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
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
XIV Sources

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

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 Contl., 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

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

  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
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
XVIII Sources

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

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
   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 330–78–0002
   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
   Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1974

OSD Files: FRC 330–78–0010
   Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1974

OSD Files: FRC 330–78–0058
   Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1975

OSD Files: FRC 330–78–0059
   Top Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1975

OSD Files: FRC 330–79–049
   Secret files of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1976

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

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
XX Sources

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–75–125
  Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1972

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–75–155
  Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1972

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–76–0117
  Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1973

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–76–0187
  Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1973

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–77–0054
  Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1974

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–77–0063
  Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1974

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–78–0038
  Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1975

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–78–0092
  Top Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1975

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–79–037
  Secret files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1976

Published Sources


