

# Sources

## *Sources for the Foreign Relations Series*

The 1991 *Foreign Relations* statute requires that the published record in the *Foreign Relations* series include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation on major U.S. foreign policy decisions and significant U.S. diplomatic activity. It also requires that government agencies, departments, and other entities of the U.S. Government engaged in foreign policy formulation, execution, or support cooperate with the Department of State Historian by providing full and complete access to records pertinent to foreign policy decisions and actions and by providing copies of selected records. U.S. foreign policy agencies and Departments—the Department of State, National Security Council, Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency, Department of the Treasury, the Nixon Presidential Materials at College Park Maryland, the Lyndon Johnson and Gerald Ford Presidential Libraries—have complied fully with this law and provided complete access to their relevant records. In addition, Henry Kissinger and Eliot Richardson have approved access to their private papers at the Library of Congress. These papers are a key source for the Nixon-Ford sub series.

## *Sources for Foreign Relations, 1969–1976, Volume II*

The sources for this volume are different from most other *Foreign Relations* volumes in the Nixon-Ford sub-series because of its primary focus on organization and management of the foreign policy and intelligence process. In addition, this volume draws from a more diffuse base of sources, many of which are not normally used in other volumes in the sub-series. For that reason, readers should pay special attention to the source and other footnotes in the volume which provided a wealth of citations that will lead the reader to key files. In this note on sources the emphasis is on the most important files.

For a thorough understanding of the organization of foreign policy as conceived and then implemented during the early years of the first Nixon administration, the Nixon Presidential Materials at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, is the best starting point. Within this large collection of Nixon presidential materials are two key collections: the NSC Files and the NSC Institutional (H-Files). As its name implies, the NSC Institutional Files contain considerable information on the organization and working of the National Security Council and its sub-groups under the Nixon administration. Most important in this collection are the National Security Decision Memorandum

(NSDM) Policy Paper Files. President Nixon used the NSDM process to define and describe his actual foreign policy process as well as to help make policy decisions. Specific decision memoranda outlined NSC procedures: NSDM 1 established the NSC Decision and Study Memorandum (NSSM) series, NSDM 2 reorganized the NSC System, NSDM 7 directed, coordinated and supervised interdepartmental activities overseas, NSDM 8 set up a system for crisis management, NSDM 19 established the Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG), NSDM 25 created the Defense Policy Review Committee (DPRC), and NSDM 85 changed the Review Group to the Senior Review Group. Thus the NSDM sub-files of the Institutional Files are a key collection.

Also of value in the NSC Institutional (H-Files) are the Miscellaneous Institutional Files of the Nixon administration, especially the NSC System, which are located in the later boxes of the file. Included in these records is the Institutional General File (IGF) which has information on general organization matters. In the records prepared for initial WSAG, DPRC, Vietnam Special Studies Group, and the Verification Panel meetings, there is documentation on how and why these groups were established and what their role was to be in the NSC system. Initial WSAG and NSC meeting minutes provide insight into how these groups were expected to function.

The second key source at the Nixon Presidential Material is the extensive National Security Files. Within these files, the Agency Files are an important collection, including individual sub-files on the main national security and foreign policy agencies: the Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Defense, DPRC and Defense Budget, DPRC General, Department of Commerce, Council on International Economic Policy (CIEP), and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB). Also in the NSC Files are the equally valuable Subject Files, including such specific subjects as Congressional [relations], Kissinger—Irwin and Kissinger—Richardson meetings, Intelligence Reorganization, National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), NSDMs, Presidential Directive on Reduction of Personnel Overseas, and the Office of the Special Trade Representative. Also of special value in the NSC Files are the Names Files, particularly those of Andrew Marshall. There is also an NSC System File in the NSC Files which is a valuable collection. Also part of the NSC Files are the Kissinger Office Files, Kissinger Administrative and Staff Files, the Agency, and Congressional Files. In the Kissinger Office Files, Agency Files, a key sub file is State-White House relations.

A third major collection of value for this volume at the Nixon Presidential Materials is the White House Central Files, Subject Files, Executive. The White House Special Files within the Central Files have Staff Member and Office Files, which are of value, especially those of

John Ehrlichman. Also of value are the Nixon Presidential Tape recordings. A number of transcripts are printed in this volume.

The Halperin Papers at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library have documentation on his tenure as a staff member of the National Security Council and especially relate to the issue of wiretapping his telephone. At the Gerald Ford Library, the files of National Security Adviser, Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Files, have Administrative Files that cover 1969–1977 as well as Subject Files that have documentation on the first Nixon administration, 1969–1972.

The Kissinger Papers at the Library of Congress are a useful source. While they are not available for public research, copies of the most useful collection, Transcripts of the Kissinger Telephone Conversations, are available at the Nixon Presidential Materials. Also at the Library of Congress are the Eliot Richardson Papers which have good documentation on organization and management issues during his tenure as Deputy Secretary of State.

The Lot Files and the Central Files of the Department of State at the National Archives are a key source for this volume. Within the Lot Files are a series of S/S (Executive Secretariat) files that deal with NSC matters. The most important is S/S-I Files, Lot 80 D 212, containing NSDM studies and responses, although S/S-I Under Secretaries Files, Lot 83 D 277, S/S-NSDM Files, Lot 83 D 305, S/S General NSC Matters Files, Lot 73 D 288, and S/S-Presidential Reading and Under Secretary's Meetings, Lot 64 D 164 also have useful material. The Office Files of William P. Rogers, E-5439 (formerly Lot 73 D 443), have some useful information as do the U. Alexis Johnson Files, Lot 96 D 695. An important series of Lot Files relate to the Work of Deputy Under Secretary for Management, William Macomber, who was a key figure in reorganization and management of the Department of State. Of the seven Macomber files listed in the list below, the most important is Lot 74 D 394, the Management Reform Task Force's Records of Macomber's Office, including documentation on women in the Foreign Service and the role of Foreign Service spouses.

As for the Central Files of the Department of State, the most useful is ORG 1, general organization of the Department, but ORG 1 COM-STATE has documents on control of foreign economic policy. The list below cites other subject-numeric files used in the volume. An intelligence collection of value, still under the custody of the Department of State, is the INR/IL Historical Files.

The Records of the Central Intelligence Agency were key to this volume, especially for the chapter on Intelligence and the White House. The best files are the Files of the Executive Registry, Job 80-R01284A and Job 80-B1086A. Other useful CIA files are listed below. The Nixon Intelligence Records, including records of the 303/40 Committee, at the

National Security Council when research was undertaken, were also of value.

As for Defense Department Files, two collections stand out among the rest in the list below: OSD Files, FRC 330-76-0197 and OSD Files, FRC 330-77-0094, decimal files of the Secretary of Defense and Deputy Secretary for 1971 and 1972 respectively. These files contain substantial material on reorganization of intelligence organizations at the Department of Defense.

Two final collections worthy of special mention are the Haldeman Diary, Multimedia Edition, a key source for appointments and personalities, and RG 460, Records of the Watergate Special Prosecution Forces, relating to the Plumbers Task Force and Wire Tap Investigations.

## Unpublished Sources

### Department of State

**Central Files.** See National Archives and Records Administration below.

**Lot Files.** For lot files already transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59, see National Archives and Records Administration below.

#### INR/IL Historical Files

Files of the Office of Intelligence Coordination, containing records from the 1940s through the 1980s, maintained by the Office of Intelligence Liaison, Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

### National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

#### Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State

##### *Subject-Numeric Indexed Central Files*

DEF 1 US, national security

DEF 1-1 US, national security contingency planning

DEF 18, arms control and disarmament

E 1, economic affairs: general policy, plans, programs

ORG 1, organization: general policy, plans, coordination

ORG 2, general reports

ORG 8, agency reorganization plans

ORG 10, management improvement

ORG 1 COM-STATE, organization: general policy, plans, coordination, Departments of Commerce and State

PER, general personnel policy

PER 1, personnel: general policy, plans, coordination

PER 4-1, personnel: reduction-in-force

POL 1 US, political affairs and relations: general policy

POL 2, general reports and statistics

POL US-USSR, U.S.-Soviet Union relations

POL 27 INDIA-PAK, India-Pakistan war

POL 27 LAOS, military operations in Laos

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*Lot Files*

- Office Files of William P. Rogers, Entry 5439 (formerly S/S Files: Lot 73 D 443)  
Official and personal files of Secretary of State Rogers, including correspondence, speeches, statements, and chronological and alphabetical files, 1969–1973
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Management Reform Task Force Papers: Lot 74 D 394  
Working papers, background papers, correspondence, and other material, 1970–1973
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Macomber Files: Lot 73 D 421  
Subject and correspondence files, 1970–1973
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Management, New Management Methods and PARA Files: Lot 74 D 436  
Management subject files, 1970–1971
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Interagency Committee Files: Lot 76 D 185  
Administrative files for interagency committees, 1969–1975
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management, Management Subject Files: Lot 76 D 210  
ORG 10 (management improvement) and other subject files, 1968–1971
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management, Management Subject Files: Lot 76 D 235  
Management subject files, 1964–1973
- Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management, General Correspondence Files: Lot 78 D 295  
Administrative correspondence and policy and procedural files of the Deputy Under Secretary for Management, 1968–1975
- Pedersen Files: Lot 75 D 229  
Chronological and subject files of Richard F. Pedersen, 1956–1973
- Policy Planning Council, Subject Files: Lot 73 D 363  
Subject and Country Files of the Policy Planning Council and the Planning and Coordination Staff, 1967–1973
- S/S–NSC Files: Lot 73 D 288  
Memoranda and other material concerning National Security Council committees, issues, and administration, 1970–1972; also Cabinet memoranda, 1970–1972
- S/S Memos Files: Lots 72 D 371, 72 D 372, and 72 D 373  
Memoranda from the Executive Secretary and other Department officials concerning administrative issues and some substantive matters, 1964–1976
- S/S–I (Executive Secretariat) Files, President’s Evening Reading and Kissinger–Irwin Meetings: Lot 74 D 164  
Department of State reports for the President’s evening reading and memoranda concerning Under Secretary John Irwin’s weekly lunches with Henry Kissinger, 1970–1972

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### S/S-I NSSM Files: Lot 80 D 212

National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs) and follow-up studies, organized by NSSM number, 1969–1976

### S/S-I Files: Lot 82 D 126

Files concerning Senior Review Group meetings and other NSC matters, 1969–1977

### S/S-I Files: Lot 83 D 113

PARA review material, 1971–1972; miscellaneous NSC material, 1971–1975; Presidential Review Memoranda and Presidential Directives, 1977–1980

### S/S-I Under Secretaries Files: Lot 83 D 277

Under Secretaries Committee Notes (NSC-U/N), 1969–1977

### S/S-I NSDM Files: Lot 83 D 305

National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), 1969–1977

### U. Alexis Johnson Files: Lot 96 D 695

U. Alexis Johnson's files as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1969–1973, together with some personal material and files reflecting his career as Ambassador to Thailand, 1958–1961, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1961–1964 and 1965–1966, Ambassador to Japan, 1966–1969, and Ambassador at Large, 1973–1977

## **Nixon Presidential Materials**

### National Security Council Files

- Agency Files
- Country File, Laos
- Haig Chronological File
- Haig Special File
- Kissinger Office Files
- Name Files
- NSC Nixon Files
- President's Daily Briefing
- President/HAK Memcons
- Saunders Subject Files
- Staff Files—Lake Chron
- Staff Files—Staff Memos
- Subject Files
- Vietnam Country Files

### NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

- National Security Council Meetings and Minutes
- Review Group/Senior Review Group Meetings and Minutes
- Washington Special Action Group Meetings and Minutes
- Verification Panel Meetings and Minutes
- Defense Program Review Committee Meetings and Minutes

Study Memoranda

Policy Papers: National Security Study Memoranda

Policy Papers: National Security Decision Memoranda

Miscellaneous General Institutional Files: NSC System, NSC Administrative Files

White House Central Files

Staff Member and Office Files: Houthaker Files, President's Daily Diary, Subject Files

White House Special Files

Staff Member and Office Files: Butterfield Files, Ehrlichman Files, Flanigan Files, Haldeman Files, President's Office Files, President's Personal Files, Young Files

White House Tapes

**Johnson Library, Austin, Texas**

Halperin Papers

**Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan**

National Security Adviser, Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Files, 1969–1977

**RG 460, Records of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force**

Plumbers Task Force, Gray/Wiretap Investigation Files

**Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, Virginia**

DCI Files: Job 80B01285A

Files of Directors of Central Intelligence John McCone and Richard Helms

DDI Files: Jobs 79R01012A, 79T01159A, 80R01621R

Files of the Deputy Director for Intelligence and the Intelligence Directorate

DDO Files: Jobs 79480A, 7901440A, 8000037

Files of the Deputy Director for Plans and the Directorate for Plans

Executive Registry: Jobs 80B01086A, 80M00165A, 80M01048A 80R01284A, 80R01580R, 86B00269R

Files of the Director of Central Intelligence's Office

**Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.**

Henry Kissinger Papers

Chronological File

Files on the Department of State

Files on the National Security Council

Telephone Records

Elliot Richardson Papers

**Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland**

**RG 56, Records of the Department of the Treasury**

FRC 74 A 7

Secretary's Memos/Correspondence, 1966–1970

**RG 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense**

FRC 330–74–0045

Chron Files of the Secretary of Defense, 1969–1973

FRC 330–74–0132

Subject Files of the Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1969–1971

FRC 330–74–0142

Files from the immediate office of Secretary of Defense Laird, 1969–1972

FRC 330–75–0089

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1969

FRC 330–75–0104

Files of the Military Assistant, 1966–1971

FRC 330–76–0028

OSD Office Chron Files, 1958–1973

FRC 330–76–0067

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1970

FRC 330–76–0076

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1970

FRC 330–76–0197

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1971

FRC 330–76–0207

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1971

FRC 330–77–0094

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1972

FRC 330–77–0095

Decimal Files of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1972

**Personal Papers of William P. Rogers**

Appointment Books



## Published Sources

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- U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1969–1972*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971–1974.

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- Meyer, Jr., Cord. *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.
- Nixon, Richard M., RN: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978.
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- Smith, Russell Jack. *The Unknown CIA: My Three Decades with the Agency*. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1989.
- Steeves, John M. *Safir (Ambassador)*. Hershey, PA: Privately Published, 1991.