



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

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Rockefeller Archive Center

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Summary Information

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|---|---|
| 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 |

Preferred Citation note

Information regarding the Rockefeller Archive Center's preferred elements and forms of citation can be found at <http://www.rockarch.org/research/citations.php>

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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.

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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 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.

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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 month 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, international 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.

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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.

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File Plan note

Former Classification: III 26 19

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Administrative Information

Publication Statement

Rockefeller Archive Center

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Sleepy Hollow 10591

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URL: <http://www.rockarch.org>

Processing Information note

Processing Level 3: Standard Processing.

The original title of this series was Foreign Policy and Travel. It was changed during the archival processing to Foreign Affairs and National Security to more accurately reflect the contents of the folders. However, the original title may appear on separation sheets and other processing-related documents.

Conditions Governing Use note

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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.

Processing Information note

Amy R. Fitch, March 2007; rev. June 2018

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.

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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.

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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

Other Findings Aids note

Detailed finding aids for each series of this collection are available:

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Richard Allison \(FA377\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Central Files \(FA378\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, National Commission on Water Quality \(FA379\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, New York Office \(FA380\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Joseph E. Persico \(FA381\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Press Releases \(FA382\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Speeches \(FA383\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice Presidential Records, Working Papers of the Vice President \(FA384\)](#)[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

Collection Inventory

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| Saudi Arabia Trip, March 25-28, 1975 | box 1 | folder 2 |
| Republic of China, April 13-17, 1975 | box 1 | folder 3 |
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| Venezuela Trip, December 26-31, 1976 | box 1 | folder 21 |

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| 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 |
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Scope and Contents note

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| <u>Conditions Governing Access note:</u> | | |

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Formerly restricted material is now open for research.

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Status of Committee work and plans for next Commission meeting. Summaries of issues.

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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

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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

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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

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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

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

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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 -
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Irving Kristol, Wall Street Journal Tab L - Portion of
National Security Act Pertaining to CIA Tab M - Paper on
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Introduction II - Policy Making and Intelligence Support III
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Meeting Agenda, General Goodpaster's testimony and
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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 -
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Book XII, compiled April 11, 1975, April 11, 1975

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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

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

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Report of the National Security Subcommittee.

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

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

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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

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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
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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

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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.

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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

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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

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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

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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

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

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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

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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
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 Rumsfeld memos on Commission Report

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Scope and Contents note

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