

Document Reader

Sponsored by

The Cold War International History Project
(Woodrow Wilson Center)



CIMA
Machiavelli Center

and

The Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies

The Rise of Detente

Compiled for the International Conference

NATO, the Warsaw Pact and
the Rise of Detente, 1965-1972

Dobbiaco/Toblach (BZ), Italy
26-28 September, 2002

Volume I

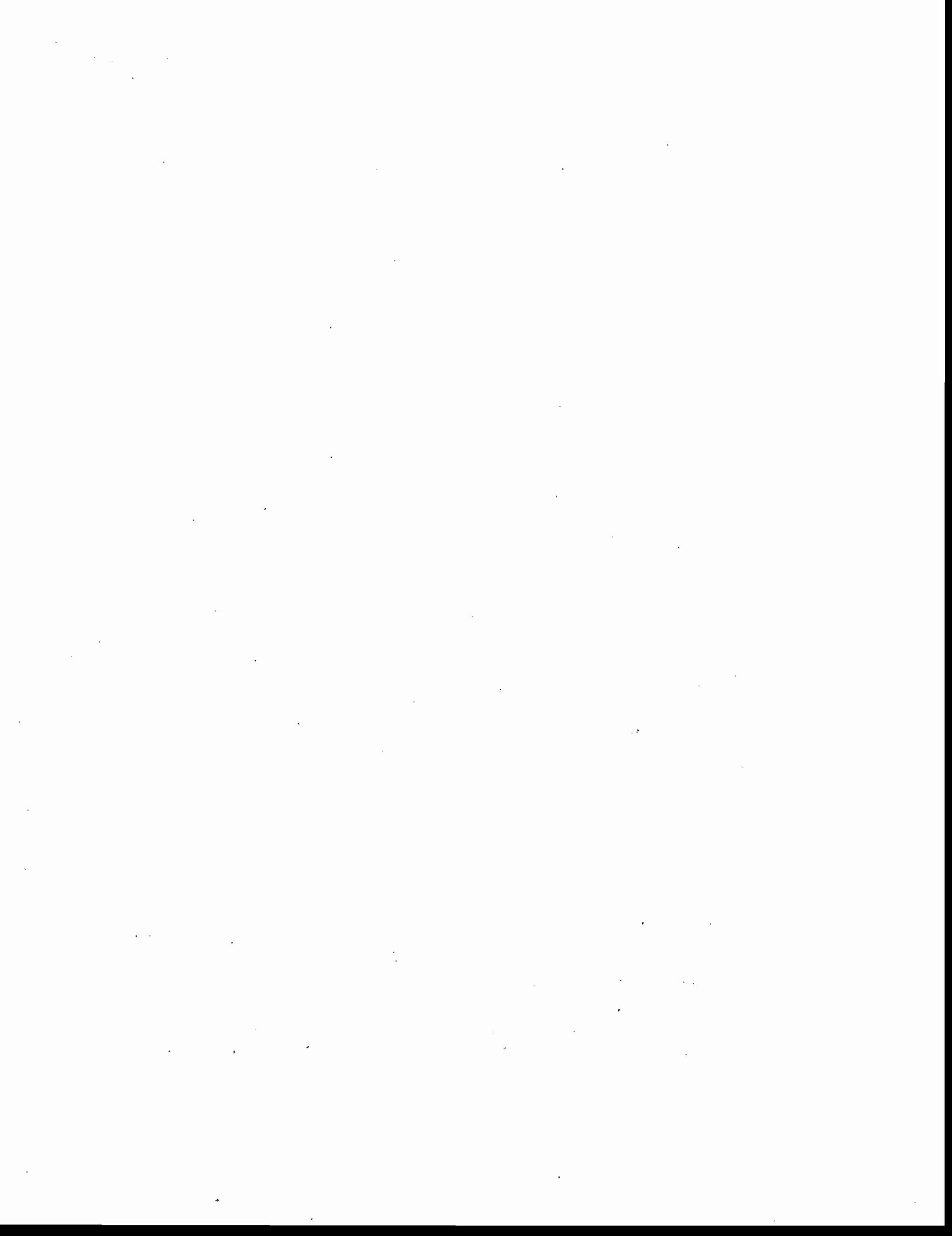
US-USSR Bilateral Relations

Reader Compiled by

Mircea Munteanu,
Hedwig Giusto,
Christian Ostermann

In cooperation with William Burr
and the assistance of
Delaney Andersen, John Solomon,
Leslie Dubeck, Jessica Meyers, Molly Gerber
and the conference participants





THE RISE OF DÉTENTE

Document Reader
for the International Conference

NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the Rise of Détente, 1965-1972

Organized by

THE MACHIAVELLI CENTER FOR COLD WAR STUDIES

and
co-sponsored by

THE COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT
at the
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

THE MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE PARALLEL HISTORY PROJECT ON NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

26-28 SEPTEMBER, 2002
DOBBIACO/TOBLACH (BZ)
ITALY



Dear Conference Participants:

We are pleased to present this document reader, intended to facilitate the discussions at the upcoming conference “**NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the Rise of Détente, 1965-1972,**” to be held in Dobbiaco 26-28 September 2002. The two volumes, together with the companion CD-Rom, consist of recently declassified documents from US, British and Eastern European archives which we hope will shed new light on contentious points, provide context, and stimulate the discussions at the conference.

This collection, the product of an intense research effort by the Cold War International History Project and contributions from participants, is by no means comprehensive and in many ways merely touches the surface. In selecting the documents, the editors have made an effort to include some of the most relevant materials that have been recently declassified at the U.S. National Archives. We have divided the reader into two volumes and have organized it around the major themes of the conference.

In compiling these documents the editors have received special assistance from William Burr of the National Security Archive, both in terms of advice and documents he contributed. For their contributions to the reader, we would like to thank: Ruud van Dijk, Marilena Gala, Isabella Ginor, Jeffrey Kimball, Anna Locher, Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist, Illaria Poggiolini, and Robert Wampler. We would also like to extend special thanks to the CWIHP research assistants Delaney Andersen and John Solomon for their help with the research at NARA II-Nixon Presidential Materials, and all the time they spent in the pre-production stage of this reader. We would also like to thank CWIHP research assistants Leslie Dubeck, Molly Gerber, Nick de la Graza, Hyunah Kim, and Jessica Meyers, who spent many hours at the National Archives at College Park researching in the Nixon Presidential Materials.

We are especially grateful to the sponsors and organizers of the conference, the *Machiavelli Center for Cold War Study*, and the co-sponsoring institutions, the *Cold War International History Project* at the *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, the *Miller Center for Public Affairs* and the *Parallel History Project for NATO and the Warsaw Pact*. The production of this reader would not have been possible without funding from the Machiavelli Center and the generous support by Ennio di Nolfo and Leopoldo Nuti.

Mircea Munteanu
Hedi Giusto
Christian Ostermann



Volume I
US-Soviet Bilateral Relations

Section I

Bilateral Negotiations 1969 – 1972

- 1) October 1971: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Chronology leading up to Soviet-US Summit
- 2) 18 February 1969: [Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum HAK to Nixon, "*Analysis of Dobrynin Message (Vietnam, Middle East, SALT, European Settlement)*"
- 3) 6 March 1969: [Secret/Nodis] Memo for Nixon from HAK, *Conversation with Amb. Dobrynin, Lunch, March 3.*
- 4) 23 May 1969: [Top Secret] Memorandum for the President from Henry A. Kissinger, "*Analysis of Strategic Arms Limitation Proposals*"
- 5) 12 July 1969: [Secret], Memorandum of Conversation of the Ambassador of the USSR to the USA A.F. Dobrynin with Kissinger
- 6) 22 December 1969: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Nodis] Memo of Conversation between HAK and Dobrynin
- 7) 19 February 1970: [Top Secret] Special National Intelligence Estimate, "*Soviet Attitudes Towards SALT*"
- 8) 10 April 1970: [Top Secret/NODIS] National Security Decision Memorandum 51, "*Vienna Strategic Arms Limitation Talks*"
- 9) 15 April 1970: [Top Secret/Nodis] Memo for Chief, United States delegation to the SALT, *Initial U.S. Position for the Vienna Strategic Arms Limitation Talks*
- 10) 20 May 1970: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *Soviets Quote You in Support of SALT Agreement Confined to ABM Limitation*
- 11) 7 April 1970: [Top Secret] Memo to The Secretary from Spiers, *NSC: April 8 Meeting on SALT – Briefing Memorandum*
- 12) 15 June 1970: [Top Secret/NODIS/Sensitive] Memorandum for the President from HAK, "*My June 15 meeting with Amb. Dobrynin.*"
- 13) 23 June 1970: [Top Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum of Conversation between Henry A. Kissinger and Anatolly F. Dobrynin.

- 14) 13 August 1970: [Top Secret/Exdis] Information Memo to The Secretary from Spiers, *SALT - Vienna*
- 15) 19 October 1970: [Secret/Nodis/Sensitive] Memo HAK to Nixon, *Your meeting with Gromyko October 22, 1970* (Tab B: Berlin, German Eastern Policy, Tab C: European Security Conference, Tab D: SALT,
- 16) 20 October 1970: [Secret/Nodis] Memo HAK to Nixon, *Sec. Rogers' conversation with Gromyko in NY* (Telegrams from Rogers)
- 17) 22 October 1970: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Nixon, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Rogers, Henry A. Kissinger, Viktor Sukhodrev, William Krimer, 11:00 a.m.-1:30 p.m. (2 different copies included, 5 copies total)
- 18) 2 November 1970: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum for the President from Kissinger, *"My October 23 and 27 Discussions with Ambassador Dobrynin."*
- 19) 18 December 1970: [Top Secret] Memo to The Secretary from Spiers, *SALT - The Helsinki Phase*
- 20) 22 December 1970: [Top Secret/Sensitive] Memo HAK to Nixon, *Conversation with Dobrynin: US-USSR Relations, Middle East, Vietnam, Salt, Cuba, Summit*
- 21) 23 January 1971: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Henry A. Kissinger and Anatoly F. Dobrynin. (2 copies included)
- 22) 28 January 1971: [Top Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum of Conversation between Henry A. Kissinger and Anatoly F. Dobrynin.
- 23) 21 March 1971: [Secret/Nodis/Eyes Only] Memo HAK to Nixon, *Exchanges on SALT with Dobrynin.*
- 24) 19 April 1971: [Top Secret], Memorandum from the Committee for State Security to Comrade Ustinov, D.F.
- 25) 5 May 1971: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for Nixon from Haig, *Possible SALT Agreement with the Soviets*
- 26) 10 May 1971: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt and Smith, *Your Breakfast Meeting with Gerard Smith, Tuesday, May 11.*
- 27) 11 May 1971: Telecon between Amb. Dobrynin and Kissinger.

- 28) 20 July 1971: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *US-Soviet Relations in Light of the President's Visit to China*
- 29) 10 August 1971: Document handed to Kissinger by Dobrynin, "*Instructions from Moscow for Nixon.*"
- 30) 17 September 1971: [Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memo HAK to Nixon, *Brezhnev's reply to your letter of August 5, 1971*, (Letter Brezhnev to Nixon)
- 31) 29 September 1971: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for the President from HAK, *Your meeting with Gromyko, Wednesday, September 29 at 3:00 p.m.*
- 32) 29 September 1971: [Secret/Nodis] Memo for The President's File from HAK, *President Nixon's meeting with USSR Foreign Minister Gromyko on September 29, 1971 from 3:00 p.m. to 4:40 p.m. in the oval office of the White House.*
- 33) 8 December 1971: [Top Secret/Eyes Only] Message to Henry Kissinger from Gerry Smith
- 34) 2 March 1972: [Secret] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, Hyland, *Brezhnev and Soviet Foreign Policy*
- 35) 21 March 1972: [Confidential] Memo for Nixon from Haig, *Comment on Brezhnev's Foreign Policy Speech.*
- 36) 28 March 1972: [Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum to Nixon from Kissinger, Memorandum for Nixon from Rogers.
- 37) 12 April 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *Your next meeting with Dobrynin*
- 38) 22 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Alexander-Agentov, Sukhodrev, Samoteykin, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Lord, Negroponte, Rodman 11:00 a.m.- 4:05 p.m. "*Basic Principles; Vietnam; SALT; European Security; Bilateral Relations; Announcement of Visit; China.*" (Soviet ABM note)
- 39) 22 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Sukhodrev, Kissinger, Rodman 4:05-4:45 p.m. "*Summit Preparations; Vietnam; China; Economic Relations*"
- 40) 23 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Sukhodrev, Kissinger, Lord, Rodman 10:15 a.m.- 1:12

p.m. "*Basic Principles; Middle East; Economic Relations; Announcement of Kissinger Visit.*"

- 41) 24 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum for Nixon from Kissinger, "*My trip to Moscow.*"
- 42) 24 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Alexander-Agentov, Sukhodrev, Kissinger, Rodman 11:15 a.m.- 1:45 p.m. "*Vietnam; Middle East; Nuclear Non-Aggression Pact; Economic Relations; European Security; Summit Preparations; Announcement of Kissinger Visit.*"
- 43) 24 April 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Korniyenko, Sukhodrev, Kissinger, Rodman 1:50 - 3:00 p.m. "*Vietnam; SALT; Announcement of Kissinger Visit.*"
- 44) 2 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for Nixon from HAK, *Our options with Moscow in light of Vietnam*
- 45) 11 May 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *Your next meeting with Dobrynin.*
- 46) 11 May 1972: [none] Memo for Nixon from HAK, *Meeting with Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev 10:00 a.m. May 11, 1972.* (Talking points memo from Peterson)
- 47) 23 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive] White House Memorandum for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, "*SALT Status.*"
- 48) May 1972: [Secret/Eyes Only] Paper, "*SALT*" –part of briefing book

Section II

Summit May 1972

- 1) May 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memo for the President from HAK, *The Soviet Leaders.*
- 2) 21 May 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum for The President From HAK, "*Your Moscow Discussions, May 23, 1972*"
- 3) 22 May 1972: [Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum for The President From HAK, "*Moscow Politics and Brezhnev's Position*"

- 4) 22 May 1972: [Top Secret] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, President Nixon, Interpreter, The Kremlin 6:15-8:10 p.m.
- 5) 23 May 1972: [Secret/Nodis] Memorandum of Conversation President Nixon, Sec State, Beam, HAK, Brezhnev, Kosygin et al, Moscow 11:00 a.m.
- 6) 23 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, Aleksandrov-Agentov, President Nixon, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Moscow 4:00-6:00 p.m. *SALT*
- 7) 23 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, Aleksandrov-Agentov, President Nixon, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, The Kremlin 7:20-9:55 p.m. *SALT, Vietnam*
- 8) 24 May 1972: [Secret/Nodis] Memorandum of Conversation President Nixon, HAK, Brezhnev, Kosygin, et al, The Kremlin 11:00 a.m. *European Questions*
- 9) 24 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation President Nixon, HAK, Brezhnev, Kosygin, et al, The Kremlin 11:40 a.m. *Economic Relations, Europe*
- 10) 24 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation President Nixon, HAK, Brezhnev, Kosygin, et al, The Kremlin 7:50-11:00 p.m. *Vietnam*
- 11) 25 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Smirnov, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Hyland 1:15 a.m. – 3:45 a.m. “*SALT.*” (SALT Proposals including: Joint statement on Article III of the ABM Treaty, Joint statement on the problem of conversion of light and heavy missiles, joint statement on dismantling in connection with replacement of submarine launchers, the text of Article II of the Interim Agreement, and the text of the Protocol to this Article)
- 12) 25 May 1972: [[Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Podgorny, Kosygin, Gromyko, President Nixon, HAK et al, Moscow 2:10-3:50 p.m. *Economic Relations*
- 13) 25 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive] Memorandum of Conversation between Smirnov, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Korniyenko, Zaitsev, Bratchikov, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Hyland, Rodman 5:20 - 6:35 p.m. – 11:30 p.m. – 12:32 a.m. “*SALT.*”
- 14) 26 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, Podgorny, Kosygin, The President, HAK, Moscow 3:10-5:40 p.m. *The Middle East*

- 15) 26 May 1972: [Secret/Nodis] Memorandum of Conversation, US Embassy Moscow 7:30 p.m., *Dinner Conversation Between The President and General Secretary Brezhnev*
- 16) 27 May 1972:[Secret] Telegram memo of Conversation between Rogers and Gromyko, *European Issues*
- 17) 27 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/ Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Korniyenko, Kissinger, Negroponte 4:30 - 6:00 p.m., "*Vietnam.*"
- 18) 28 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Korniyenko, Bratchikov, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Lord, Negroponte, Rodman 10:45 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., "*Communiqué; Vietnam*"
- 19) 28 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Bratchikov, Kissinger, Lord, Rodman 1:00 – 2:45 p.m., "*Basic Principles; Middle East.*"
- 20) 28 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Korniyenko, Bratchikov, Kissinger, Sonnenfeldt, Lord, Negroponte, Rodman 9:35 – 11:55 p.m., "*Communiqué; Middle East.*"
- 21) 28 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum for the President from HAK, "*Your May 29 Private Meeting with Brezhnev*"
- 22) 29 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, Aleksandrov-Agentov, The President, HAK, The Kremlin 10:20-12:20 a.m., *The Middle East; Vietnam; Nuclear Understanding; Economic Relations; Cuba; Korea*
- 23) 29 May 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memorandum of Conversation Brezhnev, Podgorny, The President, HAK, Moscow 12:55 p.m.

Section III

Bilateral Relations 1972 – 1973

- 1) 26 June 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *Your next meeting with Dobrynin*
- 2) 26 June 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation HAK and Dobrynin, *Trip to China; Vietnam; Economic Relations; Salt.* (Soviet note about SALT)

- 3) 5 July 1972: [Confidential] Memo of Conversation, *US-USSR Trade*
- 4) 30 July 1972: [Secret/NODIS] Notes on Brezhnev-Peterson meeting in Crimera
- 5) 29 September 1972: [Confidential/Sensitive/Eyes Only] Memo for HAK from Sonnenfeldt, *Dark side of US-Soviet Relations*.
- 6) 1 October 1972: [Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for Nixon from HAK, *Topics for your private meeting with Gromyko alone*.
- 7) 2 October 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo for Nixon from HAK, *Meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, October 2 1972*.
- 8) 2 October 1972: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of Conversation between Gromyko, Dobrynin, Sukhodrev, HAK, Rodman at Soviet Embassy, *Europe; Nuclear Understanding, Jackson Amendment; Middle East*.
- 9) 5 May 1973: [Top secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Aleksandrov, Kornieko, Sukhodrev, Vavilov, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Odeen, Hyland, Rodman, 11:30 a.m. – 1:55 p.m. *Nuclear Agreement; SALT*.
- 10) 5 May 1973: [Top secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Kornieko, Sukhodrev, Vavilov, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Odeen, Campbell, Hyland, Rodman, 7:00 p.m. – 12:15 a.m. *Nuclear Agreement*.
- 11) 6 May 1973: [Top Secret] Cable from Nixon to HAK, *Guidelines for the agreement on prevention of nuclear war*.
- 12) 6 May 1973: [Top secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation Gromyko, Dobrynin, Kornieko, Sukhodrev, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Campbell, Hyland, Rodman, 12:15 – 2:40 p.m. CSCE, MBFR; *Nuclear Agreement; UN membership for FRG and GDR*.
- 13) 7 May 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Aleksandrov, Kornieko, Sukhodrev, Vavilov, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Odeen, Hyland, Rodman, Campbell, *Nuclear Treaty; SALT Principles; Middle East; Communiques of HAK visit and Brezhnev visit*. 7:40 – 11:40 p.m.
- 14) 7 May 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of conversation Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, Aleksandrov, Kornieko, Sukhodrev, Vavilov, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Odeen, Hyland, Rodman, Campbell, 11:35 a.m. – 2:55 p.m., *Nuclear Agreement; SALT*.

- 15) 10 September 1973: [Top Secret] SNIE, "*Soviet Strategic Arms Programs and Detente: What are they Up To?*"
- 16) 25 April 1974: [Secret] Intelligence Memorandum, "*Detente, the View from the Kremlin*"

Section IV

Summit June 1973

- 1) June 1973: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for the President from HAK, *Your Initial Meeting with Brezhnev, (1) His Opening Statement, (2) Your Talking Points.*
- 2) 14 June 1973: [Secret/Exdis] Info Memo to The Secretary from Pickering, *SALT: Status and Prospects*
- 3) 14 June 1973: [Secret/Sensitive] Memo for the President from HAK, *Your meetings with Brezhnev.*
- 4) 18 June 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only] Memo of Conversation Nixon, Rogers, HAK, Sonnenfeldt, Brezhnev, Gromyko, Dobrynin, 12:35 – 3:15 p.m., *Agenda; US-Soviet Relations.*
- 5) 23 June 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only/XGDS] Memo for the President's file from HAK for meeting with President, HAK, Brezhnev, *Meeting with Brezhnev, General Sec. of the CPSU on Saturday, June 23, 1973 at 12:22 p.m.*
- 6) 23 June 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only/XGDS] Memo for the President's file from HAK for meeting with President, Gromyko, Dobrynin, HAK, Brezhnev, *Meeting with Brezhnev, General Sec. of the CPSU on Saturday, June 23, 1973 at 10:30 p.m.*
- 7) 23 June 1973: [Secret/Sensitive (XGDS)] Memo of conversation Gromyko, Dobrynin, Makarov, HAK, Saunders 10:00 a.m., *Avoiding nuclear war; Middle East.*
- 8) June 1973: [none] Basic SALT Principles.
- 9) 27 July 1973: [none] Material sent from the Soviet Embassy to Kissinger
- 10) 28 September 1973: [Top Secret/Sensitive] National Security Decision Memo 233, *Instructions for SALT. Geneva, September 24, 1973.*

Détente timeline

1963

- 14 January General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, states that France doubts the political will of the United Kingdom to join the Community. A few days later, negotiations with all applicant countries are suspended.
- 22 January French-German Treaty.
- 20 June Agreement on a 'hot line' between Washington and Moscow is signed in Geneva by the United States and the Soviet Union.
- 15-25 July The United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union negotiate an agreement banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater.
- 5 August United States, Soviet Union and Great Britain sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty.
- 10 October The Moscow Treaty on a partial nuclear test ban comes into force.
- 22 November President Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

1964

- January At the Geneva-based Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee the United States suggests dissociating strategic arms from comprehensive disarmament plans.
- 1 July France breaks off the negotiations on financing the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The French Government recalls its Permanent Representative.
- 14 October Khrushchev is removed from office. He is replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as General Secretary of the CPSU and by Alexei Kosygin as Prime Minister.
- 16 October The People's Republic of China explodes its first atomic bomb.

1965

- 8-9 March The first American combat troops arrive in Vietnam.
- 6-8 April President Johnson authorizes the use of US ground combat troops for offensive operations.
- 7 April Soviet and East German authorities block land access to Berlin at intervals for one week when the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany holds its plenary session in West Berlin's Congress Hall.
- 17 April Students for a Democratic Society sponsor the first major anti-war rally in Washington, D.C.
- 31 May-1 June Meeting of NATO Defense Ministers in Paris pays special attention to the defense problems of Greece and Turkey, and agrees to consider a proposal for improving consultation and extending participation in the planning of nuclear forces.
- June General Ky and Thieu seize the South Vietnamese government.
- 14-15 November The first major military engagement occurs between the U.S. and North Vietnamese forces.
- 9 September At a press conference President de Gaulle announces that French military integration within NATO would end by 1969.

1966

- In China Mao launches the "cultural revolution."
- 28-29 January Luxembourg Compromise. France, after operating an "empty chair" policy for seven months, resumes its place in the Council in return for retention of the unanimity vote when major interests are at stake.
- 10 March President de Gaulle formally announces France's intention of withdrawing from the integrated military structure of the Alliance.

- 1 April Walt Rostow replaces McGeorge Bundy as the President's National Security Advisor.
- June Kosygin-de Gaulle meeting in Moscow.
- July The Warsaw Pact nations issue a "Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe," urging a European Security Conference.
- 1 October In its continuing detachment from the military aspects of NATO, France ceases to be a member of the NATO Military Committee.
- 7 October President Johnson announces a shift from the "narrow concept of co-existence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement." Johnson presents a series of liberalizing measure on trade and credits.
- 17-22 October Moscow summit meeting involving the first secretaries, premiers, and defense ministers of communist countries.
- December Kosygin-de Gaulle summit in Paris.
- 14 December The Defense Planning Committee establishes the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group.

1967

- 27 January Outer Space Treaty limits military uses of space, signed by the U.S., Soviet Union and sixty other nations.
- March After an exchange of communication with Soviet leaders, President Johnson announces that Soviet Premier Kosygin had indicated a willingness to begin discussions on arms limitation. Attempts to get talks underway, however, were not successful.
- 21 April Military régime takes over power in Greece.
- 11 May The United Kingdom re-applies to join the Community. It is followed by Ireland and Denmark and, a little later, by Norway. General de Gaulle is still reluctant to accept British accession.
- 5 June The Six Day War begins with Israeli attack against Egypt.

- 13-14 June The North Atlantic Council meeting in Luxembourg reviews the Middle East situation following the Six-Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbors.
- 14 May Egyptian President Nasser orders a buildup of forces in the Sinai.
- 19 May Upon the demand of Nasser, the United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF), stationing the border between Egypt and Israel and Sharm el-Sheikh since 1957, are evacuated.
- 22 May The Egyptian Navy blocked the Strait of Tiran, preventing the passage of Israeli vessels.
- 30 May Jordan joins the 1966 Egyptian-Syrian military alliance.
- 17 June The People's Republic of China explodes its first hydrogen bomb.
- September Thieu is elected president of South Vietnam.
- 18 September Defense Secretary McNamara announces plans for the Sentinel ABM defense system.
- 22 November The United Nation Security Council approves Resolution 242, calling for a "just and lasting peace" within "secure and recognized borders" between Israel and the Arab belligerents, and for Israeli withdrawal "from territories occupied in the recent conflict."
- December Antonin Novotny resigns as First Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party to be replaced by Alexander Dubcek in early January.
- 14 December The North Atlantic Council approves the Harmel Report—commissioned one year earlier at the initiative of Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel—on the Future Tasks of the Alliance. The Defense Planning Committee adopts NATO's new strategic concept of flexible response and approves the establishment of a Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT).

1968

- 5 January Prague Spring reforms begin in Czechoslovakia as Alexander Dubcek is elected first secretary of the Communist Party.

- 19 January The United States and the Soviet Union table a draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.
- 31 January The Communist forces in Vietnam launch the Tet Offensive.
- 8-10 February Meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Warsaw dealing with European security.
- 22 March The Stalinist Antonin Novotny is forced to resign as President and is replaced by the more moderate General Ludvik Svoboda. The Czech party Presidium adopts a program to rehabilitate some 3000 victims of Stalinism.
- April Dubcek and the Central Committee adopt the Action Program, granting more freedom to the people of Czechoslovakia.
- 10 May The Paris peace talks begin between the United States and North Vietnamese officials.
- 24-25 June At the semiannual meeting of Foreign Ministers in Reykjavik, NATO signals its readiness to discuss mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) with the Warsaw pact.
- 1 July Nuclear Arms Non-Proliferation Treaty signed by the United States, Soviet Union, and 58 other nations.
- 20-21 August Warsaw Pact forces invade Czechoslovakia in force to crush the Prague Spring.
- 21 August The Romanian government denounces the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.
- 24 August France detonates its first hydrogen bomb.
- 29 August Czechoslovak government announces the removal of such recently granted freedoms as the right to form political parties.
- 12 September Albania withdraws from the Warsaw Pact.
- 15-16 November The North Atlantic Council denounces Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia as contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and issues a warning to the USSR.
- 29 November The Johnson Administration accepts the Chinese offer to resume the Warsaw talks.

December The Soviet Foreign Ministry formally protests the special session of the German *Bundestag* to elect the new President of the FRG, to be held in West Berlin in 1969.

1969

- 16 January France proposes Four Power consultations on the Middle East. State Department announces that the U.S. regards the French proposal (on Four Power talks) favorably and that consultations with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France are soon to begin.
- 17 February President de Gaulle announces French withdrawal from participation in activities of the Western European Union.
- March Gerard C. Smith is appointed U.S. chief negotiator for SALT and head of the Arms Control Disengagement Agency.
- 2 March Fighting between Soviet and Chinese forces breaks out in the Ussuri River area near Vladivostock.
- 13 March U.S. Senate ratifies the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.
- 14 March President Nixon announces his new ABM Safeguard deployment program.
- 17 March A Warsaw pact meeting in Budapest formally propose an early conference on European Security.
- 17 April Alexander Dubcek is forced out as first secretary of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party, he is succeeded by party hard-liner Gustav Husak.
- 27 April French President Charles de Gaulle resigns.
- 8 June President Nixon announces the first troop withdrawal from South Vietnam.
- July-August During a trip in East and South Asia, Nixon presents his new approach to meeting the defense needs of United States' Third World allies (Nixon Doctrine).
- 2-3 August During his around-the-world trip President Richard Nixon visits Romania. It is the first an American President visits a Communist nation in Eastern Europe.

- 8 August Secretary of State Rogers delivers a speech in Canberra declaring United States' desire to improve relations with the People's Republic of China.
- 8 August The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union conclude talks that had been proceeding since June and sign a protocol on the improvement of navigation on boundaries rivers. Few days later new fighting breaks out along the frontier between Sinkiang and Kazakhstan.
- 3 September Ho Chi Minh dies.
- October Nixon orders to launch the code-named "Giant lance" plan.
- 20 October The Soviet Union opened talks with China on the border issue.
- 20 October Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Dobrynin announces to President Nixon Soviet readiness to open SALT talks.
- 21 October Social Democrat Willy Brandt becomes chancellor of West Germany, he will soon launch his policy of improved relations with Eastern Bloc (*Ostpolitik*).
- 16 November The German government formally propose to initiate talks with the Soviet Union on an agreement on the mutual renunciation of force.
- 17 Nov.-22 Dec. Preliminary talks on strategic arms limitation between the United States and the Soviet Union are held in Helsinki
- December U.S. Congress passes the Export Administration Act that liberalized the Old Export Control Act and declared it U.S. policy to favor expansion of peaceful trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
- 9 December Secretary of State Rogers introduces the so-called "Rogers Plan" to solve the Middle East question.
- 11 December U.S. Ambassador to Poland, Walter Stoessel, is invited to the Chinese Embassy in Warsaw.
- 22-23 December First meeting of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense (CMD) of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow

1970

- 7 January Israel begins depth bombing in Egypt (War of Attrition).
- 8 January During a meeting at the U.S. Embassy in Poland, the American and Chinese Ambassadors decide to resume the formal and regular Warsaw meeting between Ambassadors.
- February Paris Peace Talks begin between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.
- February In Jordan PLO *fedayeens*' power rapidly increases to the point of challenging King Hussein's authority.
- 27 February Western Allies accept a Soviet proposal for negotiations about the future states of Berlin, the first meeting will take place on March 26.
- 5 March Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons goes into effect, preventing transfer of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear nations or production of nuclear weapons in those nations.
- 19 March West and East Germany begin negotiations.
- 26 March Talks on Berlin between U.S., British, French Ambassador to West Germany and the Soviet Ambassador to East Germany starts.
- April The American ping pong team is officially invited by the People Republic of China.
- 16 April Opening in Vienna of US-USSR negotiations on strategic arms limitations (SALT).
- 30 April The armies of the U.S. and South Vietnam invade Cambodia.
- 21-22 May The second meeting of the Council of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact is held in Sofia, Bulgaria.
- 12 August As part of his policy of *Ostpolitik*, West German chancellor Willy Brandt signs a Non-Aggression Pact with Soviet premier Kosygin.
- September King Hussein's attempt to militarily suppress the PLO *fedayeens* is supported by the United States, with a build-up of the Sixth Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean and by Israel, opposing Syrian intervention. It's the *Black September*.
- 16 September A U-2 reconnaissance plane photographed construction of naval facilities in the Bay of Cienfuegos (Cuba).

- 28 September Nasser dies. Anwar el-Sadat is the new President.
- October The French and Soviet governments concluded two agreements to consult in time of tension and on general principles of cooperation.
- 2-4- October At Ministerial meetings of the Council and Defense Planning Committee (DPC) in Brussels the United States announces that it will not reduce US forces in Europe except in the context of reciprocal East-West action.
- 6 October The Soviet Ambassador in Washington, Dobrynin, announces President Nixon and his national security affairs advisor, Kissinger, that there would be no Soviet naval base in Cuba.
- 7 December Continuing *Ostpolitik*, Brandt signs a renunciation of force treaty with Poland.
- 14 December After the Polish government announces basic price increases, workers in Gdansk riot and the outbreak spreads to other cities.
- 20 December Gomulka is forced to resign as Polish first secretary. Edward Gierek succeeds him.
- 1971**
- February South Vietnam and the United States invade Laos in an attempt to sever the Ho Chi Minh trail.
- March At the 24th Congress of the CPSU Brezhnev introduced the principle of "peaceful coexistence."
- March Pakistan's armed forces launch a campaign to suppress the independence movement in East Pakistan.
- 3 May Erich Honecker succeeds Walter Ulbricht as East German party general secretary.
- 20 May Washington and Moscow announces that an understanding had been reached to concentrate on a permanent Treaty to limit ABM systems, but at the same time to work out certain limitations on offensive systems, and to continue negotiations for a more comprehensive and long-term agreement on the latter.
- 9-11 July Henry A. Kissinger secretly visits Beijing.

- August India signs a twenty-year Treaty of Peace with the USSR.
- 15 August Nixon presents his New Economic Policy. He suspends the convertibility of the dollar into gold, devalue the U.S. currency, impose a 10 percent surcharge on all imports, and establish wage and price controls.
- 3 September The United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR sign a Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.
- October Brezhnev-Pompidou meeting in Paris.
- 5 October Former NATO Secretary General, Manlio Brosio is appointed to conduct exploratory talks on mutual and balanced force reductions with the Soviet and other interested governments.
- 25 October The People's Republic of China is admitted to the United Nations.
- 3 December Pakistan launches an air attack to the western regions of India in order to stop the Indian government support for the independence movement in Bangladesh. The Indian air force retaliated the next day and quickly achieved air superiority.
- 16 December The Pakistanis surrender and Dhaka falls to Indian forces.
- 17 December Representatives of East and West Germany sign an accord guaranteeing West Germany free access to West Berlin by highway, rail, and canal.

1972

- 22 January Signature, by Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom, of the Treaties of accession to the European Communities (in September a referendum is held in Norway on the country joining the European Communities. The majority is unfavorable to accession).
- 21-28 February Nixon visits the People's Republic of China.
- 20-24 April Kissinger in Moscow.
- 26 May The first round of SALT is brought to a conclusion when President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev sign the ABM Treaty and the Interim Agreement on strategic offensive arms, which freezes the number of ICBMs and SLBMs for five years.

- 29 May Nixon and Brezhnev sign the Basic Principles of Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. This agreement recognizes "peaceful coexistence" as the only way of life between the Great Powers in the nuclear age.
- 30-31 May At its Ministerial meeting in Bonn, the North Atlantic Council agrees to start multinational preparatory talks for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Multilateral exploration talks on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) are proposed by the countries participating in NATO's integrated military structure.
- 3 June The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin comes into force.
- 18 July Sadat expels Soviet military presence from Egypt.
- October Summit between Nixon and Brezhnev in Moscow
- 7 November Nixon is reelected.
- 21 November Opening of SALT II negotiations in Geneva.
- 22 November Preliminary conference on European security opens in Helsinki.
- 13 December Paris Peace Talks break down. Nixon orders renewed bombing of Hanoi and mining of Haiphong Harbor
- 21 December East and West Germany sign the Basic Treaty, entailing reciprocal recognition and establishing principles that are to govern relations between the two states.
- 1973**
- January Brezhnev-Pompidou summit in Minsk (USSR).
- 1 January Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the European Economic Community (EEC).
- 27 January United States, South Vietnam, and North Vietnam sign the Paris Peace Accords, ending American combat role in war.
- 31 January-29 June Multilateral exploratory talks on Mutual and Balanced Forces Reduction (MBFR) open in Vienna.

- 6-8 February The fifth meeting of the Council of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact is held in Warsaw.

- 23 March Last U.S. combat troops leave Vietnam.

- 27 April In a renovation of the Soviet Communist Politburo, two conservatives are retired and Andrei Gromyko, Marshal Andrei Grechko, and Yuri Andropov become full members.

- 29-30 April North Vietnamese forces take over Saigon. South Vietnam surrenders to North Vietnam, ending the war.

- 11 May East and West Germany establish formal diplomatic relations

- 17 May West German chancellor Brandt and Soviet general secretary Brezhnev sign a series of agreements that provide for technical, cultural, and other forms of cooperation between West Germany and the USSR.

- June Brezhnev-Pompidou meeting in Paris.

- 16 June Brezhnev arrives in Washington for a weeklong visit, during which he and Nixon sign a pact on the prevention of nuclear war and agree to speed up the SALT II negotiations.

- 22 June United States and Soviet Union sign the Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement.

- 3-7 July The Opening session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is held in Helsinki, Finland.

- 18 September The UN admits both East and West Germany.

- 6 October Yom Kippur War begins as Egypt and Syria launches a surprise attack against Israel.

- 12-13 October The United States responds to the Soviet airlifts to Damascus and Cairo with a massive airlift to Israel.

- 16 October Petroleum-producing countries decide to reduce or ban exports towards some occidental countries and the Organization of Petroleum Producers (OPEP) countries decides to massively increase petroleum prices.

- 21 October Israeli forces cross the Suez Canal and surround the Egyptian Third Army.

- 22 October UN Security Council adopts Resolution 338, sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, imposing a cease-fire on the belligerents in the Middle East. The cease-fire collapsed almost immediately after coming into effect.
- 30 October Negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) open in Vienna.
- 6 November War Powers Act passed by Congress restricting the power of the President to wage undeclared war.
- 6 November The nine members of the European Community declare their commitment to a pacific solution of the Middle-East crisis.
- 14-15 December The energy crisis leads the EEC member states to agree on the introduction of a common energy policy. A statement on the European identity, drafted as part of political cooperation arrangements and approved by Foreign Ministers, is released.

1974

- January First Sinai Disengagement Agreement, which called for Israel to withdraw its forces back across the Suez Canal and for the UN buffer zone to be restored.
- 5-7 February The sixth meeting of the Council of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact is held in Bucharest.
- March Brezhnev-Pompidou meeting in Pitsunda (USSR).
- 23 March The commander of the Soviet Group of Forces in Germany signs an agreement on cooperation with the GDR defense minister.
- 25 April Military coup d'état in Portugal.
- 25 April Gunther Guillaume, one of chancellor Brandt's closest aides, is arrested after being revealed as an East German mole. West German security officers declare that, having discovered Guillaume's treachery, for the past year they have been feeding false information through him to his masters. Brandt resigns as chancellor on May 6.
- 18 May India announces that it has set off an underground nuclear device

June	Israeli-Syrian Disengagement Agreement.
28 June-3 July	Nixon and Soviet general secretary Brezhnev meet in a Moscow summit marked by little progress in arms matters.
July	House Judiciary Committee votes to recommend Nixon's impeachment.
23 July	Konstantinos Karamanlis becomes Prime Minister of Greece following the resignation of the military government.
9 August	Gerald Ford sworn in as President following Nixon's resignation.
14 August	Withdrawal of Greek forces from integrated military structure of NATO.
4 September	United States opens diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.
October	Brezhnev-Schmidt meeting in Moscow.
23-24 November	Meeting at Vladivostok, President Ford and Soviet general secretary Brezhnev approve a draft agreement calling for the limitation of offensive nuclear weapons (SALT II).
December	Brezhnev-Giscard meeting in Paris.

1975

14 January	With the USSR having rejected the tying of trade to emigration policy, the long-planned trading relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is voided.
7-8 February	Seventh meeting of the CMD of the Warsaw Pact held in Moscow.
1 August	The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (also known as the Helsinki Accords) is signed by the 35 participating states. This comprehensive Act contains a broad range of measures designed to enhance security and cooperation in the region extending from Vancouver to Vladivostok.
October	Brezhnev-Giscard meeting in Moscow.
18-19 November	Eighth meeting of the CMD of the Warsaw Pact held in Prague.

