

The National Security Archive

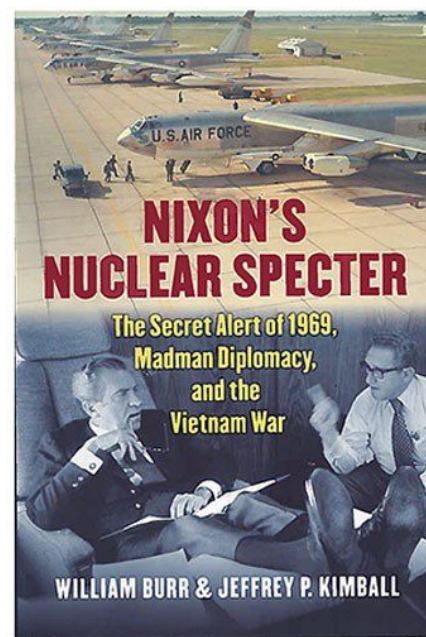
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Annual Report for 2015

The following statistics provide a performance index of the Archive's work in 2015:

- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification requests filed – **1,046**
- ◆ Freedom of Information and declassification appeals filed – **215**
- ◆ Pages of U.S. government documents released as the result of Archive requests – **49,693** including such news-making revelations as the first ever declassified nuclear targeting plan from the Cold War, which assigned 175 A-bombs to Moscow and 91 to East Berlin!; CIA evidence that the Chilean dictator Pinochet personally ordered the infamous assassination on Embassy Row in Washington DC of exile Orlando Letelier in 1976; the Top Secret Umbra Gamma report finding the U.S. “may have inadvertently placed our relations with the Soviet Union on a hair trigger” during the Able Archer exercise in 1983; State Department records showing Ronald Reagan was a climate change hero, overruling his staff to sign the Montreal Protocol in 1987 and save the ozone layer; international tribunal records suggesting the 1995 Srebrenica genocide could have been prevented if the Bosnian Serbs’ rolling decision to overrun the “safe area” and then kill the mostly-Muslim inhabitants had been met with any forceful international response; U.S. military records on mass graves in Mexico in 2014 that raised “alarming questions” about current “government complicity.”
- ◆ Pages of declassified documents delivered to publisher – **43,741** in two reference collections: *CIA Covert Operations: Year of Intelligence, 1975* (edited by John Prados); *U.S. Nuclear History, 1969-1976: Weapons, Arms Control, and War Plans in an Age of Strategic Parity* (edited by William Burr)
- ◆ Evidence delivered to truth commissions and human rights investigators – more than **9,257** pages of records that Chiquita tried to hide from public view provided to plaintiffs representing the Colombian victims of paramilitary groups funded by Chiquita; **35** documents on the 2010-2011 San Fernando massacres in Mexico for the “Más de 72” web site launched in May 2015 by a group of top Mexican investigative journalists known as *Periodistas de a Pie*; **143** documents on human rights abuses in Mexico to American University’s War Crimes Research Office; **50** 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; 900-document database to the prosecution for the March 6-7, 2015 Operation Condor trial in Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- ◆ Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **4**; *Nixon’s Nuclear Specter: The Secret Alert of 1969, Madman Diplomacy, and the Vietnam War* by William Burr and Jeffrey P. Kimball (University Press of Kansas, June 2015); *Diplomacia encubierta con Cuba: Historia de las negociaciones secretas entre Washington y La Habana* by William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015, Spanish Edition); *The US Intelligence Community* by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Westview Press, 2015, Seventh Edition); *The U.S. Special Forces: What Everyone Needs to Know* by John Prados (Oxford University Press, June 2015).
- ◆ E-Books published by Archive staff and fellows – **38**, bringing the Web site total to **538**
- ◆ Research requests to the Archive – 4,304; Visiting researchers at the Archive’s Smith Bagley Research Center – **319** from 22 countries
- ◆ Archive Web site usage – Sessions: **1,797,225**; Users: **1,411,124**; Page Views: **3,116,092**
- ◆ Posts by Archive staff on *Unredacted* blog – **95**; Readers of *Unredacted* blog — **204,950** page views
- ◆ Subscribers to the Archive’s e-mail alerts – **7,353**; Followers on the Archive Twitter feed – **11,300**; Followers on the Archive Facebook page – **8,029**
- ◆ Awards: Douglas Dillon Award, American Academy of Diplomacy for best book on the practice of U.S. diplomacy (Peter Kornbluh for *Back Channel to Cuba*); award from the Argentine Embassy in Washington for “contribution in the fight for human rights during the Argentine civic-military dictatorship (1976-1983)” (Carlos Osorio)
- ◆ Transcripts of Archive staff interviews – **22**; News stories citing the Archive – **832** (from Factiva and Lexis-Nexis)



Migration | Declassified

A Project of the National Security Archive

January 2015: In a January 2015 article for *The Nation*, Archive Mexico analyst Michael Evans detailed newly-declassified evidence from Mexico's attorney general's office showing that police in northeastern Mexico helped the Zetas criminal organization kidnap and murder

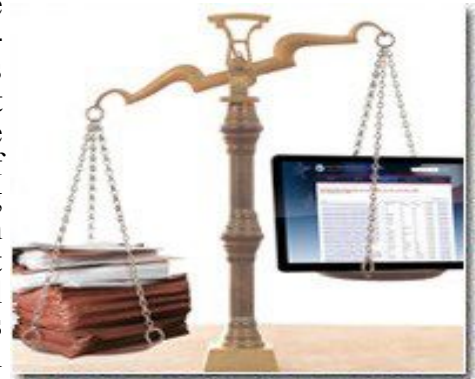
hundreds of migrants in the 2011 San Fernando massacre. Although the attorney general's office originally denied access to the document, it was released on appeal after the Archive cited the human rights exception in Mexico's access law. The case fueled hopes that Mexico's National Institute for Access to Information (INAI), the group that ordered the release of the investigative report, would take similar action in recent cases, including the September 2014 disappearance of 43 students in Iguala, Guerrero (see May and October entries). Francisco Goldman of *The New Yorker* later cited the new document as key evidence in an April 2015 piece on the extortion of migrants in Mexico.

February 2015: The BBC documentary series *Planet Oil* on the global impact of petroleum, premiering on February 23rd, featured in Part 2 the Archive's deputy director Malcolm Byrne and his research into the 1953 coup in Iran, which the CIA and British intelligence planned and oversaw. Archive web postings of declassified documents on the topic have broken new ground and generated world headlines—even prompting a resolution by Iran's parliament in 2013 calling for greater transparency on the subject.

Also in February, the Woodrow Wilson Center and Stanford University published a new international study, *The Euromissile Crisis and the End of the Cold War*, featuring chapters by several Archive staff. Based on archival research in more than a dozen countries and papers delivered at a conference in Rome, the chapters by Svetlana Savranskaya, William Burr and Malcolm Byrne cover Mikhail Gorbachev's "learning process" on disarmament, U.S. policy toward Germany, and the Warsaw Pact's role, respectively. Reviewing the volume, American University professor Garrett Martin placed it at "the cutting edge of historical research on the Cold War" and said it "fills a gaping hole in the literature."

March 2015: On March 6-7 Archive Southern Cone project director Carlos Osorio testified before a historic Operation Condor trial of former military officers in Buenos Aires. During 10 hours on the witness stand Osorio introduced one hundred documents into evidence for the court proceedings and included presentation of an Excel data base of 900 documents drawn mostly from U.S. government sources and from the Archive of Terror in Paraguay. Osorio's testimony covered a range of topics including the breadth of Condor operations, U.S. knowledge of those operations and the authenticity of the records being introduced into evidence. "We have been working on Operation Condor for years," Osorio said, "sifting through archives in many continents and building a body of knowledge and a trove of documents."

On March 13, during the annual celebration of Sunshine Week, the Archive released its 14th audit, "The 2015 E-FOIA Audit," revealing that nearly 20 years after Congress passed the Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments (E-FOIA), only 40 percent of agencies have followed the law's instruction for systematic posting of records released through FOIA in their electronic reading rooms. The Archive team audited all federal agencies with Chief FOIA Officers as well as agency components that handle more than 500 FOIA requests a year—165 federal offices in all—and found only 67 with online libraries populated with significant numbers of released FOIA documents and regularly updated. Archive director Tom Blanton summarized the findings during the Freedom of Information Day event at the Newseum, and the audit sparked widespread media attention with coverage in numerous outlets such as



Network World, *Government Executive*, *E Pluribus Unum* and *The Washington Free Beacon*. Archive associate FOIA project director Lauren Harper also wrote an op-ed article for Sunshine Week (“Posting FOIA Releases Online Saves Agencies Time and Money”) that was syndicated throughout the United States.

On March 18 the National Security Archive awarded its annual Rosemary Award for worst performance in open government for a second time to the Federal Chief Information Officers Council for never addressing the government’s “lifetime failure” of saving its e-mail electronically. The Archive had hoped that awarding the CIO Council the same award in 2010 would have served as a government-wide wakeup call that saving e-mails was a priority. But fallout from the Hillary Clinton e-mail debacle shows that rather than “waking up,” the top officials have opted to hit the “snooze” button. Archive research shows that had Mrs. Clinton not used a private e-mail server, most of her e-mail would have long since disappeared from the State Department’s systems, because of the government-wide failure to mandate digital archiving. Perhaps the CIO Council will use this year’s award as a call-to-action. *The Washington Post*’s Al Kamen announced the not-so-coveted award in his widely-read “In The Loop” column on March 20.



In March, the Archive’s Mexico team marked Sunshine Week with a letter in support of Mexican journalist Carmen Aristegui, who was fired that month by the MVS radio network. MVS terminated its relationship with Aristegui and her award-winning team after they aligned themselves with MexicoLeaks, a nascent digital web platform meant to facilitate leaks of classified information to investigative journalists. The Archive has had a longstanding collaborative relationship with Aristegui, and in 2014 two Archive staff members, Michael Evans and Jesse Franzblau, were named alongside Aristegui as part of the official selection for the 2014 Gabriel García Márquez journalism award. Also in March, Mexico project director Michael Evans gave several talks about the Archive’s investigation of the 2010 and 2011 San Fernando massacres at conferences sponsored by New York University, the New School for Social Research, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

On March 20 Archive senior fellow Jeff Richelson posted a newly-declassified Top Secret history of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1947 to 1970 revealing the acrimonious struggle between the CIA and the National Security Agency over their signals intelligence operations. The history, obtained by the Archive through a Freedom of Information Act request, also reveals that CIA operatives tapped radio-telephone communications of Soviet leaders as they rode in limousines around Moscow, used secret sites in the Shah’s Iran to track Soviet missile launches, and dug a tunnel under East Berlin to intercept Warsaw Pact communications.



On March 23 Carlos Osorio, director of the Archive’s Southern Cone Documentation project, received a special award from the Argentine Embassy in Washington for his work in providing critical documentary evidence and testimony to numerous high-profile trials in Argentina aimed at uncovering and prosecuting human rights violations by the military junta from 1976-1983. Addressing representatives from the international diplomatic community, Osorio described his work over the past 15 years to collect tens of thousands of U.S. government records and to provide evidence in various Argentine legal forums. The packed house of dignitaries included U.S. Ambassador to Argentina Noah Mamet, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South America and Cuba Alex Lee, and Argentine Ambassador to the OAS Nilda Garre. Argentine Ambassador Cecilia Nahon presented the award, and thanked the National Security Archive for its support in the international quest for truth and justice.

April 2015: On April 6, marking the 21st anniversary of the Rwandan Genocide, the Archive and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum published the proceedings, documents and rapporteur’s report from the June 2014 critical oral history conference at the Hague.



Foreign Policy magazine called that event “an unprecedented 2014 gathering of former Rwandan officials and international policymakers who managed the response to the world’s worst mass murder since the Holocaust.” The new documentation illuminates the international response (actually the lack thereof) to genocide and draws attention to deep flaws in international decision-making that continue to hamper the effective prevention of and response to mass atrocity today.



On April 15 the *Nuclear Vault* showcased declassified documents obtained by Archive senior analyst William Burr and Israeli nuclear history expert Avner Cohen concerning the Eisenhower administration’s discovery of the secret Israeli nuclear program. The documents shed light on a particularly notable intelligence failure—how Washington missed warning signs that the Israelis had a nuclear project underway—and also on how Eisenhower and his senior advisers reacted to the discovery.

Burr and Cohen coordinated the posting with a widely-read article for *Politico*: “How Israel Hid its Secret Nuclear Weapons Program”—in the middle of the current national debate over how Iran was hiding its nuclear program. The article attracted many thousands of hits, with nearly 3,000 comments in the first 24 hours.

On April 16, in commemoration of Holocaust Remembrance Day, the Archive followed up its earlier publication of the Rwanda conference proceedings by posting 85 newly released documents from the Clinton Presidential Library that shed new light on the US decision to call for the withdrawal of UN peacekeeping troops (UNAMIR) from Rwanda at the very beginning of the genocide there in 1994. The documents show that the withdrawal decision was made by the U.S. before Belgian peacekeepers were killed and before the previously reported “request” from Belgium, with a view only to avoid another “Black Hawk Down” debacle (the previous year in Somalia) rather than to protect civilians on the ground. The documents demonstrate that the UN Security Council’s passing of Resolution 912 on April 21, 1994, to withdraw a majority of UN troops, was the result of heavy US influence, but in the words of the *New York Times* (based on our documents), served as a “green light” for genocide.

May 2015: On May 6 the Senate Judiciary Committee asked Archive director Tom Blanton to deliver testimony for their annual FOIA oversight hearing: “Ensuring an Informed Citizenry: Examining the Administration’s Efforts to Improve Open Government.” Blanton summarized the Archive’s FOIA audit findings, emphasized the need for a sunset to the FOIA’s B5 deliberative process “withhold it because you want to” exemption, argued for more proactive disclosure online—because in this era,



“the presumption of openness means a presumption of posting”— and called for a SWAT team of State Department FOIA officers to process former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s emails,

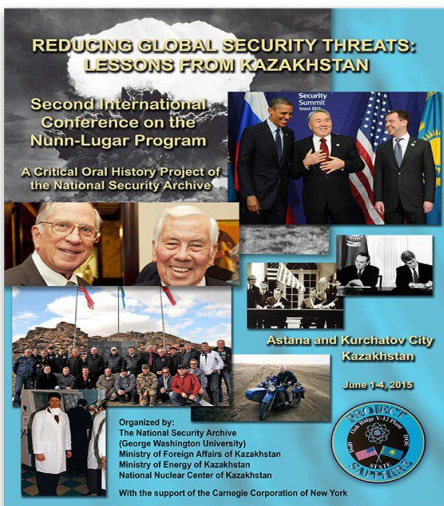
noting that since none of them are classified, the public should be able to see them without considerable delay.

On May 13, the Archive's Mexico project made headlines in the *Los Angeles Times* and elsewhere with a newly-declassified report from a U.S. military working group concluding that mass graves discovered during the search for 43 missing students in Guerrero, Mexico, raised "alarming questions" about the "level of government complicity" in Mexican cartel killings. In the same posting, the Archive also published the first evidence that the U.S. had suspended assistance to a Mexican army unit alleged to have executed 22 people during a drug raid in June 2014 in Tlatlaya. In that case, the working group reported that, "as more facts come to light there is greater acceptance that the military was involved in wrongdoing."

On May 19 the Archive together with leading U.S. historical associations won a petition (initially filed in New York City on December 2, 2014) for the release of key remaining grand jury records from the prosecution of accused spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The key grand jury testimony at issue in the case came from Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, who had objected to any release of his testimony in 2008, when the Archive and the historical associations won the opening of almost all the other witness statements before the grand jury, including those of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In the current ruling, U.S. District Court Judge Alvin K. Hellerstein dismissed the Government's argument that the release would rekindle antipathy towards the Greenglass family, and found, "The requested records are critical pieces of an important moment in our nation's history. The time for the public to guess what they contain should end." The subsequent release of the Greenglass material made worldwide headlines, including detailed coverage in the *New York Times* ("Secret 1950 Testimony Supported Ethel Rosenberg"), pointing to the contrast between the grand jury testimony by Greenglass and his likely perjury at trial to convict his sister (and save his wife from prosecution).



On May 29 Archive senior analyst William Burr posted the key documents from his new book co-authored with Jeffrey Kimball, Emeritus Professor of History at Miami University (Ohio), entitled *Nixon's Nuclear Specter: The Secret Alert of 1969, Madman Diplomacy, and the Vietnam War* (University of Kansas Press, June 2015). The book uncovers the inside story of White House Vietnam policymaking during Nixon's first year in office, and analyzes Nixon and Kissinger's use of nuclear and other threats to try to coerce Hanoi and its Soviet patrons to meet U.S. diplomatic terms (all of which failed). Pulitzer-Prize-winning author Richard Rhodes described the book as "Finally, a well-researched and well-written account of our leaders' dangerous nuclear brinkmanship across the high years of the Cold War. There's much here that's new and much that's troubling—for today as well as yesterday."



June 2015: On June 1-4 the second of the Archive's landmark series of critical oral history conferences bringing together veterans of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program known as Nunn-Lugar took place in Astana and Kurchatov, Kazakhstan, focusing on the specific case of denuclearizing that former Soviet republic. The goal of the conference series is to develop lessons learned, enrich understanding of the challenges of non-proliferation, and provide insights for further U.S.-Russian joint efforts to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The multinational delegation included White House senior director for nonproliferation Laura Holgate; former assistant secretary of Defense Andy Weber; three former U.S. ambassadors to Kazakhstan (William Courtney, John Ordway and Ken Fairfax); four retired Russian Strategic Forces generals (Evgeny Maslin, Victor

Yesin, Anatoly Svetikov and Vitaly Lavrishchev); and Kazakh veterans of Nunn-Lugar including Senate chairman Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, current foreign minister Erlan Idrissov, as well as the Kazakh energy minister Vladimir Shkolnik. The highlight of the conference was a charter flight to Semey followed by helicopter rides (Soviet-made MI-8s) over Ground Zero in the Polygon at Semipalatinsk—where both the Soviet A-bomb (1949) and H-bomb (1955) were tested. The Archive’s Tom Blanton and Svetlana Savranskaya took part in the landing on top of Plutonium Mountain for ceremonies acknowledging the tri-national cooperation between Kazakh, Russian and American scientists to manage the clean-up and sealing of the test tunnels.



On June 2 the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform invited Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones to testify on “Ensuring Transparency through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).” The two-day hearing was chaired by new chairman Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah), who cited in his opening statements a 2011 response from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to a National Security Archive FOIA request, in which ICE provided only 111 pages of previously available public information. Chaffetz called the hearing to better understand why the FOIA process is frequently slow and opaque, and told the Department of Justice’s Office of Information Policy (OIP) director, Melanie Pustay, that she must be living in “la-la-land” if she thought FOIA was being properly implemented. Jones argued that while FOIA is not a broken system, it is also not one that is living up to its potential. He cited and summarized the findings from the Archive’s government-wide FOIA audits, and called for an independent, robust FOIA “beat cop” to ensure agency compliance—a job the DOJ is currently not

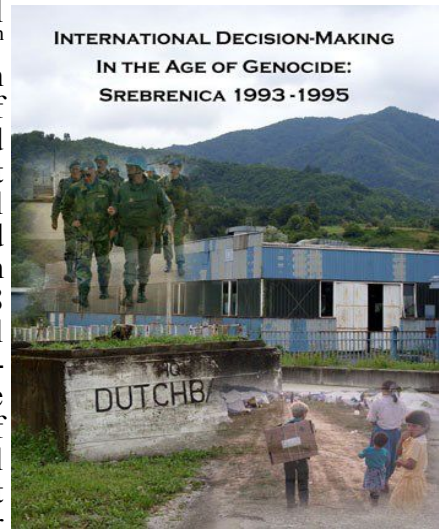
performing.

On June 11 the Archive joined a successful filing to unseal grand jury transcripts from a 1942 Department of Justice effort to prosecute *The Chicago Tribune* for publishing classified government information—the only time the government has attempted to prosecute the mainstream press under the Espionage Act of 1917. In 1942 the *Tribune* published a series of stories, 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. The government convened a grand jury, heard witnesses, but ultimately decided not to indict the *Tribune*, apparently because further publicity might alert the Japanese. Working with the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and interested historians, Archive senior fellow John Prados submitted an affidavit for the new case to establish the historical and public interest in the documents. Subsequently, a federal judge ordered the 1942 transcripts opened. However, the U.S. Attorney’s office in Chicago intervened to appeal the court’s ruling, so it will likely take another year of legal battles before the precedent in the New York Circuit established by the Archive’s Rosenberg case reaches Chicago.

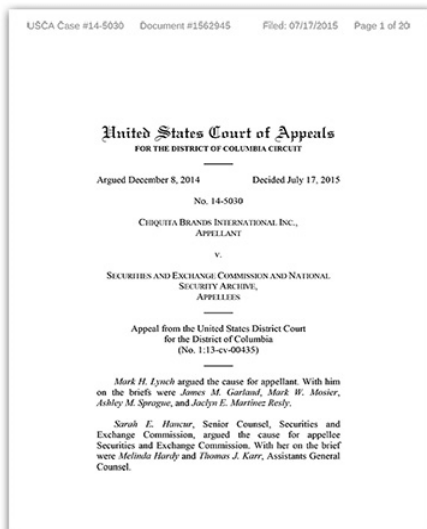
On June 18 the Archive and its publishing partner ProQuest provided new avenues for research on government spying with an expansion of The Digital National Security Archive (DNSA) to include *CIA Covert Operations II: The Year of Intelligence, 1975*, a collection of more than 1,000 declassified documents that reveal the inner-workings of America’s chief spy agency during the “season of inquiry”—when scrutiny by the media, the government’s own Rockefeller Commission, and select committees in both the Senate (Church Committee) and the House (Pike Committee) opened CIA operations to unprecedented oversight. The documents include hundreds of items only recently declassified from the Ford Presidential files on the White House reaction to, and management of, the various investigations. Archive senior fellow John Prados edited the publication, the second of three on the history and operations of the CIA.



On June 29 the Archive helped convene a major international critical oral history conference in The Hague marking the 20th anniversary of the executions of more than 7,000 Muslim prisoners by the Bosnian Serb Army following their capture of the Srebrenica enclave in July 1995. The fall of the United Nations “safe area” at Srebrenica resulted in the largest massacre in Europe since World War II. The International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has ruled the killings and mass expulsion of Muslims from Serb-controlled territories in eastern Bosnia “genocide” under the definition of the 1948 Genocide Convention. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and The Hague Institute for Global Justice co-sponsored the conference, which was chaired by Archive director Tom Blanton, and included an extraordinary range of international decisionmakers, such as senior UN official Yasushi Akashi, UNPROFOR commander General Rupert Smith, Dutch prime minister Wim Kok, Dutchbat commander Col. Thom Karremans, NSC director Jenonne Walker, and UK ambassador to the UN David Hannay, together with Bosnian leaders and Srebrenica survivor Muhamed Durakovic. Declassified documents provided by the Archive revealed sharp differences between the diplomats in New York and leaders of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) peacekeeping force over the feasibility of the “safe area” concept and the resources devoted to fulfilling the mission, among many other failures that contributed to the Srebrenica tragedy. Durakovic paid tribute to the organizers at the public session, saying “why it was so important for me, actually, to see that the organizers, for every argument that was brought up had ample evidence, written documents, that were declassified, which are no longer secret, and we finally can bring some things out. So I can put my demons to rest.”



July 2015: On July 14, the day of the announcement of the Iran-P5+1 nuclear deal, Archive senior analyst William Burr and deputy director Malcolm Byrne, who manages the Iran Documentation Project, published an e-book of key documents on U.S. nuclear negotiations with Iran from the 1970s, on. The negotiating record of the 1970s indicates significant continuity with the 2010s: then as now, Washington was determined to prevent Iran (and other countries) from developing independent capabilities to produce plutonium. The gas centrifuge horse was already out of the barn but Washington’s approach was to constrain to the extent possible any capability to enrich uranium. This essential historical context suggests that the tradeoffs in the current Iran nuclear deal are very much in line with long-standing U.S. policy across administrations, and that opponents of the deal are actually the outliers.



On July 17 a federal appeals court in Washington, D.C. handed the Archive a huge win in the name of transparency and corporate accountability, ruling that the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) should release to the Archive more than 9,000 pages of records produced by Chiquita Brands International to the SEC relating to the company’s secret payments to Colombian guerrilla groups, paramilitary death squads and government officials over more than a decade. The decision put an end to Chiquita’s “reverse” FOIA action, in which the banana giant had sued the SEC to block the release to the Archive of depositions, voicemail transcripts and other key documents in which Chiquita executives described the schemes used by the company to conceal the illegal payments. The SEC general counsel actually argued alongside the Archive’s lawyers, Public Citizen Litigation Group’s Adina Rosenbaum, in favor of release.

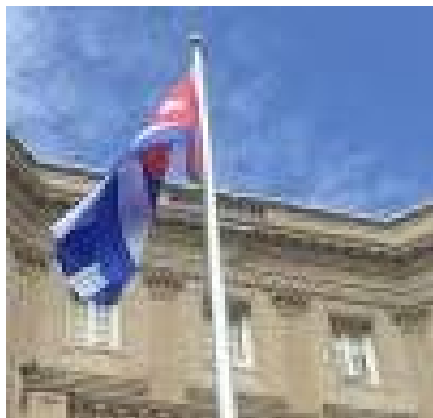
On July 31 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh posted formerly top secret White House, CIA and Defense Department records he provided as evidence in the infamous human rights atrocity

known as the case of “Los Quemados”—the burned ones—an incident that killed 19-year old Rodrigo Rojas and severely disfigured 18-year old Carmen Gloria Quintana during a street protest against military rule in Santiago in July 1986. The documents show that General Augusto Pinochet refused to accept a police report identifying his own military as responsible for burning two protesters alive and initiated a high-level cover-up which included kidnapping and intimidation of witnesses and pressure on Chilean judges and lawyers. According to Kornbluh—who obtained the documents while writing his book *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (The New Press, revised edition 2013)—the murder of Rojas “drove the final wedge between Washington and the Pinochet regime” and contributed to President Reagan’s decision to withdraw support and press for a return to civilian rule. The documents sparked widespread media attention in Latin America and globally with coverage by the *Buenos Aires Herald*, *Prensa Latina*, *El País*, *El Mostrador*, *La Tercera* and *The Guardian*.



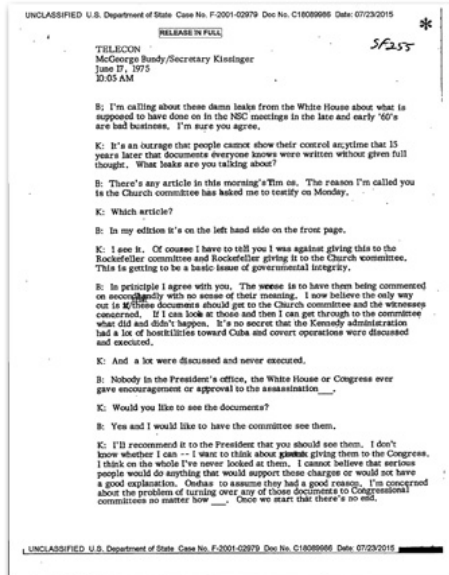
August 2015: On August 2 Archive director Tom Blanton penned a memorable op-ed in the *Sunday Washington Post* (“Classification mania”), pushing back against dubious secrets and securocrats’ efforts to use Hillary Clinton’s emails to stem transparency by requesting the FBI to open a security referral into their handling. Blanton, arguing that America misguidedly classifies too much information, wrote, “The word is the Cold War is over, yet Cold War secrecy rules still control the government’s information systems.” Blanton further noted that the “best defense of an open society is open information. We are not safer in the dark.” Through the *Post*’s syndication service, the op-ed also appeared in *The San Diego Union-Tribune* and the *Dallas Morning News*, among other papers.

On August 4 on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, the Archive updated its on-line collection of declassified documents on the first use of the atomic bomb and the end of the war in the Pacific. Archive nuclear analyst William Burr posted the original compilation in August 2005 and it has since become one of the most heavily trafficked pages on the Archive’s web site. The update presented previously unpublished material and translations of difficult-to-find records. Included are documents on the early stages of the U.S. atomic bomb project, Army Air Force General Curtis LeMay’s report on the firebombing of Tokyo (March 1945), Secretary of War Henry Stimson’s requests for modification of unconditional surrender terms, Soviet documents relating to the events, excerpts from the Robert P. Mielejohn diaries showing contemporaneous Dwight Eisenhower qualms about targeting civilian populations, and selections from the diaries of Walter J. Brown, special assistant to Secretary of State James Byrnes.



On August 13, on the eve of Secretary of State John Kerry’s historic trip to Havana to raise the American flag over the newly reopened U.S. Embassy, Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh distributed a ground-breaking article he wrote for *Mother Jones* revealing key details of the behind-the-scenes political operations and secret negotiations that led to the normalization of diplomatic relations with Cuba—including Clinton aides engaging in secret dialogue with Cuban Foreign Ministry officials regarding an exchange of the imprisoned Alan Gross for the “Cuban Five”; a secret letter delivered in the Rose Garden to President Obama by cardinal of Cuba Jaime Ortega; and Vatican meetings focused on Cuba with discussions of Pope Francis as interlocutor. The article was

adapted from the revised paperback edition of Kornbluh's groundbreaking book on the hidden U.S.-Cuba dialogue (see November).



On August 19 the Archive posted 905 newly released Kissinger telephone transcripts obtained through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit filed on March 4, with legal representation from former Archive counsel David Sobel. This latest release stemmed from the original FOIA request for Kissinger's telephone calls by William Burr in 2001, after Archive legal action compelled the State Department and the National Archives to recover the Kissinger transcripts from the former Secretary of State's "personal" papers under seal at the Library of Congress. The release brings to more than 15,000 the number of Kissinger telephone transcripts the Archive has obtained and published through the ProQuest subscription series, the Digital National Security Archive. Al Kamen and Colby Itkowitz of *The Washington Post's* "In the Loop" column called the released conversations "precious gold" for history buffs "providing a window into Kissinger's candor when he was chatting privately on a host of major issues, including the end of the Vietnam War."

September 2015: September saw a pair of important victories for the Archive's Mexico Documentation project for transparency around human rights information in Mexico. Responding to access requests from the Archive and others, Mexico's National Institute for Access to Information (INAI) forced the attorney general's office (PGR) to open up the files on its much-maligned investigation of the September 2014 disappearance of 43 students in Guerrero. Earlier in the month, INAI upheld a separate appeal filed by the Archive's Mexico team and ruled that the PGR should also open part of its case file on the June 2014 execution of 22 detained suspects by the Mexican Army in Tlatlaya. (Delivery of the Tlatlaya file is still pending.) Major coverage of the documents appeared throughout the Mexican press.

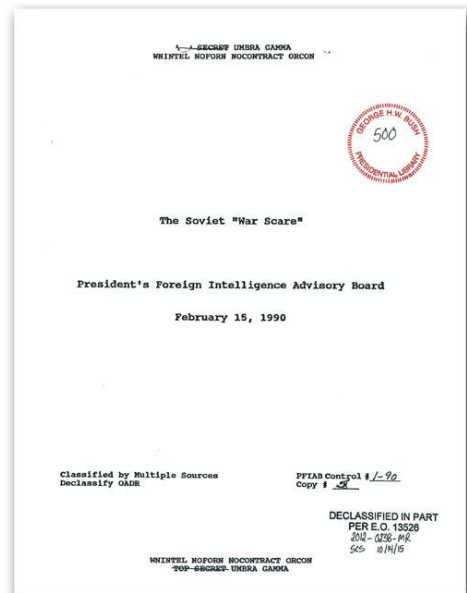
In another long-awaited victory for rational declassification practices, the CIA and the LBJ Library announced the release online of a collection of 2,500 declassified President's Daily Briefs (PDBs) from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The move was the direct result of a Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling eight years ago against the National Security Archive and Professor Larry Berman in a lawsuit to obtain disclosure of two PDBs written for President Johnson in the 1960s. In the 2007 ruling, the court denied the release of the two records in question but ruled that the CIA could no longer claim a blanket exemption for PDBs as a document class and should assess the true sensitivity of each individual PDB from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. At the time of the 2007 ruling, Archive general counsel Meredith Fuchs said that while disappointed with the Court's decision, "Our goal in this litigation was to force the agency to conduct a genuine review and assess the true sensitivity of each document. We hope the Agency will take the Court's analysis to heart and do the right thing in the future." The current release is the result of that review and shows that the CIA's previous dire claims that PDBs are "uniquely sensitive" and non-segregable were untrue. The decision sends a clear message that no document can forever be hidden from the public.



October 2015: On October 8 the Archive posted documents personally delivered by Secretary of State John Kerry to Chilean president Michelle Bachelet the previous week showing that Chile's intelligence service assassinated exiled critic and former foreign minister Orlando Letelier with a car bomb in 1976 on "direct orders" from the dictator Augusto Pinochet. A secret

memo prepared for President Reagan in 1987 concluded that the CIA had “convincing evidence” that Pinochet “personally ordered his intelligence chief to carry out the murder” in Washington D.C. Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh assisted the Chilean government in obtaining the documents, which generated headlines around the world including coverage in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, and filed a new Freedom of Information Act petition to secure the declassification of the CIA assessment and the raw intelligence reports it was based on.

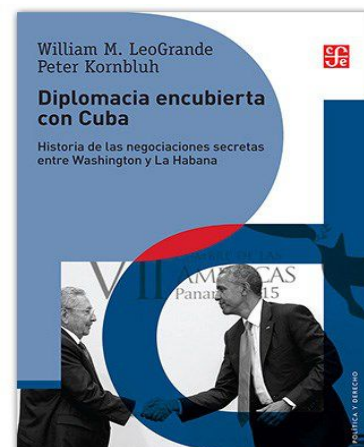
On October 24, after a 12-year fight, the National Security Archive won the release of and posted the previously Top Secret 1990 report by the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board entitled *The Soviet “War Scare”* which revealed that the United States “may have inadvertently placed our relations with the Soviet Union on a hair trigger” during the 1983 NATO nuclear release exercise, Able Archer 83. The report, long sought by historians and finally obtained by Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones, spurred front-page above-the-fold coverage in *The Washington Post* and quotes by Archive director Tom Blanton in *The New York Times*, as well as a plethora of additional stories, including in *The Guardian*, *Ars Technica*, and *The Week*. To commemorate the upcoming November anniversary of the 1983 Able Archer War Scare, Archive Webmaster Rinat Bikineyev worked with Jones, who has become the leading international expert on the War Scare, to redesign the Able Archer Sourcebook page of the Archive’s website featuring more than 1,000 pages of documentation from U.S., Soviet, East and West German, and NATO files on the issue.



November 2015: On November 18 Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones posted one of the most clicked posts on the Archive’s *Unredacted* blog for 2015—“Why The Key Able Archer

83 Report Should Be Released Under UK FOIA” (citing the U.S. release to argue for UK transparency). Other most-clicked posts include “The Merchant of Death’s Account book” (a collaboration with Vice News); “The Dark Alliance Declassified”; and “‘Neither Confirm or Deny:’ the History of the Glomar Explorer.” *Unredacted* continues to be a leading voice on declassification policy, the analysis of declassified documents, Open Government news, and (in 2015) the debate surrounding Hillary Clinton’s reliance on her personal e-mail while serving as Secretary of State. *Unredacted’s* analysis of Clinton’s e-mail usage co-authored by Jones and associate FOIA project director Lauren Harper, was credited by records law expert Douglas Cox as one of the best available and was Facebooked, retweeted, and linked to by numerous blogs and mainstream media sites. Harper continued her weekly must-read Freedom of Information Summary [*FRINFORMSUM*] with dozens of posts and has now expanded the feature to an email list.

On November 19 Archive senior analyst Peter Kornbluh along with co-author American University Professor William M. LeoGrande were awarded the American Academy of Diplomacy’s prestigious Douglas Dillon Award for best book on the practice of U.S. diplomacy in 2015 for their book *Back Channel To Cuba: the Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana*—which came out in a new paperback edition in October 2015. The original hardback appeared on the eve of the historic December 2014 establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Cuba prompting the authors to produce an entire new chapter for the paperback using fresh documents and high-level interviews to tell the extraordinary story behind President Obama’s move



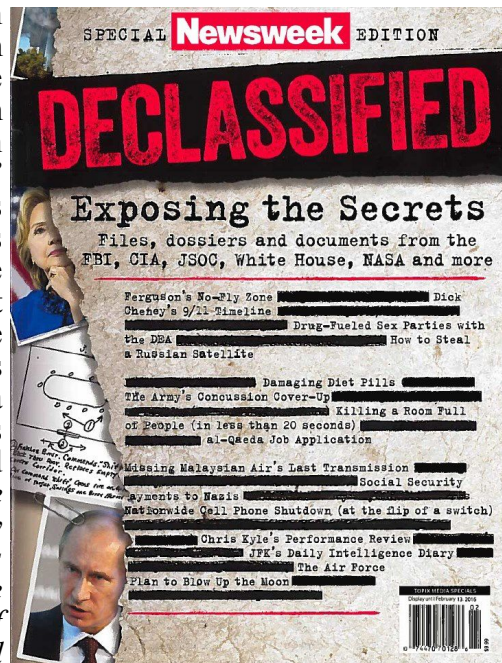
toward normalization with the Castro regime. The award was presented at an elegant luncheon in the ornate Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department. A Spanish edition of the book would also be published by the prestigious Mexican publisher, Fondo de Cultura y Economica. Kornbluh is pursuing a license with the publisher to print and distribute the Spanish edition in Cuba.



December 2015: On December 3—as world leaders met in Paris for the latest round of climate talks—*The Washington Post*, MSNBC, *The Hill*, and other news sources headlined new documents from a National Security Archive posting by senior fellow Robert Wampler on the Republican Party and climate change in the 1980s and 1990s. The recently-declassified documents in the e-book revealed how the Reagan and Bush I administrations saw the need for strong U.S. leadership on climate change and securing a treaty to protect the ozone layer. *The Washington Post* headlined its story “Reagan,

Bush 41 memos reveal sharp contrast with today’s GOP on climate and the environment,” while the *Maddow Blog* on CNBC focused on “The evolution of the GOP’s approach to a crisis.” A follow-up posting on December 11 documented the Clinton administration’s frustrated attempts to reclaim a global leadership role for the United States on controlling climate change.

Archive FOIA project director Nate Jones helped spark an extraordinary special issue of *Newsweek* published in December and entitled “Declassified: Exposing the Secrets.” The almost-100-page, hi-gloss edition reproduced dozens of “files, dossiers and documents from the FBI, CIA, JSOC, White House, NASA and more,” many of them coming from the Archive’s collections. New audiences now know about the CIA’s “acoustic kitty” espionage cat cyborg; when the US accidentally hit Mexico with an Atlas V rocket carrying a radioactive payload; and how the CIA stole and returned a Soviet Lunik satellite after copying its specifications. *Newsweek* credited Jones as a “contributing editor,” noted the Archive’s FOIAs as sources for many of the featured documents, and introduced the collection as follows: “Americans take justifiable pride in having a government ‘of the people, by the people, for the people.’ But officials and bureaucrats sometimes carry out illegal or immoral acts, then hide the evidence in plain sight, burying it under a mound of public records. Fortunately, a group of dedicated patriots doggedly utilize one of the most powerful tools at their disposal—the Freedom of Information Act—to bring these misdeeds to light. Over the past 25 years, more than 10 million pages of previously classified documents from more than 200 agencies have been made public thanks to the efforts of a handful of individuals, who tirelessly comb through reams of documents and analyze the information they contain. Sometimes shocking, sometimes scandalous and occasionally strange, these are the secrets your government kept from you—out in the open for anyone curious enough to learn.”



On December 16 the Archive and its publishing partner ProQuest added a 48th documentation set to the Digital National Security Archive (DNSA) series titled *U.S. Nuclear History, 1969-1976: Weapons, Arms Control, and War Plans in an Age of Strategic Parity*. The collection—consisting of over 2,000 declassified documents from the Nixon and Ford administrations culled by Archive senior analyst Bill Burr—covers the White House’s pursuit of a policy of achieving

technological advantage over the Soviets, supporting strategic arms limitation talks, and making nuclear use threats more credible by developing limited alternatives to catastrophic nuclear exchanges—and is an essential resource for understanding a critical period of the nuclear age.

On December 22, in a milestone for Archive's Nuclear Documentation project, Archive senior analyst Bill Burr posted a huge (some 800 pages) Strategic Air Command study from 1956 on nuclear weapons requirements for 1959 – the first Cold War nuclear targeting plan ever declassified. The study, released by the National Archives to Burr through a Mandatory Declassification Review request, included unparalleled details on SAC targeting objectives and arrangements, including types and numbers of installations slated for targeting, priorities for airbase targets, and types of nuclear weapons for air power versus industrial targets. The document revealed surprising, and troubling, details such as a category for "Population" targeting, which was generally inconsistent with international norms at the time proscribing focused targeting on civilians as such, and the fact that 175 A-bombs were slated for Moscow and 91 for East Berlin (and what exactly would happen to West Berlin?). Burr and Archive webmaster Rinat Bikineyev put together a posting that presented a striking Google Maps display of major city and airbase targets including details on the installations targeted in some of the major cities. The *New York Times*' Scott Shane wrote a major story under the headline "1950s U.S. Nuclear Target List Offers Chilling Insight," which led to a cascade of other coverage in CNN, *The Washington Post*, the *Toronto Star*, and an interview with NPR's Linda Wertheimer—generating a huge spike in visitors to the Archive's Web site, peaking at 127,419 on December 23.

