

# Index

**Note: All references are to document numbers**

- Abramowitz, Morton, 32  
Abshire, David, 221  
Agnew, Spiro, 18, 74  
Albania, 61  
Algeria, 138  
Allardt, Helmut, 108  
Anderson, Adm. George, 161  
Anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system:  
    Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
    Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23, 135  
    National Security Council memoranda, 50  
    Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 83  
    Rogers-Kuznetsov discussions, 31  
    U.S.-Chinese relations and, 42  
Arms control. *See* Strategic arms limitations talks; Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.  
Asia, Soviet policy in (*see also* Sino-Soviet relations), 21, 66, 72  
Atherton, Alfred L., Jr., 58, 62, 67, 98, 141  
  
Baker, William, 161  
Beam, Jacob D.:  
    Appointment as Ambassador, 26  
    Gromyko discussions, 34, 116, 133, 136, 175, 180, 187  
    Humphrey Moscow visit, 57  
    Kosygin discussions, 39, 40  
    Kuznetsov discussions, 45  
    Middle East, 67, 75, 154, 175, 180, 187, 201, 202  
    Nixon discussions, 120, 169  
    Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 28, 40, 51  
    Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 90  
    U.S.-Soviet relations report, 72  
Behr, Col. Robert M., 97, 130, 134  
Berlin (*see also* European settlement; German Federal Republic):  
    Beam-Kosygin discussions, 40  
    Ellsworth-Tcherniakov discussions, 8  
    Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
    Berlin—*Continued*  
        Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23, 85, 118  
        Nixon discussions, 11  
        Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 16, 95  
        Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 15, 28, 51  
        Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 83, 90  
        Rogers memoranda, 3  
        Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 2  
        Tripartite initiative, 70, 90  
        Washington Special Actions Group meetings, 97  
Brandt, Willy, 108  
Brezhnev, Leonid (*see also* Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence):  
    Brezhnev doctrine, 17, 50, 65, 66, 74  
    Foreign policy speech, 172  
    Middle East, 128  
    Political situation and, 124, 156  
    Soviet policy in Asia, 72  
    Special National Intelligence Estimates, 68  
Brown, Robert L., 26  
Buchanan, Pat, 61  
Buchanan, Wiley T., Jr., 26  
Bunche, Ralph, 87  
Burns, Arthur, 59  
  
Cambodia:  
    Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 168  
    Kissinger-Vorontsov discussions, 155  
    Soviet public statements, 153, 157  
Cargo, William, 79, 97  
Ceausescu, Nicolae, 71, 74  
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (*see also* National Intelligence Estimates):  
    Sino-Soviet relations, 22, 82, 111  
    Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 130, 134  
    Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 210  
    Soviet political situation, 124  
    U.S. covert action program, 103, 106, 114, 147, 149

- Chapin, Frank M., 114  
 Chernyakov, Yuri N. *See* Tcherniakov, Yuri N.  
 Chinese People's Republic (*see also* Sino-Soviet relations; U.S.-Chinese relations), 43, 61  
 Chou En-lai, 82  
 Cleveland, Harlan, 16  
 Cole, Kenneth, 92  
 Cook, Marlowe, 221  
 Coyne, J. Patrick, 161  
 Cuba. *See* Soviet military buildup in Cuba.  
 Cushman, Gen., 114  
 Czechoslovakia, Soviet occupation of:  
   European Security Conference and, 33  
   International Communist Conference and, 71  
   National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
   National Security Council memoranda, 50  
   National Security Study Memoranda, 10  
   Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 17, 28, 159  
   Sonnenfeldt memorandum, 2  
   Soviet military capabilities and, 4
- Davies, Rodger, 97, 130, 134  
 Davydov, Boris, 88  
 De Gaulle, Charles, 30, 50  
 DePalma, Samuel, 81  
 Dobrynin, Anatoliy F. (*see also* Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions):  
   Chinese military capabilities, 43  
   European Security Conference, 32, 33, 102, 168, 183  
   Illness of, 8  
   Kissinger discussions, 84, 86  
   Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 15, 131  
   Nixon talks, 12, 13, 14, 16, 48, 93, 94, 95, 96  
   Percy discussions, 29  
   Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81  
   Rogers-Kuznetsov discussions, 31  
   Sino-Soviet relations, 27  
   Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 162, 168, 181  
   Strategic Arms Limitations Talks:  
     Kissinger discussions, 36, 85, 107  
     Nixon talks, 13, 14, 16, 93
- Dobrynin, Anatoliy F.—*Continued*  
   Strategic arms limitations talks—*Continued*  
     Percy discussions, 29  
     Rogers discussions, 45, 162  
     Thompson discussions, 42  
   Summit proposals, 8, 13, 14, 56, 110, 216, 217  
   Thompson discussions, 42, 43  
   U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
   U.S. Middle East initiative (June, 1970), 170, 176, 179, 184, 185, 186  
   U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks:  
     Kissinger discussions, 23, 37  
     Nixon talks, 12, 14  
     Rogers discussions, 24, 109, 141, 143, 148, 151, 162  
     Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969), 80, 89, 98  
     Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969), 30, 37, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53  
     Soviet resumption proposal, 141, 143, 148, 151  
   Vietnam war:  
     Kissinger discussions, 23, 27, 32, 35, 36, 56, 85, 99, 110  
     Nixon talks, 48  
     Rogers discussions, 55
- Dubs, Adolph:  
   Beam ambassadorial appointment, 26  
   Beam-Gromyko discussions, 116  
   European Security Conference, 32  
   Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 90  
   Rogers-Kuznetsov discussions, 31  
   U.S. covert action program, 103  
   U.S. Middle East initiative (June, 1970), 184  
   U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks, 109, 162
- Eastern Europe. *See* Soviet-Eastern European relations; U.S.-Eastern European relations; Warsaw Pact.
- Eban, Abba, 30  
 Egypt. *See* United Arab Republic.  
 Ehrlichman, John, 52  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., funeral of, 31, 36  
 Eliot, Theodore, 116, 141, 221  
 Ellsworth, Robert, 1, 8  
 European Security Conference, 32, 33, 102, 168, 183

- European settlement:  
 European Security Conference, 32, 33,  
 102, 168, 183  
 Gromyko Europe visit, 164  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 168  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 15, 17, 28, 159  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 162  
 Sonnenfeldt memorandum, 117  
 Soviet foreign policy speeches, 172  
 Special National Intelligence  
 Estimates, 68  
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of  
 Nuclear Weapons and, 34
- Falin, Valentin M., 81  
 Fawzi, Mahmoud, 38  
 Firyubin, N. P., 164  
 Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board,  
 161, 200  
 France, 2, 30, 70, 123, 138  
 Free Europe, Inc., 103
- Garthoff, Raymond L., 222  
 German Federal Republic (*see also*  
 Berlin; European settlement):  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39, 40  
 Chinese People's Republic relations  
 with, 61  
 European Security Conference and,  
 33  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Kissinger memoranda, 108  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 50  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 15, 17, 51, 159  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, 2  
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of  
 Nuclear Weapons and, 34, 39, 50,  
 51
- Goldberg, Arthur, 72  
 Gray, Gordon, 161  
 Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom.  
 Greece, 138  
 Green, Marshall, 74  
 Gromyko, Andrei A.:  
 Beam discussions, 34, 116, 133, 136,  
 175, 180, 187  
 Berlin, 70, 81, 83, 90  
 European settlement, 164  
 Foreign policy speech, 65, 66  
 German Federal Republic, 108  
 Gromyko, Andrei A.—*Continued*  
 International Communist Conference  
 and, 71  
 Nixon meeting proposal, 84, 85  
 Rogers discussions, 81, 83, 89, 90, 91  
 Rusk discussions, 49  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab  
 Republic, 187  
 U.S. Middle East initiative (June,  
 1970), 175, 180  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East  
 talks, 54, 67, 69, 70, 78, 87, 89,  
 91
- Guthrie, Keith, 130, 134
- Haig, Alexander M., Jr.:  
 Middle East, 63, 161  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 74, 200  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 193,  
 194, 210, 211, 213, 221, 222  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
 U.S. covert action program, 149,  
 158
- Haldeman, H. R., 12, 25, 52  
 Halperin, Morton, 4, 30, 74  
 Hament, Harvey, 196, 197  
 Haynsworth, Clement F., 94  
 Helms, Richard M.:  
 Chinese military capabilities, 43  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
 paper, 18  
 Kraemer paper, 92  
 Middle East, 9, 78, 104  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 64, 74, 111  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 208,  
 215  
 U.S. covert action program, 147, 149,  
 158
- Hillenbrand, Martin J., 31, 81, 97  
 Holdridge, John H., 74, 77, 97, 146, 153,  
 173
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 1, 21, 29  
 Hughes, Thomas L., 29, 54  
 Humphrey, Hubert, 57, 72  
 Hungary, Soviet invasion of, 10  
 Husák, Gustáv, 50
- Hyland, William:  
 Cambodia, 157  
 Middle East, 163  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 76, 97, 200  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 213,  
 219, 225

- Intelligence and Research (INR), Bureau of, 174
- Interdepartmental Group for Europe papers, 6, 18
- International Communist Conference, 71, 72
- Iran, 138
- Irwin, John N., II, 221
- Israel:
- Military action (Jan., 1970), 121, 122, 123
  - U.S. military aid to, 130, 160, 161
  - U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks, 30
- Italy, 33, 88
- Ivanov, Igor, 4
- Jarring, Gunnar, 2, 69
- Jarring Mission, 2, 9, 24, 30, 38, 170, 175, 184
- Jessup, Peter, 158
- Johnson, Vice Adm. Nels, 77, 97
- Johnson, U. Alexis:
- Chinese military capabilities, 43
  - Middle East, 134, 202
  - Sino-Soviet relations, 77, 97
  - Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 208, 215, 222
  - U.S. covert action program, 114
- Joint Chiefs of Staff (JSC), 211, 226
- Jordan, 218, 224
- Kapitsa, Pyotr L., 103
- Karamessines, Thomas H., 97, 114, 130, 134
- Kennedy, John F., 194
- Kennedy, Richard, 215
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 4, 21, 52, 68, 194, 199
- Kiesinger, Kurt, 70
- Kirilenko, Andrei, 156
- Kirillin, Vladimir A., 120
- Kissinger, Henry A. (*see also* Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions):
- Beam ambassadorial appointment, 26
  - Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39
  - Beam U.S.-Soviet relations report, 72
  - Berlin, 3, 23, 70, 85, 90, 118
  - Cambodia, 153, 155, 157, 168
  - Dobrynin discussions, 84, 86
  - Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29
  - EC-121 shootdown, 39
  - European settlement, 32, 33, 117, 168, 183
- Kissinger, Henry A.—*Continued*
- Gromyko foreign policy speech, 65, 66
  - Humphrey Moscow visit, 57
  - International Communist Conference, 71
  - Khrushchev visit proposal, 52
  - Kraemer paper, 92
  - Laos, 145, 168, 173, 183
  - Middle East:
    - Beam-Gromyko discussions, 136
    - Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board meetings, 161
    - Israeli military action (Jan., 1970), 122, 123
    - Nasser Moscow visit communiqué, 182
    - National Security Council memoranda, 163
    - Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 125, 127, 128, 131
    - Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 206
    - Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 132, 161, 191
    - National Security Council memoranda, 163
    - Saunders memoranda, 151
    - Sisco-Dobrynin discussions, 181
    - Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 205
    - Washington Special Actions Group meetings, 130, 134
    - Soviet peace plan (Dec., 1968), 1
    - U.S. initiative (June, 1970), 176, 180, 185, 186
    - Zinchuk statement, 204
  - National Security Council meetings, 19
  - National Security Council memoranda, 50
  - National Security Study Memorandum 9, 4
  - National Security Study Memorandum 10, 6
  - Nixon-Beam discussions, 120, 169
  - Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 12, 13, 14, 16, 48, 93, 94, 95, 96
  - Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 15, 17, 28, 51, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 146
  - Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 83
  - Rogers-Kuznetsov discussions, 31
  - Sedov discussions, 1
  - Sino-Soviet relations, 22, 61, 88, 108, 111, 209

- Kissinger, Henry A.—*Continued*  
 Sino-Soviet relations—*Continued*  
   Burns report, 59  
   Dobrynin discussions, 27  
   Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board memorandum, 200  
   Kosygin Peking visit, 82  
   National Security Council meetings, 74  
   National Security Council memoranda, 76  
   National Security Study Memoranda, 64, 101  
   Washington Special Actions Group meetings, 77, 79, 97  
 Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 7  
 Soviet foreign policy speeches, 172  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba:  
   Cuban missile crisis understandings, 194  
   Dobrynin discussions, 229  
   Garthoff-Vorontsov discussions, 222  
   Joint Chiefs of Staff memoranda, 211, 226  
   National Security Council memoranda, 210, 213, 219, 223, 225  
   Senate discussions, 221  
   Senior Review Group meetings, 208, 215  
   Vorontsov discussions, 195  
   Vorontsov note, 192, 193  
 Soviet political situation, 124, 156  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, 108, 157  
   Dobrynin discussions, 36, 85, 107  
   Mission Chiefs circular guidance, 20  
   Nixon discussions, 11, 178  
   Sedov discussions, 1  
   Thompson-Dobrynin discussions, 42  
 Summit proposals, 199  
   Dobrynin discussions, 56, 110, 216, 217  
   Vorontsov discussions, 196, 197  
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 1, 8, 23  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
 U.S. covert action program, 114, 147, 149, 158  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks:  
   Beam-Semyenov discussions, 75
- Kissinger, Henry A.—*Continued*  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks—*Continued*  
   Dobrynin discussions, 23, 37  
   National Security Council meetings, 9, 78  
   Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 143, 162  
   Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 91  
   Rogers Plan and, 104  
   Saunders summaries, 115, 165  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969), 80, 89  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969), 37  
     Saunders memoranda, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53  
   Sisco-Gromyko talks (Moscow, summer, 1969), 67, 69  
   Soviet counterproposal, 60, 63  
   Soviet formulations (spring, 1970), 162, 174  
   Soviet resumption proposal, 143, 148, 151  
 Vietnam war:  
   Dobrynin discussions, 23, 27, 32, 35, 36, 56, 85, 99, 110  
   Firyubin visit, 164  
   Nixon discussions, 25  
   Sedov discussions, 1  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions:  
   Berlin, 118  
   Cambodia, 168  
   European Security Conference, 168, 183  
   European settlement, 168  
   Jordan crisis, 218, 224  
   Laos, 145, 168, 183  
   Middle East, 112, 140, 145, 150, 152, 168, 177, 179  
   Nixon discussions, 167, 190  
   Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 131  
   Planning, 110, 112, 118, 188, 189  
   Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 220, 224, 228  
   Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, 112, 135, 140, 150, 152, 168, 171, 177, 179, 183  
   Summit proposals, 113, 118, 150, 152, 168, 171, 179, 218, 220, 228  
   U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 118  
   Vietnam war, 140, 150, 152, 168

- Klosson, Boris, 57
- Korean Democratic People's Republic, 39, 68
- Kornienko, Georgy, 40, 67, 175
- Kosygin, Aleksei N. (*see also* Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence):  
 Beam discussions, 39, 40  
 Cambodia, 157  
 Foreign policy speech, 172  
 Illness of, 7  
 Nixon correspondence, 28, 51, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 139  
 Peking visit, 82  
 Political situation, 124  
 Summit proposals, 199
- Kraemer, Fritz, 92
- Krimer, William D., 31, 81
- Kuznetsov, Vassily V., 29, 31, 45
- Laird, Melvin R.:  
 Anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system, 29, 31, 135  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe paper, 18  
 Kraemer paper, 92  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 94  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 64, 74, 209  
 Soviet comments on, 7, 29, 31  
 Strategic arms limitations talks, 42
- Laos (*see also* Vietnam War):  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 139, 142, 146, 173  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 145, 168, 183
- Le Duc Tho, 50, 140
- Lesh, Donald R., 7
- Libya, 138
- Lin Piao, 50
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 23, 36
- Lord, Winston, 168, 199
- Lynn, Lawrence E., 74, 140
- Malik, Yakov A., 81, 156, 164
- Malone, Gifford D., 26
- Malta, 138
- Mathias, Robert, 221
- Mazurov, 124
- McCloy, John, 104
- Mediterranean area, Soviet policy in, 138
- Meir, Golda, 87, 89
- Mendelevich, Lev I., 81
- Middle East (*see also* Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic; U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks):  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 34, 133, 136  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39, 40  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Ellsworth-Tcherniakov discussions, 8  
 Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board meetings, 161  
 French position, 30  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe paper, 18  
 Israeli military action (Jan., 1970), 121, 122, 123  
 Jarring Mission, 2, 9, 24, 30, 38, 170, 175, 184  
 Jordan crisis, 218, 224  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 112, 140, 145, 150, 152, 168, 177, 179  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 37, 56, 85, 86  
 Nasser Moscow visit communiqué, 182  
 National Intelligence Estimates, 21, 138  
 National Security Council meetings, 9  
 National Security Council memoranda, 50, 163  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 93, 95  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 15, 17, 28, 51, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 159, 228  
 Rhodes formula, 87, 89, 109, 165  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 24  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 83, 87  
 Rogers Plan, 104  
 Sonnenfeldt-Vorontsov discussions, 160  
 Soviet foreign policy speeches, 172  
 Soviet peace plan (Dec., 1968), 1, 2  
 Special National Intelligence Estimates, 68  
 U.S. initiative (June, 1970):  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 175, 180  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 179

- Middle East—*Continued*  
 U.S. initiative (June, 1970)—*Continued*  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 185  
 Kissinger memoranda, 186  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 184  
 Rogers-Sisco-Dobrynin discussions, 170  
 Sisco-Dobrynin discussions, 176  
 U.S. military aid to Israel, 130, 160, 161  
 Zinchuk statement, 202, 203, 204
- Middle East Four-Power talks, 9, 24, 30, 38, 47, 143
- MIRV testing, 83
- Missile talks. *See* Strategic Arms Limitations Talks.
- Mitchell, John, 74, 77, 92, 114
- Moorer, Adm. Thomas H., 208, 211, 215
- Moose, Richard M., 18
- Morris, Roger, 101
- Murphy, Franklin, 161
- Murphy, Robert, 161
- Nachmanoff, Arnold, 193, 194, 208
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel (*see also* United Arab Republic), 30, 54, 182
- National Intelligence Estimate (*see also* Special National Intelligence Estimates):  
 NIE 11-6-70, "Soviet Policies in the Middle East and Mediterranean Area," 138  
 NIE 11/13-69, "The USSR and China," 73, 88  
 NIE 11-69, "Basic Factors and Main Tendencies in Current Soviet Policy," 21, 68
- National Security Council (NSC) (*see also* National Security Study Memoranda):  
 Decision Memorandum 33, 100  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe papers, 6, 18  
 Meetings, 5, 9, 19, 74, 100  
 Policy memorandum, 50  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 76  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 163  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 193, 210, 213, 219, 223, 225  
 U.S. Middle East initiative (June, 1970), 186
- National Security Study Memoranda:  
 NSSM 9, 4  
 NSSM 10, 6  
 NSSM 63, 64, 76, 77, 79, 97, 101
- Niculescu-Mizil, Paul, 71
- Nixon, Richard M. (*see also* Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence):  
 Annual Foreign Policy Report, 135  
 Anti-ballistic missile defense system, 23  
 Beam ambassadorial appointment, 26  
 Beam discussions, 120, 169  
 Berlin, 3, 13, 14, 15, 16, 28, 51, 70, 95, 118  
 Cambodia, 153, 155, 157  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Dobrynin talks, 12, 13, 14, 16, 48, 93, 94, 95, 96  
 EC-121 shootdown, 39  
 European settlement, 33, 164  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 65  
 Gromyko meeting proposal, 84, 85  
 International Communist Conference, 71  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 167, 168, 179, 190  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 85, 110  
 Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
 Kraemer paper, 92
- Middle East:  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 136  
 Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board meetings, 161  
 Israeli military action (Jan., 1970), 123  
 Kissinger memoranda, 63  
 Nasser Moscow visit communiqué, 182  
 Rogers Plan, 104  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 132, 161, 191  
 U.S. initiative (June, 1970), 186  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks, 9, 30, 37, 63, 67, 78, 143
- National Security Council meetings, 5, 19, 74
- National Security Study Memorandum 9, 4
- National Security Study Memorandum 10, 6
- Press conference (Jan. 27, 1969), 14
- Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 83

- Nixon, Richard M.—*Continued*  
 Romania visit, 65  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 22, 27, 61, 74,  
 82, 88, 108, 111  
 Soviet foreign policy speeches, 172  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 193,  
 194  
 Soviet political situation, 124, 156,  
 169  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks:  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 16, 93  
 Kissinger discussions, 11, 178  
 Kissinger memoranda, 108  
 National Security Council  
 meetings, 5, 100  
 Rogers correspondence, 10  
 Summit proposals and, 171  
 Thompson-Dobrynin discussions,  
 42  
 Summit proposals, 11, 13, 14, 152,  
 171, 197, 199  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
 U.S. covert action program, 147,  
 149  
 Vietnam war:  
 Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 16, 48, 93,  
 94, 95  
 Firyubin visit, 164  
 Kissinger discussions, 25  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23,  
 32, 35, 36, 150  
 National Security Council  
 meetings, 5  
 "Silent majority" speech, 99  
 Vance mission, 32  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 40  
 Berlin, 15, 28, 51  
 European settlement, 15, 17, 28, 159  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 131  
 Laos, 139, 142, 146, 173  
 Middle East, 15, 17, 28, 51, 121, 125,  
 126, 127, 128, 131, 159, 228  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab  
 Republic, 191  
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of  
 Nuclear Weapons, 15, 51  
 Vietnam war, 15, 17, 28, 51, 139, 159  
 Non-Proliferation Treaty. *See* Treaty on  
 the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear  
 Weapons.  
 North Africa, 138
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
 (NATO):  
 Berlin, 70  
 European settlement, 33, 102, 117, 162  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
 paper, 18  
 National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks and, 16  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 51  
 Nutter, G. Warren, 77, 97
- Packard, David, 208, 215  
 Pedersen, Richard F., 81  
 Percy, Charles, 29, 221  
 Podgorny, Nikolay Viktorovich (*see also*  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence), 39, 93, 124, 172  
 Polyansky, 124  
 Pompidou, Georges, 50  
 Pranger, Robert, 130, 134  
 Prentice, Colgate, 221  
*Pueblo* seizure, 68  
 Pyrlin, Yevgeniy D., 81
- Rabin, Yitzhak, 44, 60  
 Radio Free Europe, 147, 149  
 Radio Liberty, 103, 149  
 Riad, Mahmoud, 54, 104, 143  
 Richardson, Elliot L.:  
 European Security Conference, 32, 33,  
 168  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
 paper, 18  
 Middle East, 132  
 Sedov and, 1  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 74, 88  
 Robinson, 226  
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 161  
 Rogers, William P.:  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 116  
 Beam U.S.-Soviet relations report,  
 72  
 Dobrynin discussions, 24, 45, 55  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 EC-121 shootdown, 39  
 European settlement, 3, 70, 102, 164  
 Gromyko discussions, 81, 83, 87, 89,  
 90, 91  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
 paper, 18  
 Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
 Kraemer paper, 92



- Rogers, William P.—*Continued*  
 Kuznetsov discussions, 31  
 Middle East:  
   Gromyko discussions, 81, 83, 87  
   Israeli military action (Jan., 1970), 122  
   Rogers Plan, 104  
   Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 181  
   U.S. initiative (June, 1970), 170, 184  
 National Security Study  
   Memorandum 9, 4  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 12, 13  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
   correspondence, 125, 126  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 64, 74  
 Soviet comments on, 7, 29  
 Soviet military capabilities, 29, 31  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, 10, 11, 42, 45, 162  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks:  
   Dobrynin discussions, 24, 109, 141, 143, 148, 151, 162  
   Gromyko discussions, 87, 89, 91  
   Moscow venue change proposals, 62  
   National Security Council meetings, 78  
   Oral statement text, 119  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969), 98  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969), 38, 54  
   Sisco-Gromyko talks (Moscow, summer, 1969), 67  
   Soviet counterproposal, 58, 63  
   Soviet formulations (spring, 1970), 162  
   Soviet resumption proposal, 141, 143, 148, 151  
   Vietnam war, 5, 25, 55, 99  
 Romania, 2, 65, 71  
 Rossanda, Rossana, 88  
 Rostow, Eugene, 49  
 Rostow, Walt W., 8  
 Rumor, Marianno, 33  
 Rusk, Dean, 1, 49
- Safire, William, 52  
 Sakharov, Andre D., 103, 149  
 Saunders, Harold H.:  
   Laos, 173  
   Middle East:  
     Beam-Gromyko discussions, 136
- Saunders, Harold H.—*Continued*  
 Middle East—*Continued*  
   Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic, 132, 151  
   U.S. initiative (June, 1970), 176, 180  
   Washington Special Actions Group meetings, 130, 134  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 97  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks:  
   Beam-Semyenov discussions, 75  
   Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 143, 162  
   Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 91  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969), 80, 89  
   Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969), 30, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53  
   Sisco-Gromyko talks (Moscow, summer, 1969), 67, 69  
   Soviet counterproposal, 60, 63  
   Soviet formulations (spring, 1970), 162, 174  
   Soviet resumption proposal, 143, 148, 151  
   Summaries, 115, 165
- Scheel, Walter, 183  
 Sedov, Boris, 1, 15  
 Sejna, Jan, 68  
 Senior Review Group, 208, 215  
 Shapiro, Anatoly, 59  
 Sihanouk, Norodom (King of Cambodia), 157  
 Sino-Soviet relations (*see also* Asia, Soviet policy in):  
   Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39  
   Burns report, 59  
   Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board memorandum, 200  
   Gromyko foreign policy speech, 65, 66  
   International Communist Conference, 71  
   Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 27, 32, 36, 110  
   Kissinger memoranda, 22, 61, 88, 108, 111, 209  
   Kosygin Peking visit, 82  
   Kraemer paper, 92  
   National Intelligence Estimates, 21, 73, 88  
   National Security Council meetings, 74

- Sino-Soviet relations—*Continued*  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 76  
 National Security Study Memoranda,  
 64, 76, 77, 79, 97, 101  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 93, 95  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 51  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 90  
 Special National Intelligence  
 Estimates, 68  
 Washington Special Actions Group  
 meetings, 77, 79, 97
- Sisco, Joseph:  
 Middle East:  
 Israeli military action (Jan., 1970),  
 122  
 U.S. initiative (June, 1970), 170, 176,  
 184  
 Zinchuk statement, 203, 204  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 45  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab  
 Republic, 130, 132, 181  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East  
 talks:  
 Circular telegram, 109  
 Gromyko talks (Moscow, summer,  
 1969), 67, 69, 78  
 National Security Council  
 meetings, 78  
 Rogers oral statement text, 119  
 Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969),  
 80, 89, 98  
 Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969),  
 30, 37, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53  
 Soviet formulations (spring, 1970),  
 162  
 Soviet resumption proposal, 141,  
 148, 151
- Smith, Gerard, 14, 81, 105, 107, 171  
 Smith, Walter B., 62, 67, 98, 119  
 Snider, Richard, 22  
 Sonnenfeldt, Helmut, 2, 7  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39  
 European settlement, 70, 102, 117  
 Laos, 173  
 Middle East, 127, 136, 160, 180, 205,  
 206  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 50  
 Nixon-Beam discussions, 120, 169  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 84  
 Sino-Soviet relations, 59, 77, 88, 97
- Sonnenfeldt, Helmut—*Continued*  
 Soviet political situation, 124  
 Summit proposals, 113, 199  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105  
 Vietnam war, 164  
 Souphanouvong (Prince of Laos), 141,  
 173  
 Souvanna Phouma (Prince of Laos),  
 141, 173  
 Soviet-Chinese relations. *See* Sino-Soviet  
 relations.  
 Soviet Committee for State Security  
 (KGB), 1  
 Soviet-Eastern European relations (*see*  
*also* Czechoslovakia, Soviet  
 occupation of):  
 Brezhnev doctrine, 17, 50, 65, 66, 74  
 European Security Conference, 32  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 65, 66  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23  
 National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 50  
 National Security Study  
 Memorandum 9, 4  
 U.S. covert action program and, 149  
 Soviet economic situation, 4, 21, 50, 149  
 Soviet foreign policy speeches, 65, 66,  
 172  
 Soviet military aid to United Arab  
 Republic:  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 187  
 Beam-Vinogradov discussions, 201  
 Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board  
 meetings, 161  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 168  
 Kissinger memoranda, 132, 191  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 163  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 162  
 Saunders memoranda, 151  
 Sisco-Dobrynin discussions, 181  
 Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 205  
 Special National Intelligence  
 Estimates, 138  
 Washington Special Actions Group  
 meetings, 130, 134  
 Soviet military buildup in Cuba:  
 Cuban missile crisis understandings,  
 194  
 Garthoff-Vorontsov discussions, 222  
 Joint Chiefs of Staff memoranda, 211,  
 226

- Soviet military buildup in Cuba—  
*Continued*  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 220, 224, 228  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 229  
 Kissinger-Vorontsov discussions, 195  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 193, 210, 213, 219,  
 223, 225  
 Senate discussions, 221  
 Senior Review Group meetings, 208,  
 215  
 Vorontsov note, 192, 193  
 Soviet military capabilities, 4, 21, 29  
 Soviet political situation:  
 Kissinger memoranda, 124, 156  
 National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
 Nixon-Beam discussions, 169  
 Special National Intelligence  
 Estimates, 137  
 Summit proposals and, 199  
 U.S. covert action program and, 149  
 Soviet-U.S. relations. *See* U.S.-Soviet  
 relations.  
 Special National Intelligence Estimates:  
 SNIE 11-9-69, "Current Soviet  
 Attitudes Toward the U.S.," 68  
 SNIE 11-16-70, "Soviet Attitudes  
 Toward SALT Discussion," 137  
 Spiers, Ronald, 221  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks:  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Ellsworth-Tcherniakov discussions, 8  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 65,  
 66  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
 paper, 18  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 112, 135, 140, 150,  
 152, 168, 171, 177, 179, 183  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 36,  
 85, 107  
 Kissinger memoranda, 108, 157  
 Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
 Mission Chiefs circular guidance, 20  
 National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
 National Security Council meetings,  
 5, 19, 100  
 National Security Council  
 memoranda, 50  
 Nixon discussions, 11  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 16, 93  
 Nixon-Kissinger discussions, 11, 178  
 Strategic arms limitations talks—  
*Continued*  
 Nixon press conference (Jan. 27,  
 1969), 14  
 Nixon-Rogers correspondence, 10  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership  
 correspondence, 15, 17, 51  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 45, 162  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 83,  
 90  
 Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 2, 7  
 Special National Intelligence  
 Estimates, 68, 137  
 Thompson-Dobrynin discussions, 42  
 U.S.-Chinese relations and, 42  
 Sukhodrev, Viktor M., 81  
 Summit proposals:  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Haig-Vorontsov discussions, 198  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
 discussions, 113, 118, 150, 152,  
 168, 171, 179, 218, 220, 228  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 56,  
 110, 216, 217  
 Kissinger-Vorontsov discussions, 196,  
 197  
 National Security Study  
 Memorandum 9, 4  
 Nixon discussions, 11  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 13, 14  
 Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 2  
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks and,  
 171  
 Suslov, Mikhail, 71  
 Swank, Emory C., 40  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 90  
 U.S. covert action program, 103  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East  
 talks, 58, 62, 98  
 Tcherniakov, Yuri N., 1, 8, 31, 58  
 Thant, U, 2  
 Thompson, Llewellyn E., Jr., 11, 26, 42,  
 43, 90, 105  
 303 Committee, 103, 106, 114  
 Toon, Malcolm, 14, 16, 24, 26, 31, 45, 55  
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of  
 Nuclear Weapons:  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 34  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39, 40  
 Beam-Kuznetsov discussions, 45  
 Ellsworth-Tcherniakov discussions, 8  
 German Federal Republic and, 34, 39,  
 50, 51

- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons—*Continued*  
 Gromyko foreign policy speech, 66  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe paper, 18  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23  
 Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
 National Security Council memoranda, 50  
 Nixon discussions, 11  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 14  
 Nixon-Soviet leadership correspondence, 15, 51  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 45  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81, 83  
 Triantafellu, Maj. Gen. Rockly, 137  
 Turkey, 138
- United Arab Republic (UAR) (*see also* Middle East; Soviet military aid to United Arab Republic):  
 Nasser Moscow visit communiqué, 182  
 Soviet influence on, 2, 138  
 Soviet peace plan (Dec., 1968), 2  
 U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks and, 38, 53, 54, 67, 75, 104
- United Kingdom, 2, 70, 123
- United Nations:  
 General Assembly, 81  
 UN Security Council Resolution 242, 2, 23, 30, 44
- U.S.-Chinese relations:  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe paper, 18  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin channel discussions, 168  
 Nixon discussions, 11  
 Strategic arms limitations talks and, 42  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks, 105, 118
- U.S. covert action program, 103, 106, 114, 147, 149, 158
- U.S.-Eastern European relations, 2, 18, 29, 50
- U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks:  
 Beam-Semyenov discussions, 75  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23  
 Kissinger memoranda, 63, 143  
 Moscow venue change proposals, 58, 62, 75  
 National Security Council meetings, 9, 78
- U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East talks—*Continued*  
 Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 12, 14  
 Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 24, 109, 141, 143, 148, 151, 162  
 Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 87, 89, 91  
 Rogers oral statement text, 119  
 Rogers Plan and, 104  
 Saunders summaries, 115, 165  
 Sisco-Dobrynin talks (fall, 1969), 80, 89, 98  
 Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1969):  
 Gromyko Middle East trip and, 54  
 Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 37  
 Kissinger memoranda, 30  
 Saunders memoranda, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53  
 Sisco-Dobrynin talks (spring, 1970), 151, 154  
 Sisco-Gromyko talks (Moscow, summer, 1969), 67, 69, 78  
 Soviet counterproposal, 58, 60, 63  
 Soviet formulations (spring, 1970), 162, 174  
 Soviet resumption proposal, 141, 143, 148, 151, 159
- U.S.-Soviet relations:  
 Beam report, 72  
 Bilateral trade, 29, 50, 83, 169  
 Consular treaty, 26, 29  
 Humphrey visit, 57  
 Interdepartmental Group for Europe papers, 6, 18  
 Khrushchev visit proposal, 52  
 Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
 Maritime agreement, 81  
 National Security Study Memorandum 9, 4  
 National Security Study Memorandum 10, 6  
 Rogers-Kuznetsov discussions, 31  
 Sonnenfeldt memoranda, 2, 7  
 U.S.-Chinese bilateral talks and, 105
- Vaky, Viron P., 208, 210, 221, 223
- Vance, Cyrus, 32
- Vietnam war (*see also* Laos):  
 Beam-Gromyko discussions, 116  
 Beam-Kosygin discussions, 39, 40  
 Cambodia, 153, 155, 157, 168  
 Dobrynin-Percy discussions, 29  
 Ellsworth-Tcherniakov discussions, 8  
 Firyubin visit, 164

- Vietnam war—*Continued*  
Interdepartmental Group for Europe  
paper, 18  
Kissinger-Dobrynin channel  
discussions, 140, 150, 152, 168  
Kissinger-Dobrynin discussions, 23,  
27, 32, 35, 36, 56, 85, 99, 110  
Kissinger-Sedov discussions, 1  
National Intelligence Estimates, 21  
National Security Council meetings, 5  
National Security Council  
memoranda, 50  
Nixon-Dobrynin talks, 13, 14, 16, 48,  
93, 94, 95  
Nixon "silent majority" speech, 99  
Nixon-Soviet leadership  
correspondence, 15, 17, 28, 51,  
139, 159  
Rogers-Dobrynin discussions, 25, 55  
Soviet foreign policy speeches, 172  
Special National Intelligence  
Estimates, 68  
Vance mission, 32  
Vinogradov, Vladimir, 67, 69, 143, 154,  
201  
Vogt, Lt. Gen. John W., 130, 134  
Vorontsov, Yuly M.:  
Cambodia, 155  
Vorontsov, Yuly M.—*Continued*  
Rogers-Gromyko discussions, 81  
Soviet military buildup in Cuba, 192,  
195, 222, 193  
Summit proposals, 196, 197  
U.S. military aid to Israel, 160  
U.S.-Soviet bilateral Middle East  
talks, 141, 148, 162  
Zinchuk Middle East statement, 203,  
204  
Walsh, 20, 26, 31, 58  
Ware, Richard, 130, 134  
Warsaw Pact (*see also* Soviet-Eastern  
European relations), 32, 33, 50, 66,  
102  
Washington Special Actions Group, 77,  
79, 97, 130, 134  
Wheeler, Gen. Earle, 9, 18, 74  
Woods, Rosemary, 173  
Yost, Charles W., 78, 81  
Yugoslavia, 2, 66  
Ziegler, Ronald, 16, 65  
Zinchuk, Alexander I., 31, 202, 203, 204  
Zorin, Valerian, 23, 36