RAVEN ROCK

The Story of the U.S. Government's Secret Plan to Save Itself—While the Rest of Us Die

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"Fans of Kiefer Sutherland, to say nothing of the *X-Files* and Terry Southern, will already know some of what Graff reveals here. For the rest, it's a frightening eye-opener."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

"You may think you have some idea of how the United States prepared for nuclear war, but you will be shocked, appalled, amazed, fascinated, darkly amused, and just plain gob-smacked by what Garrett Graff has dug up. Deeply researched and lucidly written, *Raven Rock* is a haunting, compelling journey into the past—with disturbing meaning for the future."
—Evan Thomas, author of *Ike's Bluff* and *Being Nixon*

"Garrett Graff has given us a colorful and frightening account of the American government's plans for doomsday, and the secret bunkers where official could go to save themselves. These early plans still have their counterparts today, and they reveal a lot about how warfighting doctrine evolved. Read it and be fascinated—and a little scared."
—Walter Isaacson, author of *Steve Jobs* and *Einstein*

"Equal parts thriller, sober history, and tragic comedy, Garrett Graff's *Raven Rock* is an indispensable volume for anyone seeking to understand how the Cold War and the specter of nuclear annihilation shaped the world. Graff is a meticulous researcher and truly gifted storyteller. Readers will find themselves mesmerized by his careful and fast-paced examination of our government's top-secret plans to survive a nuclear attack while the rest of us are turned to ash."
—Del Quentin Wilber, author of *Rawhide Down: The Near Assassination of Ronald Reagan*

"In this spellbinding narrative, Graff reveals the top secret plans the government has for its own survival and asks the reader to consider a nightmarish scenario. Crammed with new revelations—from the locations of secret bunkers hidden in the nation's small towns and dense woods to the ever-changing presidential evacuation plan—Graff carefully considers what would happen if the unthinkable occurred. I could not put it down."
—Kate Andersen Brower, author of *The Residence* and *First Women*

Renowned journalist and historian Garrett M. Graff tracks the evolution of the government's plan for surviving a catastrophic attack on American soil in **RAVEN ROCK: The Story of the U.S. Government's Secret Plan to Save Itself—While the Rest of Us Die**.

Since the beginning of the Cold War, the U.S. government has been secretly planning for what would come after a nuclear attack on America. From hidden bunkers where generals and politicians would be evacuated to secret lists of "dangerous enemies" who would be arrested in the opening moments of war,

GARRETT M. GRAFF

RAVEN ROCK provides the eye-opening truth about the multibillion-dollar Continuity of Government (COG) program. From the dawn of the nuclear era through the War on Terror, the COG determines the activities and processes that would allow the government to continue its essential operations following a nuclear attack—and even what totems of American culture should be saved.

Used only once—on September 11th, 2001—this complex Doomsday machine still exists but remains out of sight: it shadows Presidents wherever they travel, tracks the whereabouts of congressional leaders hour by hour, and is ready to be unveiled at America's darkest hour.

Instead of a traditional account focused on the *who* and the *why*, this book is a history of *how*. Specifically, it's about the nuts and bolts of war plans, communication networks, weapons, and bunkers —and how imagining and planning for the impact of nuclear war reshaped the American presidency and laid the foundation for today's national security state.

Calling upon, for the first time, thousands of pages of recently declassified plans and White House documents, **RAVEN ROCK**—which takes its name from the Pentagon's sprawling secret 650-acre bunker complex in the Pennsylvania mountains—is equal parts a presidential, military, and cultural history. It is a definitive tour of the hidden architecture of America's shadow government—one that will simultaneously surprise readers with the level of detail that went into planning for Armageddon, yet shock them with how poorly the plans would have actually worked.

Michiko Kakutani of *The New York Times* calls Graff "a cogent writer, willing to tackle large-scale issues and problems." In **RAVEN ROCK**, he puts his investigative skills to the test to provide a window into a long-ignored part of American history.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
Garrett M. Graff, a magazine journalist and historian, has spent more than a dozen years covering politics, technology, and national security. He's written for publications from *Wired* to *The New York Times*, and served as the editor of two of Washington's most prestigious magazines, *Washingtonian* and *POLITICO Magazine*. His books include *The Threat Matrix: The FBI War in the Age of Global Terror* and *The First Campaign: Globalization, the Web, and the Race for the White House*.

ABOUT THE BOOK
RAVEN ROCK: *The Story of the U.S. Government's Secret Plan to Save Itself—While the Rest of Us Die*
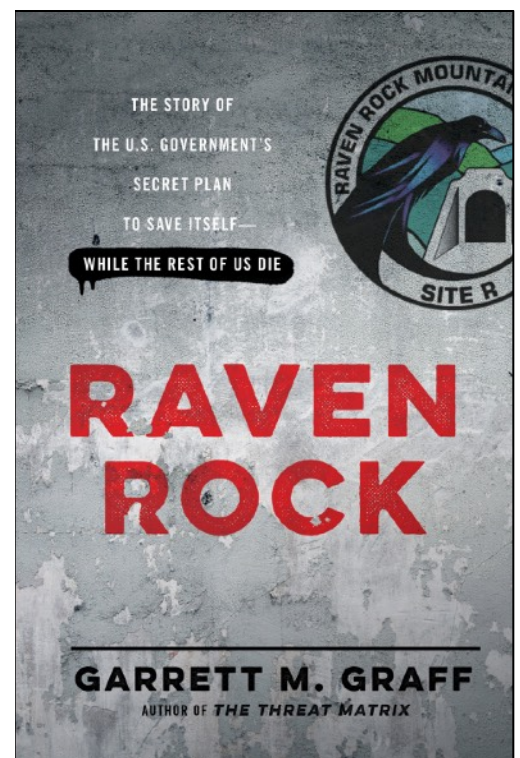**Garrett M. Graff**
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Key Findings & Stories in RAVEN ROCK

- The real stories behind the "Designated Survivor" program, including its origins during the Carter administration—a case where the truth is even stranger than the fiction—and the still-unanswered questions about who would end up president of the United States in certain circumstances—and, especially, how unprepared Congress is for a catastrophic attack that would, following years of inaction, leave it sidelined or disbanded entirely in an emergency.

- The fifty-year development of a sweeping set of secret powers held by the President of the United States, usable only in an emergency, the full scope of which are still unknown today and known only under the vague moniker "Enduring Constitutional Government."

- How fears of nuclear war drove the development of the presidential helicopter fleet, Marine One, and the adoption of jet aircraft known today as Air Force One—including the story of how Dwight Eisenhower decided to fly Marine helicopters instead of Air Force helicopters because the Air Force didn't have air conditioners.

- Never-before-published details about the network of bunkers and secret relocation sites built around Washington, including the cattle farm where the State Department would have evacuated, as well as the trio of major government bunkers that are still in use today: Raven Rock in Pennsylvania, Mount Weather in Virginia, and NORAD's bunker inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado.

- The story of the presidential escape bunker built for President Kennedy's vacation home that today is just across the water from President Trump's Mar-a-Lago.

- Never-before-published details about the size and scope of the post-9/11 bunker building boom and how (and where) the government would today operate in the event of a catastrophic attack on Washington.

- Details of how government agencies would have been tasked with new post-attack responsibilities—with the Post Office in charge of registering the dead and creating lists of the living—and how those policies have been updated since 9/11, with the Post Office now in charge of deploying "medical countermeasures," like vaccines, following a biological or chemical attack under armed protection by local law enforcement.

- The fleet of railroad cars, airborne command posts, presidential yachts, and even two special Navy command ships—one of which was staffed at one point by future investigative reporter Bob Woodward—that during the Cold War would have served as the president's emergency command posts following a nuclear attack, as well as the presidential "Doomsday plane" that still sits ready, its engines on 24 hours a day, on a runway at Offutt Air Force Base in Omaha, Nebraska.

- Details about the fleet of secret evacuation planes—planes that the Air Force doesn't even publicly acknowledge exist—that covertly accompany the president around the world, shadowing the publicly known travels of Air Force One.

- The recently-declassified details of "Plan D-Minus," the government's long secret post-nuclear attack recovery plan, as well as "Plan C," its secret plan to suspend peacetime civil liberties and preemptively arrest thousands of potential "subversives" and register forces foreigners to register —plans that were almost accidentally blown when a North Carolina postmaster accidentally forced three Cuban emigrants to "register" in the early 1960s.

- The strangely well-organized details of how the federal government would have evacuated urban areas during the Cold War, like the plans to transport millions of New Yorkers by air, land, and sea that included moving more than 75,000 Manhattan residents up the Hudson to Saratoga on requisitioned Staten Island ferries, while another 300,000 Manhattan residents would travel by subway to Hoboken and be loaded into boxcars for the trip to upstate New York near Syracuse.

- Details of the classified Reagan era "Continuity of Government" plans, run for years by Oliver North, and which relied upon private citizens like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld to step in and help run the country after a nuclear attack—designating former officials like Cheney and Rumsfeld as wartime White House chiefs of staff who would be assigned to "designated survivor" teams to assist inexperienced Cabinet officials who might end up as president following an attack.

- The classified program during the Eisenhower administration whereby President Eisenhower secretly designated civilian business leaders to step in, seize private industries, and reorganize the government into an all-new wartime structure that would control nearly every aspect of American life and commerce.

- The complicated racial history of American evacuation plans, including how concerned the State Department and Justice Department were about evacuations to Virginia and West Virginia in the age of the Jim Crow law, and the 1980s concerns of the Carter and Reagan administration about evacuating "Blacks, Hispanics, and Orientals" into rural, white enclaves.

- The long-secret history of FEMA, which while publicly known today for its disaster response, was created to run wartime "Continuity of Government" programs and continues to maintain a powerful "black budget" today for its secret programs.

- New details about the secret bunker built for Congress at the Greenbrier Resort in West Virginia, including about its construction, Cold War operations, and the government response to its exposure by the *Washington Post* in the 1990s.

- Details of the chaos inside government on September 11th, 2001, and how overwhelmed the government was on 9/11—and how so many of its long-planned "Continuity of Government" operations failed that day, leaving government leaders exposed and vulnerable late into the day.

- What life is like inside the government's secret mountain bunkers—with Subway fast food restaurants and dining halls run by Native American, and the Spartan accommodations for senior government leaders—and aboard its secret command aircraft, which can launch the nation's nuclear weapons from the skies over the Midwest and Plains.

- Details of the secret communication networks built during the Cold War and after 9/11, including dozens of bunkers scattered across the country staffed by AT&T technicians working undercover, and the special wireless network that allows certain government and critical private sector officials priority access to cell phone networks in an emergency.

- The multiple close calls—on both sides—that could have resulted in nuclear attacks during the Cold War, including two accidental alerts during the Carter administration and two war scares in the 1980s that might have resulted in the Soviet Union launching a nuclear strike.

- How computer technology was driven by the planning for nuclear war, both the development of the internet itself, as well as how the internet's first chat program—for forerunner of AOL Instant Messenger and Facebook Chat—was developed to help the government's secret mountain bunkers communicate during an emergency.