

# Rockefeller (Nelson A.) Vice Presidential records, Foreign Affairs and National Security, Series 19

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Rockefeller Archive Center

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## **Table of Contents**

Summary Information	3
Biographical/Historical note	3
Scope and Contents note	4
Arrangement note	7
File Plan note	7
Administrative Information	7
Related Materials	8
Controlled Access Headings	8
Collection Inventory	ç

## **Summary Information**

**Repository:** Rockefeller Archive Center

**Creator:** United States. Office of the Vice President

**Creator - ctb:** Rockefeller, Nelson A. (Nelson Aldrich)

**Creator - aut:** Howe, Jonathan Trumbull

**Title:** Nelson A. Rockefeller vice presidential records, Foreign Affairs and

National Security, Series 19

**ID:** FA385

**Date [inclusive]:** 1974-1977

**Physical Description:** 18.6 Cubic Feet

General Physical Description note:

17 record cartons 4 document boxes

Language of the

Material:

English.

## Biographical/Historical note

President Gerald R. Ford nominated Nelson A. Rockefeller to fill the vacant vice presidency following the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in August 1974. Rockefeller served as Vice President from December 19, 1974, to January 20, 1977.

## Biographical/Historical note

Nelson A. Rockefeller served as the second unelected Vice President in the history of the United States. (President Gerald Ford, whom Rockefeller served as Vice President, had been the first unelected Vice President.) Although Mr. Rockefeller acted relatively extensively in the areas of foreign relations and national security, his main focus, in the view of many observers, was on domestic policy. At the same time, the work that commanded the greatest public attention during the Ford-Rockefeller Administration

<sup>^</sup> Return to Table of Contents

<sup>^</sup> Return to Table of Contents

was that of the CIA Commission. The recommendations issued by the commission strongly affected the policy and operation of the CIA for a generation.

Jonathan T. Howe graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1957 and earned a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University in 1969. His early career in the Navy was spent on submarines. Prior to serving with Vice President Rockefeller, he was on the National Security Council staff as military assistant to the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 1969 to 1974. Later appointments included senior military assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1981 to 1982; Assistant to the Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1987 to 1989; and Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 1991 to 1993. He also served in Somalia as the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, 1993 to 1994, and after retirement from the Navy, he ran a philanthropic foundation.

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **Scope and Contents note**

The bulk of this series of papers consists of files kept by Captain Jonathan T. Howe, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs, who served Nelson A. Rockefeller during his entire vice presidency (December 19, 1974 to January 20, 1977) in the Gerald R. Ford Administration. The contents reflect international relations and national security topics that Capt. Howe monitored closely for the Vice President. He also oversaw Mr. Rockefeller's appointment schedule on these matters and coordinated with Peter Wallison, Counsel to the Vice President, on suggested responses to inquiries involving foreign officials or national security issues.

The topics covered include International Travel, National Security, Meetings with Foreign Dignitaries, Meetings with U.S. Officials, the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (Murphy Commission), Intelligence, Countries/Regions, and the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States (alternately Rockefeller or CIA Commission). Additionally, there are several folders of background information on the Operations Coordinating Board, which originate from Mr. Rockefeller's tenure as Special Assistant to President Eisenhower during the mid-1950s. Also significant in this series are monthly folders of Captain Howe's chron file. (See topic descriptions below.)

Noticeably absent is documentation of direct communication between the Vice President and President Ford on any of these matters. However, there are numerous memos throughout the series from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger--particularly under International Travel--and National Security Affairs Assistant Brent Scowcroft--particularly under National Security Council Meetings.

The arrangement of the series, while mainly by broad topic, is inconsistent on occasion. However, the folder order has been kept intact to maintain a direct correlation to the separated, classified pages. For this same reason, there are no Folders 122 to 192.

Additionally, some folder numbers use a decimal extension (for example, Folder 13.1, Folder 336.4). This designation can mean that either it is a folder created to subdivide an overfilled original folder or it is a closed folder of restricted documents. The latter are prominently labeled as such in the folder list.

#### **DESCRIPTION**

International Travel (Folders 1-57) ranges from the Vice President serving as the official U.S. representative at funerals of foreign dignitaries or national celebrations to meetings with heads of state or their top ministers. In 1976 he attended several international celebrations to commemorate the U.S. Bicentennial. Some personal travel files exist as well. Every trip includes a substantial amount of U.S. State Department cables, itineraries, background information on the countries being visited, cultural protocol tips, and follow-up correspondence.

National Security folders are scattered throughout the series but include titles such as National Security Council Meetings, Defense Department Briefings, Cruise Missiles, and Pertinent National Security Developments. Intelligence-related folders also crop up sporadically; Intelligence Review and Reorganization, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), and Terrorism are a few title examples.

Meetings with Foreign Dignitaries (Folders 64-88) include arrangements, agenda, and either notes or verbatim accounts of the discussions. They are arranged by mouth in roughly reverse chronological order. Meetings with U.S. Officials (Folders 93-97) have similar contents but are less numerous. They too are arranged in roughly reverse chronological order. See the Materials of Special Significance section for specific names and dates of significant meetings with those officials.

In January 1975, President Ford recommended that Vice President Rockefeller fill an open seat on the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, more commonly referred to as the Murphy Commission. The commission was established by an act of Congress in June 1972, and it concluded its work in June 1975. Capt. Howe often sat in for the Vice President at the commission meetings. Folders 103-121 hold correspondence, agenda, report drafts, press clippings, and meeting minutes. Folder 120 contains a thorough summary of the history of the commission, including a candid memo on its workings and aftermath written by Capt. Howe to Mr. Rockefeller in January 1977.

Additionally, the contents of more than 30 binders of working papers and background information on the Murphy Commission are at the end of this series in Folders 393-429. Items labeled Books directly correlate to commission meetings during the Vice President's tenure. A tab-level listing of their contents is provided. Items labeled Background Workbooks are background materials from meetings in 1973 and 1974, prior to Mr. Rockefeller's membership on the commission. There is no tab-level listing for them, but the folders are grouped by topic (e.g., intelligence, internationals economics). Lastly, the eight-volume set of the published final report of the Murphy Commission (1 report volume and 7 appendices) has been removed from this series and added to the RAC library collection (library catalog #353.001 COM).

Folders 232-284 cover issues on specific countries/regions, from Angola to Yugoslavia. These files may contain duplicates of documents found under International Travel but often have unique ones. They are arranged in semi-alphabetical order by country name.

Captain Jon Howe's Chron Files (Folders 314-320.5 and 333-344) are an informative source on both the daily activities of the Office of the Vice President and the significant national and international events during those years. They are arranged by month in approximate reverse chronological order. A few reference files are interspersed among them.

In December 1974 at President Ford's request, Nelson Rockefeller became chair of the newly appointed Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, which was established by Executive Order as a result of ongoing claims of abuse of jurisdiction against the federal agency. The commission, which came to be known as both the Rockefeller Commission and the CIA Commission, is documented from its inception to its final report in Folders 322-332.2 and 346-392. Also among these files are Cold War-era materials from the Operations Coordinating Board that contain information on studies on psychological warfare, Soviet military capabilities, and the Quantico Panel from 1953 to 1955. They are all contemporaneous with Mr. Rockefeller's service in President Eisenhower's Administration as Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs.

#### MATERIALS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Numerous folders in this series contain materials of special significance for research on Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President, on national intelligence, and on international affairs during the mid-1970s.

One distinction from other series in the Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers is that these records contain copious amounts of handwritten notes by the Vice President. In particular, refer to Folder 121, NAR Notes on Murphy Commission, 1975; Folder 327, CIA Commission, NAR's Handwritten Notes, 1975; Folder 350, Memo to President from Donald Rumsfeld on CIA Directorship, June 1975; Folders 352 to 353.1, NAR Drafts to CIA Commission Report Chapters, May 1975; and Folders 393 to 420, Murphy Commission Books I-XXVIII.

There is substantial content on meetings between Vice President Rockefeller and foreign or U.S. officials, including some verbatim accounts. Documentation on meetings with foreign dignitaries, U.S. Defense Department officials, and other U.S. officials are organized by month in Folders 64 to 97. Memoranda of conversations are grouped by year in Folders 98 to 100.1. While this arrangement does not enumerate the names of these people, the following alphabetical list provides dates of meetings between the Vice President and these heads of state and other significant officials:

George H. W. Bush, CIA Director, March 1976. President Valerie Giscard D'Estaing of France, March 1976. General Alexander Haig, NATO Commander, November 1975 and May 1976. Emperor Hirohito of Japan, October 1975. King Hussein of Jordan, April 1975. King Juan Carlos of Spain, November 1975. King Khalid and Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, March 1975. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State (see folders on International Travel and Countries and Folders 213-215.1). Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran, May 1975 and March 1976 (see also Folder 241). Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, September 1974 and January 1976. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, March and October 1975. Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (see folders on NSC Meetings, 1975-1977). Senator Tran Van Lam of the Republic of Viet Nam, February 1975. U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, April 1976. Paul A. Volcker, economic consultant, May 1975. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, June 1975. Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom, January, July, September 1975.

#### ^ Return to Table of Contents

### **Arrangement note**

The arrangement of the series, while mainly by broad topic, is inconsistent on occasion. However, the folder order has been kept intact to maintain a direct correlation to the separated, classified pages. For this same reason, there are no Folders 122 to 192.

^ Return to Table of Contents

### File Plan note

Former Classification: III 26 19

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **Administrative Information**

### **Publication Statement**

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## **Conditions Governing Access note**

Open for research with select materials restricted as noted. Brittle or damaged items are available at the discretion of RAC. Researchers interested in accessing digital media (floppy disks, CDs,

DVDs, etc.) or audiovisual material (audio cassettes, VHS, etc.) in this collection must use an access surrogate. The original items may not be accessed because of preservation concerns. To request an access surrogate be made, or if you are unsure if there is an access surrogate, please contact an archivist.

### **Custodial History**

This series contains documents that were declassified by the U.S. government during a review by government officials at the Archive Center from 2003 to 2006. Any document that remains classified since the review has been removed from its folder and replaced with a separation sheet to note its original and current locations. Therefore, all materials in the open folders are now declassified, whether or not the classification stamps on them indicate otherwise. Almost all of the declassified documents prominently display a federal agency's declassification stamp and date.

^ Return to Table of Contents

### **Related Materials**

### **Related Archival Materials note**

Researchers may also wish to consult other portions of the Nelson A. Rockefeller (NAR) Papers, in particular Group 4: NAR Personal, Series O: Washington, DC, Subseries 7: Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs for additional materials on the Operations Coordinating Board from the 1950s. Also, in Record Group 26: NAR Vice Presidential, refer to Series 3: Central Files, Series 13: Press Releases, Series 15: Speeches, and Series 18: Working Papers of the Vice President.

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **Controlled Access Headings**

- Vice-Presidents -- United States
- Human rights
- Federal government -- United States
- Government policy
- United States
- International relations
- Technology
- Economics
- Economic policy

- Environmental policy
- Energy
- Political science
- International relations -- United States
- National security -- United States
- Public policy

## **Collection Inventory**

Title/Description	Instances	
Saudi Arabia Substance File, March 25-28, 1975	box 1	folder 1
Saudi Arabia Trip, March 25-28, 1975	box 1	folder 2
Republic of China, April 13-17, 1975	box 1	folder 3
European Trip Thank-You Letters, July 1975	box 1	folder 4
Vice President's European Trip, June 26-July 8, 1975	box 1	folder 5
Franklin-Jefferson Exhibition in London Thank-You Letters	box 1	folder 6
Franklin-Jefferson Exhibition in London Substance File	box 1	folder 7
Franklin-Jefferson Exhibition in London, September 14-16, 1975	box 1	folder 8
Spain Substance File, November 21-27, 1975	box 1	folder 9
Around the World Trip, March 20-April 4, 1976	box 1	folder 10
Around the World Trip, March 20-April 4, 1976	box 1	folder 10.1
Around the World Substance File, March 20-April 4, 1976	box 1	folder 12
Overflight Messages from World Trip, March 20-April 4, 1976	box 1	folder 11
West Germany Trip, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 13
West Germany Trip, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 13.1
West Germany Trip, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 13.2
Press Comments on Germany-Italy Trip, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 14
Germany-Italy Trip Substance File, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 15
Italy & Germany, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 16
Italy & Germany, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 16.1
Italy & Germany Background, May 13-15, 1976	box 1	folder 17
State Cables - London Trip, October 3-5, 1976	box 1	folder 18
London Trip for Indian Art Exhibition, October 3-5, 1976	box 1	folder 19
Vacation to Venezuela - Message List, December 26-31, 1976	box 1	folder 20

Venezuela Trip, December 26-31, 1976	box 1	folder 21	
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB) Documents - Pre-Vice Presidential, July 1974	box 1	folder 22	
Department of State Briefing Book on Tunisia, March 1976	box 2	folder 23	
NAR Visits, March 19-April 4, 1976	box 2	folder 24	
Visit to Tunisia, March 20-21, 1976	box 2	folder 25	
Visit to Paris, March 21-23, 1976	box 2	folder 26	
Department of State Briefing Book on France, March 1976	box 2	folder 27	
Department of State Briefing Book on Iran, March 1976	box 2	folder 28	
Trip to Kish Island, Iran, March 23-26, 1976	box 2	folder 29	
Trip to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, March 26-28, 1976	box 2	folder 30	
Department of State Briefing Book on Malaysia, March 1976	box 2	folder 31	
Department of State Briefing Book on Singapore, March 1976	box 2	folder 32	
Visit to Singapore, March 28-29, 1976	box 2	folder 33	
Visit to Bali; Visit to Tahiti, March 29 and April 2-4, 1976	box 2	folder 34	
Scope and Contents note			
Visit to Bali, March 29, 1976; Visit to Tahiti, April 2-4, 1976.			
Visit to Bali, March 29, 1976; Visit to Tahiti, April 2-4, 1976.  Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976	box 2	folder 35	
	box 2 box 3	folder 35 folder 36	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976			
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United	box 3	folder 36	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975	box 3	folder 36 folder 37	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975	box 3 box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975	box 3 box 3 box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38 folder 39	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975  Trip to Europe Message File, June 26-July 8, 1975	box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38 folder 39 folder 40	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975  Trip to Europe Message File, June 26-July 8, 1975  Australia Trip, March 1976	box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38 folder 39 folder 40 folder 41	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975  Trip to Europe Message File, June 26-July 8, 1975  Australia Trip, March 1976  New Zealand Trip, April 1-3, 1976	box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3 box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38 folder 39 folder 40 folder 41 folder 42	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975  Trip to Europe Message File, June 26-July 8, 1975  Australia Trip, March 1976  New Zealand Trip, April 1-3, 1976  Department of State Briefing Brook on New Zealand, April 1976	box 3	folder 36 folder 37 folder 38 folder 39 folder 40 folder 41 folder 42 folder 43	
Visit to Bali, Indonesia, March 29, 1976  Memorandum to the President from Brent Scowcroft, undated  Department of State Briefing Book on Germany and United Kingdom, May-June 1975  Trip to United Kingdom Message File, September 1975  Trip to Europe, July 1975  Trip to Europe Message File, June 26-July 8, 1975  Australia Trip, March 1976  New Zealand Trip, April 1-3, 1976  Department of State Briefing Brook on New Zealand, April 1976  Tahiti, French Polynesia, and Thailand Trip, March 25-27, 1976	box 3	folder 36 folder 37  folder 38 folder 39 folder 40 folder 41 folder 42 folder 43 folder 44	

Department of State Briefing Book on Australia, March 1976	box 3	folder 48
National Security Issues - Asian Strategy Briefing Book, 1976	box 3	folder 49
Trip to Germany, May 13-15, 1976	box 3	folder 50
Taipei Trip Message File, April 1975	box 3	folder 51
Trip to Italy, May 13, 1976	box 3	folder 52
Presidential Delegation to Saudi Arabia, March 1975	box 3	folder 53
Vice President's Mission to Spain, November 1975	box 3	folder 54
Spain Trip Message File, November 1975	box 3	folder 55
VP Briefing Book on Visit to London, October 1-3, 1976	box 3	folder 56
Department of State Briefing Book on Taiwan, April 1975	box 3	folder 57
National Security Council Meetings - General, January-June 1976	box 4	folder 58
National Security Council Meetings - General, July-December 1976	box 4	folder 59
National Security Council Semiannual Review, January 13, 1977	box 4	folder 60
National Security Council Meetings, 1975	box 4	folder 61
Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, May 1975- July 1975	box 4	folder 62
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), January 1975-August 1976	box 4	folder 63

Fitle/Description	Instances	
February 1976	box 4	folder 64
March 1976	box 4	folder 65
April 1976	box 4	folder 66
September 1976	box 4	folder 67
October 1976	box 4	folder 68
November 1976	box 4	folder 69
January 1977	box 4	folder 70
December 1976	box 4	folder 71
May 1976	box 4	folder 72
May 1976	box 4	folder 72.1
June 1976	box 4	folder 73
June 1976	box 4	folder 73.1

	box 4	folder 74
August 1976	box 4	folder 75
November 1975	box 4	folder 76
December 1975	box 4	folder 77
January 1976	box 4	folder 78
October 1975	box 5	folder 79
August 1975	box 5	folder 80
September 1975	box 5	folder 81
July 1975	box 5	folder 82
June 1975	box 5	folder 83
May 1975	box 5	folder 84
May 1975	box 5	folder 84.1
April 1975	box 5	folder 85
March 1975	box 5	folder 86
February 1975	box 5	folder 87
January 1975	box 5	folder 88
Address to Inter-American Defense College, June 10, 1976	box 5	folder 89
Meetings with Defense Department, 1975-1976	box 5	folder 90
Meetings with Defense Department, 1975-1976	box 5	folder 90.1
Visit to Newport News, Virginia, October 11, 1975	box 5	folder 91
Defense Department Briefings, 1975-1976	box 5	folder 92
Meetings with U.S. Officials, January-June 1976	box 5	folder 93
Meetings with U.S. Officials, July-December 1976	box 5	folder 94
Meetings with U.S. Officials, January 1977	box 5	folder 95
Meetings with U.S. Officials, July-December 1975	box 5	folder 96
Meetings with U.S. Officials, January-June 1975	box 5	folder 97
Memoranda of Conversation, 1976	box 5	folder 98
Memoranda of Conversation, 1976	box 5	folder 98.1
Captain Howe Memoranda of Conversation, 1975	box 5	folder 99
Memoranda of Conversation, August 1974-April 1975	box 5	folder 100
Memoranda of Conversation, May-December 1975	box 5	folder 100.1
Requests for Meeting with the Vice President, 1975	box 5	folder 101

Requests for Meeting with the Vice President, 1976	box 5	folder 102
Murphy Commission, 1973-1977		
Chron File #1, January-March 1975	box 6	folder 103
Chron File #2, March-April 1975	box 6	folder 104
Chron File #3, April 1975	box 6	folder 105
Chron File #4, April-May 1975	box 6	folder 106
Chron File #5, May 1975	box 6	folder 107
Chron File #6, May-June 1975	box 6	folder 108
Chron File #7, June 1975	box 6	folder 109
Chron File #8, June 1975	box 6	folder 110
Chron File #9, June-August 1975	box 6	folder 111
Press File, June-July 1975	box 6	folder 112
Drafts - National Security, March-April 1975	box 6	folder 113
Drafts - Intelligence, March-June 1975	box 6	folder 114
Drafts - Economics, April 1975	box 6	folder 115
Drafts - Diplomacy, March-June 1975	box 6	folder 116
Congressional Survey Report, March 1975	box 6	folder 117
Files - Miscellaneous, 1973-1975	box 6	folder 118
Files - Congressional Chapter, 1974-1975	box 6	folder 119
Files - Congressional Chapter, 1974-1975	box 6	folder 119.1
NAR Participation, January 5, 1977	box 6	folder 120
NAR Notes, 1975	box 6	folder 121
NOT USED	box 6	folder 122-192
Intelligence Review and Reorganization, 1975-1976	box 7	folder 193
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 1975-1976	box 7	folder 194
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), 1976	box 7	folder 195
Economic Intelligence Weekly, 1975	box 7	folder 196
Pertinent National Security Developments, 1977	box 7	folder 197
Pertinent National Security Developments, January-June 1976	box 7	folder 198
Pertinent National Security Developments, January-June 1975	box 7	folder 199
Pertinent National Security Developments, July-December 1975	box 7	folder 199.1
Douting the National Sequents Developments July December 1076		

	box 7	folder 200
National Security Study Memoranda, 1969-1976	box 7	folder 201
Dr. Edward Teller, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 202
National Security Council General Items, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 203
Civil Defense, 1975-1977	box 8	folder 204
National Security Decision Memoranda, 1969, 1974-1976	box 8	folder 205
Defense General Items, 1975-1977	box 8	folder 206
Defense General Items, 1975-1977	box 8	folder 206.1
Conditions Governing Access note: Conditions Governing Access note		
Restricted material		
Strategic, 1976	box 8	folder 207
Cruise Missiles, 1976	box 8	folder 208
Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR), 1975-1976	box 8	folder 209
Oil, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 210
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 1975	box 8	folder 211
U.S. Life Lines, Department of Navy Publication, 1971, 1974	box 8	folder 212
Secretary Kissinger Discussion Items, 1975	box 8	folder 213
Secretary Kissinger Miscellaneous, 1976	box 8	folder 214
Secretary Kissinger Press Conferences and Speeches, 1975	box 8	folder 215
Secretary Kissinger Press Conferences and Speeches, 1976	box 8	folder 215.1
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 1975	box 8	folder 216
Detente, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 217
Law of the Sea, 1974-1975	box 8	folder 218
Threshold Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1975	box 8	folder 219
Raw Materials, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 220
East-West Economics, 1975	box 8	folder 221
International Food, 1975	box 8	folder 222
Public Opinion Polls, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 223
Terrorism, 1976-1977	box 8	folder 224
Trade, 1974-1976	box 8	folder 225
Multinational Corporations, 1976	box 8	folder 226

United Nations, 1975-1976	box 8	folder 227
Foreign Investment in the United States, 1975	box 9	folder 228
Speeches by Heads of State and Dignitaries, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 229
Foreign Concerns About U.S. Policy, 1976	box 9	folder 230
Foreign Comments on the U.S. Election, November 1976	box 9	folder 231
Angola, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 232
Foreign Relations/Policy, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 233
White House Fellows Foreign Trips, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 234
Africa, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 235
Asia, 1976	box 9	folder 236
Federal Republic of Germany, 1976	box 9	folder 237
Japan, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 238
Greece and Turkey, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 239
Greenland, 1975	box 9	folder 240
Iran, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 241
Israel, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 242
Italy, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 243
Malaysia, 1976	box 9	folder 244
Latin America, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 245
Pakistan, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 246
New Zealand, 1976	box 9	folder 247
Middle East, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 248
Korea, 1975	box 9	folder 249
U.S. Strategy in Asia, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 250
Bali, 1976	box 9	folder 251
Canada, 1976	box 9	folder 252
Australia, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 253
Cambodia Crisis - "Mayaguez", 1975	box 9	folder 254
Caribbean, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 255
People's Republic of China, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 256
Cyprus, 1975	box 9	folder 257
France, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 258

Panama, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 259
Spain, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 260
Lebanon, 1975-1976	box 9	folder 261
Southeast Asia - Viet Name and Other Countries, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 262
Southeast Asia - Cambodia, 1975	box 10	folder 262.1
Saudi Arabia, 1974-1976	box 10	folder 263
Portugal, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 264
Critical Materials/Strategic Stockpile, 1975	box 10	folder 265
President William Tolbert of Liberia, 1976	box 10	folder 266
Singapore, 1975	box 10	folder 267
Contact with Communist Officials, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 268
Energy, 1975	box 10	folder 269
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 1976	box 10	folder 270
DC Metro Subway Construction and Financing, 1975	box 10	folder 271
President Ford's Speeches, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 272
Science, 1975	box 10	folder 273
Steel, 1976	box 10	folder 274
Personnel - General, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 275
Frances Knight - Passport Office, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 276
Carleton Smith - Assistant to J. Paul Getty, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 277
Soviet Union, 1976	box 10	folder 278
Soviet Union, 1976-1977	box 10	folder 279
Soviet Union, 1975	box 10	folder 280
Soviet Statements, 1975	box 10	folder 281
Tunisia, 1976	box 10	folder 282
Western Europe, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 283
Yugoslavia, 1976	box 10	folder 284
Martim L. Cabral, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 285
Enzo de Chiara - Cousin of President Leone of Italy, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 286
Queen Elizabeth II's State Visit, July 6-11, 1976	box 10	folder 287
President Giscard d'Estaing's Visit to Yorktown, Virginia, May 1976	box 10	folder 288
Lord Mountbatten, 1975-1976	box 10	folder 289

Meetings with Congressional Leaders, January-September 1975	box 11	folder 290
Meetings with Congressional Leaders, October 1975-June 1976	box 11	folder 290.1
Vice Presidential Travel, Miscellaneous, 1975-1977	box 11	folder 291
Input for Report to the President, January 1976	box 11	folder 292
NAR Remarks on the Soviet Union, May 1976	box 11	folder 293
International Naval Review and Operation Sail, July 1976	box 11	folder 294
Vice Presidential Correspondence, January 1977	box 11	folder 295
Vice Presidential Correspondence, September-December 1976	box 11	folder 296
Vice Presidential Correspondence, May-August 1976	box 11	folder 296.1
Vice Presidential Correspondence, January-April 1976	box 11	folder 296.2
Vice Presidential Correspondence, July-December 1975	box 11	folder 297
Vice Presidential Correspondence, January-June 1975	box 11	folder 297.1
NAR on Freedom of the Seas Speech Draft, March 1976	box 11	folder 298
Staff Organization, 1975-1976	box 11	folder 299
NAR Speech Drafts, February-September 1975	box 11	folder 300
NAR Speech Drafts, November 1975, January 1976	box 11	folder 300.1
Q&A Following Speech by NAR to National Defense University, December 9, 1976	box 11	folder 300.2
"Donovan and the CIA: A History," Volume 1	box 11	folder 301
"Donovan and the CIA: A History," Volume 2	box 11	folder 302
State Department's Consumer Conference, October 1976	box 11	folder 303
Drafts for Republican Platform, 1976	box 11	folder 304
Drafts for Republican Platform, 1976	box 11	folder 304.1
Mrs. Rockefeller's Trip to Finland, Soviet Union, and Norway, October 1976 (1 of 3)	box 11	folder 305
CLOSED FOLDER	box 12	folder 306
Conditions Governing Access note: Conditions Governing Access note		
Formerly restricted material is now open for research.		
Event for Wives of Japanese Dignitaries, Hosted by Mrs. Rockefeller, July-August 1975	box 12	folder 307
CLOSED FOLDER	box 12	folder 308
Conditions Governing Access note:		

## **Conditions Governing Access note**

Formerly restricted material is now open for research.

CLOSED FOLDER	box 12	folder 309
Conditions Governing Access note:		
<b>Conditions Governing Access note</b>		
Formerly restricted material is now open for research.		
Vice Presidential Flag and Seal, 1975-1976	box 12	folder 310
Vice President's Official Residence, 1974-1976	box 12	folder 311
Emergency Procedures Plan, 1975-1976	box 12	folder 312
Service Academy Program, 1975-1976	box 12	folder 313
Service Academy Program, 1975-1976	box 12	folder 313.1
Conditions Governing Access note:		
<b>Conditions Governing Access note</b>		
Restricted material		
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, January 1977	box 12	folder 314
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, September 1976	box 12	folder 315
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, October 1976	box 12	folder 315.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, November 1976	box 12	folder 316
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, December 1976	box 12	folder 316.1
Operations Coordinating Board and Psychological Warfare, 1953-1955	box 12	folder 317
Operations Coordinating Board and Psychological Warfare, 1953-1955	box 12	folder 317.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, May 1976	box 12	folder 318
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, May 1976	box 12	folder 318.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, June 1976	box 12	folder 318.2
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, June 1976	box 12	folder 318.3
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, July 1976	box 12	folder 319
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, August 1976	box 12	folder 319.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, July-August 1976	box 12	folder 319.2
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File (from Folder 319), July 1976	box 12	folder 319.3
Conditions Governing Access note:		

## **Conditions Governing Access note**

### Restricted material

Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, March 1976	box 12	folder 320
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, April 1976	box 12	folder 320.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, March-April 1976	box 12	folder 320.2
Report - "Japan: Making Foreign Economic Policy", circa 1976	box 12	folder 321
Statement by the Director of Central Intelligence to the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, January 13, 1975	box 13	folder 322
Report to the President on Organization and Management of the Foreign Intelligence Community, December 16, 1975	box 13	folder 323
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 1975-1976	box 13	folder 324
CIA Commission - General, January 1975	box 13	folder 325
CIA Policy and Legal Matters, 1975	box 13	folder 326
CIA Commission - NAR's Handwritten Notes, 1975	box 13	folder 327
Security of U.S. Telecommunications, 1977	box 13	folder 328
Summary and Analysis of Colby Report, 1975	box 13	folder 329
CIA Commission Chron File, January 1975	box 13	folder 330
CIA Commission Chron File, February-March 1975	box 13	folder 330.1
CIA Commission Chron File, April 1975	box 13	folder 330.2
CIA News Clippings, January-February 1975	box 13	folder 331
CIA News Clippings, March 1975	box 13	folder 331.1
CIA News Clippings, April 1975	box 13	folder 331.2
CIA News Clippings, May-June 1975	box 13	folder 331.3
CIA Commission Chron File, May 1975	box 13	folder 332
CIA Commission Chron File, June 1975	box 13	folder 332.1
CIA Commission Chron File, July-August 1975	box 13	folder 332.2
CIA Commission Chron File, Unsorted, 1974-1976	box 13	folder 332.3
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, January-February 1976	box 13	folder 333
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, February 1976	box 13	folder 333.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, January 1976	box 13	folder 333.2
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, November-December 1975	box 13	folder 334
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, December 1975	box 13	folder 334.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, November 1975	box 13	folder 334.2

Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, August 1975	box 14	folder 335
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, July 1975	box 14	folder 335.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, Unsorted, September-October 1975	box 14	folder 336
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, October 1975	box 14	folder 336.1
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, September 1975	box 14	folder 336.2
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, June 1975	box 14	folder 337
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, May 1975	box 14	folder 337.1
Report - "American Intelligence: A Framework for the Future", October 13, 1975	box 14	folder 338
Report - "American Intelligence: A Framework for the Future" - Annexes, October 13, 1975	box 14	folder 338.1
Operations Coordinating Board #4, 1955, 1974	box 14	folder 339
Operations Coordinating Board #4, 1955, 1974	box 14	folder 339.1
Capt. John Howe's Chron File, March/April 1975	box 14	folder 340
Capt. John Howe's Chron File, April 1975	box 14	folder 340.1
Capt. John Howe's Chron File, March 1975	box 14	folder 340.2
Operations Coordinating Board #2, 1955, 1976	box 14	folder 341
Operations Coordinating Board #2, 1955, 1976	box 14	folder 341.1
Operations Coordinating Board #3, 1955	box 14	folder 342
Operations Coordinating Board #3, 1955	box 14	folder 342.1
Pre-Vice Presidential Period - Briefing Material, 1974	box 14	folder 343
Capt. Jon Howe's Chron File, January-February 1975	box 14	folder 344
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), June 1975	box 15	folder 345
CIA Commission Personnel Matters, 1975	box 15	folder 346
CIA Commission Meeting Agenda and Attendees, 1975	box 15	6.11. 0.47
	00X 13	folder 347
CIA Commission General Correspondence, 1975	box 15	folder 347 folder 348
CIA Commission General Correspondence, 1975  CIA Commission Administrative Details, 1975		
•	box 15	folder 348
CIA Commission Administrative Details, 1975  Memo to President Ford from Donald Rumsfeld on CIA Director	box 15	folder 348 folder 349
CIA Commission Administrative Details, 1975  Memo to President Ford from Donald Rumsfeld on CIA Director Position, June 15, 1975	box 15 box 15 box 15	folder 348 folder 349 folder 350
CIA Commission Administrative Details, 1975  Memo to President Ford from Donald Rumsfeld on CIA Director Position, June 15, 1975  CIA Commission Staff Photograph, July 2, 1975	box 15 box 15 box 15	folder 348 folder 349 folder 350

NAR Drafts of Chapters, May 1975	box 15	folder 353.1
Part I, Summary of Investigation, 1975	box 15	folder 354
Part II, Chapters 4-6, 1975	box 15	folder 355
Part III, Chapters 7-8, 1975	box 15	folder 356
Part IV, Chapter 9, 1975	box 15	folder 357
Chapter 10, 1975	box 15	folder 358
Chapter 11, 1975	box 15	folder 359
Chapter 12, 1975	box 15	folder 360
Chapter 13, 1975	box 15	folder 361
Chapter 14, 1975	box 15	folder 362
Chapter 15 Notes and Chapter 16, 1975	box 15	folder 363
Chapter 17, 1975	box 15	folder 364
Chapter 18, 1975	box 15	folder 365
Chapter 19, 1975	box 15	folder 366
Appendices I-VI, 1975	box 15	folder 367
Appendix VII, 1975	box 15	folder 368
Report of Chief of Central Intelligence Staff, 1975	box 15	folder 369
CIA/Office of Economic Research Intelligence Reports for Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 1974-1975	box 15	folder 370
CLOSED FOLDER	box 15	folder 371
Conditions Governing Access note  Conditions Governing Access note  Restricted material		
Restricted material		
Ann Whitman's CIA Commission File, January-June 1975	box 15	folder 372
Issues for the Intelligence Community, circa 1976	box 15	folder 373
Civil Defense, November 1976-January 1977	box 15	folder 374
Report - Psychological Aspects of U.S. Strategy, November 1955	box 15	folder 375
Report of the Quantico Vulnerabilities Panel, June 1955	box 15	folder 376
White House Press Releases on Intelligence, February 1976	box 16	folder 377
Operations Coordinating Board #6, 1955	box 16	folder 378
Operations Coordinating Board #6, 1955	box 16	folder 378.1
Operations Coordinating Board #5, 1955	box 16	folder 379
Operations Coordinating Board #5, 1955		

	box 16	folder 379.1
Operations Coordinating Board #5, 1955	box 16	folder 379.2
Report - "Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities in 1954", February 1955	box 16	folder 380
Report - "Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities in 1954", February 1955	box 16	folder 380.1
Jurisdiction of the CIA Commission - Sections A-E, May 1, 1975	box 16	folder 381
Jurisdiction of the CIA Commission - Sections F-J, May 1, 1975	box 16	folder 381.1
Memo to NAR on CIA Commission Report Problems, With Staff Annotations, May 15, 1975	box 16	folder 382
CIA Commission Current (possibly Peter Wallison files), 1975	box 16	folder 383
CIA Commission Current (possibly Peter Wallison files), 1976	box 16	folder 383.1
CIA Commission Current - Executive Order Drafts, 1975	box 16	folder 383.2
CIA Commission Follow-up (possibly Peter Wallison files), May- July 1975	box 16	folder 384
CIA Commission Follow-up (possibly Peter Wallison files), August-December 1975	box 16	folder 384.1
CIA Commission Follow-up (possibly Peter Wallison files), January-June 1975	box 16	folder 384.2
CIA Commission Report Book IV - Memo on Restructuring of Intelligence Community, October 15, 1975	box 16	folder 385
Decision Book for the President on the Intelligence Community, December 1975	box 16	folder 386
Decision Book for the President on the Intelligence Community, December 1975	box 16	folder 387
CIA Commission Report Book I - NAR Binder, January-June 1975	box 17	folder 388
CIA Commission Report Book I - NAR Binder, January-June 1975	box 17	folder 388.1
CIA Commission Report Book II - NAR Binder, January-June 1975	box 17	folder 389
CIA Commission Report Book II - NAR Binder, January-June 1975	box 17	folder 389.1
CIA Commission Report Book III - NAR Binder, January-August 1975	box 17	folder 390
CIA Commission Report Book III - NAR Binder, January-August 1975	box 17	folder 390.1
CIA Commission Report Book IV - NAR Binder, August 1975- March 1976	box 17	folder 391
CIA Commission Report Book IV - NAR Binder, August 1975- March 1976	box 17	folder 391.1
CIA Commission - Vice President's Annex, 1973-1975	box 17	folder 392

Murphy Commission Background Volumes, 1973-1975			
Book I, compiled February 7, 1975, February 7, 1975	box 18	folder 393	
Scope and Contents note			
Status of Committee work and plans for next Commission meeting. Summaries of issues.			
Tab A - Committee Membership Tab B - Congressional Issues Tab C - Intelligence and National Security (Rockefeller Reports) Tab D - International Economics Tab E - Public Diplomacy Tab F - Selected Minutes of Commission Meetings Tab G - The Constitution			
Book II, compiled February 13, 1975, February 13, 1975	box 18	folder 394	
Scope and Contents note			
Status of Committee deliberations, plans for Commission meetings, and work on Vice Presidential requests.			
Tab A - Summary of National Security Issues Tab B - Latin America Report Tab C - West Coast Hearings Tab D - Eisenhower Book Tab E - Drucker's "Fortune" Article Tab F - DOD Studies			
Book III, compiled February 17, 1975, February 17, 1975	box 18	folder 395	
Scope and Contents note			
Draft of report of the National Security Committee.			
Tab A - Criticisms of NSC Management Tab B - Unsubstantiated Statements Tab C - Recommendations TAb D - First Draft - National Security Committee Report			
Book IV, compiled February 20, 1975, February 20, 1975	box 18	folder 396	
Scope and Contents note			
Allison Report on National Security Cases.			
Tab A - Defense and Arms Control Cases Tab B - Examples of Questionable Case Analysis and Statements Tab C - Failures to Attend to the Longer Run Tab D - Disadvantages of the "1969" NSC System Tab E - Costs of "Closed" System Tab F - Selected References to Secretary Kissinger Tab G - Specific Findings and Recommendations from Summary Volumes Tab H - Allison Memorandum to Subcommittee on National Security			
Book V, compiled February 21, 1975, February 21, 1975	box 18	folder 397	

### **Scope and Contents note**

Update of Commission developments for week covering Committee progress, project status, possible action, plans for Commissioners meeting, and background materials.

Tab A - Effect of Recently Enacted Legislative Restrictions on Executive Foreign Affairs Authority Tab B - 1974 Foreign Assistance Act Tab C - Remarks of the President at the Salute to the Vice President Dinner (Feb. 13, 1975) Tab D - Commission "Global Issues" Research Project

Book VI, compiled March 3, 1975, March 3, 1975

box 18

folder 398

### **Scope and Contents note**

Briefing book of Vice President's first meeting as a Commissioner. Progress reports on commission work. Testimony of Secretary Kissinger.

Tab A - Comments on Mansfield Trip to China Tab B - Engelhard Report on China Trip Tab C - Committee Progress Reports Tab D - Federal Advisory Committee Act Tab E - Questions for Secretary Kissinger Tab F - Commission Members Tab G - Talking Points on Impact of Restrictive Legislation Tab H - Effects of Recent Legislative Restrictions (Includes Restrictive Provisions of Foreign Assistance Act) Tab I - Non-interference in International Affairs Tab J - Secretary Kissinger's Remarks on Relations with Congress Tab K - Casey Testimony on International Policy Tab L - State Department Submission to Murphy Commission

box 18

folder 399

## Book VII, compiled March 7, 1975, March 7, 1975

### **Scope and Contents note**

Report on Committee progress, plans for March 17 meeting, and background materials on developing issues.

Tab A - Recommendations Tab B - Report of National Security Committee Meeting Tab C - Study of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy Making Tab D - War Powers, Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege Tab E - Executive Branch Consultations with Congress on Military Assistance to Turkey Tab F - Index of Commission Testimony

Book VIII, compiled March 17, 1975, March 17, 1975

box 18

folder 400

### **Scope and Contents note**

Testimony from General Goodpaster and Secretary Rogers and review of draft report of Committee on Intelligence.

Tab A - List of Recommendations by Chapter Tab B - Director Central Intelligence from Public Life Tab C - Greater Civilian Control over NSA Tab D - All SIGINT

Under NDA Tab E - All Paramilitary Operations Under DOD Tab F - Presidential Certification of Covert Action Tab G - Amendment to Foreign Assistance Act Tab H -Oversight of Operational Activity Tab I - Commission Participants Tab J - Senator Muskie's Comments on Congress Concerning Aid for Turkey and Trade with the Soviet Union Tab K - "The Politics of Appeasement," Irving Kristol, Wall Street Journal Tab L - Portion of National Security Act Pertaining to CIA Tab M - Paper on Public Opinion Tab N - Draft Report on Intelligence I -Introduction II - Policy Making and Intelligence Support III - Resource Management and the Role of the DCI (Directory of Central Intelligence) IV - Defense Intelligence Activites V - The Clandestine Services and Covert Action VI -Declassification and Protection of Sources VII - Supervision and Oversight

Book X, compiled March 15, 1975, March 15, 1975

box 19

folder 401

### **Scope and Contents note**

Additional information on March 17 meeting including Meeting Agenda, General Goodpaster's testimony and intelligence draft.

Tab A - Marvin Gray memo on Draft Report on Intelligence
Tab B - Comments on the Draft Murphy Commission
Intelligence Report Tab C - Comments on Certain
"Recommendations" of the Draft Report of Committee II
Tab D - Summary Statement, Meeting November 1973,
Intelligence (Colby, Porter State), Hall (DOD), De Poix
(DIA), Schoning (DOD/ISA)

Attachments for Books 2-8, Economics	box 19	folder 402	
Attachments for Book X, Summaries of Testimony, June 1973-September 1974	box 19	folder 403	
Attachments for Book X, Summaries of Testimony, June 1973-September 1974	box 19	folder 404	
Book XI, compiled March 31, 1975, March 31, 1975	box 19	folder 405	

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meeting of March 31, 1975. Testimony by former Secretary of STate Rogers and Secretary Simon. Discussion of the Survey of Congress conducted by the Commission.

Tab A - Suggested Questions for Secretary Rogers Tab B - Suggested Questions for Secretary Simon Tab C - Summary Report of Results of Congressional Survey (Basic Overview) Tab D - List of Interview Proposals Tab E - Legislators Appraisals of Sixteen Foreign Policy Proposals Tab F - Tables Which Accompany Basic Report at Tab C

Tab G - Soviet Statements Tab H - Expulsions of Soviet Intelligence Officers (KGB and GRU)

Book XII, compiled April 11, 1975, April 11, 1975

box 19

folder 406

### **Scope and Contents note**

Committee papers on status of Committee work, "other projects," overall schedule, and draft of Economic Committee Report for April 21 meeting.

Tab A - Letter from George Meany Tab B - Foreign Organizations Tab C - Other Projects Tab D - Draft Paper on Foreign Economic Policies Tab E - Council on International Economic Policy (CIEP) Tab F - Council on Economic Policy

box 19

folder 407

Book XIV, compiled April 21, 1975, April 21, 1975

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for April 21 and 22 Meetings. Presentation of Congressional Committee and National Security reports.

Tab A - Comments by Senator Spong on Congressional Report Tab B - Senator Mansfield's Comments Tab C - Report of Congressional Committee Tab D - Wagner Comments on Televised Debates Tab E - Comparison of Congressional Survey Findings and Recommendations of the Committee on Congress and Congressional-Executive Relations Tab F - Comments on Second Draft of National Security Council Report

box 19

folder 408

Book XVI, compiled April 20, 1975, April 20, 1975

#### **Scope and Contents note**

Report of the National Security Subcommittee.

Tab A - Comments on Recommendations Tab B -

Comments on Recommendations by NSC Tab C -

Comments on Recommendations by State Tab D -

Comments on Recommendations by ACDA Tab E

- Comments on Recommendations by OMB Tab F -

Comments on Recommendations by DOD Tab G - Text of

National Security Subcommittee Report

Book XVII, compiled April 28, 1975, April 28, 1975

box 20

folder 409

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meetings of April 28 and 29. Testimony on personnel issues, guidance in the intelligence area, and discussion of the Economic Committee Report.

Tab A - Articles on Intelligence Tab B - Differences in the Casey and Volcker Drafts Tab C - Comments by the Vice

President on an Earlier Economic Draft Tab D - The Casey Draft Tab E - The Volcker Draft Tab F - The McKitterick Alternative

Book XVII, compiled April 28, 1975, April 28, 1975

box 20

folder 410

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meetings of April 28 and 29. Testimony on personnel issues, guidance in the intelligence area, and discussion of the Economic Committee Report.

Tab A - Articles on Intelligence Tab B - Differences in the Casey and Volcker Drafts Tab C - Comments by the Vice President on an Earlier Economic Draft Tab D - The Casey Draft Tab E - The Volcker Draft Tab F - The McKitterick Alternative

box 20

folder 411

Book XVIII, compiled May 12, 1975, May 12, 1975

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meeting of May 12. State and White House organization issues. Report on public opinion and foreign policy.

Sec 1 - State and White House Organization Sec 2 - Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Sec 3 - Agenda for Remainder of Murphy Commission Sessions Sec 4 - Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege

Tab A - Research Paper - Organizing the State Department and the White House Tab B - State Department Chart (Current) Tab C - State Department (Proposed) Tab D - Criteria Rating Chart Tab E - L. William Seidman Memo - Economic Policy Organization Tab F - Maxwell Taylor Article in "Orbis" Tab G - Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Tab H - Dr. Wagner Submission on use of T.V. Tab I - Public Opinion and the Use of Force Tab J - Agenda of Commission Meetings for May and June Tab K - William Spong Memo on Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege Tab L - Statement of G. H. Hackworth on Executive Agreements Tab M - Speech by Attorney General E. H. Levi Tab N - List of Commissioners

box 20

folder 412

Book XIX, compiled May 16, 1975, May 16, 1975

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for next meetings. Outgrowths from last meeting. Activities of other Commissioners. Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege. Stanton Committee Report.

Tab A - Report of May 12 Murphy Commission Meeting Tab B - Comments of Congressman Broomfield Tab C -Dr. Wagner's Comments on the Working Hypothesis of the

# Commission Tab D - Comments on Stanton Report by USIA Directory

Book XX, compiled May 19, 1975, May 19, 1975

box 20

folder 413

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meeting of May 19. Topics for discussion included personnel, policy planning, and multilateral diplomacy.

Encl 1 - Personnel Encl 2 - Policy Planning Encl 3 - Multilateral Diplomacy

Tab A - Summary of Personnel Paper Tab B - Draft Section for Final Report on Policy Planning Tab C - Draft Section on Multilateral Diplomacy

Book XXI, compiled May 20, 1975, May 20, 1975

box 20

folder 414

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for Meeting of May 20. Discussion of draft on Intelligence, Policy Planning and Multilateral Diplomacy.

Tab A - Draft on Intelligence.

Book XXII, compiled May 23, 1975, May 23, 1975

box 20

folder 415

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for May 27 and 28 meetings. Topics include Multilateral Diplomacy, Secretary Schlesinger testimony, Humanitarian Issues, Public Diplomacy, Overseas Posts and Missions, Budgets and State Department Organization.

Tab A - Commission Letter to Secretary Schlesinger Tab B - Draft on Public Diplomacy

Book XXIII, compiled May 27, 1975, May 27, 1975

box 20

folder 416

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for May 27 meeting. Discussion of multilateral diplomacy, intelligence, humanitarianism and public diplomacy.

Tab A - Memorandum for the Vice President (Basic memo from Book 22) Tab A1 - Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Issues Tab B - Human Rights, Humanitarian, and Ethical Considerations in the Conduct of Foreign Policy Tab C - U.S. Policies on Human Rights and Authoritarian Regimes Tab D - Public Diplomacy Tab E - Stanton Panel on USIA Tab F - A Critique of the Stanton Report on Information, Education and Cultural Relations Tab G - Abbott Washburn comments on Stanton Panel Recommendations Tab H - George Meany letter on USIA Tab I - Statement of Director,

USIA before Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate Tab J - Statement of Frank Stanton before Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Book XXV, compiled June 3, 1975, June 3, 1975

box 20

folder 417

### **Scope and Contents note**

Agenda for June 3 meeting. Discussion of Intelligence and White House Organizations.

Tab A - Memorandum for the Vice President on May 27 meeting. Tab B - Intelligence Issues Requiring Commission Decision Tab C - Commission Discussion of "Central Structure for Policy Integration" Tab D - State Department and White House Organization Tab E - Alternative Patterns of White House Organization Tab F - Outline of Commission's Final Report Tab G - Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege Tab H - Draft Vice Presidential letter to Commissioner Murphy on Executive Agreements and Executive Privilege Tab I - Murphy memo for Commissioners on Intelligence and White House

Book XXVI, compiled June 2, 1975, June 2, 1975

box 20

folder 418

### **Scope and Contents note**

Additional items for June 3 meeting. Casey views on White House Organization and Casey and Murphy views on Intelligence. Wallison argument against Creation of a Separate Director of National Intelligence. Draft of Dissenting Report.

Tab A - Agenda for June 3 Meeting Tab B - Organization for Foreign Affairs Tab C - Murphy Memo on Intelligence Tab C1 - Murphy Memo on White House Organization Tab D - Wallison Memo on Murphy Commission (National Intelligence) Tab E - Dissenting Opinion

box 20

folder 419

Book XXVII, compiled June 14, 1975, June 14, 1975

### **Scope and Contents note**

Report on previous meeting. Topics discussed were Executive-Congressional Relations, White House Economic Structure, and Stanton Recommendations Concerning USIA.

Tab A - Executive-Congressional Relations Tab B - Attorney General Levi letter to Vice President on Executive Privilege and Executive Agreements Tab C - Discussion Paper on Organizing for Foreign Economic Policy Tab D - Draft Commission Report on USIA and VOA (Broomfield comments) Tab E - Draft Supplementary Opinion

Book XXVIII, compiled July 11, 1975, July 11, 1975

box 20

folder 420

### **Scope and Contents note**

Press Reports and Follow-up Editorials.

Tab A - "The Washington Post" article of June 29, 1975

Tab B - "The New York Times" article of June 29, 1975

Tab C - "Washington Star" article of June 29, 1975 Tab

D - "Baltimore Sun" article of June 29, 1975 Tab E -

"The Christian Science Monitor" article of July 1, 1975

Tab F - "The Washington Post" article of July 7, 1975

Tab G - "Washington Star" editorial of July 1, 1975 Tab

H - "Norfolk Ledger-Star" article of July 12, 1975 Tab

I - Commission Press Release of June 27, 1975 Tab J -

Rumsfeld memos on Commission Report

Background Workbook #1, October 1974	box 21	folder 421	
Background Workbook #1, October 1974	box 21	folder 422	
Background Workbook #2, Memoranda, 1973-1974	box 21	folder 423	
Background Workbook #3, Meeting Minutes, May 1973- September 1974	box 21	folder 424	
Background Workbook #4, Background Papers, 1974	box 21	folder 425	
Background Workbook #5, Intelligence, 1973-1974	box 21	folder 426	
Background Workbook #6, National Security, 1973-1974	box 21	folder 427	
Background Workbook #7, International Economics, 1973-1974	box 21	folder 428	
Background Workbook #9, Public Diplomacy and Support, 1974	box 21	folder 429	
National Center for Productivity and Quality of Life, 1976	box 21	folder 430	

### **Scope and Contents note**

Draft of "Program for Achieving a More Productive Regulatory System," April 16, 1976. Includes NAR's handwritten edits.