



# Digital National Security Archive











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ProQuest and the National Security Archive have partnered to offer the Digital National Security Archive, the most comprehensive collection of significant primary documents on modern U.S. foreign, military, and intelligence policy available outside the U.S. government. Collections cover the most critical world events, countries and U.S. policy decisions from post-World War II through the 21st century, providing unparalleled access to the defining international strategies of our time with more than 132,000 indexed, declassified documents, many published for the first time.

Founded in 1985 by journalists and scholars to monitor rising government secrecy, the National Security Archive combines a unique range of functions: investigative journalism center, research institute on international affairs, library and archive of declassified U.S. documents ("the world's largest nongovernmental collection," according to the *Los Angeles Times*), leading non-profit user of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, public interest law firm defending and expanding public access to government information, global advocate of open government, and indexer and publisher of former secrets.

The National Security Archive is a non-profit research institute and library located at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C., which provides unprecedented public access to declassified government documents obtained through extensive use of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

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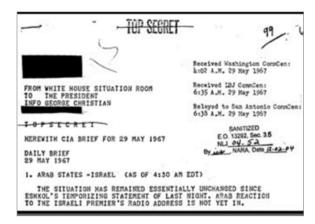
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awarded to select scholarly resources based on criteria such as: excellence in presentation and scholarship, importance relative to other literature in the field, originality or uniqueness of treatment and value to undergraduate students.







#### **ASIA**

#### Afghanistan: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1973-1990

Consisting of 2,326 documents and about 15,000 pages, the bulk of this material is from 1979-1988 – the period of the Soviet military occupation – but the collection also encompasses events leading up to the 1979 invasion and the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1988-1989. Collectively, the documents cover all key aspects of U.S. policy toward Afghanistan from 1973 to 1990, bringing to light fascinating parallels to the U.S.'s complex involvement in the country three decades later.

#### China and the U.S.: From Hostility to Engagement, 1960-1998

Spanning more than 2,000 documents on relations between the U.S. and China emphasizing the pivotal years of 1969-1998, these documents include memos, cables, and studies of the bilateral relationship; records on U.S.-PRC security ties and bilateral economic interactions; intelligence estimates; and studies of the PRC's foreign policy objectives, military capabilities, and internal conditions. The materials were obtained through the Freedom of Information Act from the State Department, Defense Department, Commerce Department, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Pacific Command, and the military services.

### Japan and the U.S.: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, 1960-1976

More than 2,000 primary source documents detail the relationship between the U.S. and Japan during the formative years of their modern alliance. The set includes records of historic bilateral summit meetings; communications between heads of state; top-level internal deliberations; memos, cables, and studies concerning U.S. diplomatic relations with Japan; records on the U.S.-Japan security relationship; documents related to trade and international monetary relations with Japan; and intelligence estimates and studies examining Japan's foreign policy objectives, military capabilities, economic policies, and internal situation.

### Japan and the U.S.: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part II: 1977-1992

A chronicle of relations between the U.S. and Japan during the Carter, Reagan, and Bush I presidencies, these documents illuminate the period of the winding down of the Cold War when U.S. policymakers strove to develop a new global strategy. Incorporating fresh U.S. government releases, obtained largely through the Freedom of Information Act, this collection significantly enriches the historical record. White House, State Department, Pentagon, Commerce Department, CIA and other documents, virtually all of them previously classified, cover all the major issues from this critical period, including high-level diplomatic, military, and economic relations.

### Japan and the U.S.: Diplomatic, Security, and Economic Relations, Part III, 1961-2000

This collection draws upon original research at the Ford, Carter, Reagan, and George H.W. Bush presidential libraries, as well as once-classified materials from the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and other agencies obtained through hundreds of Freedom of Information Act requests. Key documents shed new light on critical

issues such as negotiations over the return of Okinawa, bilateral military relations in the wake of détente and the opening to China, security challenges on the Korean Peninsula, and the Asian economic crisis at the end of the 20th century.

### The Philippines: U.S. Policy during the Marcos Years, 1965-1986

Presenting a case study of U.S. policy toward a controversial Third World ally, this collection documents the often conflicting interests that arose between various U.S. administrations and President Ferdinand 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 U.S.; and Marcos' fall from power in 1986.



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

This collection chronicles the initial phases of the deadliest conflict in modern U.S. history. The editors' goal was to assemble both classic and less well-known, yet crucial, documentary sources as well as the most recent declassified materials. The result is a single, comprehensive resource for primary substantive research on the early years of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam conflict. The set consists mainly of documents from the White House, National Security Council, State Department, Defense Department, and other federal agencies involved in policymaking on the war in Southeast Asia.

#### U.S. Policy in the Vietnam War, Part II: 1969-1975

An essential documentary record of the final phase of the Vietnam War, this set incorporates previously classified U.S. government releases covering all the major issues from the period, including diplomatic, military, and intelligence aspects of the war during the Nixon and Ford administrations. This collection also includes a subset on pacification, a comprehensive assemblage of the Pentagon Papers (declassified in 2011), and a fascinating, detailed retrospective by the State Department on the earlier period.

#### U.S. and The Two Koreas, Part I: 1969-2000

These documents cover the full range of diplomatic, security, and economic ties between Washington and Seoul, and the challenges to the U.S. posed by an adversarial North Korea from the April 15, 1969, downing by North Korea of a U.S. plane over the Sea of Japan, to efforts during the Clinton years to deter Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions. The set encompasses nearly 1,800 records released by the State Department, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies, as well as historical material compiled through research at the National Archives and the presidential libraries.

#### U.S. and the Two Koreas, Part II: 1969-2010

This second tranche on U.S.-Korean relations expands our coverage of diplomatic, security, and economic ties between the U.S. and its ally, South Korea, and of the challenges posed by an adversarial North Korea. These documents – obtained and selected since the publication of Part I – add significant scope to the Archive's treatment of events and issues from the Nixon presidency into the first Obama administration. The set contains 1,634 records originating with the State Department, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies.

### U.S. Intelligence and China: Collection, Analysis, and Covert Action

This second collection on China includes more than 2,300 documents providing new insights into various aspects of U.S. intelligence operations against Beijing. The finished intelligence resulting from these activities addressed a diversity of topics, from military capabilities to domestic policies, and was critical in helping to shape U.S. policy toward the emerging world power. The collection provides insights into all these operations, revealing U.S. concerns about its rival, China, and its ally, Taiwan. The set was assembled from materials originating from a variety of intelligence organizations.

## INTELLIGENCE, NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND POLICY

#### The Berlin Crisis, 1958-1962

Beginning with documents from late 1953, when the Eisenhower administration first formulated its Berlin contingency plans, and closing with a series of declassified State Department histories from the late 1960s, this collection contains more than 11,500 pages from almost 3,000 documents. It provides a record of U.S. policy during the most prolonged U.S.-Soviet crisis of the Cold War era. This material covers the most salient aspects of the Berlin confrontation during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, including East-West negotiations, military preparations, contingency planning, the "Wall Crisis," and other developments in Berlin and the two Germanys.

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

This is a unique collection of presidential decisions and orders pertaining to all aspects of U.S. national security policy – foreign, defense, intelligence, and international economic affairs 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

Part II of the Archive's growing collection of presidential directives contains more than 1,836 of the 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. The two parts of this collection comprise every presidential directive released by the date of publication. Unlike the daily stream of White House proclamations and press releases that are designed to frame official policy for the public, these directives and requests for studies reflect each president's actual, behind-the-scenes priorities, goals, and decisions.

#### South Africa: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1962-1989

More than 2,500 primary source documents offer a contemporaneous record of shifting U.S. responses to historical events in South Africa from 1962 to 1989. Encompassing a range of challenging areas of policy, from human rights to the use of sanctions, the documents address four central aspects of U.S. policy toward South Africa: arms embargoes, nuclear collaboration, economic sanctions, and regional conflict. They span the period from the arrest of Nelson Mandela to his release and examine the implementation and enforcement of U.N.- sponsored sanctions against the apartheid regime.

### 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. It includes documentation related to Colonel Oleg Penkovskii, an important human source operated by the CIA during the Cold War later charged with treason and executed by the Soviet Union. Also published here for the first time is the Pentagon's Top Secret 1,000-page internal history of the U.S.-Soviet Union arms race.

#### The U.S. Intelligence Community, 1947-1989

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. Records include previously inaccessible items such as functional manuals, unit histories, and internal directives that portray the bureaucratic reality underlying some of the most highly secret activities of the U.S. government.

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

Complementing earlier DNSA collections about the structure and operations of U.S. spy agencies, this set consists of 1,180 documents, totaling 36,023 pages. The bulk of the collection consists of records obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Documents include organization and functions manuals; unit, agency, and departmental regulations; command histories; interagency directives; evaluations of intelligence community performance; and assorted memoranda.

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

This collection of previously classified histories, program management directives, requirements studies, and other documents shows the evolution of a variety of U.S. military 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. The U.S. Military Uses of Space collection provides an unusually extensive documentary record of this highly sensitive subject.

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

Spanning the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki through the International Atomic Energy Agency inspections of Iraq's nuclear program, this is an extensive documentary record of the development of U.S. policy in that sphere. 2,651 documents totaling 14,000 pages cover three policymaking periods, including early U.S. efforts to promote international controls over atomic energy, the Atoms for Peace program, and the pursuit of an export- led non-proliferation policy that honors the obligations established by the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968.

### U.S. Nuclear Non-Proliferation 2, Part I: From Atoms for Peace to the NPT, 1954-1968

A rich collection of U.S. government records on nuclear non-proliferation policy during a formative period, this set documents the creation of the major institutions and agreements that make up the international non-proliferation system, including the International Atomic Energy Agency, the first iteration of the IAEA safeguards system, and the negotiation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The collection also details the U.S. government's concern about emerging nuclear weapons states — the "Nth Country Problem"— and its efforts to monitor nuclear activities in China, France, India, Israel, and elsewhere. Another important topic is the diplomatic effort to find a nuclear role within NATO for West Germany so as to deter possible German interest in an independent weapons capability. Solving that problem was essential for the breakthrough in the NPT negotiations during 1966-1967.

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

This collection, the first part of a series, 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 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 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 History, 1969-1976: Weapons, Arms Control, and War Plans in an Age of Strategic Parity

This compilation of declassified documents, most of them published here for the first time or in less excised form than previously, details the nuclear weapons policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations.

It is the second part of a series by the Archive on U.S. nuclear history. Among other focuses, the set examines the Nixon administration's policy of pursuing technological advantage after the Soviet Union succeeded in reaching rough parity in strategic forces.

### U.S.-Soviet Relations: Reagan, Gorbachev, Bush and the End of the Cold War, 1985-1991

A rare collection of primary sources on the superpowers, the end of the Cold War, and the transformation of the international system in the late 1980s. This collection features a complete series of U.S.-Soviet summit transcripts from Geneva 1985 through Madrid 1991, with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush; verbatim reports on top-level meetings with key allies such as Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand, and Helmut Kohl; an extensive selection of Reagan's pen-pal letters with Gorbachev; and transcripts of Bush's frequent telephone calls to world leaders. It also contains once-inaccessible transcripts of Kremlin debates on Afghanistan, Eastern Europe, German unification, and other issues. Further highlights include meeting notes and memoranda between presidential advisers of both superpowers; highly classified CIA estimates and briefings; transcripts of all-night arms control negotiations; and U.S. embassy reporting on the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall, the August 1991 attempted putsch against Gorbachev in Moscow, and other momentous events.

### The Kissinger Transcripts: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977

This compilation of memoranda allows a fly-on-the-wall perspective of top-level meetings featuring Henry A. Kissinger as national security adviser (1969-1975) and secretary of state (1973-1977), when he played a central role in shaping U.S. foreign and military policy under presidents Nixon and Ford. Kissinger helped prosecute, as well as negotiate an end to, the Vietnam War; he carried out secret diplomacy to advance détente with the Soviet Union and rapprochement with China. He pressed for covert operations to destroy the Allende regime in Chile, and implemented the tilt to Pakistan during the 1971 South Asia crisis. These memos, off-limits to the public until the Archive and other organizations pressed for their release, are one of the most important sources available on this historic period.

### The Kissinger Telephone Conversations: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977

Comprising over 15,500 memoranda of telephone conversation (telcons), this collection provides verbatim records of Kissinger's conversations with top officials in the Nixon and Ford administrations, from presidents to cabinet officers to ambassadors, as well as with noted journalists and business leaders. The set complements The Kissinger Transcripts, and is similarly the result of a high-profile research quest and legal battle to force the public release of these invaluable records. Topics include détente with Moscow, the Vietnam War (negotiations and military action, including the war's end), the Jordanian crisis (1970), rapprochement with China, the Middle East negotiations, U.S.- European relations, U.S.-Japan relations, the Cyprus crisis, and the unfolding Watergate scandal. The collection includes some audio files as well.

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### The Kissinger Conversations, Supplement: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977

This compilation updates the Archive's unparalleled body of records focusing on Henry Kissinger's roles in policymaking and diplomacy under presidents Nixon and Ford. It includes freshly declassified memoranda of telephone conversations (telcons), transcripts of National Security Council and State Department meetings, and records of overseas trips. Most of the telcons and many of the memoranda of conversation were declassified at the specific request of the Archive, which has earned far-reaching praise for its work on the Kissinger period.

### The Kissinger Conversations, Supplement II: A Verbatim Record of U.S. Diplomacy, 1969-1977

980 newly released records update the Archive's substantial body of documents focusing on Kissinger's roles in policymaking and diplomacy under presidents Nixon and Ford. These previously withheld memoranda of telephone conversations (telcons) and records of meetings held at the State Department and the White House were released after our earlier publication based on administrative appeals by the Archive.

#### U.S. Intelligence Community after 9/11

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on New York and Washington led to profound shifts in U.S. foreign and defense policy, internal security practices, and the entire national security structure, including dramatic changes in the organization and operations of the U.S. Intelligence Community. This collection reflects the Archive's long-standing focus – through research and the Freedom of Information Act – on documenting the organizational and operational changes that have occurred since the attacks.

#### CIA and Covert Operations, Part I: From Carter to Obama

Part One of a broad collection focused on the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency covers the management and control of covert operations, as well as specific activities carried out during the Carter, Reagan, Bush I, Clinton, Bush II and Obama presidencies. Containing 2,337 documents, the publication brings together declassified documents and other materials, including key congressional records (necessary for understanding the scope and context of CIA activities), to offer unprecedented detail on a vital but poorly represented aspect of U.S. foreign activity.

#### CIA Covert Operations, Part II: The Year of Intelligence, 1975

The first full year of the Ford administration is sometimes known as "The Year of Intelligence," denoting a season of inquiry into America's spy agencies set off by a wave of media revelations of official abuses and wrongdoing. This set thus prefigures – and raises key questions about – the current era of media and congressional investigations into U.S. covert activities abroad. Details from this second installment on CIA activities document these investigations extensively. Topics include how the agency reported on the revelations; how the White House staff created and managed a strategy to limit and restrain the investigations; how the Rockefeller Commission and congressional committee members pursued their inquiries; and many of the secrets they uncovered.

### CIA Covert Operations, Part III: From Kennedy to Nixon, 1961-1974

The third in the National Security Archive's unparalleled series of primary source compilations on the CIA's clandestine side, curated by Pulitzer-nominated author John Prados, takes the story from the epic disaster of the Bay of Pigs through a series of little-known or under-explored covert activities in Cuba (including the Mongoose operation, which is documented in rich detail), British Guiana, Bolivia, Indonesia, the Dominican Republic, Iraq (the Kurds) and more. The material spans topics from first-hand reporting on Che Guevara as he uttered his dying words in Bolivia, to the CIA seeking approval for money to bribe African dictator Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic. This set will also provide unprecedented coverage of deliberations of the CIA's high command, ranging from minutes of the "Special Group" that approved covert operations, to CIA directors' daily staff meetings, to the notes of meetings with presidents Kennedy and Johnson made by CIA Director John McCone.

### CIA Covert Operations, Part IV: The Eisenhower Years, 1953-1961 (Coming in 2021!)

The fourth in the National Security Archive's unparalleled series of primary source compilations on the CIA's clandestine side, this collection will focus on a highly active, if checkered, period in the history of the Central Intelligence Agency, during which President Dwight D. Eisenhower authorized numerous clandestine programs around the world. These include Iran 1953 (the infamous coup whose reverberations are still felt today), Tibet 1956-57, and the Congo beginning in 1960. A highlight will be Eisenhower's original decision and plans to mount operations against Castro's Cuba that led to the Bay of Pigs. The set will thus dovetail neatly with previous DNSA publications covering not only events in Cuba during this timeframe but also in Berlin, Guatemala, and Vietnam.

### National Security Agency: Operations and Organization, 1945-2009

This comprehensive and detailed set of records on the history, mission, intelligence collection, and analytic operations of America's largest and most secretive intelligence entity, the National Security Agency (NSA), and its predecessor organizations incorporates a range of materials declassified and released by the U.S. government. These include primary documentation that describes the scope of the intelligence-gathering activities of the NSA and its forerunners, and details the important role that NSA has played in virtually every conflict and international crisis the U.S. has faced since the end of World War II.

#### Electronic Surveillance: From the Cold War to the War on Terror

Featuring the full set of documents disclosed by Edward Snowden, as well as records produced or released in response to those disclosures by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, the National Security Agency, congressional offices, and other U.S. and foreign government organizations, this set also provides fascinating historical context, going back to electronic surveillance activities and controversies of much earlier years.

### The President's Daily Brief: Kennedy, Johnson, and the CIA, 1961-1969

Considered among the most sensitive records in the government, the President's Daily Briefs detail the most important security and intelligence information the CIA prepares daily for the commander-inchief. Nearly 2,500 of these briefings from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations cover an array of topics including the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, U.S.-Soviet relations, and conflicts sparked by decolonization in Indonesia, Africa, and the Middle East.

#### The President's Daily Brief: Nixon, Ford, and the CIA, 1969-1977

Building on DNSA's earlier collection of all available CIA highest-level briefings for Kennedy and Johnson, this collection covers the Nixon and Ford presidencies. Provides scholars with actual Top Secret intelligence reports provided daily to the White House on global developments during a critical period in the Cold War. Detente with the Soviet Union, the breakthrough with China, and the Arab-Israel conflict were among the world-changing events of the day.

### Donald Rumsfeld's Snowflakes, Part I: The Pentagon and U.S. Foreign Policy, 2001-2003

The product of a National Security Archive lawsuit, this collection will eventually publish every "snowflake" memo the Secretary of Defense circulated during his tenure – over 65,000 in all. Covering some of the most significant and sensitive issues from a tumultuous period, these memos offer an extraordinary schematic of U.S. defense and national security policy in the months prior to and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, as well as insights into the (often petty) priorities of the George W. Bush administration and one of its most memorable characters.

### Donald Rumsfeld's Snowflakes, Part II: The Pentagon and U.S. Foreign Policy, 2004-2006 (Coming in 2021!)

Focusing on the second half of the Bush administration, these documents complete the Archive's collection of Donald Rumsfeld's "snowflakes." Obtained through a FOIA lawsuit, these signature memos and often lengthy staff responses offer glimpses into Rumsfeld's day-to-day concerns ranging from DOD's reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Iraqi insurgency, and investigations of detainee abuse at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay to disaster relief following the Indian Ocean tsunami and Hurricane Katrina, and ongoing communications with the White House, Congress, and the news media.

#### LATIN AMERICA

#### The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

Perhaps the most critical and dangerous confrontation of the Cold War, the Cuban Missile Crisis is chronicled in this unparalleled 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 once-highly classified correspondence between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

### Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited: An International Collection of Documents, from the Bay of Pigs to the Brink of Nuclear War

Here for the first time is a multinational set of records – declassified from the U.S., the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other key countries – covering events leading up to and through the missile crisis in 1962. Consisting of 1,463 documents providing details that have reshaped our understanding of history, the collection covers the CIA-led invasion at the Bay of Pigs; covert operations leading up to the Soviet installation of intermediate range weapons in Cuba; the crisis itself as it played out in Washington, Moscow and Havana; the negotiations to end the crisis between the U.S. and the Soviets; and previously poorly understood tensions between the Soviets and Fidel Castro.

### Cuba and the U.S.: The Declassified History of Negotiations to Normalize Relations, 1959-2016

These groundbreaking documents record the hidden history of secret talks between the U.S. and Cuba from the Eisenhower era to Obama's back-channel dialogue that led to a U.S. policy of engagement. The collection opens a vital new dimension into the contentious relationship between Washington and Havana.

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

This set of documents focuses on U.S. policy toward El Salvador and events in that country from the Carter administration's formulation of a new Central American policy in January 1977 through the Salvadoran elections of May 1984 that brought José Napoleón Duarte to power. Major events encompass: the military coup of October 1979; the agrarian reform efforts launched in 1980 and 1981; significant labor and peasant protests followed by a growing number of leftist guerrilla actions; and a series of political slayings widely attributed to government-affiliated forces including those of Archbishop Oscar Romero, leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), four American churchwomen, and three land reform proponents.

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

This follow-on set of declassified U.S. records concerning El Salvador focuses on a series of human rights cases that became the subject of special attention by the United Nations Truth Commission. With the 1993 release of the commission's ground-breaking investigation, members of Congress appealed to President Clinton to declassify those records for public inspection. Many of those documents are included in this compilation. This collection, therefore, spanning four presidencies, constitutes a rich account of a controversial and still highly relevant U.S. foreign policy issue.

#### Nicaragua: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1978-1990

This set amounts to a contemporaneous record of the diplomatic, political, paramilitary, and economic developments that turned the small Central American nation of Nicaragua into the most controversial U.S. foreign policy issue of the 1980s. Consisting of 3,248 cataloged primary source documents totaling approximately 17,500 pages, the set highlights U.S. policy toward the Nicaraguan revolution and subsequent Sandinista regime, starting with the January 1978 assassination of newspaper publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, and ending with the Sandinistas' electoral defeat by the U.S.-backed UNO coalition of Violeta Chamorro on February 25, 1990.

### Death Squads, Guerrilla War, Covert Operations, and Genocide: Guatemala and the U.S., 1954-1999

This collection 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 compilation encompasses CIA operational records produced during the coup, National Security Council deliberations on consolidating a future regime friendly to the U.S., and extensive intelligence and embassy reporting on Guatemala's U.S.-trained security apparatus. Also featured is detailed information on the human rights catastrophe that later gripped Guatemala during its 30-year civil conflict.

#### Peru: Human Rights, Drugs, and Diplomacy: 1980-2000

Documenting U.S. foreign policy at work in Latin America, as well as domestic politics in Peru, these previously classified documents provide a compelling primary-source portrait of Peru's civil war, internal repression, and growing authoritarianism during three successive administrations, as witnessed by the U.S. embassy in Lima, as well as American military and intelligence officials.

### Colombia and the U.S.: Political Violence, Narcotics, and Human Rights, 1948-2010

Approximately 2,000 documents from the State Department, Pentagon, Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies focus on U.S. efforts during the Cold War, when insurgent groups first formed in Colombia; during the drug war, when powerful narcotics trafficking organizations threatened the country's political institutions; during the rise of paramilitary violence in the 1990s, when right-wing militias terrorized rural areas; and during Plan Colombia and beyond, when human rights came up against a multi-billion dollar U.S. investment in Colombian security forces.

### Chile and the U.S.: U.S. Policy toward Democracy, Dictatorship, and Human Rights, 1970-1990

Comprised of 2,842 once-classified U.S. records – among them hundreds of Top Secret CIA operational memos, cables, and reports – as well as records from the archives and courts of other nations, this extraordinary set traces the American role in Chile. It ranges from the Nixon administration's covert efforts to block the election and inauguration of Salvador Allende through the military takeover of September 11, 1973, to the end of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship and his eventual arrest in London. The documents chronicle CIA covert operations, the coup d'état, Pinochet's repression, international terrorism, diplomacy leading to a return to democracy, and the pursuit of justice for human rights victims of the military regime.

### Argentina, 1975-1980: The Making of U.S. Human Rights Policy

Made up of 2,429 documents, this set on one of Washington's most important Latin American relationships describes the development of U.S. policy as it attempted to deal with the tragedy experienced in Argentina during the critical period of the late 1970s, which featured a political collapse verging on civil war; a military coup; and massive illegal detentions, torture, and kidnappings. The documents show U.S. officials from two very different presidential administrations grappling with human rights violations in the context of the Cold War on a scale never heard of in the Western Hemisphere, underscored by the dramatic disappearance of tens of thousands of people at the hands of the security forces.

#### Mexico-U.S. Counternarcotics Policy, 1969-2013

More than 1,800 carefully selected records trace U.S.-Mexican counternarcotics cooperation, beginning with Operation Intercept, President Nixon's unilateral attempt to stem marijuana traffic by closing the Mexico-U.S. border. The set chronicles the impact of U.S. drug policy on Mexico-U.S. relations; the infusion of U.S. counternarcotics aid in the form of equipment, training, and joint eradication programs; the transformation of drug control from a law enforcement to a national security concern; the increased role of the Mexican military in drug control; the rise of Mexican cartels, drug violence, and official corruption; and efforts, through the Merida Initiative, to support judicial reform, institution-building, and institutionalization of the rule of law.



#### MIDDLE EAST

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

More than 14,000 pages of documents are offered on U.S. policy towards Iran and events in Iran during the tumultuous period from January 20, 1977, to January 29, 1980. The materials cover the Carter administration's relationship with the Shah; the seizing of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and the holding of its diplomatic personnel as hostages starting in late 1979; popular protests and mass demonstrations that climaxed in the Iranian revolution; and failed efforts by the U.S. and the provisional government to normalize relations. The collection includes a major internal Carter administration review of U.S.-Iranian relations, as well as an extraordinary collection of foreign policy memoranda and cables that were seized from the U.S. embassy in November 1979 and published in Tehran as "The Documents from the Den of Espionage."

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

The most significant political and foreign policy scandal of the 1980s, the Iran-Contra affair encapsulates a fundamental debate over the use of presidential power, the role of Congress in foreign policy, and the conflicting priorities of national security and political accountability. The documents in this collection include every exhibit released by the official investigations by the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Tower Commission, the joint select congressional committees, and the Independent Counsel, among other records. Together, they open a vast window into the foreign policy process during the Reagan presidency, with rare access to the world of intelligence and covert operations.

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



Materials in this set 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 important economic issues at play in Washington's relationship with Iraq. Documents were obtained from a wide range of federal agencies as well as from various criminal and congressional

investigations, yielding a collection of 1,900 records and nearly 10,000 pages of materials from across the government, including at the highest levels.

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

Within hours of the attacks of September 11, 2001, 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 materials provides coverage beginning with the July 1968 hijacking of an El Al jet to Algiers through the September 11 attack and its aftermath, and devoting special attention to issues involving 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.

### U.S. Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction: From World War II to Iraq

This collection includes primary sources used by Jeffrey Richelson, one of the world's leading experts on intelligence, as the basis for his acclaimed book, Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea (W.W. Norton, 2006). In addition to those once largely inaccessible materials, the set includes many of the U.S. Intelligence Community's products on the world's nuclear, biological, chemical, ballistic missile, and military space programs from World War II to the present. Consisting of over 600 documents and 8,300 pages, the set is the product of an extensive series of Freedom of Information Act requests and in-depth archival research.

### Targeting Iraq, Part 1: Planning, Invasion, and Occupation, 1997-2004

Documenting one of the most significant U.S. foreign policy issues of our era, this path-breaking compilation includes 2,141 records obtained from official U.S. and British sources encompassing plans for regime change, war, and occupation, along with the controversy over Weapons of Mass Destruction. The set is primarily the result of an intensive Freedom of Information Act campaign that was remarkably successful given the recent nature and sensitivity of the subject. Future collections in the series will cover the continuing occupation of Iraq and efforts to resolve the many seemingly intractable problems that still plaque the region.

### U.S. Policy toward Iran: From the Revolution to the Nuclear Accord, 1979-2015

Since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Shah and the subsequent hostage crisis in 1979, Iran has been widely considered a pariah state and a major foreign policy challenge for the United States. Yet, every American president at some point has sought to establish ties with the Islamic Republic. This collection traces the arc of this unusual relationship from its darkest points to the signing of the controversial nuclear accord in 2015. The continuing relevance of U.S.-Iran relations and the issues explored here will make this set a vital resource for scholars and students for the foreseeable future.

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