

# 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, and the Gerald Ford Presidential Library—have complied fully with this law and provided complete access to their relevant records. In addition, Henry Kissinger has approved access to his private papers at the Library of Congress. These papers are a key source for the Nixon-Ford subseries.

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

The fact that both the European security conference (CSCE) and balanced force reduction talks (MBFR) constituted multilateral negotiations means that in addition to materials filed under these specific topics in the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, many relevant documents can be found in files dealing with bilateral relations.

For the Nixon years, the most important materials on CSCE and MBFR are in the National Security Council (NSC) Files at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. For both CSCE and MBFR, the following sub-collections within the NSC Files were particularly useful: Agency Files (ACDA, Department of Defense, MBFR and CSCE, NSC, NATO, and Department of State); Subject Files (East-West Relations, USSR Memcons, USSR, Soviet Affairs, NSSM's and NSDM's, Backchannel—Paris, Europe, USSR); the President's Trip Files, especially those related to visits to Europe and the USSR; Presidential Correspondence, especially with the USSR but also with France, Germany, and UK; VIP Visits (by Brezhnev and European leaders); Presidential/HAK Memcons; and NSC Unfiled Material. In the sub-series, Country Files—Europe, the collections on Europe, European Security Issues, Austria (location of the MBFR talks in Vienna), Finland, France, Germany, Switzerland (location of CSCE Phase II in Geneva), USSR, and United Kingdom hold the most important bilateral documents related to CSCE

and MBFR. The Kissinger Office Files also contain a wealth of key materials, especially the Country Files on Europe (General and USSR) and Kissinger's Trip Files for visits to Europe and the Soviet Union. The NSC Institutional Files (H-Files) provide some documentation on CSCE, but much more on MBFR. In the NSC Institutional Files (H-Files), Meeting Files of the Verification Panel, the Senior Review Group, and the National Security Council related to MBFR and CSCE are particularly relevant, along with the original minutes of meetings of the three groups. Files on individual NSSM's (83, 89, 92, 138, 164, 168), as well as files on individual NSDM's (116, 134, 142, 153, 163) under Policy Papers (1969–1974) contain key documentation on decision-making. The Henry A. Kissinger Telephone Conversations and Presidential Tape Recordings at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project provide key, first-hand data on decisions regarding CSCE and MBFR, although it is difficult to locate relevant material. The same is true for the Kissinger Transcripts of Telephone Conversations from his years as Secretary of State, available online from the Department of State's Electronic Reading Room.

A number of collections at the National Archives in Record Group 59, the General Records of the Department of State, hold key documents on CSCE and MBFR. The most important collections for such research are the Transcripts of Secretary of State Kissinger's Staff Meetings, 1973–77, Entry 5177; the Records of Henry Kissinger, Entry 5403, especially the bilateral memoranda of conversation with European and Soviet officials; and the Records of the Office of the Counselor, Entry 5339, which are the records of Helmut Sonnenfeldt, with key files on CSCE, MBFR, and bilateral meetings with European leaders. Less important, but also containing relevant material, are the S/S Conference Files, 1966–72, Entry 5415, and the Rogers Office Files, Entry 5439. Despite the title, Lot 80 D 188, Bureau of European Affairs, Office of NATO and Atlantic Political Military Affairs, Records Relating to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contains mainly low-level materials of little significance. The Central Files, 1967–69 and 1970–73, contain much important material, along with minutiae about the negotiations within NATO, between the U.S. and its Allies, and in Geneva and Vienna on CSCE and MBFR. The most relevant subject-numeric designations for CSCE are DEF EUR, DEF 1 EUR, DEF 1 NATO, POL EUR, and POL EUR E–EUR W. The most relevant subject-numeric designations for MBFR are DEF EUR, DEF 4 EUR, DEF 4 NATO, DEF 4 WARSAW PACT, DEF 6 EUR, and DEF 6 NATO. The following subject-numeric designations include important materials on bilateral discussions on MBFR: POL GER W–US, POL US–USSR, POL 1 US–USSR, and POL 7 USSR. The State Archiving System, which constitutes the Central Files after 1973, can be searched by keyword for documents relating to CSCE and MBFR.

A valuable resource for both the Nixon and Ford years with regard to CSCE and MBFR are the Henry Kissinger Papers, held at the

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Manuscript Division in the Library of Congress. Particularly fruitful for research on CSCE and MBFR are the files under the sub-headings: Memoranda of Conversation, Chronological File (bilateral talks with European and Soviet leaders); Geopolitical Files (especially those relating to the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, and the Year of Europe); the Presidential File, Memoranda of Conversation; and under Department of State, Memoranda of Conversation with Lawrence S. Eagleburger.

For the Ford years, the records at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library are invaluable. Many key materials on CSCE and MBFR can be found in the files of the National Security Adviser. Particularly valuable on both CSCE and MBFR are the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, especially the General Subject Files on the USSR ("D" File, Dobrynin, and the Gromyko Files) and West Germany, Egon Bahr, Correspondence. Also of value are the Memoranda of Conversation (bilateral talks with European and Soviet officials); the NSC Meetings Files; the Presidential Agency File (ACDA, Department of Defense, and NATO); the President's Trip Files (November 1974, Japan, Korea and USSR; and July 9–12, 1975, Europe—the trip to the CSCE summit); Trip Briefing Books and Cables for Henry Kissinger, 1974–76, especially from Kissinger's trips to Europe and the USSR; Presidential Trip Files (Ford's summit with Brezhnev in Vladivostok in November 1974 and his subsequent trips to Europe); the Presidential Subject Files on CSCE and MBFR; the Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions, 1974–76, USSR Memcons and Reports; the Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974–77, especially the Country Files on Europe (General), Germany, and the USSR; and Backchannel Messages, Europe. The Convenience Files of the NSC Staff for Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs, 1974–77, also contains valuable material on CSCE and MBFR, but it is somewhat duplicative. Relevant materials in the Convenience Files can be found under the subheadings General Subject Files (CSCE, Europe, HAK European Trip, MBFR, NSSMs, and NATO), the Ford Trips File (Vladivostok Summit, 1974; European Trip: NATO, May–June 1975; and European Trip: CSCE); and Visits by Foreign Leaders. On MBFR, the NSC Institutional Files (H-Files) and the papers of the NSC Program Analysis Staff are particularly important, especially the MBFR/Measures Agreement Subseries, the Verification Panel Subseries, the Jan Lodal Convenience Files, and the Steve Hadley MBFR Files. The Melvin Laird Papers at the Ford Library contain relevant documentation on CSCE and especially MBFR for both the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

Valuable for more-detailed study of MBFR is Record Group 330, Records of the Department of Defense, at the National Archives in Suitland, Maryland. FRC 330–77–003, MBFR Files, 1973–74, provides some of the daily communication between DOD officials working on MBFR and the U.S. delegation to the MBFR talks in Vienna. The secret and top

secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense from 1969 to 1976 provide useful documentation in the form of bilateral memoranda of conversation between DOD officials, including the Secretary of Defense, and Ministers of Defense of the NATO allies regarding MBFR and occasionally CSCE. The secret and top secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs also contain material relating to MBFR.

## Unpublished Sources

### Department of State

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

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

Electronic Reading Room (<http://foia.state.gov>)

Transcripts of Telephone Conversations of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger

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

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

##### *Central Files*

ORG 7 S, visits of the Secretary of State

DEF EUR, defense of Europe

DEF 1 EUR, policy plans, readiness, defense of Europe

DEF 1 NATO, policy plans, readiness, defense of NATO

DEF 4 EUR, collective defense and alliances, Europe

DEF 4 NATO, collective defense and alliances, NATO

DEF 4 WARSAW PACT, collective defense and alliance, Warsaw Pact

DEF 6 EUR, armed forces, Europe

DEF 6 NATO, armed forces, NATO

NATO 3 BEL, NATO organization, headquarters

POL EUR, political

POL EUR E-EUR W, general policy. Eastern Europe-Western Europe

POL GER W-US, U.S.-German political relations

POL US-USSR, U.S.-Soviet

POL 1 US-USSR, U.S.-Soviet, general policy

POL 7 USSR, visits and meeting with Soviet officials

##### *Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-1976*

Part of the on-line Access to Archive Databases (<http://aad.archives.gov>): Electronic Telegrams, P-Reel Index, P-Reel microfilm

##### *Lot Files*

Transcripts of Secretary of State Kissinger's Staff Meetings, 1973-1977, Entry 5177

Minutes of Secretary of State Kissinger's staff meetings

Records of the Office of the Counselor, Entry 5339

Files of Helmut Sonnenfeldt, 1957-1977

Records of Henry Kissinger, Entry 5403

Nodis memoranda of conversation of Secretary Kissinger and related documents, September 1973–January 1977

S/S-Files, Lot 72 D 170

Briefing books, fact books, visit and conference books, press conferences, and testimony of the Secretary and Under Secretary of State, 1969–1972

S/S Conference Files, 1966–1972, Entry 5415

Files of International Conferences

S/S-Files, Lot 80 D 307

Files of Walter J. Stossel, Deputy Secretary of State, 1968–1982

S/S-Files, Lot 83 D 305

National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), 1969–1977

Bureau of European Affairs, Office of NATO and Atlantic Political Military Affairs, Records Relating to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Lot 80 D 188

Rogers Office Files, Entry 5439

Official Files of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, 1969–1973

### **Nixon Presidential Materials Project, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland**

National Security Council Files

Agency Files

ACDA, Department of Defense, MBFR and CSCE, NSC, NATO, Department of State

Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files

Haig Telcons

Country Files—Europe

Berlin and European Security, Europe, European Security Issues, Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, NAC Summit Brussels—June 1974—The President; Netherlands, MBFR Background Book; Poland, Romania, Switzerland, USSR, United Kingdom

Country Files—Europe—USSR

Map Room, Map Room—D, Dobrynin/Kissinger, Gromyko, US-Soviet Bilateral Issues, Dr. Kissinger Moscow Trip, May 1973

Kissinger Office Files

Administrative and Staff Files; Europe, West

Kissinger Trip Files

HAK's Secret Moscow Trip, April 1972; HAK European Trip, September 1972, FRG Memcons, Brandt, Strauss; HAK Secret Paris Trip; HAK's Germany, Moscow, London, Paris Trip; HAK Moscow, London Trip; HAK Moscow Trip; Secretary's File, TOHAK/HAKTO; HAK Trip, Bonn, Moscow, London, Mar. 24–28, 1974

NSC Unfiled Material

NSC Secretariat, Richard M. Nixon Memoranda; NSC Unfiled Material, 1969–1972; NSC Unfiled Material, 1973–74

## XVI Sources

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### President's Trip Files

Nixon's European Trip (1969); Presidential European Trip, 1970; Azores Meeting with Pompidou; Heath Visit, Dec. 1971; President's Moscow Trip; MBFR/CSCE Backup Book; President's Issues Papers, USSR; Bilateral Agreements, US-USSR; Dobrynin/Kissinger; Top Secret/Sensitive MBFR-CSCE Backup Book; For the President's Personal Briefcase, May 1972; The President's Conversations in Salzburg, Moscow, Tehran and Warsaw, May 1972

### Presidential Correspondence

France, Germany, UK, USSR

### Presidential/HAK Memcons

### Subject Files

East-West Relations; President's Annual Review of US Foreign Policy; USSR Memcons; HAK/President Memos, 1969-71; NSSM's and NSDM's; Soviet Affairs; USSR; USSR Briefing Book, Apr. 1974, Foreign Minister Gromyko Visit;

### Backchannel

Paris; Backchannel: Europe; Backchannel: USSR; Backchannel

### VIP Visits

Brandt Visit, Dec. 1971, Key Biscayne; Brezhnev's US Visit; Presidential Trip (USSR and Europe, June 1974)

## NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

### Meeting Files, Verification Panel Meetings

MBFR, 9/1/70; MBFR, 4/23/71, MBFR, 6/11/71; MBFR, 9/21/71; MBFR, 9/30/71; MBFR, 11/19/71; MBFR, 3/15/73; MBFR, 3/29/73; MBFR, 7/11/73; MBFR Cancelled, 12-27-73; MBFR, 1/7/74; MBFR, 3/14/74

### National Security Council Meetings

NSC Meeting 1/28/70, Europe; NSC Meeting, NATO and MBFR, 11/19/70; NSC Meeting, MBFR, 6/17/71; NSC Meeting, CES/MBFR (NATO Ministerial) 12/1/71; NSC Meeting, MBFR, 4/12/73

### Senior Review Group Meetings

Review Group, NATO Policy, 3/24/69; Review Group, Issues of European Security, 4/16/70; Senior Review Group, US Strategies and Forces for NATO, 8/31/70; Senior Review Group, European Security, 8/31/70; Senior Review Group/VP Meeting, NATO Strategies and Forces; (NSSM 84-92) 10/28/70; Senior Review Group, MBFR, 11/23/70; SRG Meeting, European Security Conf., MBFR, 3/29/72; SRG Meeting, European Security Conference, 11/23/71; SRG Meeting/Joint VP, MBFR/CSCE, 6/29/72; Verification P/SRG Meeting, MBFR/CSCE, 9/20/72; VP/SRG Meeting, MBFR, 10/17/72

### Defense Program Review Committee Meetings

DPRC Meeting, NSDM 95, Forces for NATO, 5-19-71; DPRC Meeting, NSDM 95, 5-24-71

Minutes of Meetings (1969-1974)

Verification Panel Minutes—Originals; NSC Minutes—Originals; SRG Minutes—Originals

### Study Memoranda (1969-1974)

NSSM 83, NSSM 89, NSSM 92, NSSM 138, NSSM 164, NSSM 168

## Policy Papers (1969-1974)

National Security Decision Memoranda: NSDM 116, NSDM 134, NSDM 142, NSDM 153, NSDM 163

Henry A. Kissinger Telephone Conversations

White House Central Files  
 President's Daily Diary

White House Special Files  
 President's Office File

Presidential Tape Recordings

### **Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan**

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)  
 NSDM/NSSM Originals

National Security Adviser  
 NSC Meetings Files  
 Presidential Agency File, 1974–77  
 ACDA, Department of Defense, NATO

President's Trip Files  
 November 1974, Japan, Korea, and USSR; July 9–12, 1975, Europe

Trip Briefing Books and Cables for Henry Kissinger, 1974–76  
 Europe, South Asia, and Middle East (10/20–11/9/74); Brussels (12/10–13/74)  
 London and Middle East, March 5–22, 1975; Europe and Middle East, May  
 18–23; Europe, May 26–June 3, 1975; Europe, July 9–12, 1975; Ottawa, October  
 14–15, 1975; Europe, December 10–17, 1975; Moscow, Brussels, Madrid, January  
 20–25, 1976

Trip Briefing Books and Cables for President Ford, 1974–76  
 Presidential Trip Files  
 November 1974; Vladivostok;  
 May 28–June 3, 1975: Europe;  
 July 26–August 4, 1975: Europe; CSCE; Helsinki

NSC Staff for Europe, Canada and Ocean Affairs, Convenience Files, 1974–77  
 General Subject File

CSCE; Europe, 1974–76; HAK European Trip; MBFR; NSSMS, 1974, 1976; NATO  
 Ford Trips File: Vladivostok Summit (1974), European Trip: NATO (May–June  
 1975), European Trip: CSCE, Visits by Foreign Leaders

Presidential Subject Files, 1974–77  
 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; MBFR

Presidential Agency Files  
 Presidential Country Files for Europe and Canada, 1974–77

Country Files: Europe—General, Belgium—State Dept. Telegrams, Germany, USSR  
 Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions, 1974–76

USSR Memcons and Reports

Backchannel Messages: Europe

Memoranda of Conversation

Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, 1969–77

General Subject File: USSR—"D" File (Dobrynin); USSR—Gromyko Files;  
 Dobrynin/Kissinger Telcons; West Germany, Egon Bahr, Correspondence

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NSC Program Analysis Staff

MBFR/Measures Agreement Subseries, Verification Panel Subseries, Jan Lodal Convenience Files, Steve Hadley MBFR Files

Melvin Laird Papers

### **Library of Congress, Washington, DC**

Papers of Henry A. Kissinger

Miscellany, 1968–1976, Record of Schedule

Memoranda of Conversation, Chronological File

Geopolitical Files: Soviet Union; Dobrynin, Anatoliy, Background Papers (Talkers); France, Chronological File; Great Britain, Chronological File; Year of Europe, Memoranda of Conversation

Department of State: Eagleburger, Lawrence S.; Memoranda of Conversation Presidential File, Memoranda of Conversation

Telephone Conversations, Jan. 1969–Sept. 1973

### **Central Intelligence Agency**

National Intelligence Council Files, Job 79R01012A

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

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

OSD Files: FRC 330–77–003

MBFR Files, 1973–74

OSD Files: FRC 330–75–103

Top Secret files from the immediate office of the Secretary of Defense, 1969

OSD Files: FRC 330–75–089

Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1969

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–067

Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1970

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–076

Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1970

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–207

Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1971

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–197

Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1971

OSD Files: FRC 330–77–0094

Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1972



OSD Files: FRC 330-77-0095

Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1972

OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0001

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OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0002

Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1973

OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0011

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OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0059

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OSD Files: FRC 330-79-049

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OSD Files: FRC 330-77-050

Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1976

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 72 A 6308

Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1969

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 72 A 6309

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OASD/ISA Files: FRC 73 A 1975

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OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330-78-0038

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OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330-78-0092

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OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330-79-037

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