

Sources

Sources for the Foreign Relations Series

The *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 further 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. Many of the sources consulted in the preparation of this volume have been declassified and are available for review at the National Archives and Records Administration.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series have complete access to all the retired records and papers of the Department of State: the central files of the Department; the special decentralized files (“lot files”) of the Department at the bureau, office, and division levels; the files of the Department’s Executive Secretariat, which contain the records of international conferences and high-level official visits, correspondence with foreign leaders by the President and Secretary of State, and memoranda of conversations between the President and Secretary of State and foreign officials; and the files of overseas diplomatic posts. All the Department’s indexed central files through July 1973 have been permanently transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland (Archives II). Many of the Department’s decentralized office (or lot) files covering the 1969–1976 period, which the National Archives deems worthy of permanent retention, have been transferred or are in the process of being transferred from the Department’s custody to Archives II.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series also have full access to the papers of President Nixon and other White House foreign policy records, including tape recordings of conversations with key U.S. and foreign officials. Presidential papers maintained and preserved at the Presidential libraries and the Nixon Presidential Materials Project at Archives II include some of the most significant foreign affairs-related documentation from the Department of State and other Federal agencies including the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Access to the Nixon White House tape recordings is governed by the terms of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act (P.L. 93–526; 88 Stat. 1695) and an access agreement with the Office of

Presidential Libraries of the National Archives and Records Administration and the Nixon Estate. In February 1971 President Nixon initiated a voice activated taping system in the Oval Office of the White House and, subsequently, in the President's Office in the Executive Office Building, Camp David, the Cabinet Room, and White House and Camp David telephones. The audiotapes include conversations of President Nixon with his Assistant for National Security Affairs Henry Kissinger, other White House aides, Secretary of State Rogers, other Cabinet officers, members of Congress, and key foreign officials. The clarity of the voices on the tape recordings is often very poor, but the editors make every effort to try to verify the accuracy of the conversations. Readers are urged to consult the recordings for a full appreciation of those aspects of the discussions that cannot be fully captured in a transcription, such as the speakers' inflections and emphases that may convey nuances of meaning, as well as the larger context of the discussion.

Research for this volume was completed through special access to restricted documents at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. While all the material printed in this volume has been declassified, some of it is extracted from still-classified documents. The Nixon Presidential Materials Staff is processing and declassifying many of the documents used in this volume, but they may not be available in their entirety at the time of publication.

Sources for Foreign Relations, 1969–1976, Volume XI

In preparing this volume, the editor made extensive use of Presidential papers and other White House records at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, which proved to be the richest collection bearing on the Nixon administration's management of the crisis in South Asia. The bulk of the foreign policy records at the Nixon Project are in the National Security Council Files. Within the National Security Council Files, the Country Files, the files created for the Indo-Pak crisis, the Backchannel Files, the Kissinger Office Files, and the President's Daily Briefing Files proved to be of particular value. The Backchannel Files were especially important as containing the private channel of communication between Kissinger and Ambassador Farland in Pakistan. The Subject Files were also valuable and include memoranda from Kissinger to Nixon as well as memoranda of conversation involving Kissinger and the President. The President's Trip Files contain the important memoranda of Kissinger's conversations with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. The National Security Council Institutional Files (H-Files) are a fundamental source for the policy process and for crisis management. The White House Special Files contain the President's Office Files and a number of important Staff Member and Office Files. The editor also made use of the White House tape record-

ings, which are of central importance to an understanding of the management of the crisis by Nixon and Kissinger. Extensive extracts from the tape recordings are printed in editorial notes in the volume and the full transcripts will be published in *Foreign Relations, 1969–1976*, volume E-7, Documents on South Asia, 1969–1972.

Second in importance to the records in the Nixon Presidential Materials Project are the records of the Department of State. The Department's Central Files contain cable traffic that illuminated the crisis as it developed and was the channel for instructions dealing with such issues as assistance for the Bengali refugees that flooded into India from East Pakistan and contacts with representatives of the Awami League. The lot files of the Department were also important, particularly the files of Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco that contain the only record found of a meeting of the NSC crisis management group, the Washington Special Actions Group.

The Kissinger Papers at the Library of Congress in large measure replicate documentation found in other collections. In the Geopolitical File, the file on Memoranda to the President, and the Presidential File, the editor did find some important documentation unique to the collection. The collection also contains the records of Kissinger's telephone conversations. Boxes 359–375 contain a chronological file of transcripts of conversations covering the period 1969–1972. Boxes 394–395 comprise the Dobrynin file of telephone conversations, including Kissinger's conversations with Ambassador Dobrynin and Chargé Vorontsov. Boxes 396–397 contain transcripts of conversations recorded at Kissinger's residence. The entire collection is invaluable for the light it sheds not only on the crisis in South Asia but also on the full range of foreign policy issues dealt with by the Nixon administration. Copies of the Kissinger telephone conversations are now open at the National Archives and are part of the Nixon Presidential Materials.

The editor also had access to the files of the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. The files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs were valuable for the issue of military assistance to India and Pakistan. The files of the Central Intelligence Agency, particularly the NIC Registry of NIE and SNIE Files and the DCI (Helms) Files, were essential for the intelligence reports and assessments on which the Nixon administration based its policy judgments.

Almost all of this documentation has been made available for use in the *Foreign Relations* series thanks to the consent of the agencies mentioned, the assistance of their staffs, and especially the cooperation and support of the National Archives and Records Administration. In

addition, John H. Taylor, Executive Director of the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace Foundation, facilitated access to relevant tape recordings of the Nixon White House.

The following list identifies the particular files and collections used in the preparation of this volume. The declassification and transfer to the National Archives of the Department of State records is in process, and many of these records are already available for public review at the National Archives.

Unpublished Sources

Department of State

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

Lot Files. For other 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 1970s, 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

Central Files

AGR 15 PAK: food supply, Pakistan
AV 2 INDIA: general aviation reports and statistics, India
AV 12 INDIA: aircraft and aeronautical equipment, India
AID 9 INDIA: loans for economic development, India
AID 9 PAK: loans for economic development, Pakistan
AID (US) INDIA: general policy, U.S. aid to India
AID (US) PAK: general policy, U.S. aid to Pakistan
AID (US) 9 INDIA: U.S. loans to India for economic development
AID (US) 15 PAK: PL-480, Food for Peace program, Pakistan
AID (US) 15-8 PAK: commodity sales for foreign currency, Pakistan
AID (US) 15-8 PAK: PL-480 Title I commodity sales, Pakistan
DEF PAK-US: defense affairs, Pakistan-United States
DEF 1-1 ASIA SE: contingency military planning, Southeast Asia
DEF 7 PAK-US: military visits and missions, Pakistan-United States
DEF 12-5 ASIA SE: procurement and sale of armaments, Southeast Asia
DEF 12-5 INDIA: procurement and sale of armaments, India
DEF 12-5 PAK: procurement and sale of armaments, Pakistan
DEF 15 PAK-US: bases and installations, Pakistan-United States
DEF 15-10 PAK-US: establishment, construction, and termination of bases and installations, Pakistan-United States
DEF 18-8 INDIA: testing and detection of nuclear explosions, India
DEF 21 PAK: military communications, Pakistan

E 8 PAK: economic conditions, Pakistan
 FT 18-1 INDIA-US: licenses for foreign trade, India-United States
 LEG 7 FRELINGHAUSEN: legislative visits, Peter Frelinghausen
 ORG 7 S: organization and administration, visits by Secretary Rogers
 ORG 7 S/NM: organization and administration, visits by the Secretary's Coordinator for International Narcotics Affairs
 ORG 7 U: organization and administration, visits by the Under Secretary of State
 POL AFG-PAK: political affairs and relations, Afghanistan-Pakistan
 POL CHICOM-US: political affairs and relations, People's Republic of China-United States
 POL INDIA-PAK: political affairs and relations, India-Pakistan
 POL INDIA-US: political affairs and relations, India-United States
 POL PAK: political affairs and relations, Pakistan
 POL PAK-US: political affairs and relations, Pakistan-United States
 POL 1 INDIA-US: general policy, India-United States
 POL 1 PAK-US: general policy, Pakistan-United States
 POL 1 ASIA SE-US: general policy, Southeast Asia-United States
 POL 1-1 INDIA-PAK: contingency planning, India-Pakistan
 POL 7 INDIA: visits and meetings with Indian leaders
 POL 7 PAK: visits and meetings with Pakistani leaders
 POL 7 US/AGNEW: visits and meetings, Vice President Agnew
 POL 7 US/CONNALLY: visits and meetings, John Connally
 POL 7 US/KISSINGER: visits and meetings, Henry Kissinger
 POL 12 INDIA: political parties, India
 POL 12 PAK: political parties, Pakistan
 POL 14 INDIA: Indian elections
 POL 14 PAK: Pakistani elections
 POL 15 PAK: government, Pakistan
 POL 15-1 INDIA: Indian head of state
 POL 15-1 PAK: Pakistan head of state
 POL 15-1 US/NIXON: United States head of state
 POL 15-2 PAK: legislature, Pakistan
 POL 15-5 PAK: constitution, Pakistan
 POL 17 PAK/US: diplomatic and consular representation, Pakistan-United States
 POL 18 PAK: provincial, municipal, and state government, Pakistan
 POL 21 INDIA-USSR: peace and non-aggression, India-USSR
 POL 23-8 PAK: demonstrations, riots, and protests, Pakistan
 POL 23-9: rebellion and coups
 POL 23-9 PAK: rebellion and coups, Pakistan
 POL 27 INDIA-PAK: military operations, India-Pakistan
 POL 27-14 INDIA-PAK: truce, ceasefire, and armistice, India-Pakistan
 POL 27-14 INDIA-PAK/UN: truce, ceasefire, and armistice, India, Pakistan, and the UN
 POL 29 PAK: political prisoners, Pakistan
 POL 32-1 INDIA-PAK: India-Pakistan border disputes
 PR 11-3: press conferences and interviews
 REF PAK: refugees and migration, Pakistan
 SOC 10 PAK: disasters and disaster relief, Pakistan
 SOC 11-5 INDIA: traffic in narcotics, India
 SOC 11-5 PAK: traffic in narcotics, Pakistan

Lot Files

NEA Files: Lot 73 D 69

Subject files of Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco for 1970-1971, maintained by the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

XVI Sources

NEA Files: Lot 73 D 376

Country and special files of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Rodger Davies, 1967–1971, maintained by the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INC Files: Lot 77 D 51

Country Director's miscellaneous subject files, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Ceylon Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 73 D 377

India political subject files for 1969–1970, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 74 D 17

India political files for 1970, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 74 D 444

India economic files for 1971–1972, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 74 D 446

Bangladesh refugee files for 1971–1972, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 76 D 30

India political and defense files for 1971, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 77 D 51

Country Director's miscellaneous subject files, 1969–1971, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/INS Files: Lot 78 D 60

Country Director's files, 1963–1974, maintained by the Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 74 D 179

East Pakistan/Bangladesh political files for 1971, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 74 D 191

Pakistan subject files for 1970, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 74 D 214

Pakistan economic files for 1970, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 77 D 91

Pakistan subject files for 1971, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 77 D 285

Pakistan economic files for 1971, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

NEA/PAB Files: Lot 78 D 98

Pakistan military subject files for 1971, 1972, 1974, and 1975, maintained by the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

Nixon Presidential Materials Project

National Security Council Files

Backchannel Files

Briefing Books for HAK's SEA and PRC trips

Country Files: USSR, South Asia, India, India/Pakistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh

Haig Chronological File

Kissinger Office Files

Indo-Pak Crisis Files

Indo-Pak War Files

NSC Unfiled Material

Presidential Correspondence

Presidential/HAK Memcons

President's Daily Briefing Files

President's File—China Trip

President's Trip Files

Saunders Files

Subject Files

Items to Discuss with the President

HAK/Richardson Meetings

National Security Study Memoranda

Presidential Determinations

President/Kissinger Memos

VIP Visits

National Security Council Institutional Files (H-Files)

White House Special Files

President's Office Files

Staff Member and Office Files

H. R. Haldeman, Haldeman Diaries

Helmut Sonnenfelt

White House Central Files

Staff Members and Office Files, Office of Presidential Papers and Archives, Daily Diary

White House Tapes

National Security Council

Intelligence Files

Central Intelligence Agency

DCI (Helms) Files, intergovernmental files, Job 80–B01086A

DCI (Helms) Files, geographic and subject files, Job 80–M01048A

DCI (Helms) Files, miscellaneous files, 1966–1972, Job 80–B01285A

Deputy Director for Plans Files, 1971, Job 79–480A

NIC Registry of NIE and SNIE Files, Job 79–R01012A

Office of the Deputy Director for Plans Files, 1969, Job 79–01229A

Office of the Deputy Director for Plans Files, 1970, Job 79–01440A

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland

Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense

OSD Files: FRC 330 74 142

Top Secret files from the immediate office of the Secretary of Defense, 1969–1972

OSD Files: FRC 330 76 0028

Chronological files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1958–1973

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 76 197

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 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

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 73 A 1975

Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1970

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330 74 083

Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1971

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330 74 115

Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1971

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Manuscript Division

Kissinger Papers

Richardson Papers

Published Sources

Documentary Collections

Sheelendra K. Singh, et al, eds. *Bangladesh Documents*, Volume I (Madras: B.N.K. Press, 1971).

U.S. Department of Defense, *Public Statements of Secretary of Defense Laird*, 1971 (Washington, D.C., 1972)

U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin*, 1969–1972.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973).

Memoirs

Kissinger, Henry A. *White House Years*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979.