

The National Security Archive

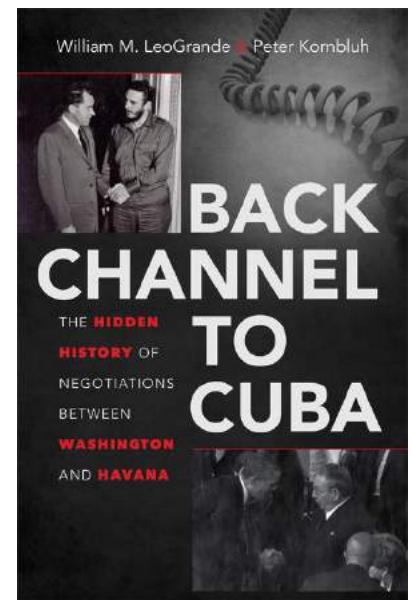
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Annual Report for 2014

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2014:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – **1,390**
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – **320**
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – **88,375** including such news-making revelations as Kennedy administration plotting to overthrow Brazilian President Joao Goulart; near detonation of a nuclear bomb over North Carolina in 1961; plans to conduct nuclear tests and establish a military base on the moon; local Mexican police involvement with the Zeta cartel in the 2011 San Fernando massacre; CIA admission of its role in the 1953 coup in Iran; the origins and functions of the Defense Special Missile and Aerospace Center (DEFSMAC) charged with global 24/7 missile and space surveillance
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – **27,975** in three reference collections: *United States and the Two Koreas, Part II, 1969-2010* (edited by Robert Wampler); *Electronic Surveillance and the National Security Agency: From Shamrock to Snowden* (edited by Jeffrey Richelson); *The Kissinger Conversations, Supplement: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977* (edited by William Burr)
- ◆ Evidence delivered to truth commissions and human rights investigators – database of more than **8,000** documents to the Human Rights Archive of Colombia's National Center of Historical Memory; **2,343** documents on more than 60 years of conflict in Colombia to the Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims (CHCV), established as part of peace talks between Colombia and the FARC rebels as a precursor to an eventual truth commission; **9** documents to Guatemalan prosecutors for the case before the Guatemalan National Court against Pedro García Arredondo, former head of Guatemalan security forces responsible for the deaths of 37 protesters and diplomats in the 1980 siege of the Spanish Embassy; **12** documents to prosecutors of the Guatemalan Public Ministry for the investigation into the 1989 kidnapping of National University of San Carlos (USAC) students; **18** documents to prosecutors of the Guatemalan Public Ministry for the investigation into the oppression of labor groups during the Guatemalan Civil War; **128** documents to Lawyers Without Borders of Canada and the Collectif Contre L'Impunité on human rights violations under the Jean Claude Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti, a case against Duvalier's top advisors; **29** documents on Los Zetas criminal group and its connections with Mexican security forces in support of a joint Fundación Para La Justicia (FJEDD) and Article 19 investigation and lawsuit in Mexico
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **4**; *Iran-Contra: Reagan's Scandal and the Unchecked Abuse of Presidential Power* by Malcolm Byrne (University Press of Kansas, September 2014); *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana* by William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh (University of North Carolina Press, October 2014); *Predator: The Secret Origins of the Drone Revolution* by Richard Whittle (Henry Holt and Company, September 2014); *The Legacy of the Cold War: Perspectives on Security, Cooperation, and Conflict* edited by Vojtech Mastny and Zhu Liqun (Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series, paperback, 2014)
- ◆ E-Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **47**, bringing the Web site total to **499**
- ◆ Posts by Archive staff on *Unredacted* blog – **133**; Posts by Archive staff on *Dept. of Secrets* of *ForeignPolicy.com* – **2**
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive by letter – **4**; by e-mail – **3,000**; by phone – **1,500**; Visiting researchers at the Archive's Smith Bagley Research Center – **355** from 20 countries
- ◆ Unique visitors to the Archive's Web site – more than **1,289,433**; Pages in html downloaded from the Archive's Web site – **3,128,849** (8,572 html pages per day); Bytes downloaded – **6,911** Gigabytes (19 GB per day)
- ◆ Subscribers to the Archive's e-mail alerts — **6,814**; Readers of *Unredacted* blog — **503,898** page views; Followers on the Archive Twitter feed — **9,830**; Followers on the Archive Facebook page — **6,804**
- ◆ Awards: nomination for the 2014 Gabriel García Márquez Award for news coverage; another citation from the University of Wisconsin's Internet Scout Report recognizing "the most valuable and authoritative resources online"
- ◆ Lexis-Nexis radio and TV transcripts of Archive staff interviews – **13**; Factiva and Lexis-Nexis news stories citing the Archive – **636**



January 2014: On January 9 the Archive's Genocide Documentation project launched its "#Rwanda20yrs" campaign with an op-ed in *The New York Times* and an e-book written by senior fellow Michael Dobbs about the infamous "genocide fax" twenty years earlier in which the force commander of the UN peacekeeping troops in Rwanda—General Romeo Dallaire—warned of weapons caches and possible plans for the extermination of Tutsis by Hutus.



In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Rwanda genocide in April 2014, the "#Rwanda20yrs" campaign—coordinated by Archive research associate Emily Willard and Michael Dobbs—would ultimately include eight e-book publications featuring hundreds of documents on the Archive Web site, cross postings on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Web site (as well as daily document postings on the Archive's Twitter feed), and a headline-making critical oral history conference at The Hague. The USHMM continues to partner with the Archive on the project.



On January 30 the long-time chair of the Archive's board of directors, Russell Hemenway, passed away. Over his 15 years as board chair, Russ oversaw the Archive's transition to independent NGO status and global impact. In a eulogy delivered at the New York memorial service for Russ and published on the Archive's Web site, Archive director Tom Blanton described Russ's career as an activist and political reformer so effective that he appeared on President Nixon's infamous "enemies list." In Blanton's words, Russ "invested the energy to midwife the Archive, he presided over and blessed our years of success, he

transplanted his own extraordinary backbone into all of us who fight the fight for open government, and he left us a model of how to make a difference in this world."

On January 23 the Archive published an e-book recalling the infamous *USS Pueblo* incident of 1968, when North Korean forces captured the American spy ship, seized a dozen top-secret encryption devices, maintenance manuals, and other code materials, and took the crew hostage for almost a year, sparking a major international crisis. The e-book by Archive fellow John Prados reminded readers that the incident—*notwithstanding Edward Snowden*—may still rank as the most significant compromise ever of National Security Agency code secrets. Recently declassified documents in the posting included previously withheld high-level political and military deliberations over how to respond to the episode in an atmosphere fraught with the dangers of a superpower conflict.



February 2014: On February 21 *The Washington Post's* most prominent Federal Page column, "In The Loop" by Al Kamen, featured the Archive's discovery of Pentagon "dubious secrets" as the top story of the day. Archive senior analyst Bill Burr had received completely contradictory responses from Pentagon declassification reviews of the same set of Cuban Missile Crisis documents. One version included whole paragraphs that another version withheld as damaging to national security. One review actually deleted the name of the country (Turkey) that Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev had referred to in his public speeches as the location of U.S. Jupiter missiles—so the information was public in 1962 but deemed classified in 2014! Kamen's headline was "At the Pentagon, once a secret, always a secret—even if everyone knows."

On February 28 Archive senior analyst Bill Burr posted an e-book in the *Nuclear Vault* featuring a declassified U.S. government video and documents on the 60th anniversary of the "Castle

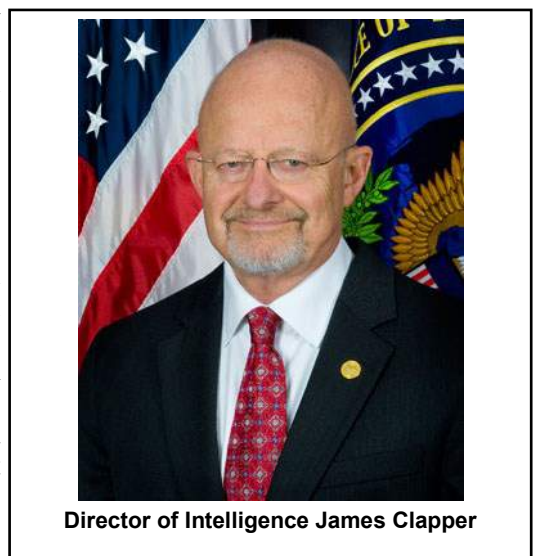
Bravo” nuclear test at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands, regarded as the worst U.S. nuclear test ever because of its huge explosive yield and the rain of radioactive fallout on nearby inhabited islands. The posting received wide attention in the blogosphere with various links and a blog entry on *Physics Today*, but officials in the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) read the documents with special interest. Later in June, Burr and other researchers met with RMI officials to discuss ongoing problems with the Department of Energy as well as the RMI’s interest in tracking down and requesting classified documents that will shed further light on what happened in February 1954—a compelling example of the continued salience of these historical events.



March 2014: On March 14 Archive director Tom Blanton presented the results of the Archive’s latest FOIA Audit to a packed audience at the Washington Newseum’s National Freedom of Information Day to kick off Sunshine Week (March 16-22). Blanton displayed the survey’s (mostly red) results, demonstrating that 50 out of 101 federal agencies still have not updated their FOIA regulations to

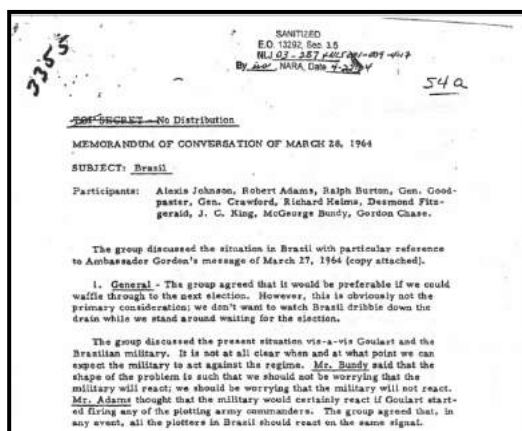
comply with Congress’s 2007 FOIA amendments. Even more agencies (55 out of 101) have FOIA regulations predating President Obama and Attorney General Holder’s 2009 guidance for a “presumption of disclosure.” Congress amended the Freedom of Information Act in 2007 to prohibit agencies from charging processing fees if they missed their response deadlines, to include new online journalists in the fee waiver category for the media, to order agencies to cooperate with the new FOIA ombudsman (the Office of Government Information Services), and to require reports of specific data on their FOIA output, among other provisions co-authored by Senators Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and John Cornyn (R-TX). But, as the latest Audit showed, half the agencies had yet to incorporate these changes in their regulations. The Audit also highlighted plans from both the House of Representatives and the White House that have the potential to compel delinquent agencies to update their regulations—through a FOIA improvement bill and White House commitments (on paper, at least) in the national action plan in the Open Government Partnership initiative. Blanton warned that the new regulations “should not follow the Justice Department’s terrible lead, they must follow the best practices already identified by the FOIA ombuds office and FOIA experts.” The Audit generated news coverage from C-SPAN, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and citations in editorials and “op-ed” articles in regional newspapers from Oregon to Florida.

On March 24 the Archive awarded its annual “Rosemary Award” to Director of National Intelligence James Clapper for the “worst open government performance” in 2013. The award—named after President Nixon’s secretary Rosemary Woods, who erased 18-1/2 minutes from a key Watergate conversation from the White House tapes—was given to Clapper for answering “No, sir, not wittingly,” when questioned by Congress if the National Security Agency (NSA) collected data on millions of U.S. citizens. The leaked documents from former NSA contractor Edward Snowden prove otherwise. The Archive also recognized runners-up NSA Director Gen. Keith Alexander, for multiple public misstatements about the NSA’s data collection that had to be removed from the NSA Web site, and President Obama, for his statement that “all of Congress” knew “exactly how this program works”—referring to the mass collection of telephone metadata.



Director of Intelligence James Clapper

On March 27 the National Security Archive's blog *Unredacted* chronicled the abuses of FOIA's "Predecisional" Exemption, demonstrating why requesters call this the "Withhold it Because You Want to" exemption. Written by Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones, the blog post, which chronicled more than a dozen misuses of Exemption 5, went viral. The story was Facebooked, reTweeted, aggregated ([reddit.com](https://www.reddit.com)) and picked up and linked to by numerous blogs ([muckrock.com](https://www.muckrock.com)) and mainstream media sites (*Politico*). Rick Blum of the Sunshine in Government Initiative praised the piece as "danc[ing] elegant over policy weeds." The quick-post platform of *Unredacted* continues to serve as a highly-effective medium to cover the Archive's—still ongoing—fight to reign in this exemption. *Unredacted*, edited by Jones and research associate Lauren Harper, drew readers throughout the year by complementing and pointing readers toward posts on the Archive's main Web site (and—thanks to a new prominent position on nsarchive.org—vice versa), including posts on informing the public of the CIA's plan to destroy its e-mails, the "Menace of Overclassification", and the startling new creation of "withholding black holes" by federal agencies, in which documents are exempted without even a search or a review. *Unredacted* continued to provide weekly features of historical documents, often in collaboration with *ForeignPolicy.com*; breaking news posts on FOIA policy; and features on human rights accountability in Latin America.



April 2014: On April 2, the 50th anniversary of the 1964 military coup in Brazil, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh made headlines in multiple Brazilian newspapers when he posted declassified documents and John F. Kennedy tape transcripts revealing new details on the genesis of the U.S. role in the overthrow of Brazilian President Joao Goulart—starting with Kennedy administration plotting almost two years before the April 1964 military coup. As early as July 1962, Kennedy had directed his team of advisers to plan actions if Goulart did not stop “playing” with what he called “ultra-radical anti-Americans” in Brazil’s government. The U.S. viewed Goulart as a leftist closely associated with Brazil’s Communist Party and

wanted to prevent Brazil from becoming another China or Cuba. The Johnson administration inherited this pro-coup policy that authorized the U.S. military to support the Brazilian generals who carried out the coup in April 1964 as part of Operation Brother Sam, leading to a military dictatorship under which some 500 people were killed and thousands tortured. Kornbluh called on the U.S. to declassify documentation in support of the current Brazilian Truth Commission investigating human rights abuses during the dictatorship.

On April 4 the Associated Press published an exposé drawing on expertise from Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh detailing how the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)—overseen by the State Department and best known for delivering billions of dollars in humanitarian aid—secretly built a sham “Cuban Twitter” account to stir political unrest in the communist country. Documents obtained by the AP show the agency intended to build a large subscriber base through innocuous messages, only to replace them by overtly political ones once the platform obtained enough followers. The messages would be meant to inspire Cubans to organize “smart mobs”—mass gatherings called at a moment’s notice that might trigger a Cuban Spring, or, as one USAID document put it, “renegotiate the balance of power between the state and society.” USAID officials said the program had been “debated” by Congress, was not covert and therefore did not require the approval. Senate Judiciary Committee chair Senator Patrick Leahy, however, called the program “cockamamie,” and said that it had not been described adequately to Congress.

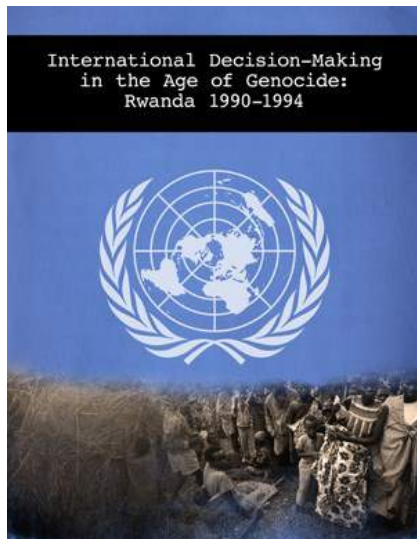
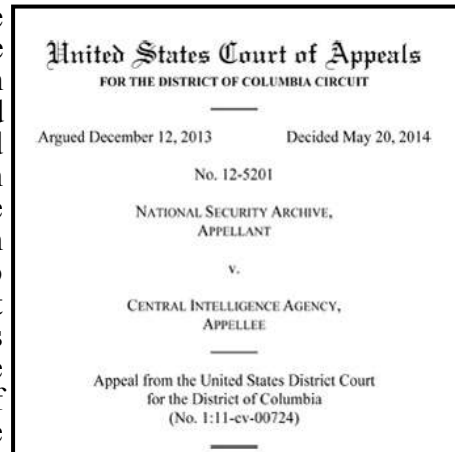
An e-book published in the *Nuclear Vault* on April 21 by Archive senior analyst Bill Burr showed that Henry Kissinger played a slightly reluctant but nonetheless highly influential role in establishing the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in the mid-1970s, motivated equally by concern



about nuclear proliferation and a desire to keep U.S. officials from "charging around the world, like Don Quixote," according to documents posted by the Archive and the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project. The newly declassified records described France's cooperative role in establishing the NSG, despite the French wish to be seen as pursuing an independent policy on nonproliferation. The Nuclear Suppliers Group has played a significant role in the history of the nonproliferation system since the

1970s, although the concerns raised by the French indicate why it was a controversial project very early on. The documents also provided the basis for an extended analysis by Burr that appeared in the April 2014 issue of *International History Review*, covering the origins of the under-appreciated success story of the nuclear nonproliferation regimes.

May 2014: On May 20 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit ruled 2-1 (with a vigorous dissent from Judge Judith Rogers) against the Archive's original 2012 suit to win the release of the final volume of the CIA's 30-year-old history of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. The Court ruled that the CIA's draft "official history" could be withheld from the public under the "deliberative process" privilege, despite the fact that four of the five volumes of the history had been previously released with no harm to national security or to any government deliberation. In doing so, Judges Brett Kavanaugh and Stephen Williams endorsed the CIA's argument that release of the final volume would "confuse the public." Archive director Tom Blanton commented that if "applied to the contents of the National Archives for the United States, this decision would withdraw from the shelves more than half of what's there." The Archive has now re-filed its FOIA request with the CIA, seeking only the segregable factual material in the volume, which the Kavanaugh opinion admitted could not be withheld.

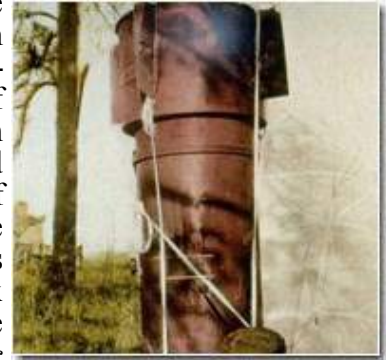


June 2014: On June 1-4 the Archive's Genocide Documentation project's "#Rwanda20yrs" campaign culminated in a critical oral history conference entitled "International Decision-Making in the Age of Genocide: Rwanda 1990-1994" at The Hague Institute for Global Justice in the Netherlands. The conference, jointly hosted by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, The Hague Institute, and the National Security Archive, convened a round-table of 35 key UN and government officials involved in the response to the Rwanda crisis in 1994, including UNAMIR force commander General Dallaire, five ambassadors who served at the time on the UN Security Council, and genocide survivor Monique Mujawamaria, among others, with Archive director Tom Blanton chairing the discussion. In preparation for the June conference, the Project collected and organized nearly 20,000 declassified documents about the Rwanda genocide, and prepared a two-volume briefing book for participants to help

ground the conference discussions in historical evidence and shed new light on the failed international response to the genocide. Conference convenors called for the release of additional key documents from the Clinton Presidential Library that would shed light on White House marching orders during the crisis, and *The New York Times* covered the new evidence under the headline "Declassified U.N. Cables Reveal Turning Point in Rwanda Crisis of 1994." After the conference, the Genocide Documentation Project shifted its focus to preparations for a similar critical oral history conference and campaign planned for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia in July 2015.

On June 5 the Archive and its academic publisher ProQuest released the 42nd documentary collection in the *Digital National Security Archive* (DNSA) series—*The United States and the Two Koreas, Part II: 1969-2010*—the second collection on the topic that covers diplomatic, security and economic relations between the U.S. and its ally, South Korea; and the challenges to the U.S. posed by an adversarial North Korea. Compiled and curated by Archive senior fellow Bob Wampler, Part Two adds significant breadth and depth to the first documentation set, covering events from the Nixon into the first Obama administration. The newly published documents confirm that the Clinton administration worked to turn the North Korean nuclear crisis of the 1990s into an opportunity for broader engagement with Pyongyang, but mutual distrust and North Korean intransigence and deception undermined any positive developments.

On June 9 Fox News and other outlets headlined new Archive documents from the posting by Archive senior analyst Bill Burr on nuclear weapons safety issues. The e-book highlighted a recently-declassified report by Sandia National Laboratory (Department of Energy) on the January 1961 B-52 crash in Goldsboro, North Carolina in which one of two MK39 thermonuclear bombs onboard nearly detonated because the force of the crash affected the on-off switch and initiated the arming sequence. Other documents in the e-book include reports from Sandia Laboratories on the requirements of nuclear weapons safety and the history of such programs. Fox News headlined its story “Atom Bomb over North Carolina Came Close to Detonating in 1961 Crash,” while *The National Catholic Reporter* cited the documents in an editorial, “Leadership is needed to take on the Nuclear Beast.”



On June 24 Archive FOIA director Nate Jones participated in the first meeting of the FOIA Federal Advisory Committee, a deliberative body charged with improving the administration of the Freedom of Information Act. Jones is one of the ten non-governmental members with FOIA expertise appointed by Archivist of the United States David Ferriero to sit on the committee along with ten

members from within the government. The committee, convened as an initiative of the Open Government Partnership, is tasked to "foster dialog between the Administration and the requester community, solicit public comments, and develop consensus recommendations for improving FOIA administration and proactive disclosures." The Committee has worked on improving FOIA fees, FOIA compliance, and the proactive disclosure of documents.

On June 27 the Archive’s Iran project director, Malcolm Byrne, posted a recently declassified version of an internal CIA history of the 1953 Iran coup. The agency released the document as part of a Mandatory Declassification Review request. The posting contributed to the still-evolving history of the landmark event by disclosing new details about high-level, internal U.S. government disagreements over the coup plan and its underlying assumptions. Operation TPAJAX remains a topic of keen academic and political interest, especially inside Iran, where the regime uses it as a blunt object to rebuke the U.S. for its historical interference in Iran’s internal affairs. Critics of the Islamic Republic, in turn, have sometimes twisted the history of 1953 to argue that Iranians themselves—not the CIA or British intelligence—were responsible for the overthrow of then-Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq. In early July, Byrne published

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another e-book highlighting new archival evidence that confirmed the Shah's recognition of the central role played by the United States.

Also in June, strategic freedom of information requests and appeals filed by Archive Mexico project director Michael Evans through Mexico's access to information system resulted in the first declassification of documents by Mexico's National Migration Institute (INM) on the 2010 San Fernando massacre. In doing so, INM became the first Mexican federal agency to acknowledge the possibility that the infamous massacre constituted a grave violation of human rights and humanitarian law, something other Mexican agencies, including the National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH), had refused to do. Coverage of the news on Carmen Aristegui's popular radio program *Noticias MVS* featured an interview with Evans, who stressed that INM's decision should serve as a model for other agencies in processing requests for information related to potential human rights investigations.

July 2014: On July 8 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh highlighted the work of the Brazilian Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade), which is in the final phase of a two-year investigation of human rights atrocities during the military dictatorship that lasted from 1964 to 1985. Kornbluh's e-book presented five key documents that were among 43 State Department cables and reports that Vice President Joseph Biden turned over on June 17 to President Dilma Rousseff during his trip to Brazil for the World Cup competition. Since the inception of the Truth Commission in May 2012, the Archive has been assisting the commissioners in obtaining U.S. records for their investigation, and pressing the Obama administration to fulfill its commitment to a new standard of global transparency and the right to know by conducting a special, Brazil declassification project on the military era. "Advancing truth, justice and openness is precisely the way these classified U.S. historical records *should* be used," according to Kornbluh. "Biden's declassified diplomacy will not only assist the Truth Commission in shedding light on the dark past of Brazil's military era, but also create a foundation for a better and more transparent future in U.S.-Brazilian relations."

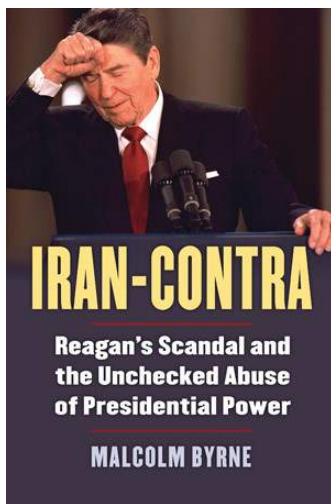


On July 20 Archive senior fellow Jeffrey Richelson generated global media attention with an e-book of previously secret documents from the 1950s and 1960s on the darker aspects of the U.S. and Soviet space race that coexisted with the much-publicized competition to orbit and land on the moon. The darker schemes—detailed in a U.S. military study called Project Horizon—included plans to conduct nuclear tests on or near the moon; to “moonbounce” radar signals off of the moon for military and intelligence uses; to establish a military lunar base; and to spy on Soviet space program and lunar intentions. *Newsweek* Magazine devoted the cover story of the September 26 issue to this hidden space program history and featured a 1967 document describing how the CIA borrowed and returned a Soviet Lunik space capsule that was part of an international exhibition for study and examination—all without the Soviets knowing about it. In addition to *Newsweek*, the documents were covered by CNN, *The Times of India*, and numerous blogs.

August 2014: On August 13 the Archive together with the Memorial Society in Moscow marked the 90th birthday of human rights legend and distinguished physicist Yuri Orlov by posting online an extensive collection of formerly secret Soviet and U.S. documents on Orlov's career as a Soviet dissident, including the first English-language translation of his historic 1956 speech at his physics institute in Moscow, and his 1976 founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group. The posting also includes Orlov's complete publications list as a still-active research physicist,

his 2009 Vernon Hughes Memorial Lecture at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, and never-before-published video of Orlov's White House meeting with President Ronald Reagan in 1986. The documents include detailed KGB, Communist Party Central Committee and Politburo documents, together with parallel CIA and White House assessments, that suggest how courageous human rights activism by leading Soviet scientists like Orlov as early as 1956 fundamentally threatened the repressive Soviet system while setting the stage for the late 1980s *perestroika/glasnost* period that ended the Cold War.

On August 22, in response to an Archive Mexico project freedom of information request and appeal in Mexico, Mexico's information commissioners (IFAI) ordered the attorney general's office to open certain investigative files relating to the killings of some 200 people—many of them migrants headed toward the U.S.-Mexico border—who were pulled from intercity buses and executed by the Zetas criminal organization with the alleged complicity of local police and government officials. Their bodies were discovered in mass graves in San Fernando in April 2011. The IFAI order came in response to an access-to-information request and appeal filed by Archive Mexico project research associate Jesse Franzblau for information on 16 Mexican police officials detained in the wake of the discovery of the mass grave. In making the decision, IFAI for the first time declared itself competent to determine the applicability of human rights criteria in access-to-information cases—a critically important step in the ratification of legal concepts in such cases.



September 2014: On September 5 Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne published his authoritative account of the Iran-Contra affair—*Iran-Contra: Reagan's Scandal and the Unchecked Abuse of Presidential Power* (University Press of Kansas). The book places President Ronald Reagan at the epicenter of the scandal both in terms of his willingness to break the law in order to free American hostages in Lebanon and his failure to take account of the costs and consequences of his decisions, including the illicit conduct of numerous aides. Byrne argues that the lack of meaningful consequences for those involved raises critical questions about the ability of our current system of checks and balances to address presidential abuses of power then and in the future. Investigative reporter Seymour Hersh praised the book, saying “At last, the Reagan administration’s Iran-Contra affair has a comprehensive history worthy of the scandal...Malcolm Byrne has told the complex story in brilliant fashion.” Among many other public events, Byrne appeared

on CSPAN's Book TV and discussed his book at events hosted by the Brookings Institution, the Woodrow Wilson Center, and the 92nd Street Y in New York.

On September 16 Archive senior analysts Carlos Osorio and Peter Kornbluh hosted Argentine Defense Minister Augustín Rossi and a delegation of 20 Argentine officials for a presentation to the Archive of documents from the Argentine Military Junta to be made publicly accessible in the Archive's Reading Room. The presentation included the *Actas De La Dictadura* (Actas) and *Listas Negra* (Listas). The Actas are 280 official meeting minutes of the Military Junta that were part of a cache of more than 1500 documents found in an Air Force building in 2013. The Listas are an official black list for the years of 1976-1983 containing the names of hundreds of intellectuals, artists, lawyers, and journalists who were suspected by the Military Junta to have Marxist tendencies and were declared ineligible to be employed by any public institution. During the presentation Minister Rossi stated “Knowing the work, we entrust you with a replica of this important collection of records so you can make them available to researchers.”



Also on September 16 the Archive's Web site featured more than a dozen key documents gathered by journalist Richard Whittle with the Archive's help for his critically-praised book *Predator: The Secret Origins of the Drone Revolution* (Henry Holt and Company, September 2014). The documents confirm key facts about the Predator's transformation by the Air Force from an unarmed surveillance and reconnaissance aircraft into the first armed drone used to stalk and kill individual enemies by remote control at intercontinental range in the war against Al Qaeda. The book's revelations were covered by *The Washington Post*, *Politico*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, among many other outlets.

On September 25 Archive Mexico project staff members Michael Evans and Jesse Franzblau, along with members of the Mexican news organization *MVS Noticias* and Mexican radio personality Carmen Aristegui were named as part of the official selection for the 2014 Gabriel García Márquez Award for news coverage ("Cobertura") for a joint investigative series revealing newly-declassified evidence of a secret U.S. espionage facility in Mexico City. A declassified 2010 memo obtained by Archive staff described the "Mexico Fusion Center" as a U.S.-operated intelligence cell focused on "high value targeting" that barred Mexican officials and included members of the U.S. National Security Agency. The annual award was established by the foundation of the Nobel Prize-winning Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez "to encourage the pursuit of excellence, innovation and ethical coherence by journalists and media outlets that work and publish in Spanish and Portuguese languages throughout the Americas..."



On September 28 the Archive published, and offered in-depth analysis of, the El Salvador "Yellow Book" (Libro Amarillo)—in partnership with the Center for Human Rights at the University of Washington (CHR)—in a dedicated e-book. The "Yellow Book" was an intelligence document compiled by the Salvadoran Army during the 1970s and 1980s that profiled almost 2,000 suspected subversives, containing their names, pseudonyms, and alleged links to the guerrillas, as well as their photographs. It was found by accident in a house in El Salvador and conveyed to human rights organizations there. Archive senior analyst Kate Doyle was asked by CHR director Angelina Snodgrass Godoy to help evaluate the document's authenticity, origins, and significance and to advise on how to publish the document, given the potentially dangerous information it contained—evidence of the Army's surveillance of hundreds of Salvadoran citizens, on the one

hand, and on the other, allegations about the ties of those profiled to the revolutionary movement. The collaborative investigation by Doyle, Godoy, and a Salvadoran human rights expert confirmed the Yellow Book's authenticity as a product of El Salvador's military intelligence through comparison with other Latin American intelligence records, including the infamous "death squad diary" from Guatemala. They also developed an analysis of the functions of intelligence in El Salvador within the context of counterinsurgency, and of the history of U.S. support for the Salvadoran intelligence apparatus during the civil war and created an online platform (on CHR's Web site) whereby Salvadorans could seek and share information about the people profiled in the Yellow Book.

October 2014: On October 1 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh and co-author William M. LeoGrande launched the publication of their new book *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana* (University of North Carolina Press) with a media blitz that included a press conference at the Pierre Hotel in New York City, where secret diplomatic talks to normalize relations took place between U.S. and Cuban emissaries in July 1975; broadcast interviews on NPR's Morning Edition, MSNBC's The Last Word with Lawrence O'Donnell,



and Huffington Post Live; stories in *The New York Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Atlantic*, and the BBC, as well as *Cigar Aficionado*. The book draws on hundreds of documents obtained by the authors revealing the untold history of bilateral efforts toward rapprochement and reconciliation between the U.S. and Cuba. The documents also reveal the tumultuous nature of the Cuba-U.S. relationship, with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger telling President Ford that “sooner or later we are going to have to crack the Cubans”—at one point arguing for direct talks with Castro, but subsequently considering secret contingency plans to launch airstrikes against Cuban ports and military installations in retaliation for Castro’s decision to send Cuban forces into Angola.

On October 10 the Fusion television network featured Archive Colombia project director Michael Evans in a report on the campaign funded by the banana-producing Chiquita Brands International to block a bill in the U.S. Congress meant to support the victims of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. Evans described the Archive’s efforts to force the declassification of Chiquita documents relating to the company’s illegal payments to Colombian terrorist groups and the “reverse” FOIA case launched by the company to deny Securities and Exchange Commission records to the National Security Archive on the company’s payments to Colombian terrorist groups. The case is pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals.



On October 16 Archive senior analyst Bill Burr and the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project marked the 50th anniversary of China’s first nuclear test by publishing a wide range of declassified documents from the early 1960s on the Chinese nuclear program and its implications. Because U.S. government officials often worried about the implications for nuclear proliferation of a Chinese test—for example, whether it would encourage an Indian or a Japanese nuclear weapons project—a number of the records focus on that problem. Other documents shed light on the Kennedy administration’s interest in preventive military action against China’s nuclear complex and what officials then saw as a mystery: how the Chinese produced highly-enriched uranium for the test. The on-line *Business Insider* highlighted the documents, and on the day of the posting, the *Washington Post* on-line published an essay on the test’s anniversary by Brown University political scientist Nick Miller, “U.S. Nonproliferation Policy is an Invisible Success Story,” in which he credited the Archive’s role in “a burgeoning research program that is uncovering the long underappreciated role of American nonproliferation policy.”



On October 19 renowned artist Jenny Holzer promoted the National Security Archive in her personal artist page within the Sunday issue of *T: The New York Times Style Magazine* in a series called “Advertisements for Myself” featuring pages designed by 15 prominent artists. Holzer’s page showcased a colorful orange block with only the words “The National Security Archive” and the URLs for the Archive’s Web site and online donation site (the Network for Good). Since 2004, Holzer has used declassified documents from the Archive’s collections as the source material for her artwork, including projecting document images on the sides of buildings and transforming declassified documents into oil paintings on canvas. Holzer was quoted as saying “I live in the N.S.A.’s collection,” in the *Style Magazine* article.

On October 28-30 Archive Colombia project director Michael Evans donated a database containing more than 8,000 declassified records—the result of more than 15 years of research and FOIA requests—to Colombia’s National Center of Historical Memory during a conference in Bogota on archives and human rights sponsored by the United Nations Development Program. In a closed session, Evans and other international delegates conferred with members of a

Colombian commission charged with developing a system for the declassification of national security and intelligence records.

November 2014: On November 11 the Archive and its publisher ProQuest announced the publication of the 43rd documentary collection in the Digital National Security Archive series—*Electronic Surveillance and the National Security Agency: From Shamrock to Snowden*. The collection brings together the most comprehensive, publicly available collection of materials on the subject, including a complete set of the documents disclosed to date by Edward Snowden and government documents produced or released in response to those disclosures. Compiled and curated by Archive senior fellow Jeffrey Richelson, the collection puts the Snowden leaks into the historical context of previous surveillance scandals such as those surrounding Operation Shamrock and the Minaret watchlists.



On November 17 the Archive, together with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Embassy of Kazakhstan, commemorated the 20th anniversary of Project Sapphire—the first major operation by the United States to secure vulnerable nuclear material in the former Soviet Union under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, known as Nunn-Lugar. The 1994 operation was an unprecedented secret mission to transfer out of Kazakhstan more than a half-ton of highly-enriched uranium that had been abandoned from a Soviet submarine project during the Cold War (enough for as many as two dozen bombs). In honor of the anniversary, the Archive posted declassified documents, video, and photographs obtained through a larger Archive project on the history of the Nunn-Lugar program. Archive director Tom Blanton moderated a

well-attended discussion at CSIS honoring Project Sapphire that same evening featuring Senators Richard Lugar and Sam Nunn, Nunn-Lugar implementers Andrew Weber (currently Deputy Head of the State Department’s Ebola Coordination Unit) and Laura Holgate (currently Senior Director of WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction at the National Security Council), and Pulitzer-Prize winning journalist David Hoffman. The crowd applauded Ambassador Kairat Umarov for Kazakhstan’s early decision to become nuclear-free and its leadership in the non-proliferation movement.

In late November, the Archive published through ProQuest its latest compilation of Henry Kissinger’s uniquely valuable historical records. *The Kissinger Conversations, Supplement: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977*, edited by Bill Burr, consist of 639 records including freshly declassified memoranda of telephone conversations (telcons) and transcripts of National Security Council and State Department meetings and overseas trips. Topics cover a wide range of Nixon and Ford administration concerns—Vietnam, the Middle East, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, international terrorism, and U.S. government surveillance of American citizens. The extensive interactions between Kissinger and his high-level interlocutors from around the globe make these records a critically important source not only for the study of U.S. diplomatic and military history but also for other fields of history and the social sciences.

December 2014: On December 9 the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence released the executive summary of its “Study of the CIA’s Detention and Interrogation Program”—a report long sought by the Archive’s Torture Archive Project, which collects and posts documents related to torture. The 500-page report describes a dysfunctional agency so



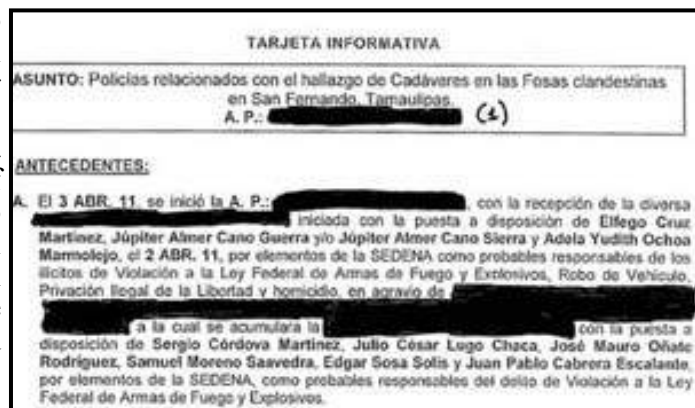
Archive director Tom Blanton appears on The Colbert Report, December 10, 2014

unprepared to handle suspected terrorist detainees after 9/11 that the CIA bought into private contractors' proposals for torture, and then lied to Congress, President Bush, the Justice Department, the public, and to itself about the purported effectiveness of the program. Archive director Tom Blanton discussed new revelations of the report on the Kojo Nnamdi Show (December 9) and the Colbert Report (December 10), and was quoted in Bloomberg Politics as saying "The Senate intel report is right up there with the Church committee in the scathing criticism of the agency."

On December 10 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh hailed the release of the Brazil National Truth Commission's 2,000-page report to President Dilma Rousseff—detailing human rights violations by security forces between 1964 and 1985 during Brazil's military dictatorship—in that nation's attempt to provide a detailed accounting of the system of repression, the victims of human rights violations, and the identities of those who committed those crimes. Kornbluh noted the contrast between the Brazilian report that identified over 375 perpetrators of atrocities by name to the just-released U.S. Senate report on torture that "redacted even the pseudonyms of the C.I.A. torturers." He also called on the Obama administration to continue its special document declassification efforts on Brazil to aid in any future prosecutions.

Also in December, Archive deputy director Malcolm Byrne traveled to Tehran for 10 days after being granted a rare visa to attend an international conference addressed by President Rouhani and several former world leaders. Byrne stayed on to hold meetings with various Foreign Ministry and Revolutionary Guards officials, including two brief conversations with Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif. It was Byrne's first visit since 2008, under the Ahmedinejad regime, and offered an opportunity not only to reconnect with numerous colleagues who are now in the government, but to interview several former officials involved in topic areas such as Iran's nuclear negotiations and earlier Iranian attempts to establish contact with U.S. counterparts in the early 2000s. Byrne directs the Archive's long-standing project to document and illuminate U.S.-Iran relations (and the lack thereof) through research and "critical oral history" conferences on topics like the 1953 coup and the 1980s Iran-Iraq War. The project's current work looks at Iran's cooperation with the U.S. after 9/11, Iran's nuclear ambitions, and the tangled history of recent diplomacy.

In December the Archive's Mexico project's access petition and appeal through Mexico's Federal Institute for Access to Information (IFAI) forced the Mexican attorney general to declassify a document confirming the participation of local police in the 2011 San Fernando massacre, in which the Zetas drug cartel murdered 193 migrants kidnapped from buses in northeastern Mexico. The document—the first to be declassified from the San Fernando case file—includes the testimony of a detained police official who admitted that the Zetas paid members of the San Fernando police to participate in their crimes, including "the interception of persons." In deciding the case, the IFAI commissioners for the first time declared themselves competent to determine when to apply a special exception in the Mexican access law requiring the release of information on human rights abuses. The new document, along with supporting material from U.S. declassified documents provided by Archive staff, was the subject of major stories in Mexico, including coverage in *Proceso* magazine and on Carmen Aristegui's popular radio program (which devoted nearly 20 minutes to the story). The Archive's simultaneously-published online e-book rounded out the story with declassified U.S. documents on San Fernando, focusing on cables and intelligence reports on the Zetas and their links with police and other officials, and sparked prominent coverage in *The New York Times* (December 24, 2014, p. A6, "After Long Fight, Groups Pry Memo on Migrant Killings From Mexican Government").



TARJETA INFORMATIVA

ASUNTO: Policías relacionados con el hallazgo de Cadáveres en las Fosas clandestinas en San Fernando, Tamaulipas. (4)

A. P.: [REDACTED]

ANTECEDENTES:

A. El 3 ABR. 11, se inició la A. P.: [REDACTED] con la recepción de la diversa [REDACTED] iniciada con la puesta a disposición de Elfege Cruz Martínez, Júpiter Almer Cano Guerra y/o Júpiter Almer Cano Sierra y Adela Yudith Ochoa Marmolejo, el 2 ABR. 11, por elementos de la SEDENA como probables responsables de los ilícitos de Violación a la Ley Federal de Armas de Fuego y Explosivos, Robo de Vehículo, Privación ilegal de la Libertad y homicidio, en agravio de [REDACTED] a la cual se acumulara la [REDACTED] con la puesta a disposición de Sergio Córdova Martínez, Julio César Logo Chaca, José Mauro Oñate Rodríguez, Samuel Moreno Saavedra, Edgar Gosa Solís y Juan Pablo Cabrera Escalante, por elementos de la SEDENA, como probables responsables del delito de Violación a la Ley Federal de Armas de Fuego y Explosivos.