manhattan Project leaders played down the problem of fallout and radiation sickness; a Soviet plot to beam microwave radiation at the U.S. embassy in Moscow during the Cold War; the fact that the Cuban Missile Crisis lasted 59 days, not just the “13 days” written about in most books and movies; how knowledge of the missile swap agreement resolving the Cuban Missile Crisis was kept secret, leading to crisis evaluations based on incomplete information; and nuclear nonproliferation challenges in India, where the government insisted it could freely use reactor-produced plutonium for peaceful nuclear explosions (PNE).
- Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – **37,263** in two reference collections: *U.S. Climate Change Diplomacy: From the Montreal Protocol to the Paris Agreement, 1981-2015* and *The Afghanistan War and the United States, 1998-2017*.
- FOIA Lawsuits: **2 continuing, 1 appealed, 1 dismissed, 3 new petitions** Continuing The National Security Archive Fund, Inc. v United States Department of Defense (filed December 23, 2021, Case 1:21-cv-03358) for violation of the FOIA and pattern or practice of undue delay in the Department of Defense appeals system. Appeal of National Security Archive v. Central Intelligence Agency (filed October 27, 2021, Case 1:21-cv-02857) seeking the “Perroots Memo” on the “1983 Soviet ‘War Scare’” after a federal judge sided with the CIA that it should be censored, despite already being published in the State Department’s February 2021 FRUS volume. Closure of National Security Archive v. Department of State (filed December 14, 202, Case 1:20-cv-03649) after parties agreed to a production schedule and re-execution of responsive records searches in FOIA requests related to 43 disappeared students in the 2014 Ayotzinapa case in Mexico. The Archive also joined with other civil society organizations in petitions requesting that the DOJ investigate Trump for violating federal records laws; challenging Biden’s signing of the FY 2022 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA); and inclusion of the Office of Legal Counsel Transparency Amendment in the FY 2023 NDAA.
- Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **1**, *Republics of Myth: National Narratives and the US-Iran Conflict* by Hussein Banai, Malcolm Byrne, and John Tirman (Johns Hopkins University Press, April 2022).
- E-Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **34**, bringing the Web site total to **818**
- Archive Web site usage – Sessions: **2,126,218**; Users: **1,587,706**; Page Views: **3,423,341**
- Posts by Archive staff on *Unredacted* blog – **27**; Readers of *Unredacted* blog **143,068** page views
- Subscribers to the Archive’s e-mail alerts – **22,737** (adding over 5,500 new subscribers); Followers on the Archive Twitter feed – **22,400**; Followers on the Archive Facebook page – **11,118**



The Cuban Missile Crisis @ 60  
Getting to Know the Cubans: Part Two  
Nov 3, 2022



The Cuban Missile Crisis @ 60  
The Cuban Missile Crisis Cover-Up  
Oct 28, 2022



The Cuban Missile Crisis @ 60  
The Most Dangerous Day  
Oct 27, 2022



The Cuban Missile Crisis @ 60  
Briefing NATO Allies  
Oct 21, 2022



The Cuban Missile Crisis @ 60  
How John F. Kennedy Sacrificed His Most  
Consequential Crisis Advisor  
Oct 17, 2022



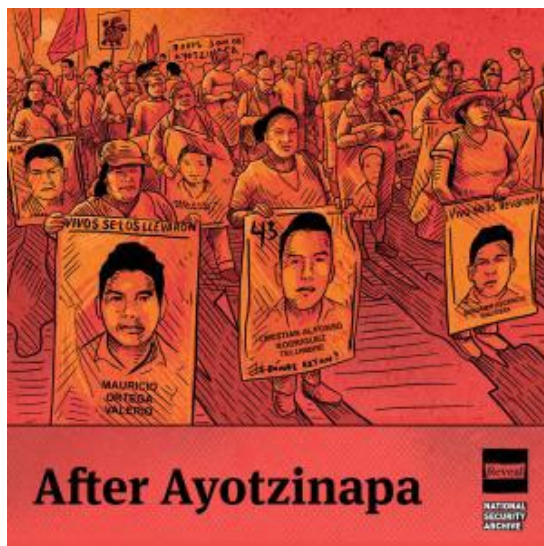
Getting to Know the Cubans: Khrushchev Meets  
the Castro Brothers  
Oct 14, 2022



The Underwater Cuban Missile Crisis at 60  
Oct 3, 2022



**January 2022:** On **January 6** Archive staff marked the one-year anniversary of the assault on the Capitol building with two new Web site postings. The first published was *The Capitol Riot: A Chronology*, a meticulously researched timeline of the day's events meant to preserve the evidentiary base and serve as an important tool for investigators, researchers, the public, and Congress. The timeline draws on stellar reporting from organizations like *ProPublica*, *The New York Times*, *AP*, *The Washington Post*, *NPR*, *Politico*, and *Newsweek*, congressional testimony, an officially published Department of Defense timeline, as well as the Archive's own targeted FOIA requests. Each entry includes a source with hyperlink, and a Who's Who of key figures is also provided that will be updated as important new information surfaces. A related posting by Archive Cyber Fellow Cristin Monahan took an in-depth look at the double-edged role the Internet played in the riot – in aiding both the participants in planning and coordinating the attack and federal authorities in identifying those same participants in the subsequent investigation. Taken together with our three previous January 6 sourcebooks, the new postings provide a high level of detail about the attempted coup, while at the same time underscoring just how much about federal or local government decisions and actions remains unknown to the public. The Archive was also notified that the Library of Congress had selected *The Capitol Riot: A Chronology* for inclusion in the Library's historic collection of Internet materials, *January 6<sup>th</sup> Attack on the U.S. Capitol Web Archive* – describing the timeline as an “important part of this collection and the historical record.”



On **January 15**, “After Ayotzinapa,” a three-part podcast investigating the infamous disappearance of 43 Mexican students in 2014, began broadcasting in the U.S. on over 600 NPR stations. The podcast was the result of a two-year collaboration between the National Security Archive and Reveal News from the Center for Investigative Reporting and was reported and co-produced by National Security Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle and Reveal senior reporter Anayansi Diaz-Cortes. A parallel, Spanish-language version in partnership with Adonde Media was produced and broadcast for Mexican and Latin American audiences. Although the stark facts of the Ayotzinapa case are generally known, the podcast features eyewitness accounts, exclusive interviews with the Mexican special prosecutor and a retired

DEA officer, and vivid personal accounts of survivors and relatives of the victims that have never been heard. Doyle and Diaz-Cortes’ reporting reveals in detail the botched initial investigation into, and the government’s obstruction of, the Ayotzinapa case. Later in the year, “After

Ayotzinapa” made *The New York Times*’ list of “Best Podcasts of 2022” as well as best podcast lists for *Mexico Daily News* and the “Latinx Files” of *The Los Angeles Times*.

WHEREAS the United States, in accordance with its international obligations, is prepared to take all necessary actions to promote national and hemispheric security by isolating the present Government of Cuba and thereby reducing the threat posed by its alignment with the communist powers:

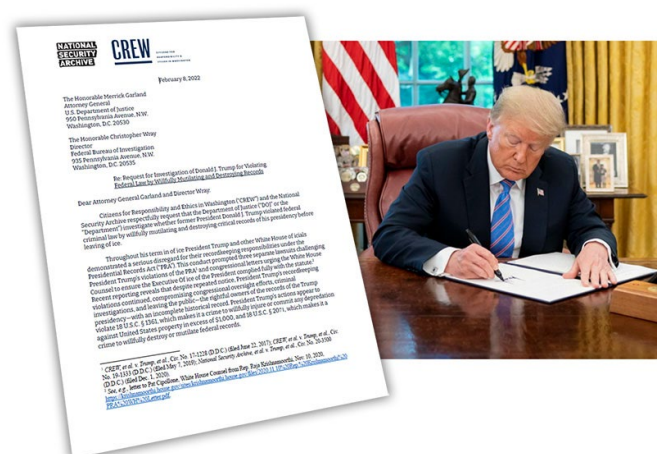
NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority of section 620 (a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (75 Stat. 445), as amended, do

1. Hereby proclaim an embargo upon trade between the United States and Cuba in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this proclamation.
2. Hereby prohibit, effective 12:01 A.M., Eastern Standard Time, February 7, 1962, the importation into the United States of all goods of Cuban origin and all goods imported from or through Cuba; and I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to carry out such prohibition, to make such exceptions thereto, by license or otherwise, as he determines to be consistent with the effective operation

**February 2022:** On February 2 Archive staff commemorated the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of President John F. Kennedy’s executive order imposing “an embargo on all trade with Cuba.” Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh posted a special E-book highlighting a collection of declassified documents that record the origins, rationales, and early evolution of punitive economic sanctions against Cuba in the aftermath of the Castro-led revolution. The documents show that the initial concept of U.S. economic pressure was to create

“hardship” and “disenchantment” among the Cuban populace and to deny “money and supplies to Cuba, to decrease monetary and real wages, [and] to bring about hunger, desperation, and the overthrow of [the] government.” However, a CIA case study of the embargo, written 20 years after its imposition, concluded that the sanctions “have not met any of their objectives.” Kornbluh collaborated with the Washington Office on Latin America and the World Affairs Council to hold a well-attended symposium and contributed a fascinating article on how cigars shaped the embargo for an entire issue of *Cigar Aficionado* magazine devoted to the topic. Kornbluh also was interviewed about the anniversary on PRI’s *The World*.

On February 9 the Archive and Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) formally requested that the Justice Department and FBI investigate former President Donald Trump’s mutilation and destruction of presidential records as possible violations of federal criminal law. Coming on the heels of a *Washington Post* story that National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) officials had retrieved 15 boxes of presidential records from Mar-a-Lago and other reports of Trump tearing up and disposing of highest-level documentation, the letter contends that Trump not only flouted his obligations under the law, but had deprived the public of its rightful ownership of those materials under the Presidential Records Act (PRA), as well as undermined congressional efforts to hold his administration accountable for events such as the January 6 insurrection. Of particular note, Trump’s actions could have violated statute 18 U.S.C. § 2071, which makes it a crime to willfully destroy or mutilate federal records and calls for the violator to “forfeit his office and be disqualified from holding any office under the United States.” A conviction in such a case would set a powerful precedent for accountability in preserving the historical record – something the PRA has failed to do.



The Russian invasion of Ukraine on **February 24** brought global media attention to multiple Archive publications of documents related to the war, from the long-standing Russian grievances over NATO expansion to Ukraine’s negotiating away its nuclear weapons in the 1990s. Both before and after the invasion, the documents sparked multiple news stories and online debates. Even documents that were declassified years ago and posted in Archive E-books achieved new salience throughout 2022. Examples include postings on “NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard” (December 12, 2017), “NATO Expansion: What Yeltsin Heard” (March 16, 2018), and “NATO Expansion: The Budapest Blow Up 1994” (November 21, 2021) – revealing that Soviet and Russian complaints about being misled about NATO expansion were founded in U.S. decisions at the highest levels. Former U.S. ambassador to Moscow John Beyrle commented that reading Archive documents had changed his mind and convinced him that the West had in fact provided assurances to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev against potential NATO expansion. Media outlets such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *Le Monde*, *Paris Beacon*, *Aftenposten*, *Jakarta Post*, and *PolitiFact* all referred to the Archive documents, helping to change the scholarly and policy narrative on the topic.



**March 2022:** On **March 3** the Archive paid tribute to Memorial, the legendary Russian human rights organization that was confronted with “liquidation” orders after the Russian Supreme Court turned down its appeal of December 2021 accusations that the organization violated a Russian law requiring anyone who receives support from outside of Russia to register and declare themselves as “foreign agents” – a tool used frequently by the Putin regime to target human rights groups, independent journalists, and activists, all the more so since the invasion of Ukraine. The Archive’s posting recognized Memorial’s indomitable spirit and lasting legacy by publishing documents and photographs that reflect the organization’s extraordinary work and its long-standing partnership with the Archive. Among the posted items were three reports by then-ombudsman for human rights Sergei Kovalev in 1994 and 1995 describing the Russian war in Chechnya in terms directly parallel to what the world is seeing in Ukraine today – the indiscriminate targeting of civilians, ill-informed and badly supplied Russian conscript soldiers, and a Russian leadership more like a “mafia organization” than a government. Other selections included examples of Memorial’s extraordinary encyclopedias tracking every single prison camp in the Soviet Gulag and the careers of every single NKVD and KGB officer who served Stalin, and photographs of the late chairman of Memorial, Arseny Roginsky, walking Archive staff and Russian specialists through the actual barracks of the Perm-36 prison camp that had been preserved by Memorial during the last Pilorama festival at that camp in 2012 before the authorities shut down the site.

On **March 11**, the Archive marked Sunshine Week by publishing its 21<sup>st</sup> Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Audit assessing government wide FOIA performance. The 2022 Audit took a hard look at the performance of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), noting that its budget has remained stagnant for nearly 30 years. While its funding has flatlined, the number of records NARA must preserve, particularly electronic records, has



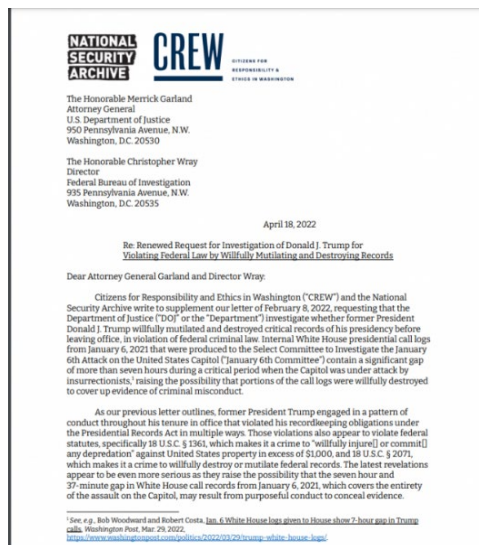
increased exponentially over three decades. The Audit concluded that NARA was in dire need of a course correction – specifically a new Archivist who would advocate for a budget that reflects the critical services NARA provides and take full advantage of the agency’s statutory authority to ensure that NARA functions like the nation’s living memory and back-up hard drive, rather than an attic for forgotten artefacts.

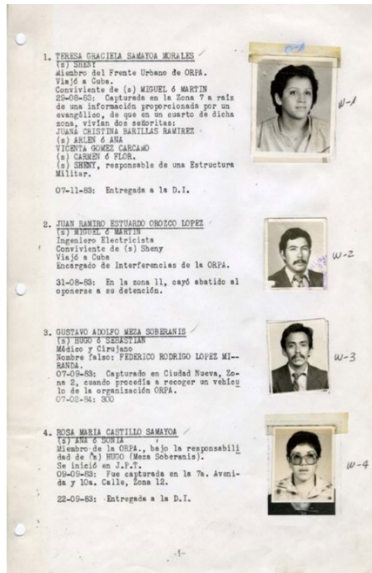


On **March 16**, also to mark Sunshine Week, the Archive conferred on former President Donald J. Trump the Archive’s infamous Rosemary Award for worst performance in open government in 2021; a remarkable achievement considering Trump was out of office for much of the year. The Archive began to bestow the Rosemary Award in 2005. It is named after President Nixon's loyal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, who testified valiantly that she had inadvertently erased 18 ½ minutes of a crucial Watergate tape when she stretched to answer her White House phone with her foot still on the

transcription pedal. Trump’s numerous offenses against federal and presidential records management rules include refusing to adhere to legal obligations to create and preserve records of meetings with foreign leaders; routinely destroying presidential records (including attempting to flush documents down White House toilets); keeping the White House visitor logs hidden; and absconding with 15 boxes of evidence to Mar-a-Lago.

**April 2022:** On **April 18** the Archive and Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) built on their previous letter of February 9 with another joint letter requesting that the Department of Justice investigate President Trump’s missing seven-and-a-half-hour call logs from the January 6, 2021. *The Washington Post* reported (March 29, 2022) that the period 11:17a.m. to 6:54p.m. was missing from the president’s official daily diary and White House switchboard call logs turned over to the House select committee investigating the attack. It is a gap that contradicts extensive reporting about calls placed during that period, including a known phone call between President Trump and Vice President Pence. The letter emphasized that the “significant gap” in Trump records corresponds to “a critical period when the Capitol was under attack by insurrectionists, raising the possibility that portions of the call logs were willfully destroyed to cover up evidence of criminal misconduct.” “As our previous letter outlines, former President Trump engaged in a pattern of conduct throughout his tenure in office that violated his record-keeping obligations under the Presidential Records Act in multiple ways.”





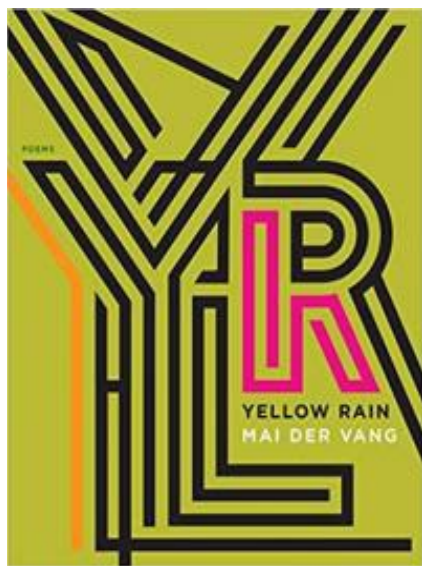
**May 2022:** On **May 6** a document smuggled out of Guatemala – the “Diario Militar” or Death Squad Dossier – and published by the National Security Archive (on May 23, 1999) is still making an impact and helping to bring justice and accountability two decades later. Guatemalan judge Magistrate Miguel Angel Galvez ruled that nine former military and police officers will stand trial for civil crimes committed during Guatemala’s civil war between 1960-1996. The former military and police officers were implicated based on the positions they held from 1983-1986 in conjunction with descriptions of the crimes outlined in the “Diario Militar” – a 54-page ledger used by Guatemalan military and intelligence units to record death squad operations that includes photos of victims and coded references to executions, kidnappings, and disappearances. The Diario offers just a snapshot of how the Guatemalan military used assassination, torture and abduction to terrorize the Guatemalan left throughout Guatemala’s civil war.

On **May 25** the Archive and its publishing partner ProQuest added a 59<sup>th</sup> documentation set to the *Digital National Security Archive* (DNSA) series titled “U.S. Climate Change Diplomacy: From the Montreal Protocol to the Paris Agreement, 1981-2015.” The 22,899-page set features 2,440 documents and is the most comprehensive compilation of its kind on this critical topic – covering 35 years of key developments and controversies in U.S. climate change policy, from Montreal to Kyoto to Paris. It features top-level White House, State Department, Treasury, and EPA documents, CIA analyses, and U.N. reports on the key negotiations. The Archive marked **May 25** – what would have been Anatoly Sergeevich Chernyaev’s 101<sup>st</sup> birthday – by publishing the 16<sup>th</sup> installment of the diary of the former chief foreign policy aide to Mikhail Gorbachev and leading architect of perestroika. This year’s installment chronicles his Diary for 1982 when Chernyaev was deputy director of the International Department of the Central Committee responsible for the International Communist Movement. Within a few years, he became a close adviser to the new general secretary and a leading theorist in the era of perestroika and glasnost. Every year, the Archive translates and posts another installment of this extraordinary resource, which Pulitzer Prize-winning author David Hoffman has called “irreplaceable” and “one of the great internal records of the Gorbachev years.”



**June 2022:** On **June 2** Archive senior analyst William Burr’s E-book, “Nuclear Winter: U.S. Government Thinking During the 1980s,” featured declassified government and contractor reports on the concept of “nuclear winter” – tracing the concept back to when scientists first began to question the impact of nuclear war on the environment and coined the term “nuclear winter” for the total devastation that would ensue. The scientists argued that nuclear attacks on cities could have a “major impact on climate manifested by significant surface darkening over many weeks, subfreezing land temperatures persisting for up to several months, large perturbations in global circulation patterns, and dramatic changes in local weather and precipitation rates. In essence, the

smoke and soot generated by nuclear explosions could have extraordinarily harmful climatic effects. The documents are especially relevant in view of current concerns that the war in Ukraine could escalate into a U.S-NATO/Russian nuclear conflict.



On **June 27** the Archive honored Professor and poet Mai Der Vang who was named a Pulitzer Prize finalist for her poetry collection, “Yellow Rain,” that was inspired in part by declassified documents obtained by the National Security Archive. Professor Vang pored through thousands of pages of declassified documents from Archive collections and other sources to find material for her poems, whose purpose is to record and vivify the trauma experienced by the Hmong people during the Secret War in Laos of the 1960s and 1970s. The documents showcased in the poetry concern allegations of the illegal use of chemical and biological weapons in Laos in the 1970s. The Pulitzer Prize Committee hailed her work for “integrating archival research and declassified documents.” “*Yellow Rain* calls out the erasure of a history, the silencing of a people who at the time lacked the capacity and resources to defend and represent themselves.”

On **June 28** the Archive celebrated the launch of the Colombia Truth Commission’s final report on the causes and consequences of Colombia’s conflict. The report is the product of a three-and-a-half-year effort and cites hundreds of documents from a 15,000-document database provided by Archive senior analyst and Colombia project director Michael Evans. Noting difficulties in



accessing military documents, the Commission said that it “counted on declassified archives from U.S. government agencies,” adding that “access to this broad documentation was possible thanks to the alliance with the non-governmental National Security Archive, that from Washington and using the transparency and access law of the United States filed declassification requests for documents about Colombia and delivered thousands of documents that it had collected and organized to the Commission.” Coverage of the truth commission report in *The New York Times* was fortified with evidence provided by the Archive, which the article said “specializes in supporting post-conflict truth commissions.”

**July 2022:** On **July 14** a Nuclear Vault E-book reviewed and posted worst-case Cold War estimates of fatalities and injuries on both sides of a nuclear conflict sparked by the current public interest, speculation, and apprehension about the escalation risks involved with the current Ukraine war and the possibility of limited Russian nuclear strikes against targets in Ukraine. The posting of almost two dozen high-level White House, State, Defense, CIA, and other records featured a broad range of fatality estimates and related information produced by U.S. strategists from the late 1940s into the late 1970s. These included the landmark Harman Report from 1949, which was the

first account to spell out (massive) casualty projections while also predicting that resorting to nuclear weapons would not force the Kremlin to capitulate. Also featured was a 1964 report to JFK estimating 134 million American and 140 million Soviet deaths from a theoretical superpower nuclear exchange; and a Carter administration report on the famous PRM-10 (assessing U.S. national strategies and capabilities), candidly admitting that a nuclear war could never have a “winner.” These estimates regularly underestimated deaths and destruction.



**August 2022:** On **August 8**, the Archive published its milestone 800<sup>th</sup> documentary E-book examining how Manhattan Project leaders at first denied – but were ultimately forced to address – the problem of fallout and radiation sickness in the weeks and months after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The E-book – published on the 77<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the bombings – is a supplement to “The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II,” one of the most heavily visited publications on the Archive’s Web site with over 65,000 page views. The updated publication

incorporates records on the radiation problem as perceived during 1945 that have been declassified for decades but are not easily available. Included are the initial secret and top secret Manhattan Project and U.S. Navy reports on the medical effects of the atomic bombings. The documents reveal that the head of the project, Gen. Leslie R. Groves, was so worried about public revulsion over the terrible effects of the new weapon that he claimed that those who had been exposed to radiation from the atomic explosions would not face “undue suffering.” “In fact,” he added, “they say it is a very pleasant way to die.”

On **August 24** the Colombia Truth Commission launched a digital library and platform including more than 15,000 declassified U.S. records gathered and organized by the Archive’s Colombia documentation project. Archive senior analyst Michael Evans joined Truth Commissioner Alejandro Valencia Villa and other distinguished panelists at Colombia’s National University to celebrate the launch of the platform and to share highlights from the previously classified documents. The event in Colombia also featured a light projection designed by visual artist Mireaver (Diana Pareja) that literally “shed light” on dark chapters from Colombia’s history, using a light projector to beam enlarged images of former U.S. national security secrets onto an exterior wall at the university. Evans posted a selection of 15 documents featured in her extraordinary work. A *Washington Post* article featured one of the Archive documents provided to the Commission – a 1983 Special National Intelligence Estimate revealing that as the U.S. contemplated a more aggressive drug war strategy in Colombia in the 1980s, top intelligence officials warned that





success there would require “a bloody, expensive, and prolonged coercive effort” that, even then, was not likely to have an impact on the U.S. drug market.



**September 2022:** In **September**, Archive senior analysts Peter Kornbluh and Bill Burr teamed up to publish a three-part series of E-books on the “Moscow Signals” – a decades-long chapter of the Cold War during which Soviet intelligence bathed the U.S. Embassy in Moscow with microwave transmissions on a daily basis, and, in the late 1950s, penetrated the U.S. ambassador’s residence with ionizing radiation. The posted documents reveal precedents and parallels to the mysterious health episodes known as

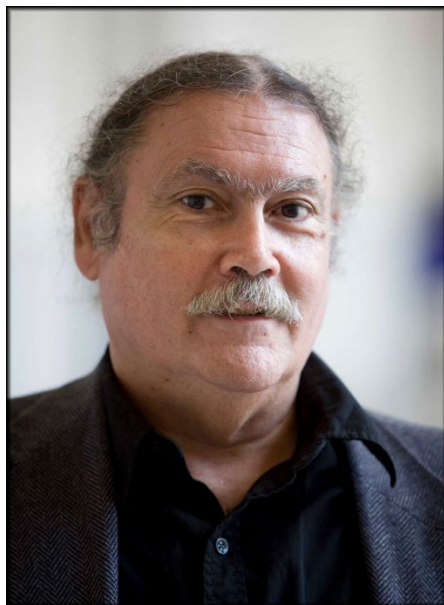
the “Havana Syndrome” that have made headlines over the last five years and are among those being reviewed by a special, high-level panel tasked by the Biden administration to search for clues into the enduring mystery surrounding cognitive brain traumas experienced by several dozen U.S. intelligence and diplomatic personnel in Havana, and elsewhere. The documents further detail a pattern of U.S. worry and complaints over the possible health effects and foreign policy implications of microwave radiation on its officials and Soviet/Russian refusal to concede that there was a problem. Media outlets such as *Yahoo News*, the *Independent* and *The Guardian* covered the continuing mystery.

**October 2022:** Beginning on **October 3**, Archive staff teamed up to mark the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis with an extended series of 8 E-books. As the newly published



documents reminded readers, the crisis actually lasted 59 days, not the fabled “13 days” so familiar from books and Hollywood. In reality, Soviet nuclear warheads arrived in Cuba on October 4, 1962, and did not leave until December 1, and were never detected by U.S. intelligence while they were in Cuba. The E-books featured images and documents from Soviet, American, and Cuban sources drawn from the Archive’s unmatched collections on the Cuban Missile Crisis based on 30+ years of research and landmark conferences in Moscow and Havana that included Fidel Castro, Robert McNamara, Anatoly Gribkov, and other leading veterans of 1962. Archive staff participated in multiple forums on the subject and were cited in multiple media outlets, including *The Guardian*, *Foreign Policy*, NPR’s *Morning Edition*, PRI’s *The World*, *USA Today*, the *Miami Herald*, *BBC News World* and *El Pais*.

**November 2022:** On **November 8** the Archive launched the Ukraine Cyber Project, a subset of the *Cyber Vault*, a Hewlett Foundation-funded resource for the cyber field. The project aims to document cybersecurity developments, enhance public knowledge by seeking the declassification of U.S. government records through FOIA, and provide a range of research aids to all levels of cyber practitioners as well as students and the public. The new Ukraine page focuses on events, trends, and analyses relating to Russia’s February 2022 invasion of that country, which has presented the cyber sphere with a rare opportunity to observe and assess in real time how cyber operations might augment traditional kinetic warfare as well as gauge what impacts the conflict may have on future military and political strategy. The *Seriously Risky Business* weekly newsletter and roundup of the latest cybersecurity news stories curated by Tom Uren praised the Ukraine Cyber Project as a “fantastic resource” and an “extremely comprehensive timeline.”

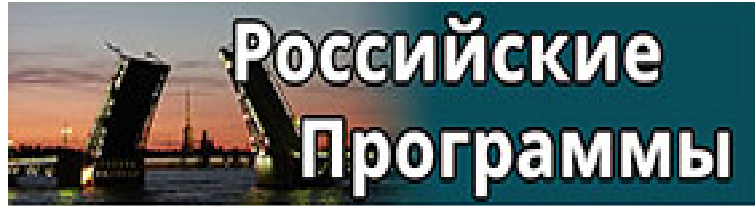


On **November 29** the Archive mourned the passing of longtime senior fellow Dr. John Prados, a celebrated military and intelligence historian and one of the founders of the Archive. A prodigious author and researcher, John leaves behind a bookshelf of highly informed, well documented volumes covering military and intelligence history from the battle of Leyte Gulf in World War II, through Dien Bien Phu, the entire Vietnam War, the invasion of Iraq, and so much more. Among his 27 books, several of them translated into French, a highlight was his biography of William Colby, which argues that the CIA director’s accommodating approach to congressional investigations in the 1970s of Agency wrongdoing actually saved the CIA. John was a self-described “man of the 60s” who swam against many currents. He practically invented the title “independent scholar,” not least because in multiple periods of his life he earned his living less from his books and teaching than from designing war games. The latter was yet another indication of his wide-ranging interests and his deep fascination with replaying history. These were games of strategy that reinforced his scholarly findings about agency and contingency: things didn’t have to turn out the way they did; human choice made a difference, while circumstances often ruled.

**December 2022:** On **December 7** the Archive announced the publication of *The Afghanistan War and the United States, 1998-2017*, the 60th documentation set in *The Digital National Security Archive* (DNSA) subscription series published by the academic publisher ProQuest. The new set is a timely collection on the 20-year U.S. war in Afghanistan, consisting of 2,261 documents totaling 14,353 pages. It bookends the DNSA’s first Afghanistan collection – *Afghanistan: The*

*Making of U.S. Policy, 1973-1990* – representing over 35 years of work by the National Security Archive. The set notably sheds light on topics long hidden from the public, including details of the U.S.-Afghan diplomatic relationship, the complex process of reconstruction, the existence of endemic corruption, and the mismatch between Afghan realities and American intentions.

On **December 12** the Archive relaunched its platform of Russian-language primary sources featuring a new search engine that allows researchers to perform full-text searches of thousands of documents in Russian and a fresh design that



makes the pages easier to read on mobile devices. The Russian Pages were originally created to encourage international scholars to use Russian-language documents, facilitate access for those unable to work in Russian archives, and help regionally based Russian researchers access these sources without the expense and difficulty of traveling to Moscow. The goal was to “repatriate” the Russian documents – to make resources available in the West accessible for researchers in the former Soviet space. The pages include important collections from major Russian archives covering the Cold War, the end of the Cold War, and U.S.-Russian relations in the 1990s. The platform also features records from the personal archives of key figures, such as Russian historian Sergo Mikoyan and top Gorbachev advisers Andrei Grachev and Anatoly Chernyaev. The documents broadly cover aspects of World War II, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Soviet dissidents, and include an extensive collection on *Perestroika*. Of special interest are records detailing the extraordinarily important and revealing correspondence between presidents Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin.

## **FUNDERS AND SUPPORTERS 2022:**

The National Security Archive is grateful to the following organizations and law firms whose philanthropic support and pro bono legal services were fundamental to the Archive's success during 2022:

Carnegie Corporation of New York  
Sally and Dick Roberts Coyote Foundation  
Democracy Fund, Inc.  
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James and Kinsella Family Fund  
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Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP  
David Sobel  
Anne Weismann  
Yale Law School Media Freedom and  
Information Access Clinic  
Allison Zieve

**And thank you to the many individuals who have donated to the work of the National Security Archive!**

**Special thanks to Peter Grabosky, Jenny Holzer and David Rosenberg**