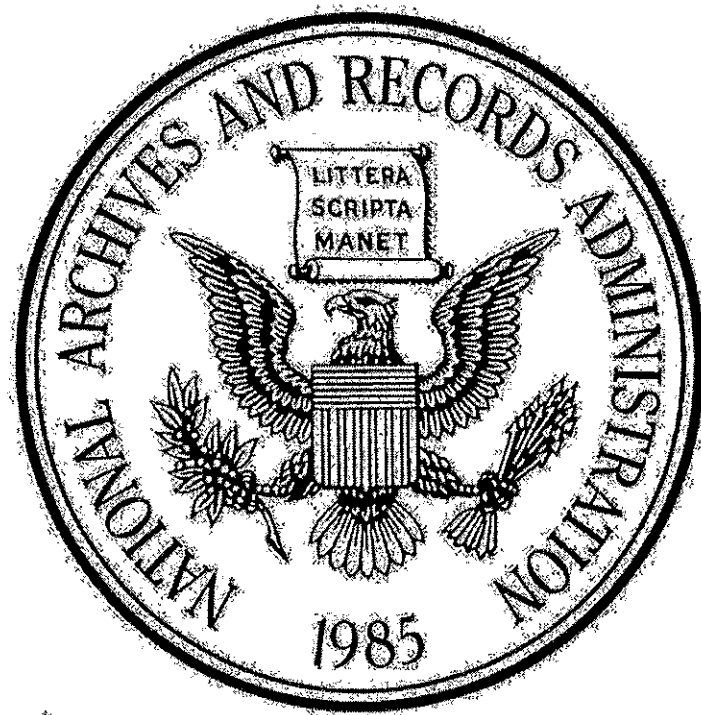


**HENRY A. KISSINGER TELEPHONE
CONVERSATION TRANSCRIPTS (TELCONS)**



**Nixon Presidential Materials Staff
National Archives and Records Administration
May 2004**

HENRY A. KISSINGER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION TRANSCRIPTS (TELCONS)

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The Kissinger telcons, released by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) on May 26, 2004, consist of approximately 20,000 pages (10 cubic feet) of transcripts of Dr. Kissinger's telephone conversations during his tenure as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (1969-74) and Secretary of State (1973-74) during the administration of President Richard Nixon. These telephone calls took place at various locations, including the White House, Department of State, San Clemente, Key Biscayne, Paris, New York, Dr. Kissinger's home, and aboard aircraft. These conversations were recorded between January 21, 1969, and August 8, 1974. The Department of State has a set of Kissinger telcons dating from August 9, 1974, until the end of the Ford Administration in 1977.

1. THE CREATION OF THE KISSINGER TELCONS

The purpose of the telcons was to follow-up on promises that Dr. Kissinger made and understandings he reached. He also incorporated the conversations into memoranda to the President and to other government officials, memoranda of conversations with people to whom he spoke, and other records. As he stated in a television interview in 2003, Dr. Kissinger believed this process was easier than writing thirty to forty memoranda of conversation per day.

Dr. Kissinger's secretaries transcribed his telephone conversations as National Security Adviser and Secretary of State. The original transcripts were never edited at the time they were typed. Initially, secretaries listened in on calls using a "dead key" extension on the phone system and prepared summaries of conversations. This practice was later refined and resulted in verbatim transcripts transcribed from secretarial shorthand notes. While most of the conversations were recorded by secretaries listening in on "dead keys," many conversations were recorded mechanically with tapes that were immediately transcribed and then destroyed, according to Dr. Kissinger's 1999 letter to the editor of *Foreign Affairs*. It is not known what became of the secretarial notes upon which the telcons were based. Nor is it known how the conversations were recorded (e.g., what types of machinery and tapes were used, and whether different types of machines were used for different locations). While it is not usually possible to determine which telcons were prepared from secretaries listening in on a "dead key" and which were prepared from tape recordings, some telcons contain a notation such as "(tape)" or "end of tape." Many telcons contain the initials of the following secretaries, who presumably prepared the transcripts:

MLH—Muriel L. Hartley
LDS—Lora D. Simkus
WGH—Wilma G. Hall
FEG—Florence E. Gwyer

MS—Mary D. Stifflemire
JLJ—Judith L. Johnson
JM—Jane Mossellum
SDD—unknown

Not all of the conversations in this collection are between Dr. Kissinger and another party. Participants other than Dr. Kissinger include Alexander M. Haig, Brent Scowcroft, Col. Richard T. Kennedy, and Lawrence S. Eagleburger.

The telcons are arranged in four series: Chronological file (boxes 1-26), Anatoli Dobrynin file (boxes 27-28), Home file (box 29), and Jordan file (box 30). It is not known why these separate series were created or how they were used. Nor is it known how these files were stored or who was responsible for maintaining them. There are many other unknowns regarding the disposition of these files: who had access to them during the Nixon and Ford administrations; where the original transcripts are currently located; and how many duplicate sets exist. As for the filing system, it is not known if secretaries created multiple copies (e.g., “onion paper” or ribbon copies); how the copies were used and filed; whether copies were disseminated; where the transcripts were kept originally or how they were filed. Some copies of the telcons appear in the National Security Council (NSC) Files at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project and in Department of State records, Record Group 59.

Some of the transcripts have handwritten annotations on them. Who made these annotations, when they were made, and why, is unknown. Some transcripts have blank spaces or underlined blank spaces. Others have a typed notation (e.g., “the rest of the conversation is personal”) indicating that a personal, untranscribed portion follows. In some cases, portions of the telcons were sanitized by Lawrence Eagleburger and others. In these instances, Eagleburger believed it important to redact the names of people in the telcons to protect their privacy. Dr. Kissinger, when editing relevant telcons for publication in *Crisis: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises*, also selectively submitted parts of the transcripts for declassification review. For further explanation about the transcripts that Dr. Kissinger submitted for his book, see PROCESSING THE KISSINGER TELCONS: TELCONS RELATING TO *CRISIS*...below.

Scattered throughout the telcons are transmittal sheets (some of which are marked “Eyes Only”) and administrative notes, such as those about Dr. Kissinger’s schedule that explain chronological gaps.

2. THE DISPOSITION OF THE KISSINGER TELCONS AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Just before leaving government service in 1977, Dr. Kissinger had these telcons, the telcons he generated during the Ford Administration, and other personal records moved from his office at the State Department to a vault at David Rockefeller’s estate in New York. They remained there briefly until they were given to the Library of Congress (LC)

under the terms of a deed of gift with the provision that public access to them be restricted until five years after his death. After that time, the records could be read by the public as long as the individuals with whom Dr. Kissinger was speaking had also died or had approved of their release.

In the late 1970s, a reporter and two organizations sued to gain access to the telcons under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The federal district court and the US court of appeals both ruled that the documents were government records because they were prepared on government time by government employees. These lower courts stated that the State Department telcons should be returned to the State Department and reviewed for release under FOIA. In 1980, the Supreme Court, in *Kissinger v. Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press*, 445 U.S. 136 (1980), reversed the decision, ruling that the FOIA did not apply to the telcons because they were outside of the Executive branch. The Court noted, however, that the Federal Records Act (FRA) provided authority for the Archivist of the United States, the agency head, and the Attorney General to recover improperly removed records. Accordingly, at the National Archives's behest, then Secretary of State Edmund Muskie agreed in 1980 to re-review the telcons at the LC for possible return to State. However, that review never took place. In 2001, Dr. Kissinger, upon request from NARA and the State Department following inquiries from researchers, gave both agencies copies of the transcripts held at LC. NARA photocopied the collection held at LC and began processing it for public release. The State Department is reviewing its collection and will release it at a later time.

3. PROCESSING THE KISSINGER TELCONS

The Nixon Presidential Materials Project (NLNS) archivally processed and reviewed the telcons for public access under the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act (PRMPA) of 1974 and its implementing regulations. The archivists reviewed the telcons according to eight restriction categories defined by the PRMPA regulations, and restricted content if release of the information would:

- violate a Federal statute or agency policy (restriction category "A")
- reveal national security information (restriction category "B")
- violate an individual's rights (pending) (restriction category "C")
- constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy or libel of a living person (restriction category "D")
- disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information (restriction category "E")
- disclose investigatory/law enforcement information (restriction category "F")
- disclose purely private and personal information, or deals strictly with politics, as defined by the PRMPA (restriction category "G")
- disclose non-historical material (restriction category "H").

If the telcon did not violate any of the above restriction categories, and if it contained information that pertained to Dr. Kissinger's official duties as defined by the PRMPA, it was released in full.

A very small number of the telcons were withheld from public access. In some cases, the archivists determined that a telcon needed to be withheld in full. In other cases, the archivists were able to redact the restricted information by sanitizing the document and releasing it in part. During the course of their review, the archivists restricted telcons for "A" (violation of a Federal statute or agency policy), "B" (national security information), "D" (clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy or libel of a living person), and "G" (purely private and personal information, or deals strictly with politics). For each withdrawn or sanitized telcon, archivists placed a salmon-colored Document Withdrawal Record (NA Form 14021) in the front of the folder from which the telcon came; the form lists the document by number, type ("telcon"), description (e.g., HAK and Haig), number of pages, date, and restriction category. Another form, a yellow-colored "Document Control Record" (NLN Form 101), has been put in place of each withdrawn document in the folder. It is numbered, and each number corresponds to the number listed on the Document Withdrawal Record.

NLNS sanitized only those "A" and "B" telcons for which it had received redaction instructions from other Federal agencies or departments. NLNS sanitized "D" telcons, as well, removing portions of them that constituted clearly unwarranted invasions of privacy or libel of a living person. Attached to the front of each sanitized telcon is a yellow document control record, which contains the document number and is stamped "Sanitized." Those documents are listed on the salmon colored document withdrawal record, and a "Sanitized" stamp appears next to or below that telcon.

Those telcons that contain no information relating to Dr. Kissinger's official or statutory duties as defined by the PRMPA and its implementing regulations, or those that deal strictly with politics, were removed in full from the collection for return to Dr. Kissinger. They, too, have been replaced in the file by yellow-colored Document Control Records and have been listed and described on the salmon-colored Document Withdrawal Records.

In processing the telcons for public access, NARA archivists implemented Executive Order 12958, as amended, which mandates declassification of materials more than twenty-five years old. The archivists processed this collection by using agency guidelines, detailed reference information, and textual records from the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. In addition, the archivists also worked closely with declassification specialists from other agencies.

NARA made its copies from those at the Library of Congress (LC), Manuscript Division (MSS DIV). The Library of Congress archivists identified some telcons as containing national security information. They withdrew these documents and placed "classified items removed" forms in place of them in the file. In the course of its review, NARA archivists subsequently refiled these documents in their original folders, and then

reviewed them according to the PRMPA and Executive Order 12958, as amended. Copies that the Library of Congress archivists believed to contain classified information may be identified in the open file by their stamp "MSS DIV LIB CONG" and by a classification stamp.

TELCONS RELATING TO *CRISIS: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises*

In preparation for publishing a book (*Crisis: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises*), Dr. Kissinger compiled many telcons relating to three foreign policy crises: the 1973 Middle East War, the 1974 Cyprus crisis, and the fall of Saigon in 1975; he submitted these documents to the National Security Council (NSC) for declassification review. In many cases, Dr. Kissinger edited the documents and only submitted portions of them for review. These edits appeared in the telcons as gaps or omissions. For example, the NSC may have received only page one (or part of page one) of a three page telcon, or it may have received all three pages, but words, sentences, or paragraphs were absent from the text. Therefore, the NSC's review of these sanitized copies was based only on the often incomplete information it had received.

Early in its review of materials that Dr. Kissinger had submitted to the NSC for *Crisis*, NLNS staff, thinking that the gaps or omissions that appeared in some copies of documents were redactions that the NSC had made, mistakenly stamped these documents "Sanitized." When it was discovered that these gaps were attributable to Dr. Kissinger, and not the NSC, the staff went back, and on each document that it had stamped, crossed out the "Sanitized" marking and noted, "stamped in error by NLNS staff," next to the cross-outs. The staff discovered its error when it found that NSC redactions appeared on the telcons as black-outs, not gaps, and that NSC sanitizations were accompanied by a "Partially Declassified" stamp.

For telcons that the NSC received only in part—the remainder of which remains classified—NLNS noted on the yellow-colored Document Control Records attached to the front of each telcon that it was "released in part. Only a portion of this document was submitted for declassification review. The rest of the document (pages given) remains closed." If that same telcon was also sanitized by the NSC, the yellow-colored Document Control Record is stamped "sanitized." The salmon-colored Document Withdrawal Record that lists the document in the front of the folder also is stamped "sanitized."

4. DESCRIPTION

The telcons contain Dr. Kissinger's often candid comments on a wide variety of issues, including the Vietnam War, the People's Republic of China initiative, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the 1972 Presidential election, the 1973 Middle East War, press and media relations, and social events. Many of the conversations are fragmentary or episodic in nature, but they provide a uniquely personal and intimate perspective to the events of the day in which Dr. Kissinger was involved. Dr. Kissinger's personality (e.g.,

his sense of humor and occasionally his anger) comes through in the telcons, which show the importance of personal relations and personality in his diplomacy and national security relations. The telcons flesh out the already rich documentary record of foreign policy during the Nixon administration, complementing other research materials, especially the Nixon Presidential Materials Project's NSC Files, its NSC Institutional Files, and the Nixon White House tapes. For example, the telcons contain conversations between President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger before, during, and after the taping system operated in the Nixon White House (February 1971-July 1973). There are Nixon tape recordings of some of the conversations transcribed in the telcons.

The Kissinger telcons consist of four separate series:

CHRONOLOGICAL FILE—boxes 1-26

The Chronological file contains telcons from January 21, 1969, to August 8, 1974. In addition to conversations between Dr. Kissinger and President Nixon, the telcons feature conversations between Dr. Kissinger and world leaders, including heads of state such as Edward Heath of Great Britain and Golda Meir of Israel, foreign ministers such as Ismail Fahmy of Egypt, and ambassadors such as Simcha Dinitz of Israel. There are conversations with celebrities such as Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope, John Wayne, Danny Kaye, Warren Beatty, and Liza Minnelli; with media and entertainment industry executives such as producer Robert Evans and film industry executive Taft Schreiber; and with journalists such as Stewart and Joseph Alsop, Thomas Braden, Jerold Schecter, Hugh Sidey, Bernard Kalb, Mike Wallace, Ben Bradlee, Seymour Hersh, William Safire, Rowland Evans, and Barbara Walters. There are telcons of Dr. Kissinger's talks with members of Congress such as J. William Fulbright, and with politicians such as future Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Ronald Reagan. There are telcons between Dr. Kissinger and Cabinet secretaries such as William Rogers, Melvin Laird, Elliot Richardson, and James Schlesinger. There are also telcons of other high ranking Cabinet officials such as Kenneth Rush and Joseph Sisco. Other people include business and civic leaders such as Max Fisher, Cabinet members, other White House officials such as H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman, NSC staff members (including many with Haig), personal friends, and former Harvard University colleagues.

The Chronological file contains discussions on most of the foreign policy issues in which Dr. Kissinger was involved during his service in the Nixon administration. These include the Vietnam War (e.g., the secret bombing of Cambodia; the President's May 8, 1972, decision to bomb Hanoi and mine Haiphong Harbor; the Christmas bombing of 1972, peace negotiations leading up to the 1973 settlement agreement); US-Soviet Union relations (e.g., SALT, the Berlin agreement, the 1972 Moscow summit, the US-Soviet grain deal, Soviet Jewish emigration); US-People's Republic of China relations (e.g., President Nixon's 1972 trip to China); the EC-121 incident involving North Korea; terrorism; the Jordan crisis; Cienfuegos; US-Chile relations; the Pentagon Papers; the India-Pakistan War; the Munich Olympics massacre; détente; the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the shuttle diplomacy that followed it; the oil embargo and energy crisis; and the Cyprus crisis of 1974. The telcons reveal Dr. Kissinger involved in crises and in less urgent diplomatic initiatives. They show him dealing with various aspects of foreign

policy, including press relations, Congressional relations, contacts with other Federal departments and agencies, personnel issues, and administrative matters within the NSC staff and later, the State Department.

Dr. Kissinger's relationships with other administration officials and departments, particularly with Secretary of State William P. Rogers and the Defense Department, are illustrated throughout the Chronological file. Through President Nixon's direction, Dr. Kissinger ran foreign policy directly from the White House instead of through the State Department. He established back-channel meetings with Dobrynin, instructed the Paris peace talk negotiators, and isolated most major foreign policy enterprises within the White House. As a consequence, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) established a covert intelligence gathering system through a naval aide, Yeoman Charles E. Radford, who secretly copied White House documents and provided them to the JCS. This series documents the so-called Radford affair.

Dr. Kissinger's management and administrative style is amply documented in his conversations with NSC staffers, such as Haig, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Eagleburger, Morton H. Halperin, Winston Lord, and Scowcroft, and with State Department officials such as U. Alexis Johnson, after Dr. Kissinger became secretary of state. Matters discussed include his schedule; policy making; interdepartmental relations; preparation of memoranda, papers, and reports; paperwork flow; speech writing; and appointments to various offices (e.g., ambassadorships).

Other subjects of interest discussed in the Chronological File include the aborted Apollo XIII moon mission, James Hoffa's attempt to visit North Vietnam to gain the release of US prisoners of war, Dr. Kissinger's nomination to be secretary of state, and his subsequent confirmation hearings in September 1973.

The Chronological file includes Dr. Kissinger's involvement in the seventeen wiretaps that the White House ordered for national security reasons on thirteen NSC staffers and four newsmen at various times from 1969 to 1971. The wiretaps, and the resulting summaries, originated in an attempt to find out who was leaking information to the media about the secret bombing of Cambodia. When the taps were revealed in 1973, President Nixon took responsibility for authorizing them, but Dr. Kissinger was repeatedly asked both at his secretary of state confirmation hearings before the Senate in 1973 and in 1974 whether he himself had ever initiated a wiretap. The telcons contain conversations about this issue between Dr. Kissinger and members of the press and members of Congress. The telcons also touch on other Watergate and abuse of governmental power matters, including the break-in and subsequent investigations, the publication of the Pentagon Papers, and the Plumbers and their activities, especially those of former NSC staffer David R. Young.

The Chronological file contains Dr. Kissinger's conversations with members of the press, media, and Hollywood and New York celebrities. These conversations relate to a variety of subjects, including dinners, speeches, and other social affairs in which Dr. Kissinger was an invited guest. While they pertain to Dr. Kissinger's social and private life, they

also involve his media and press relations. In the course of his contacts with celebrities and powerful people in the media and entertainment industry, Kissinger became a celebrity in his own right. Members of the press, media, and celebrities benefited, too, of course, as they advanced their own careers through social contact with a man whom many considered to be the most powerful person in Washington.

ANATOLI DOBRYNIN FILE—boxes 27-28

The Dobrynin file mostly contains telcons of conversations between Dr. Kissinger and Soviet ambassador to the US Anatoli Dobrynin, although there are telcons of conversations of people other than Kissinger (Haig, Kennedy, Scowcroft) and Dobrynin (Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, charge d'affaires Yuri Vorontsov). There are duplicate copies of some of these Kissinger-Dobrynin conversations in the Chronological file and in the Home file. In addition, at least three telcons from this file are also duplicated in the NSC Files at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. These telcons are between Haig and Soviet officials. Along with Haig's other telcon transcripts, they can be found in boxes 998-999 of the Haig Chronological Files in the NSC Files. Finally, there are also telcons about the 1973 Arab-Israeli War that are duplicated in both the Dobrynin file and the Chronological file. These calls occurred in various places, including Washington, D.C., Key Biscayne, and San Clemente.

The Dobrynin file provides a record of the development of détente. It documents the establishment of what many historians have called the two men's "special relationship"—the "channel" between Dobrynin and Dr. Kissinger beginning in February 1969 whereby the two men often met without secretaries or interpreters to negotiate major issues in US-Soviet relations. In 1972 a special "hot line" was installed between the White House and the Soviet embassy. Dobrynin and Dr. Kissinger spoke frequently about their respective government's positions on virtually every major issue involving US-Soviet Union relations including linkage, the Vietnam War, the Berlin agreement, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and ABM proposals, the India-Pakistan War, US-Soviet trade (e.g., the extension of Most Favored Nation status to the Soviets), and the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. These telcons reflect the rapport that the two men shared, which often manifested itself in humorous banter even during times of crisis.

HOME FILE—box 29

The Home file consists of telcons recorded at Dr. Kissinger's home from July 1970 to April 1972. These calls involve subjects such as the Vietnam War (e.g., Presidential speeches, the William Calley case), Cienfuegos, the Jordan crisis, textile negotiations with Japan, reflections on intellectual "elites," and the US's PRC initiatives. There are conversations in this series between Dr. Kissinger and people such as President Nixon, Joseph Sisco, Michael Mansfield, and Lyndon Johnson. This series also contains conversations between Dr. Kissinger and "Dr. Yoshida," who was believed to be Wakaizumi Kei. These conversations were conducted using code names during sensitive negotiations over voluntary textile quotas between the US and Japan. There are some duplicates of telcons from this series in the Dobrynin file. Moreover, there are Nixon White House telephone tape recordings of some of the conversations transcribed in these telcons.

JORDAN FILE—box 30

The Jordan file contains telcons covering the period of the Jordanian crisis (September 5-25, 1970) when civil war broke out between King Hussein's forces and "Black September" Palestinian guerrillas, and Syrian tanks invaded Jordan in support of the Palestinians. There are conversations in this series between Dr. Kissinger and people such as President Nixon, William Rogers, Sisco, Nelson Rockefeller, and Israeli ambassador to the US Yitzhak Rabin. Included in this series are a few State Department telegrams. Some telcons from this series are duplicated in the Chronological File, which also has telcons about the Jordanian crisis that are not found in the Jordan File.

Folder Title List: Henry A. Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts (Telcons)

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | January 21-31, 1969 |
| | February 1-11, 1969 |
| | February 12-22, 1969 |
| | March 3-13, 1969 |
| | March 14-31, 1969 |
| | April 1-14, 1969 |
| | April 15-22, 1969 |
| | April 23-30, 1969 |
| | May 1-14, 1969 |
| | May 15-30, 1969 |
| 2 | June 2-18, 1969 |
| | June 19-30, 1969 |
| | July 1-12, 1969 |
| | July 14-22, 1969 |
| | August 1969 |
| | September 1-18, 1969 |
| | September 19-30, 1969 |
| | October 1-13, 1969 |
| | October 14-22, 1969 |
| | October 23-31, 1969 |
| 3 | November 1-10, 1969 |
| | November 11-17, 1969 |
| | November 18-28, 1969 |
| | December 1-8, 1969 |
| | December 9-16, 1969 |
| | December 17-31, 1969 |
| | January 3-14, 1970 |
| | January 15-21, 1970 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 3 | January 22-26, 1970 |
| 4 | January 27-31, 1970 |
| | February 1-7, 1970 |
| | February 9-18, 1970 |
| | February 19-27, 1970 |
| | March 2-9, 1970 |
| | March 10-16, 1970 |
| | March 17-20, 1970 |
| | March 21-27, 1970 |
| | April 6-14, 1970 |
| | April 15-18, 1970 |
| 5 | April 19-26, 1970 |
| | April 27-30, 1970 |
| | May 1-5, 1970 |
| | May 6-9, 1970 |
| | May 10-20, 1970 |
| | May 21-31, 1970 |
| | June 1-5, 1970 |
| | June 6-10, 1970 |
| | June 11-17, 1970 |
| | June 18-30, 1970 |
| 6 | July 1-13, 1970 |
| | July 14-21, 1970 |
| | July 22-31, 1970 |
| | August 4-10, 1970 |
| | August 11-31, 1970 |
| | September 1-11, 1970 |
| | September 12-17, 1970 |
| | September 18-21, 1970 |
| | September 22-25, 1970 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|----------------------|
| 7 | October 5-10, 1970 |
| | October 12-16, 1970 |
| | October 17-25, 1970 |
| | October 26-31, 1970 |
| | November 2-9, 1970 |
| | November 10-16, 1970 |
| | November 17-21, 1970 |
| | November 23-30, 1970 |
| | December 1-7, 1970 |
| 8 | December 8-12, 1970 |
| | December 14-15, 1970 |
| | December 16-21, 1970 |
| | December 22-31, 1970 |
| | January 4-7, 1971 |
| | January 8-18, 1971 |
| | January 19-29, 1971 |
| | February 1-8, 1971 |
| | February 9-22, 1971 |
| 9 | February 23-28, 1971 |
| | March 1-5, 1971 |
| | March 6-12, 1971 |
| | March 13-18, 1971 |
| | March 19-24, 1971 |
| | March 25-31, 1971 |
| | April 1-7, 1971 |
| | April 8-14, 1971 |
| | April 15-20, 1971 |
| | April 21-28, 1971 |
| 10 | May 10-14, 1971 |
| | May 15-18, 1971 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|-----------------------|
| 10 | May 19-21, 1971 |
| | May 24-29, 1971 |
| | June 1-7, 1971 |
| | June 8-12, 1971 |
| | June 14-18, 1971 |
| | June 21-22, 1971 |
| | June 23-30, 1971 |
| | July 1-20, 1971 |
| | July 21-30, 1971 |
| 11 | August 2-10, 1971 |
| | August 11-19, 1971 |
| | August 20-31, 1971 |
| | September 1-10, 1971 |
| | September 11-17, 1971 |
| | September 18-23, 1971 |
| | September 24-30, 1971 |
| | October 1-4, 1971 |
| | October 5-7, 1971 |
| | October 8-14, 1971 |
| | October 15-30, 1971 |
| 12 | November 1-14, 1971 |
| | November 15-23, 1971 |
| | November 24-30, 1971 |
| | December 1-5, 1971 |
| | December 6-10, 1971 |
| | December 11-15, 1971 |
| | December 16-17, 1971 |
| | December 18-23, 1971 |
| | January 3-14, 1972 |
| | January 15-24, 1972 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|----------------------|
| 13 | January 25-31, 1972 |
| | February 1-4, 1972 |
| | February 5-10, 1972 |
| | February 11-29, 1972 |
| | March 1-10, 1972 |
| | March 11-17, 1972 |
| | March 18-31, 1972 |
| | April 3-5, 1972 |
| | April 8-11, 1972 |
| | April 12-19, 1972 |
| | April 25-30, 1972 |
| 14 | May 1-5, 1972 |
| | May 6-8, 1972 |
| | May 9-11, 1972 |
| | May 12-14, 1972 |
| | May 15-17, 1972 |
| | May 18-19, 1972 |
| | June 2-7, 1972 |
| | June 8-14, 1972 |
| | June 15-27, 1972 |
| | June 28-30, 1972 |
| 15 | July 3-9, 1972 |
| | July 10-15, 1972 |
| | July 17-22, 1972 |
| | July 24-25, 1972 |
| | July 26-29, 1972 |
| | August 2-5, 1972 |
| | August 6-10, 1972 |
| | August 11-30, 1972 |
| | September 2-7, 1972 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|-----------------------|
| 15 | September 8-18, 1972 |
| 16 | September 19-21, 1972 |
| | September 22-28, 1972 |
| | September 29-30, 1972 |
| | October 2-5, 1972 |
| | October 6-13, 1972 |
| | October 14-24, 1972 |
| | October 25-26, 1972 |
| | October 27-28, 1972 |
| | October 29-31, 1972 |
| | November 1-3, 1972 |
| 17 | November 4-13, 1972 |
| | November 14-16, 1972 |
| | November 17-28, 1972 |
| | November 29-30, 1972 |
| | December 1-15, 1972 |
| | December 16-18, 1972 |
| | December 19-20, 1972 |
| | December 23-26, 1972 |
| | January 2-6, 1973 |
| | January 15-17, 1973 |
| 18 | January 18-20, 1973 |
| | January 21-24, 1973 |
| | January 25-26, 1973 |
| | January 27-29, 1973 |
| | January 30-31, 1973 |
| | February 1-5, 1973 |
| | February 6-20, 1973 |
| | February 21, 1973 |
| | February 22-26, 1973 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- 18 February 27-28, 1973
- 19 March 1-5, 1973
 - March 6-9, 1973
 - March 10-14, 1973
 - ◆ March 15-27, 1973
 - March 28-31, 1973
 - April 2-6, 1973
 - April 7-11, 1973
 - April 12-18, 1973
 - April 19-23, 1973
 - April 24-25, 1973
- 20 April 26-30, 1973
 - May 1-3, 1973
 - May 11-15, 1973
 - May 16-30, 1973
 - June 1-4, 1973
 - June 5-11, 1973
 - June 12-18, 1973
 - June 19-24, 1973
 - June 25-30, 1973
 - July 2-9, 1973
- 21 July 10-12, 1973
 - July 13-16, 1973
 - July 17-20, 1973
 - July 21-31, 1973
 - August 1-9, 1973
 - August 10-14, 1973
 - August 15-20, 1973
 - August 21-24, 1973
 - August 26-31, 1973

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|-----------------------|
| 21 | September 1-6, 1973 |
| 22 | September 7-10, 1973 |
| | September 11-13, 1973 |
| | September 14-18, 1973 |
| | September 19-21, 1973 |
| | September 22-30, 1973 |
| | October 1-3, 1973 |
| | October 6, 1973 |
| | October 7, 1973 |
| | October 8, 1973 |
| | October 9-11, 1973 |
| 23 | October 12-13, 1973 |
| | October 14-16, 1973 |
| | October 17-19, 1973 |
| | October 23, 1973 |
| | October 24, 1973 |
| | October 25, 1973 |
| | October 26, 1973 |
| | October 27-29, 1973 |
| | October 30-31, 1973 |
| | November 1-19, 1973 |
| 24 | November 20-30, 1973 |
| | December 3-7, 1973 |
| | December 24-31, 1973 |
| | January 2-7, 1974 |
| | January 8-10, 1974 |
| | January 21-23, 1974 |
| | January 24-31, 1974 |
| | February 1-5, 1974 |
| | February 6-10, 1974 |

Box Number Folder Title

Chronological File

- | | |
|----|------------------------|
| 24 | February 11-15, 1974 |
| 25 | February 16-25, 1974 |
| | March 5-9, 1974 |
| | March 11-14, 1974 |
| | March 15-18, 1974 |
| | March 19-22, 1974 |
| | March 23-30, 1974 |
| | April 10-14, 1974 |
| | April 15-19, 1974 |
| | April 22-24, 1974 |
| | April 25-27, 1974 |
| | May 31, 1974 |
| 26 | June 1-6, 1974 |
| | June 7-8, 1974 |
| | June 20-26, 1974 |
| | July 10-16, 1974 |
| | July 17-18, 1974 |
| | July 19, 1974 (1 of 2) |
| | July 19, 1974 (2 of 2) |
| | July 20-21, 1974 |
| | July 22-24, 1974 |
| | July 25-31, 1974 |
| | August 1-6, 1974 |
| | August 7-8, 1974 |

Anatoli Dobrynin File

- | | |
|----|---------------------------|
| 27 | February 1970-March 1971 |
| | April 1971-August 1971 |
| | September 1971-April 1972 |
| | May 1972-June 1972 |
| | July 1972-September 1972 |

Box Number Folder Title

Anatoli Dobrynin File

- 27 October 1972
 November 1972-December 1972
 January 1973-February 1973
 March 1973
 April 1973
- 28 May 1973-June 1973
 July 1973-September 1973
 October 1973
 November 1973-December 1973
 January 1974-August 1974

Home File

- 29 July 1970-October 1970
 November 1970-December 1970
 January 1971-February 1971
 March 1971
 April 1971
 May 1971-November 1971
 December 1971
 January 1972-April 1972

Jordan File

- 30 September 5-19, 1970
 September 20-25, 1970