

# **ATTACHMENT 6**

## The National Security Archive

The George Washington University  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Phone: 202/994-7000  
Fax: 202/994-7005  
nsarchiv@gwu.edu  
www.nsarchive.org

November 10, 2005

### By Facsimile and First Class Mail

Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, DC 20505  
Fax: (703) 613-3007

RE: Fee Categorization Determination for FOIA Requests F-2005-01811 20051294CIA165  
F-2005-01773 20051224CIA157  
F-2006-00057 20051507CIA192  
F-2006-00039 20051114CIA141  
F-2005-00052 20051500CIA189

Dear Mr. Koch:

This is in response to your letters of October 26, October 28 and November 1, 2005, in which you contest the categorization of the National Security Archive as "representative of the news media" with respect to the five FOIA requests listed above. This letter concerns all five of your responses to these requests and any similar responses to other requests.

I would like to refer you to *National Security Archive vs. U.S. Dep't of Defense*, 880 F. 2d 1381 (D.C. Cir 1989), *cert. denied* (Mar. 19, 1990), in which the D.C. Circuit held that the National Security Archive is entitled to a waiver of all search and review fees under the FOIA as a "representative of the news media." *Id.* at 1387. The court also determined that FOIA requests submitted by the National Security Archive in furtherance of its publication activities are not for a "commercial use." *Id.* at 1388. Each of the FOIA requests in question were for documents that would directly further the publication activities of the National Security Archive (which have expanded dramatically since the time that the *National Security Archive v. U.S. Dep't of Defense* case was decided).

- Two requests (F-2005-01773 and F-2005-01811) request biographical materials on leading members of the Taliban movement in Afghanistan. For your reference please see our publication: "The Taliban File, Part IV," (Sept. 2004) (available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB134/index.htm>) in which documents released by the State Department on these same figures were highlighted.
- F-2006-00039 pertains to U.S. and Mexican officials meeting at a critical period in Mexican history. A previous related publication, "The Blind Man and the Elephant; Reporting on the Mexican Military," (April 2004), can be seen at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB120/index.htm>.
- F-2006-00057 and F-2005-00052 request documents on events and civil unrest in Indonesia in February 1977 and November 1994. Similar documents received through the FOIA were

An Independent non-governmental research institute and library located at the George Washington University, the Archive collects and publishes declassified documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. Publication royalties and tax deductible contributions through The National Security Archive Fund, Inc. underwrite the Archive's Budget.

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published by the National Security Archive in "Indonesia's 1969 Takeover of West Papua not by Free Choice," (July 2004), which can be seen at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB128/index.htm>.

The materials sought by the above referenced FOIA requests are part of ongoing research and publication projects and will be used in a range of publications. The Archive's publication activities, including books, document sets, periodical articles, and more are discussed further below.

The regulation cited in your October 26, 28 and November 1 letters, 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (3) states, "Representative of the news media means a request from an individual actively gathering news for an entity that is organized and operated to publish and broadcast news to the American public pursuant to their news dissemination function and not commercial interests." As you undoubtedly know, this language is drawn from Office of Management and Budget ("OMB") guidelines applicable to all agencies subject to the FOIA. OMB has indicated that news media be "defined generically as 'an entity that is organized and operated to publish or broadcast news to the public.'" See Uniform Freedom of Information Act Fee Schedule and Guidelines, 52 Fed. Reg. 10,012, 10,012-17 (1987). Furthermore, when establishing qualification as a member of the "news media," OMB advised, "a history of continuing publication . . . would suffice." *Id.*

Here the National Security Archive unquestionably qualifies for "news media" status. The National Security Archive has an extensive publication history, including the production of over 20 books published by well-respected publishing houses and receiving broad distribution. These include, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, by Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 551 pp.); *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* by William Burr (New York: The New Press, 515 pp.); *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report* by Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 340 pp.); and *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons since 1940* by Stephen I. Schwartz with Thomas S. Blanton, William Burr et al. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 680 pp.). A more complete list of books by Archive analysts is attached. As you may know, the D.C. Circuit has explicitly recognized book authorship as an activity qualifying for news media status.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the Archive publishes substantial document sets, along with indexes and finding aids, that are broadly distributed through universities, libraries, and research institutes around the world. It is on the basis of the plan to publish such document sets that the D.C. Circuit first recognized the Archive's news media status. *National Security Archive v. U.S. Dep't of Defense*, 880 F.2d at 1386. Our most recent document sets include *U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part I, 1954-1968*, *U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part II: 1969-1975*, *Japan and the United States: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part II, 1977-1992* and *Guatemala and the United States, 1954-1999*. A complete list of our 26 already published document sets is attached. The materials sought by the requests that are the subject of this letter are reviewed for inclusion in upcoming document sets.

<sup>1</sup> "A representative of the news media is, in essence, a person or entity that gathers information of potential interest to a segment of the public, uses its editorial skills to turn the raw materials into a distinct work, and distributes that work to an audience. Surely when a newspaper publisher, such as the New York Times Company, brings out *The Pentagon Papers* in the form of a paperback book, adding perhaps an introduction and an index, it is acting as a representative of the news media every bit as much as when it publishes a daily newspaper." *National Security Archive v. U.S. Dep't of Defense*, 880 F.2d at 1387.

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In addition, articles written by National Security Archive analysts have appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Congressional Quarterly*, *The LA Times*, *Harpers Magazine*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Nation*, *The Guardian*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *World Policy Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek*, *The International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, *International Security*, *Intelligence and National Security* and other publications.

Additionally, the National Security Archive actively distributes electronic newsletters, at no cost, on an almost weekly basis to over 7,000 subscribers. These newsletters directly link to documents recently released through the National Security Archive's FOIA requests or update the public on issues pertaining to the operations and activities of the U.S. government. As noted on the first page of this letter, the Archive has published electronic briefing books on all of the subjects of the FOIA requests referenced in this letter and intends to publish additional briefing books on related subjects. A complete list of our electronic briefing books is available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/index.html>.

Moreover, your agency has – until recently – always recognized the National Security Archive as a “representative of the news media” for similar FOIA requests based on our continuing publication of articles and books. At no time have we been asked to describe “additional information on why and how the documents” will be used. (e.g., Koch Letter of October 28, 2005.). Although I recognize that each fee determination is made on a case-by-case basis, the D.C. Circuit held in *National Security Archive v. Department of Defense*, 880 F.2d 1381 (D.C. Cir. 1989), when it found that the Archive is a representative of the news media, that “[a]bsent [] a change in circumstances ... the Archive is entitled to preferred [news media] status.” Given the Archive's history with your agency and our publication history, the letters questioning our entitlement to news media status suggest an inappropriate and arbitrary use of the fee categorization provisions.

In particular, I am sure you are aware that the problem of FOIA processing delays stemming from fee categorization has been a topic of recent congressional concern (see GAO Report 05-405). Two of the requests in question, F-2005-01773 and F-2005-01811, suggest that the issue of fees is being used to delay the already backlogged FOIA process. These two requests were submitted to your office on August 10 and August 15, 2005. The first correspondence received from your agency pertaining to these requests were the fee categorization inquiry letters of October 28 and November 1, 2005, that are the subject of this letter. Your agency's first acknowledgment of the requests thus were sent 10 weeks (or approximately 50 business days) after these requests were submitted. This strongly suggests that the agency has not even begun to process these requests even though it is a month past when the CIA was statutorily required to have substantively responded. Presumably, the agency is not currently processing these requests, as it is waiting for this letter of clarification regarding fee categorization. At least three months will have passed between the date the FOIA requests were submitted and date the agency will (hopefully) start to substantively process the requests. This is not the type of government response to a public inquiry for information that Congress intended when it enacted the Freedom of Information Act.

This letter has addressed how the National Security Archive disseminates information to the public at a minimal cost and how the Archive's activities enhance public understanding of the operations and activities of the U.S. government. Your agency's October 26, 28 and November 1 letters additionally request that we specifically address how the documents we are seeking concern current events and are of interest to the general public.

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F-2005-01773 and F-2005-01811 request biographical material on leading members of the Taliban, including Mullah Mohammad Omar and Maulawi Wakil Mutawakil. As you are aware, the United States was attacked by members of al-Qaeda on September 11, 2001. The Taliban regime in Afghanistan, headed by Mullah Omar, was providing sanctuary to several members of al-Qaeda, including Osama bin Laden, at the time of the attacks. The release of biographical information on Taliban members will provide greater context for the terrorist attacks of September 11 and the resulting U.S. military activity in Afghanistan under Operation Enduring Freedom that sought to eliminate the Taliban. Current ongoing military operations and the background for terrorist attacks on the U.S. homeland are of obvious current and widespread public interest.

F-2006-00039 asks for information regarding a May 12-14, 1973 meeting between U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Mexican Foreign Minister Emilio Rabasa and Mexican President Luis Echeverria. Mexico's developing civil society has demanded that its President Vicente Fox thoroughly investigate human rights abuses committed under former President Echeverria's rule, including a 1971 massacre that left many student protesters dead or missing. President Fox has appointed a special prosecutor to investigate Echeverria's possible human rights offenses. Documents regarding interactions between President Echeverria and U.S. officials are of the utmost public interest to these human rights abuse investigations and to U.S. citizens concerned with U.S.-Mexico relations. The special prosecution of Echeverria is currently in progress. It is of broad interest because Echeverria is Mexico's only president to be indicted for alleged human rights abuses. Mexico and Mexican politics are a critical interest to the United States because Mexico is a close neighbor; the political, economic and social events in Mexico directly impact the general U.S. public as well as the significant portion of U.S. citizens and residents whose families originated in Mexico. The issue of human rights abuse around the world has been an issue of particular importance in the news recently.

F-2006-00057 asks for documents related to Ali Murtopo's role in the resurgence of Muslim extremist activities and the Indonesian government's announcement in February 1977 that it uncovered an antigovernment conspiracy calling itself the Komando Jihad. The resurgence of radical Islamic forces in Indonesia is one of the central events of recent Indonesian history, as the 2002 Bali bombings and other terrorist events in the world's largest Muslim country makes clear. Furthermore, the rise of Islamic extremism in Indonesia is of central concern to U.S.-Indonesian bilateral relations. As discussed above, the context for the rising tide of terrorist attacks is of critical concern to the American public. Efforts to understand the historical roots of such a crucial contemporary phenomenon are of clear and obvious importance and interest to the general public.

F-2005-00052 requests materials on the November 1994 APEC Summit and visit to Indonesia of U.S. President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher. East Timor's efforts to document the history of human rights abuses between 1974 and 1999 are central to its continued transition to democracy, which in turn is import to the United States foreign policy efforts. Indonesia is initiating a Truth Commission process to examine the history of human rights abuses during the Suharto era from 1966-1998. The events surrounding the 1994 APEC conference were crucial in highlighting ongoing

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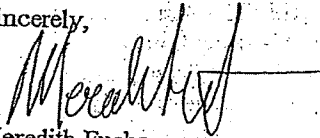
debates about Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and human rights abuses there, in addition to posing a major challenge to U.S.-Indonesian bilateral relations. As such they are of clear interest and concern to Indonesians, East Timorese, and Americans currently seeking to place the human rights abuses of the Suharto regime in their proper historical context.

Moreover, when new information concerning important events is released, it is "news" even if the underlying events took place long ago. The public's thirst for knowledge is not satisfied with the mere passage of time. For example, just last week the *New York Times* published a story about the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident and the role intelligence failures at the National Security Agency's played in that incident. Scott Shane, "Vietnam Study, Casting Doubts, Reamins Secret," *New York Times* (Oct. 31, 2005). This sort of news plays an important role in our system. As the Supreme Court recognized in *Grosjean v. American Press Co.*, 297 U.S. 233, 250 (1936), "informed public opinion is the most potent of all restraints upon misgovernment." The power of the public to act as a check on government misconduct is directly impacted by the ability of news media organizations such as the National Security Archive to research government activity and disseminate a broad range of information to the public.

I hope to receive your response reversing the fee categorization determination related to FOIA requests F-2005-01811, F-2005-01773, F-2006-00057, F-2006-00039 and F-2005-00052.

Please feel free to contact me by telephone if you wish to discuss this matter further. I can be reached on my direct line at 202-994-7059.

Sincerely,



Meredith Fuchs  
General Counsel

cc: Thomas Blanton  
Executive Director

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, DC 20505

1 November 2005

Mr. Jamie Noguchi  
Research Assistant  
The National Security Archive  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20037

Reference: F-2005-01811 / Archive 20051294CIA165

Dear Mr. Noguchi:

The office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator has received your 15 August 2005 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for:

**"All biographical documents created between January 1, 1985 and July 1, 2005 . . . related in whole or in part to the following members of the Taliban in Afghanistan.**

- **Maulawi Wakil Mutawakil (Abdul Wakil Motawakil)  
(Maulawi Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil)**
- **Mullah Abdul Jalil"**

We have assigned your request the number referenced above. Please use this number when corresponding with us so that we can identify it easily.

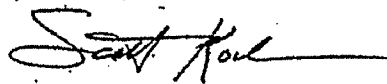
In your letter, you state that the National Security Archive qualifies for a waiver of search and review fees as a representative of the news media. Your request, however, does not appear to satisfy the criteria our published regulations require to receive preferential fee treatment as a representative of the news media. You may find these criteria at 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h)(3). Before we can determine the proper fee category for your request, please provide, pursuant to 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h), additional information on why and how the documents you seek:

- concern current events;
- interest the general public;
- enhance the public understanding of the operations or activities of the U.S. Government; and
- how you plan to disseminate the information to a significant element of the public at minimal cost.

Please specifically address each of these points. Your thorough response will help ensure we place your request in the most appropriate and favorable fee category possible.

We will hold your request in abeyance for 45 days from the date of this letter, pending your clarification of the points above. If we do not hear from you within that time, we will assume that you are no longer interested in receiving the information you seek and we will close the case.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Scott Koch", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator



Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

28 October 2005

Ms. Barbara Elias  
The National Security Archive  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Reference: F-2005-01773 (Archive # 20051224CIA157)

Dear Ms. Elias:

The office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator has received your 10 August 2005 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for:

"All biographical documents created between January 1, 1985 and July 1, 2005 ...related in whole or in part to the following members of the Taliban in Afghanistan:

- Mullah Mohammad Omar (Mullah Omar)
- Mullah Mohammad Rabbani."

We have assigned your request the number referenced above. Please use this number when corresponding with us so that we can identify it easily.

Your letter states that "...the National Security Archive qualifies for a waiver of search and review fees as a representative of the news media." Your request, however, does not appear to satisfy the criteria our published regulations require to receive preferential fee treatment as a representative of the news media. You may find these criteria at 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h)(3). Before we can determine the proper fee category for your request, please provide, pursuant to 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h), additional information on why and how the documents you seek:

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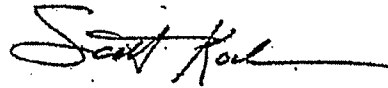
Please specifically address each of these points. Your thorough response will help ensure that we place your request in the most appropriate and favorable fee category possible.

20051224CIA157  
RECNO:31804  
11/2/2005

CIA  
SEQCOR:117756  
FOISG:Elise Rothman

We will hold your request in abeyance for 45 days from the date of this letter, pending your clarification of the points above. If we do not hear from you within that time, we will assume that you are no longer interested in receiving the information you seek and we will close the case.

Sincerely,

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Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

26 October 2005

Ms. Emilene Martinez  
The National Security Archive  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Reference: F-2006-00039 (Archive # 20051114CIA141)

Dear Ms. Martinez:

The office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator has received your 11 October 2005 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for:

*"All documents...relating in whole or in part to the May 12-14, 1973 meeting between US Secretary of State William Rogers and Mexican Foreign Minister Emilio Rabasa and Mexican President Luis Echeverria in Mexico."*

We have assigned your request the number referenced above. Please use this number when corresponding with us so that we can identify it easily.

Your letter states "...the National Security Archive qualifies for a waiver of search and review fees as a representative of the news media." Your request does not appear to satisfy the criteria our published regulations require to receive preferential fee treatment as a representative of the news media. You may find these criteria at 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h)(3). Before we can determine the proper fee category for your request, please provide, pursuant to 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h), additional information on why and how the documents you seek:

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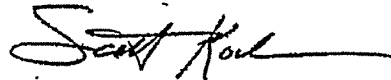
20051114CIA141  
RECNO:31663  
10/28/2005

CIA  
SEQCOR:117674  
FOISG: Martinez, Emilene

Please specifically address each of these points. Your thorough response will help ensure that we place your request in the most appropriate and favorable fee category possible.

We will hold your request in abeyance for 45 days from the date of this letter, pending your clarification of the points above. If we do not hear from you within that time, we will assume that you are no longer interested in receiving the information you seek and we will close the case.

Sincerely,



Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator

...

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

28 October 2005

Mr. Brad Simpson  
The National Security Archive  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Reference: F-2006-00057 (Archive # 20051507CIA192)

Dear Mr. Simpson:

The office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator has received your 12 October 2005 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for:

"All documents issued between October 1976 and June 1977 relating in whole or in part to Muslim extremist activities in Indonesia and the actions taken by the Indonesian government in relation to those activities."

We have assigned your request the number referenced above. Please use the number when corresponding with us so that we can easily identify the request.

Your letter states that "...the National Security Archive qualifies for a waiver of search and review fees as a representative of the news media." Your request, however, does not appear to satisfy the criteria our published regulations require to receive preferential fee treatment as a representative of the news media. You may find these criteria at 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h)(3). Before we can determine the proper fee category for your request, please provide, pursuant to 32 C.F.R. § 1900.02 (h), additional information on why and how the documents you seek:

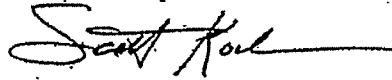
- concern current events;
- interest the general public;
- enhance the public understanding of the operations or activities of the U.S. Government; and
- how you plan to disseminate the information to a significant element of the public at minimal cost.

CIA  
SECCOR:17755  
FOISG: Simpson, Brad  
20051507CIA192  
RECNO:32194  
11/2/2005

Please specifically address each of these points. Your thorough response will help ensure that we place your request in the most appropriate and favorable fee category possible.

We will hold your request in abeyance for 45 days from the date of this letter, pending your clarification of the points above. If we do not hear from you within that time, we will assume that you are no longer interested in receiving the information you seek and we will close the case.

Sincerely,

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Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

26 October 2005

Mr. Brad Simpson  
The National Security Archive  
Gelman Library, Suite 701  
2130 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Reference: F-2006-00052 (Archive # 20051500CIA189)

Dear Mr. Simpson:

The office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator has received your 11 October 2005 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for "all documents issued between October 1 and December 31, 1994 relating in whole or in part to:

- the APEC summit (APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting) held in Bogor, Indonesia, on November 15, 1994, including, but not limited to, briefing books and other materials prepared for President Bill Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and all other U.S. governments officials who attended the summit
- all the official meetings held by Clinton and Christopher during their visit to Indonesia in November 1994 with Indonesian government officials, including, but not limited to, Indonesian President Suharto
- the occupation of U.S. Embassy in Jakarta by East Timorese students in November 1994 and the reaction to the incident by both the U.S. and Indonesian governments
- popular protests in East Timor from November to December, 1994, and Indonesian authorities' reaction to them."

We have assigned your request the number referenced above. Please use the number when corresponding with us so that we can easily identify the request.

20051500CIA189 CIA  
RECNO:32182 SEQCOR:117677  
10/28/2005 FOISG: Simpson, Brad  
US Embassy Occupation by Timorese Students 1004

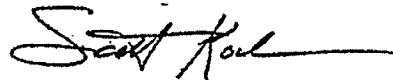
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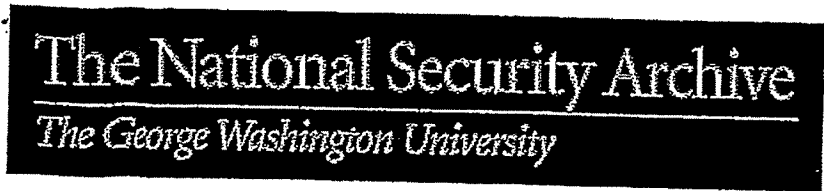
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Sincerely,



Scott Koch  
Information and Privacy Coordinator





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### Books by National Security Archive Staff and Fellows

This list does not include the Archive's published microfiche collections, many of which are also available on the Web in the Digital National Security Archive subscription from Bell & Howell, the hundreds of articles written by Archive staff and fellows, or the Electronic Briefing Books available on this website.



**Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran**  
Edited by Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 360 pp.)



**The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability**  
by Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 551 pp.)



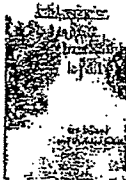
**The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents**  
Edited by Csaba Békés, János Rainer and Malcolm Byrne (Budapest: Central University Press)



**The Wizards of Langley: Inside the CIA's Directorate of Science and Technology**  
by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Boulder: Westview Press, 386 pp.)



**Uprising in East Germany, 1953: The Cold War, the German Question, and the First Major Upheaval Behind the Iron Curtain**  
by Christian F. Ostermann (Budapest: Central European University Press)



**Anti-Americanism in Russia: From Stalin to Putin**  
by Eric Shiraev and Vladislav M. Zubok (New York: St. Martin's Press, 182 pp.)



**The U.S. Intelligence Community**, Fourth Edition  
by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 526 pp.)



**Wejda Nie Wejda: Polska 1980-1982**  
by Andrzej Paczkowski and Nina Smolar (London and Warsaw: ANEKS Publishers, 342 pp.)



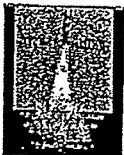
**America's Space Sentinels: DSP Satellites and National Security**  
by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 329 pp.)



**The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow**  
by William Burr (New York: The New Press, 515 pp.)



**In Search of Hidden Truths: An Interim Report on Declassification by the National Commissioner for Human Rights in Honduras**  
by Leo Valladares Lanza and Susan C. Peacock (Tegucigalpa: Prografic, 219 pp.)



**Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons since 1940**  
by Stephen I. Schwartz with Thomas S. Blanton, William Burr et al. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 680 pp.)



**The Prague Spring '68**  
by Jaromír Navrátil et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 596 pp.)



**Israel and the Bomb**  
by Avner Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 470 pp.)



**The U.S. Military Online: A Directory for Internet Access to the Department of Defense**  
by William M. Arkin (Washington and London: Brassey's, 243 pp.)



**Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report**  
by Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 340 pp.)



**Politics of Illusion: The Bay of Pigs Invasion Reexamined**  
by James G. Blight and Peter Kornbluh (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 284 pp.)



**Ce Stia Presedintele Despre Romania: Un raport al serviciilor secrete americane 1949**  
by Thomas S. Blanton (Bucharest: Fundatia Academia Civica, 146 pp.)



**Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev**  
by Vladislav M. Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 346 pp.)  
Winner of the Lionel Gelber Prize (1996)



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by Tina Rosenberg (New York: Random House, 438 pp.)  
Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction (1996)  
Winner of the National Book Award (1996)

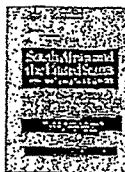


**White House E-Mail: The Top-Secret Computer Messages the Reagan/Bush White House Tried to Destroy**

by Tom Blanton (New York: The New Press, 254 pp. and 1.4 MB computer disk)  
Winner of the American Library Association's James Madison Award Citation



***A Century of Spies: Intelligence in the Twentieth Century***  
by Jeffrey T. Richelson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 534 pp.)  
In Romanian as *Un Secol De Spionaj* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2000, 623 pp.)



***South Africa and the United States: The Declassified History***  
by Kenneth Mokoena (New York: The New Press, 314 pp.)



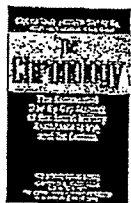
***The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History***  
by Malcolm Byrne and Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 314 pp.)



***The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962***  
by Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh (New York: The New Press, 416 pp.)



***America's Secret Eyes in Space: The U.S. Keyhole Satellite Program***  
by Jeffrey T. Richelson (New York: Harper & Row, 375 pp.)

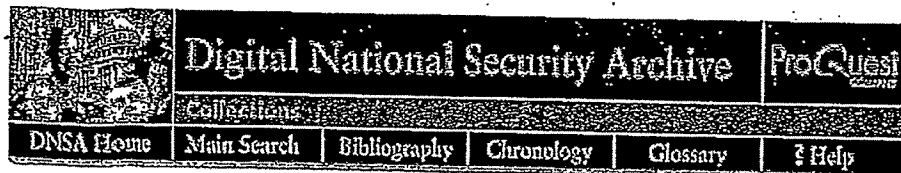


***The Chronology: The Documented Day-by-Day Account of Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Contras***  
by Scott Armstrong, Malcolm Byrne, Tom Blanton, and the National Security Archive  
(New York: Warner Books, 678 pp.)

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## New Collections:

### [U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part I: 1954-1968](#)

This collection documents the deadliest conflict in modern U.S. history prior to the current war against terrorism. The goal was to assemble both classic and relatively well-known documentary sources as well as the most recent declassified materials, making a single comprehensive resource for primary substantive research on the Vietnam conflict.

The set consists primarily of documents from the White House, National Security Council, State Department, Defense Department, and other federal agencies involved in policy-making on the war in Southeast Asia. It also features detailed reporting from the field as well as analysis from the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, American embassies overseas, U.S. regional military commands, especially the Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV), and the uniformed military services. There are also certain documents from foreign sources, including the governments of South Vietnam, North Vietnam, the Soviet Union, China, the United Kingdom, and others. Additional documentation, including diplomatic documents from the governments of Sweden, Hungary, and Poland, and other material, is available for research on the premises of the National Security Archive.

### [Death Squads, Guerrilla War, Covert Operations, and Genocide: Guatemala and the United States, 1954-1999](#)

Death Squads, Guerrilla War, Covert Operations, and Genocide: Guatemala and the United States, 1954-1999 contains 2,071 declassified documents describing U.S. relations with Guatemala during the decades of violent conflict sparked by the CIA-controlled coup in 1954. The documents include CIA operational records produced during the coup, National Security Council deliberations on consolidating a post-coup regime friendly to the United States, and extensive intelligence and embassy reporting on Guatemala's U.S.-trained security apparatus. The material includes detailed information on the human rights catastrophe that gripped Guatemala during its 30-year civil conflict. Finally and most uniquely, the set contains an extraordinary and chilling record smuggled out of the archives of Guatemalan military intelligence - the grim, 54-page diary militar, or "death squad diary," obtained by National Security archive staff, which ties the Guatemalan army directly to the disappearance of dozens of Guatemalan citizens.

## Collections:

### [Afghanistan: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1973-1990](#)

Containing over 2,000 documents that total more than 14,000 pages, Afghanistan offers a comprehensive record of the bloodiest and costliest superpower proxy war of the 1980s. Documents include State Department cables from Kabul, Washington, D.C., and Islamabad.

### [The Berlin Crisis, 1958-1962](#)

Beginning with documents from late 1953 when the Eisenhower administration began to formulate its Berlin contingency plans and closing with a series of newly declassified State Department histories from the late 1960s, The Berlin Crisis contains more than 11,500 pages from almost 3,000 documents.

### [China and the United States: From Hostility to Engagement, 1960-1998](#)

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This collection pulls together more than 2,000 documents concerning the relationship between the United States and China; with an emphasis on the 1969–1998 time period. The documents include memos, cables, and studies concerning U.S. diplomatic relations with China, records concerning the U.S.-PRC security relationship, documents related to the economic and scientific association with the PRC, and intelligence estimates and studies concerning the PRC's foreign policy objectives, military capabilities, and internal situation.

### The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

Perhaps the most critical and dangerous confrontation of the Cold War, the Cuban Missile Crisis is chronicled in this collection of more than 15,000 pages of rarely seen documentation from the highest levels of government. Topics include the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs, the U.S. secret war against Castro, the first intelligence reports pointing to the development of Soviet missiles in Cuba, and the highly classified correspondence between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

### Death Squads, Guerrilla War, Covert Operations, and Genocide: Guatemala and the United States, 1954-1999

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### El Salvador: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1977–1984

El Salvador contains more than 27,000 pages of documents covering one of the most hotly debated subjects of the last decade: the U.S. role in the civil war in El Salvador, including intelligence-gathering, policy-making, and extensive reporting on human rights abuses.

### El Salvador: War, Peace, and Human Rights, 1980–1994

The second set of declassified U.S. records concerning El Salvador, this collection incorporates several thousand U.S. government documents relevant to the human rights cases that were studied by the United Nations Truth Commission. Following the March 15, 1993 release of the commission's ground-breaking investigation, *From Madness to Hope: The 12-Year War in El Salvador*, members of the United States Congress wrote to President Clinton asking that the government documents be declassified for public inspection.

### Iran: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1977–1980

More than 14,000 pages of documents are offered on the fall of Shah and the rise of the Ayatollah Khomeini, including some that the government would not have made available until the middle of the twenty-first century had the Archive not forced their release through the Freedom of Information Act.

### The Iran-Contra Affair: The Making of a Scandal, 1983–1988

The documents in this collection include every exhibit released by the official investigations of the Iran-Contra Affair, including the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Tower Commission, the joint select Congressional committees, and the Independent Counsel. Iran-Contra focuses on the period from Fall 1983, when Congress first put limits on official U.S. assistance to the Contras, to the criminal indictments of Oliver North, Richard Secord, and Albert Hakim in Spring 1988.

### Iraqgate: Saddam Hussein, U.S. Policy and the Prelude to the Persian Gulf War, 1980–1994

The collection brings together a wealth of materials which trace U.S. policy toward Iraq prior to the Persian Gulf War, as well as U.S. government reactions to revelations about the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL) scandal and the secret arming of Saddam Hussein's regime. The set also focuses on the economic issues at play in the U.S. relationship with Iraq. Documents are derived from virtually every federal agency involved in U.S.-Iraq policy and the BNL affair.

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The collection contains 1,900 documents representing nearly 10,000 pages of rarely-seen documentation from the highest levels of government.

**Japan and the United States: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, 1960–1976**

This collection pulls together more than 2,000 primary source documents detailing the relationship between the United States and Japan during the formative years of their modern alliance. The documents, most of which appear here for the first time, include records of historic U.S.-Japanese summit meetings; communications between heads of state; top-level internal deliberations, including Nixon and Kissinger memoranda of conversation; memos, cables and studies concerning U.S. diplomatic relations with Japan; records concerning the U.S.-Japan security relationship; documents related to trade and international monetary relations with Japan; and intelligence estimates and studies concerning Japan's foreign policy objectives, military capabilities, economic policies and internal situation.

**Nicaragua: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1978–1990**

Nicaragua contains more than 3,000 documents, many of which are recently declassified State Department cables obtained through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit. Key events covered by the collection range from the outbreak of widespread opposition to the Somoza family dynasty through the Contra war of the 1980s, until the election of 1990 which brought an end to the Sandinista government.

**The Philippines: U.S. Policy During the Marcos Years, 1965–1986**

Presenting a case study of U.S. policy towards a third world ally, this collection documents the often conflicting interests which arose between the U.S. and President Marcos. Events covered include the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr.; the rise of Communist and Muslim insurgencies during the 1970s and 1980s; the emergence of a small, but vocal, opposition movement in the United States; and Marcos' fall in 1986.

**Presidential Directives on National Security, Part I: From Truman to Clinton**

Presidential Directives on National Security From Truman to Clinton provides a unique collection of documents pertaining to all aspects of U.S. national security policy — foreign, defense, intelligence, and international economic policy — and structure. The collection consists of over 2,100 documents totaling 30,855 pages, and covers all administrations from Truman to Clinton.

**Presidential Directives on National Security, Part II: From Truman to George W. Bush**

Contains more than 1,836 highest-level documents issued by presidents from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush concerning foreign affairs, defense and arms control policy, intelligence and counterterrorist activities, and international economic policy. Thanks to a long-standing Freedom of Information Act campaign by the National Security Archive, the two parts of this collection contain every single presidential directive released to date. (All of the documents in Part II became available after the publication of Part I.) Furthermore, unlike the daily stream of White House proclamations and press releases that are designed to frame official policy for public consumption, these directives and requests for studies reflect each president's actual, behind-the-scenes priorities, goals and decisions. In addition, the numerous substantive responses to study requests that are included here, particularly from the Nixon and Ford administrations, offer an insider's view of many of the most important policy documents that crossed the president's desk throughout the post-World War II period.

**South Africa: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1962–1989**

This collection provides more than 2,500 primary source documents describing U.S. relationships to apartheid including implementation, enforcement, and violations of the U.N.-sponsored sanctions against South Africa. The collection spans the period from the arrest of Nelson Mandela to his release.

**The Soviet Estimate: U.S. Analysis of the Soviet Union, 1947–1991**

This collection contains more than 600 intelligence estimates and reports, representing nearly 14,000 pages of documentation from the office of the Director of Central Intelligence, the National Intelligence Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and other organizations. The set includes several hundred pages of debriefing transcripts and other documentation related to Colonel Oleg Penkovskii, the most important human source operated by the CIA during the Cold War, who later was charged with treason and executed by the Soviet Union. Also

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published here for the first time is the Pentagon's Top Secret 1,000-page internal history of the United States-Soviet Union arms race.

### Terrorism and U.S. Policy, 1968-2002

Within hours of the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, National Security Archive staff began compiling this in-depth and unparalleled documentary history of international terrorism and U.S. policy. The resulting collection of 1,509 formerly secret documents provides coverage beginning with the first politically-motivated hostage-taking episode of its the July 1968 hijacking of an El Al jet to and devoting special attention to the Middle East and Southwest Asia. The set features records from the White House, National Security Council, State Department, Defense Department, Justice Department, and other federal agencies as well as detailed FBI field reporting, CIA analyses, and military studies.

Among the most valuable materials are sensitive intelligence reporting won through a lawsuit by former AP reporter and hostage Terry A. Anderson, memos from Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon detailing terrorist incidents as they unfold, and a complete set of declassified meeting records of the important Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism. Specific highlights include the circa 1996 CIA biographic sketch of Osama bin Laden, and the May 2002 "Bombshell Memo" by FBI whistle-blower Coleen Rowley, featured on the cover of Time Magazine (June 3, 2002 edition).

### U.S. Espionage and Intelligence, 1947-1996

This collection provides a detailed description of the varied civilian and military organizations that constitute the U.S. intelligence community, their past and present operations, and the mechanisms by which the community's activities are managed. The collection consists of 1,180 documents, totaling 36,023 pages.

### The U.S. Intelligence Community: Organization, Operations and Management, 1947-1989

Previously inaccessible documents — functional manuals, unit histories, and internal directives — provide research with the most comprehensive structural portrait of the U.S. espionage establishment ever published.

### U.S. Military Uses of Space, 1945-1991

This collection of previously classified histories, program management directives, requirements studies, and other documents show the evolution of a variety of U.S. space programs — historically among the most highly classified documents of the U.S. government. Topics range from a 1951 report on using satellites for reconnaissance to a 1990 briefing paper on air support to Operation Desert Shield.

### U.S. Nuclear History: Nuclear Arms and Politics in the Missile Age, 1955-1968

This collection comprehensively documents major developments in U.S. nuclear weapons policies and programs from the mid-1950s through 1968, the period that set the nuclear stage for the decades of the Cold War that followed. Given the importance of the nuclear competition to superpower tensions during the post-World War II era, not only as a source of friction in itself but as an element that made the tensions inconceivably dangerous, the documents in this collection introduce the reader to one of the critical inner mechanisms of the Cold War.

### U.S. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy, 1945-1991

Spanning the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki through the recent IAEA inspections of Iraq's nuclear program, Nuclear Non-Proliferation offers researchers the most complete set of primary source materials to U.S. non-proliferation policy available.

### U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part I: 1954-1968

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