Sources

Sources for the Foreign Relations Series

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 leads by the President and Secretary of State, and the memoranda of conversations between the President and the Secretary of State and foreign officials; and the files of overseas diplomatic posts. All of the Department's indexed central files for 1969-1972 have been permanently transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II) at College Park, Maryland. Almost all the Department's decentralized office (or lot) files covering this 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 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.

Department of State historians also have full access to records of the Department of Defense, particularly the records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretaries of Defense and their major assistants. The Central Intelligence Agency has provided full access to its files.

Sources for Foreign Relations, 1969–1976, Volume XXIV

In preparing this volume the editors made extensive use of Presidential papers and other White House records held by the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. Those have proved to be the best source of documentation on President Nixon's and the National Security Council's role in the Middle East. Within the National Security Files, the Country Files, the files of Harold Saunders, the Institutional (or H-Files), Presidential Correspondence files, and VIP visits files, were particularly valuable. Of these, the H-Files were most significant, providing documentation from the highest levels of White House and National Security Council policy formation and decision making. Transcripts of Henry Kissinger's telephone conversations, originally at the Library of Congress and now at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, were also valuable.

Thanks to the Nixon Presidential Materials Staff, Department of State historians have full access to the audiotapes of President Nixon's telephone conversations. The editor of the portion of this volume pertaining to Middle East and Indian Ocean regional affairs and relations with Persian Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, found almost no tapes that dealt substantively with those issues. One tape is used in a footnote to a memorandum of conversation between Rogers and Nixon after Rogers's trip to the Middle East.

Second in importance to the records held by the Nixon Presidential Materials Staff were the records of the Department of State. The Department's central files contain the cable traffic recording U.S. diplomatic relations with the countries of the Middle East, memoranda of diplomatic conversations, and memoranda proposing action or providing information. For this volume, the lot files provided some value.

The Central Intelligence Agency provides access to Department of State historians to high-level intelligence documents from those records in the custody of that agency and at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. This access is arranged and facilitated by the History Staff of the Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, pursuant to a May 2002 memorandum of understanding. Among the intelligence records reviewed for the volume were files of the Director and Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, the CIA Registry of National Intelligence Estimates and Special National Intelligence Estimates, DCI Executive Registry Files, Files of the Office of Research and Reports, and Files of the Office of Current Intelligence.

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.

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 these records is in process. Most of the 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, including records of the 303 Committee, from the 1950s 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

AID(IRAN) YEMEN, bilateral aid relations between Iran and Yemen AID(US) 8-7 SAUD, bilateral aid relations in the area of public safety, U.S.-Saudi Arabia AV 12, aircraft and aeronautical equipment AV 12 US, aircraft and aeronautical equipment CENTO 3, organization and conferences of the alliance CENTO 3 US(WA), U.S. role in the organization and conferences of the alliance CENTO 6-2 PAK, naval defense affairs pertaining to Pakistan's role in the alliance DEF 15-4 BAHRAIN-US, negotiation on agreements and base leases DEF 4 CENTO, multilateral agreements and organization of the alliance DEF 12-5 FAA, procurement and sale of armaments DEF 15 IND-UK, bases and installations, Indian Ocean DEF 15 IND-US, bases and installations, Indian Ocean DEF 19 IRAN-YEMEN, military assistance, Yemen DEF 12-5 ISR, procurement and sale of armaments, Israel DEF 12-5 JORDAN, procurement and sale of armaments, Jordan DEF 1 KUW, general defense policy, Kuwait DEF 6 KUW, armed forces, Kuwait DEF 12 KUW, armaments, Kuwait DEF 12-5 KUW, procurement and sale of armaments, Kuwait DEF 1 NEAR E, general defense policy, the Near East DEF 12-5 NEAR E, procurement and sale of armaments, the Near East DEF 1 SAUD, general defense policy, Saudi Arabia DEF 6-2 SAUD, navy, Saudi Arabia DEF 6-4 SAUD, military and reserves, Saudi Arabia DEF 12-5 SAUD, procurement and sale of armaments, Saudi Arabia DEF 19-6 SYEMEN, communist bloc assistance, South Yemen DEF 6 TRUCIAL STATES, armed forces, the Trucial States DEF 12-5 UAE, procurement and sale of armaments, United Arab Emirates DEF 19-8 US-SAUD, military assistance, Saudi Arabia DEF 19-8 US-YEMEN, military assistance, Yemen E 2-4 SAUD, economic growth and development issues in Saudi Arabia ORG 7 S, organization and administration, visits of the Secretary of State PET SAUD, general petroleum issues, Saudi Arabia PET 6 SAUD, refineries, Saudi Arabia PET 17 SAUD, Saudi trade in oil, including communist penetration of petroleum market PET 1 SAUD-US, general policy and plans in the oil industry, Saudi Arabia PET 17 US-SAUD, trade in oil, including communist penetration, U.S.-Saudi Arabia POL 13-6, religious groups POL 23-10, travel control POL 7 ARAB, visits and meetings, Arab world

POL 13-10 ARAB, extremist organizations POL 27 ARAB-ISR, military operations, Arab-Israeli dispute POL 27-4 ARAB-ISR, use of international force, Arab-Israeli dispute POL 7 BAHRAIN IS, visits and meetings, Bahrain POL 16 BAHRAIN IS, independence and recognition, Bahrain POL 19 BAHRAIN IS, government of dependencies and self-determination, Bahrain POL 15-1 CEYLON, heads of state, Ceylon POL CEYLON–US, general policy and trends, Ceylon–U.S. POL 19 FAA, government of dependencies and self-determination, FAA POL 33-6 IND, navigation and the high seas, Indian Ocean POL 27 INDIA-PAK, military operations, India-Pakistan POL IRAN–UAE, general policy and trends, Iran–UAE POL 19 IRAN-YEMEN, government of dependencies and self-determination POL JORDAN–US, general policy and trends POL 23 JORDAN, internal security and counterinsurgency, Jordan POL 23-9 JORDAN, rebellion and coups, Jordan POL 23 KUW, internal security and counterinsurgency, Kuwait POL KUW-US, general policy and trends, Kuwait-U.S. POL 23–9 LIBYA, rebellions and coups, Libya POL 23-9 MUSCAT & OMAN, rebellions and coups, Muscat & Oman POL 1 NEAR E-SAUD, general policy and trends, Near East-Saudi Arabia POL 1 NEAR E-US, general policy and trends, the Near East-U.S. POL NEAR E-USSR, general policy and trends, the Near East-USSR POL 33 PERSIAN GULF, water and boundary issues, Persian Gulf POL 15-1 QATAR, heads of state, Qatar POL 19 RAS AL KHAIMAH, government of dependencies and self-determination POL 7 SAUD, visits and meetings, Saudi Arabia POL 15-1 SAUD, heads of state, Saudi Arabia POL 23 SAUD, internal security and counterinsurgency, Saudi Arabia POL 32–1 SAUD–SYEMEN, territory and boundary disputes, Saudi Arabia–South Yemen POL SAUD-UAE, general policy and trends, Saudi Arabia-UAE POL 32-1 SAUD-UAE, territory and boundary disputes, Saudi Arabia-UAE POL SAUD–US, general trends and policy, Saudi Arabia–U.S. POL SAUD-YEMEN, general trends and policy, Saudi Arabia-Yemen POL 2 SYEMEN, reports and statistics, South Yemen POL 12 SYEMEN, political parties, South Yemen POL 13 SYEMEN, non-party blocs, South Yemen POL 15-1 SYEMEN, head of state, South Yemen POL 23–9 SYEMEN, rebellions and coups, South Yemen POL 33 SYEMEN, water and boundary issues, South Yemen POL SYEMEN–US, general policy and trends POL SYEMEN-YEMEN, general policy and trends POL TRUCIAL ST-US, general policy and trends POL UAE, general policy and trends POL 3 UAE, organizations and alignments POL 7 UAE, visits and meetings POL 16 UAE, independence and recognition POL 23–9 UAE, rebellions and coups POL UAE–US, general policy and trends POL 17 UK-FAA, diplomatic and consular representation POL UK-US, general policy and trends POL 15-1 UK, head of state POL 17 US-KUW, diplomatic and consular representation, U.S.-Kuwait POL 17-1 US-QATAR, acceptability and accreditation

POL US-YEMEN, general policy and trends POL YEMEN, general policy and trends POL 7 YEMEN, visits and meetings POL 15–1 YEMEN, head of state POL 27 YEMEN, military operations PS 7–6 JORDAN, welfare and whereabouts, Jordan SOC 10 JORDAN, disaster and relief, Jordan

RG 218, Records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Papers of Admiral Thomas H. Moorer

Central Intelligence Agency

Files of the Deputy Director of Intelligence, Robert E. Cushman, Jr. (1969–1971), and Vernon Walters (1972–1976): Job 79–T00832A

Files of the Office of the Director of Central Intelligence, Richard M. Helms (1966–1973); Executive Registry Files: Job 80–B01086A

Files of the Office of Research and Reports: Job 79-T00935A and Job 80-T01315A

Files of the Office of Current Intelligence: Job 79-T00832A

Files of the National Intelligence Council: Job 79-R01012A

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland

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

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–0197 Cables and miscellaneous correspondence relating to the Middle East, general

OSD Files: FRC 330–76–067 Cables and miscellaneous correspondence relating to the Indian Ocean, 1970

- OSD Files: FRC 330–76–067 Materials relating to Saudi Arabia, 1970
- OASD Files: FRC 330–75–125 Materials relating to the Indian Ocean, 1972
- OASD Files: FRC 330–4–083 Materials relating to Saudi Arabia, 1971
- OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330–75–0125 Materials relating to Saudi Arabia, and 1972

Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Papers of Henry A. Kissinger
National Security Council, Committees and Panels
Geopolitical File, Jordan Crisis—September 1970, Selected Exchanges
Geopolitical File, Jordan Crisis—September 1970, Notebook, 1970–73

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

National Security Files

Agency Files: Central Treaty Organization and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board Country Files: Ceylon, Iran, Jordan; Kuwait; Middle East General; Saudi Arabia; Trucial States; United Kingdom; Yemen Alexander M. Haig Chronological Files: Memorandum of Conversations Harold Saunders Files: Middle East Negotiations Files; Basic Policy, Middle East; CENTO; Middle East Water; NSSM 90 Kissinger Office Files: Subject and Chronological Files Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts: Chronological Files National Security Council Files: Backchannel Messages, Europe, Middle East, and Latin America; Hijackings

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

Draft National Security Council Minutes

National Security Council Meeting Files

National Security Council Minutes of Meeting Files

National Security Decision Memorandum Files

National Security Study Memorandum Files

Senior Review Group Files

Senior Review Group Meeting Files

Senior Review Group Minutes of Meeting Files

Undersecretary's Study Memorandums

Washington Special Actions Group Meeting Files

Washington Special Actions Group Minutes of Meeting Files

National Security Council Meetings:; Special NSC Meeting, Jordan

National Security Council Secretariat, Unfiled Materials, 1969 through 1972

Presidential Correspondence: King Faisal; Saudi Arabia

President's Trip Files: Nixon Visit to Iran, 1972

VIP Visits: Visit of Prime Minister Heath, 1970; Secretary of State's Visit to the Mid East and European Countries, 1972; Visit of Prince Fahd, 1969; Visit of King Faisal, 1971; Vice President's Trip, 1971

White House Tapes: Staff from the Office of the Historian prepared transcripts from selected tapes

White House Central Files President Nixon's Daily Diary

White House Special Files, White House Confidential Files Muscat & Oman

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- Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. XVI, 1967–1968. London: Keesing's Publications Limited.
- Quandt, William. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab–Israeli Conflict since* 1967. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993.
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- United Nations. Yearbook of the United Nations, 1970–1971. New York: Office of Public Information, United Nations, 1972, 1974.
- United States. Department of State. Department of State *Bulletin*, 1969–1972. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969–1972.
- United States. National Archives and Records Administration. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973.