

# 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. Most 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. A few collections, mostly relating to intelligence matters or Henry Kissinger's Papers at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, remain closed to the public. They were available to the editors of this volume and the documents chosen for publication have been declassified.

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 December 1976 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. 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. Dr. Henry Kissinger has approved access to his papers at the Library of Congress.

Research for this volume was completed through special access to restricted documents at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, the Library of Congress, and other agencies. 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 XL*

In preparing this volume, the editor thoroughly mined the Presidential papers and other White House records from the Nixon Presidential Materials Project at the National Archives. This collection proved the most valuable source of documentation on the Nixon administration's conduct of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of the most important records for this volume were found in the Project's National Security Council Files, in particular, the Country Files on Germany and Berlin. These files document basic day-to-day decision-making within the White House and National Security Council staff, including Kissinger's memoranda to the President on Willy Brandt, *Ostpolitik*, and the quadripartite negotiations on Berlin. Important documentation was also located in the files covering the President's contacts, both in person and in writing, with his West German counterparts. Throughout six and a half years in office, Nixon visited Germany only once, in February 1969, during his first trip abroad, an eight-day tour of Europe. Although materials on the visit were found in the President's Trip Files, the memoranda of his conversations with German leaders are in the Name Files for Helmut Sonnenfeldt. Most of the records on the trips to the United States by Chancellors Kiesinger and Brandt are located in the VIP Visits File. Memoranda of conversation from Kiesinger's visit to Washington in August 1969 and from Brandt's visit to Key Biscayne in December 1971, however, are filed, respectively, in the Memoranda of Conversations in the Kissinger Papers at the Library of Congress, and in the Memoranda for the President in the President's Office Files of the White House Special Files at the Nixon Project. Most of the correspondence exchanged between the President and the West German Chancellor are contained in the Presidential Correspondence File of the Project's National Security Council Files. The formal policy-making process on Germany and Berlin is documented in the Project's National Security Council Institutional Files (H-Files). These files contain minutes, memoranda, and related documentation on the deliberations of the National Security Council itself, the Senior Review Group, the Washington Special Actions Group,

and other interagency committees; also included are records relating to National Security Council Study and Decision Memoranda (NSSMs and NSDMs), as well as similar decision-making documents.

Rather than rely on formal decision papers, Nixon and Kissinger made many decisions on Germany and Berlin outside normal bureaucratic channels, in particular, through a series of one-on-one meetings and telephone conversations. The editor, therefore, made extensive use of two crucial sources at the Nixon Project: the Nixon White House Tape Recordings and the Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts. The Haldeman Diaries—including the book, the CD-ROM, and handwritten notes (Staff Member and Office Files)—were useful in further revealing the President's thinking on foreign policy, including Germany and Berlin. The White House also implemented its German policy through more informal means, in particular, by practicing "backchannel" diplomacy. In his efforts to negotiate an agreement on Berlin, Kissinger established direct contact in Washington with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and in Bonn with U.S. Ambassador Rush and West German State Secretary Bahr. The conversations and messages exchanged in these channels were especially sensitive at the time and were thus held "outside the system" normally used for NSC documents. The principal source for the "confidential channel" between Kissinger and Dobrynin is the so-called "D-File," a collection maintained, somewhat incongruously, within the President's Trip Files (apparently relocated there in preparation for the Moscow summit in May 1972). The D-File includes memoranda of conversation and correspondence exchanged, documenting dialogue at a high level between the United States and the Soviet Union on a wide range of global and bilateral issues, including Berlin. The principal source for Kissinger's "special channel" with Rush and Bahr is in the Country Files for Europe in Kissinger's Office Files. There are, however, two notable exceptions. Rush's personal folder of his "special channel" correspondence with Kissinger is in an Embassy post file, 72 F 81; and the messages Kissinger exchanged with Bahr in 1972 are filed at the Ford Library in the Kissinger and Scowcroft West Wing Office Files of the National Security Adviser Files.

The White House used "backchannel" diplomacy to exclude the Department of State from decision-making on Berlin, especially during the final eight months of quadripartite negotiations. Throughout the Nixon administration, the Department, nonetheless, played an important role on Germany and Berlin, both in the formulation and implementation of policy. This role is well reflected in the Department's records, including the central and lot files accessioned and maintained at the National Archives. A number of records in the central files' subject-numeric system are useful, including those filed under POL GER E-GER W (relations between East and West Germany) and POL GER W-US (relations between West Germany and the United States). Many

of the telegrams exchanged between the Department and the Embassy in Bonn and the Mission in Berlin on the quadripartite negotiations were filed under POL 28 GER B, i.e., indicating records relating to the government of West Berlin. Other relevant telegrams and documents are located under POL 38, a nondescript yet special file designated for documents on quadripartite authority in Berlin, including air and ground access to the city. Several retired office, or lot, files are especially useful for evidence on the politics behind the policies, often in the form of official-informal correspondence exchanged between the Department in Washington and the Embassy in Bonn. Among the most valuable lot files in this regard are those originated by the Office of Central European Affairs (80 D 225 and 91 D 341), Kenneth Rush (74 D 430), and, in particular, Jonathan Dean (85 D 330).

The Kissinger Papers at the Library of Congress largely replicate documentation found in other collections. Since this volume was compiled, copies of the most important source—the Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts—have been deposited at the Nixon Project at the National Archives. Although the citations in this volume refer to Kissinger Papers, copies of the transcripts as organized in the original collection are available to the public at the National Archives.

The editor also had access to the records of the Nixon Intelligence Files at the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of Defense. The files of the Central Intelligence Agency, particularly the NIC Registry of NIE and SNIE, were essential for intelligence reports and assessments on which the Nixon administration based its policy decisions.

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.** See National Archives and Records Administration below.

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

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

##### *Central Files*

DEF 18–6, arms control and disarmament: control measures  
DEF 1 EUR, military plans and policy toward Europe

- DEF 6 GER W, armed forces, West Germany  
 FN 12 GER W, balance of payments with West Germany  
 NATO 3, North Atlantic Treaty Organization meetings  
 ORG 7 S, trips by the Secretary of State  
 POL 27–14 ARAB–ISR, Arab-Israeli truce, ceasefire  
 POL 1 EUR E–EUR W, general policy and background concerning Eastern European–Western European relations  
 POL 1 EUR E–GER W, general policy and background concerning Eastern European–West German relations  
 POL 28 GER B, government of Berlin  
 POL 15–1 GER E, head of state, executive branch in East Germany  
 POL 16 GER E, diplomatic recognition, East Germany  
 POL GER E–GER W, political affairs and relations between East and West Germany  
 POL GER E–US, political affairs and relations between East Germany and the United States  
 POL 1 GER E–US, general policy and background concerning East Germany and the United States  
 POL GER W, political affairs, West Germany  
 POL GER W–POL, political affairs and relations between West Germany and Poland  
 POL GER W–US, political affairs and relations between West Germany and the United States  
 POL GER W–USSR, political affairs and relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union  
 POL 7 GER W, visits and meetings concerning West Germany  
 POL 12 GER W, political parties, West Germany  
 POL 12–3 GER W, West German political parties, party meetings and conferences  
 POL 12–6 GER W, West German political parties, meetings with party leaders  
 POL 14 GER W, elections in West Germany  
 POL 15 GER W, West German government  
 POL 15–1 GER W, head of state, executive branch in West Germany  
 POL 15–2 GER W, West German legislature (Bundestag)  
 POL 32–3 GER–POL, partition of territory between Germany and Poland  
 POL 32–4 GER, unification of German territories  
 POL 7 US, visits and meetings concerning the United States  
 POL 17 US–GER W, U.S. diplomatic and consular representation in West Germany  
 POL US–USSR, political affairs and relations between the United States and the Soviet Union  
 POL 17 USSR–GER B, Soviet diplomatic and consular representation in Berlin  
 POL 17 USSR–GER E, Soviet diplomatic and consular representation in East Germany  
 POL 17 USSR–GER W, Soviet diplomatic and consular representation in West Germany  
 POL 38, quadripartite organizations on Berlin  
 POL 38–6, quadripartite organizations on access to Berlin  
 POL 38–9, quadripartite organizations on air access to Berlin  
 POL 38–10, quadripartite organizations on ground access to Berlin  
 UN 6 GER W, UN membership, West Germany

*Lot Files*

## Conference Files: Lot 70 D 387

Executive Secretariat, international conference “follow-up” files, January 1969–February 1970

## Conference Files: Lot 73 D 323

Executive Secretariat, conference files, 1971–1972

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### EUR Files: Lot 74 D 430

Personal Records of Kenneth Rush, Ambassador to West Germany, including political subject files

### EUR/CE Files: Lot 80 D 225

Office of Central European Affairs, Bureau for European Affairs, files on Berlin quadripartite negotiations, 1970–1972

### EUR/CE Files: Lot 85 D 330

Records of Jonathan Dean, Political Counselor at the Embassy in Bonn, on Ostpolitik and Berlin, 1969–1972

### EUR/CE Files: Lot 91 D 341

Berlin Desk, Office of Central European Affairs, Bureau for European Affairs, political subject files on the Berlin quadripartite negotiations, 1969–1971

### S/S Files: Lot 73 D 443)

Official and personal files of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, including correspondence, speeches, statements, and chronological and alphabetical files, 1969–1973

### S/S Files: Lot 74 D 164

Executive Secretariat, miscellaneous files, including President's Evening Reading (State Department Activities Report), 1964–1973; luncheon meetings between the President and Secretary, 1964–1969; and memoranda to the White House, 1965–1969

### S/S Files: Lot 75 D 229

Records of Richard F. Pedersen, Counselor for the Department of State (1969–1973), including chronological files

### S/S Files: Lot 80 D 212

Executive Secretariat National Security Files: National Security Study Memoranda and related papers, 1969–1980

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

Executive Secretariat, National Security Council and Under Secretary Committee, miscellaneous files, 1969–1977

### S/S Files: Lot 82 D 307

Files of Walter J. Stoessel, 1959–1982, including telegrams, memoranda of conversation and other documents from his tenure as Ambassador to Poland (1968–1972)

### *Post Files*

### Bonn Post Files: Lot 72 F 81

Files of Ambassador Kenneth Rush on negotiations for a quadripartite agreement on Berlin and other political issues in U.S.-West German relations, 1969–1972

## **Nixon Presidential Materials**

### National Security Council Files

President's Daily Briefs

Agency Files

- Department of State
- NATO
- USUN
- Backchannel Files
  - Backchannel Messages: Europe, Mideast, Latin America
- Country Files
  - Europe: East Germany, Germany, Germany (Berlin), Germany (Bonn), Poland, USSR
- Haig Chron File
- Name Files
- NSC Secretariat
  - NSC Unfiled Material
- Presidential Correspondence File
  - Germany: Chancellor Kiesinger, Chancellor Brandt, USSR
- Presidential/HAK Memcons
- President's Trip Files
  - Dobrynin/Kissinger
  - The President's Conversations in Salzburg, Moscow, Tehran, and Warsaw
- Subject Files
  - HAK/President Memorandums
  - HAK/Irwin Meetings
  - HAK/Richardson Meetings
  - National Security Decision Memoranda
  - National Security Study Memoranda
  - Non-Proliferation Treaty
  - USSR Memcons
- VIP Visits
  - Chancellor Brandt Visits
- Henry A. Kissinger Office Files
  - HAK Administrative & Staff Files
    - Germany
  - HAK Trip Files
  - Country Files
    - Europe: Berlin and European Security; Ambassador Rush, Berlin; Egon Bahr, Berlin File; Bahr/Rush—Back-up; UK; USSR
  - Agency Files
    - State/WH Relationship
- National Security Council Historical Files
  - Minutes File
    - NSC Minutes
    - SRG Minutes
    - WSAG Minutes
  - NSC Meetings File
  - NSC Review Group Meetings File

## XVIII Sources

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SRG Meetings File

NSDM Files

NSDM 91

NSDM 106

NSSM Files

NSSM 111

NSSM 136

NSSM 146

White House Central Files

Staff Member and Office Files

H.R. Haldeman

Office of Presidential Papers and Archives: President's Daily Diary

Subject File

Confidential File

White House Special Files

President's Office Files

Annotated News Summaries

Memoranda for the President

White House Tapes

Executive Office Building

Camp David Hard Wire

Oval Office

White House Telephone

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

Papers of Henry A. Kissinger

Chronological File, 1969–1975

Geopolitical File, 1964–78

Soviet Union: Dobrynin, Chronological File ("D" File)

Top Secret Chronological File, 1969–1975

Memoranda of Conversations

Memoranda to the President, 1969–1974

Miscellany, 1968–1976

Record of Schedule

National Security Council, 1969–77

Meetings, Staff, 1969–71

Washington Special Actions Group

Telephone Records, 1969–1976

Telephone Conversations, Chronological File

Dobrynin, Anatoly Fedorovich

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

Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ISA)



OSD Files: FRC 74 0045

Chronological Files for the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1969–1973, Top Secret

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

National Security Adviser Files

Kissinger and Scowcroft West Wing Office Files

West Germany—Egon Bahr Communications

### **Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut**

Manuscripts and Archives

Dean Acheson Papers

### **Personal Papers of William P. Rogers**

Appointment Books

## **Documentary Collections and Memoirs**

*Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1969.* 2 Vols. Edited by Franz Eibl and Hubert Zimmermann. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000.

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