Unpublished Primary Materials

Archival Sources


Richard M. Nixon Papers. Nixon Presidential Materials Project. National Archives. College Park, Maryland (formerly Alexandria, Virginia). The Central Files include (1) Staff Member and Office Files and (2) Subject Categories. The Special Files include (1) President’s Office Files, (2) President’s Personal Files, (3) Staff Member Files (Patrick Buchanan, Charles Colson, John Ehrlichman, Peter Flanigan, H. R. Haldeman, Alexander Haig, Egil Krogh, Peter Peterson, John A. Scali, Herbert Stein, Gordon Strachan, John Whitaker, David Young, and Ronald Ziegler), and (4) Confidential Files

Microform Collections, University Publications of America, Frederick, Maryland

“Minutes and Documents of the Cabinet Meetings of President Johnson.” Seventeen reels.
Published Primary Materials

Executive Documents


Congressional Documents


**Foreign Documents**


**Speeches, Statements, and Autobiographies of Participants**


——. *To Avert War, Our Prime Task.* Moscow, 1963.


——. *White House Years.* Boston, 1979.


——. *Years of Upheaval.* Boston, 1982.

Kosygin, A. N. A. N. Kosygin: *izbrannye rechi i stat'i.* Moscow, 1974.


Secondary Literature

Inasmuch as only 2 million of the 40 million pages of material in the Nixon Papers (and among these almost none from the National Security Council files) have been opened to the public, and because the Soviet archives from the Brezhnev years remain largely inaccessible, historians of Soviet-American relations in this period are still very much dependent on what governments have chosen to publish and participants have chosen to say and write. For that reason I have listed the specifics of these sources above as completely as possible.

As for the memoir literature, the American side is particularly rich. Dominating in detail and comprehensiveness, of course, although often marred by special pleading, are the recollections of National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston, 1979), and *Years of Upheaval* (Boston, 1982), the first volume of which focuses on the years 1969–72. Also crucial for our purposes are President Nixon's perspectives in *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York, 1978) and in later offerings like *The Real War* (New York, 1980), despite the former president's tendency to ignore certain subjects altogether. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has given us only an article (“A Strong Start in a Difficult Decade: Defense Policy in the Nixon-Ford Years” *International Security* 10 [Fall 1985]: 5–26), but we do have the candid and critical memoirs of SALT negotiator Gerard Smith, *Doubletalk: The Story of SALT I* (New York, 1980), and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, *On Watch* (New York, 1976), as well as the surprisingly independent thoughts of Nixon's speechwriter William Safire, *Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House* (Garden City, N.Y., 1975).


Among West European autobiographies, the most focused on détente is Willy

The Russians are better represented in memoirs than one might expect. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Memories (London, 1989), is disappointing, but one can glean a great deal of information from the works of two highly placed intellectuals; see Fedor Burlatsky, Khrushchev and the First Russian Spring (London, 1991), and Georgi Arbatov, The System: An Insider’s Life in Soviet Politics (New York, 1992). Arkady Shevchenko, Breaking with Moscow (New York, 1983), the disclosure of a prominent defector, is important but sometimes suspect. Rich and rewarding for the period before 1964 are the memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, now in three volumes: Khrushchev Remembers (Boston, 1970), Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament (Boston, 1974), and Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes (Boston, 1990).

The first synthetic accounts of foreign relations in the Nixon years were produced by journalists who were active at the time. Some of these were individuals with close ties to the administration, like Henry Brandon, The Retreat of American Power (New York, 1972); John Newhouse, Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT (New York, 1973); and Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb, Kissinger (Boston, 1974). Others were independent and critical observers, like Tad Szulc, The Illusion of Peace: Foreign Policy in the Nixon Years (New York, 1978); William Shawcross, Side­show: Kissinger, Nixon, and the Destruction of Cambodia (New York, 1981); and Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House (New York, 1983). Though somewhat superseded now, these studies still contain valuable information and perspectives derived from interviews and proximity to the event. Hersh’s volume, particularly, offers the reader marvelous insight into the manipulations of Kissinger as national security adviser.


A number of biographies are important. Michael Beschloss, The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963 (New York, 1991), tells us much that is new about the early 1960s. Deborah Shapley, Promise and Power: The Life and Times of Robert McNamara (Boston, 1993), is also revealing, especially on LBJ’s foreign policy. But one should not overlook such earlier discussions as Philip Geyelin, Lyndon Johnson and the World (New York, 1966); and Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (New York, 1976). In understanding Nixon’s attitudes, we get help from Fawn Brodie, Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character (New York, 1981); James David Barber, The Presidential Character (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972); and Stephen Ambrose’s three-volume Nixon (New York, 1987–91), which includes much fresh material from the presidential papers. The numerous studies of Henry Kissinger attest to his central role in Nixon’s government. Aside from Hersh, the most notable for our purposes are Stephen Graubard, Kissinger: Portrait of a Mind (New York, 1973); Dan Caldwell’s edited volume, Henry Kissinger: His Personality and Politics (Durham, 1983); Robert D. Schulzinger, Henry Kissinger: Doctor of Diplomacy (New York, 1989); and Walter Isaacson, Kissinger: A Biography (New York, 1992). The last two books have mined a number of underutilized sources.


A special reference should be made to analyses of détente itself, both in the general sense and in its manifestation during the Nixon-Brezhnev years. The phenomenon is the subject of Stephen R. Rock, Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), but most


On the fissiparous tendencies within the Communist world and their role in facilitating détente, there is a wide range of excellent writing, particularly on the Chinese and East German situations. To understand the part China played, one must begin with Donald S. Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956–1961* (Princeton, 1962); or A. Doak Barnett, *China and the Major Powers in East Asia* (Washington, 1977), and then turn to the studies of David Mozingo, *China's Foreign Policy and the Cultural Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); and Robert G. Sutter, *Chinese Foreign Policy after the Cultural Revolution, 1966–1977* (Boulder, Colo., 1978). On the Chinese-American-Soviet interrelationship, the most penetrating


For the Russian public, there is much less material available to the scholar. One can get some inkling of opinion, of course, in such examinations of political dissent as Abraham Rothberg, The Heirs of Stalin: Dissidence and the Soviet Regime, 1953–1970 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972); Frederick C. Barghoorn, Détente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR (New York, 1976); and Ludmilla Alexeyeva and Paul Goldberg, The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era (Boston, 1990). But both majority feelings and the reactions of the elite remain largely hidden from scholarly view. To appraise these, one must lean heavily on studies of secondary social phenomena, like Walter D. Connor, Deviance in Soviet Society: Crime, Delinquency, and Alcoholism (New York, 1972); and Seweryn Bialer, ed., The Domestic Context of Soviet Foreign Policy (Boulder, Colo., 1980). One can also obtain assistance from investigations of the nationality problem, such as Hélène Carrère d’Encausse, Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt (New York, 1979); and Rasma Karklins, Ethnic Relations in the USSR: The Perspective from Below (Boston, 1986).


What Americans think about Soviet capabilities is disclosed in John Prados, The Soviet Estimate: US Intelligence Analysis and Russian Military Strength (New York, 1982). The continuing internal struggle over the shape and role of Soviet armed forces is chronicled in Dale R. Herspring, The Soviet High Command,

Economic matters, both domestic and international, have received a great deal of attention from specialists. To understand America’s increasing uncompetitiveness, one can examine a number of insightful works, including Seymour Melman, Our Depleted Society (New York, 1965); David Calleo, The Imperious Economy (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Robert Reich, The Next American Frontier (New York, 1983); Lloyd Dumas, The Overburdened Economy: Uncovering the Causes of Chronic Unemployment, Inflation, and National Decline (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); and Robert Kuttner, The End of Laissez Faire: National Purpose and the Global Economy after the Cold War (New York, 1991).


For commentary on the economic situation as Richard Nixon found it and affected it, see especially Alan S. Blinder, Economic Policy and the Great Stagflation (New York, 1979); Joanne Gowa, Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); and Edward R. Tufte, Political Control of the Economy (Princeton, N.J., 1978), as well as the memoirs of William Safire and Herbert Stein.


The development and achievements of the Soviet economy are surveyed in such studies as Alec Nove, An Economic History of the U.S.S.R. (London, 1969); Ronald Amann et al., eds., The Technological Level of Soviet Industry (New Haven, Conn., 1977); and Frederick J. Fleron Jr., ed., Technology and Communist Culture (New York, 1977), as well as the excellent periodic publications of the U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee (see above). For Nikita Khrushchev’s attempts to improve productivity, consult Robert Miller’s chapter in R. F. Miller and F. Feher, eds., Khrushchev and the Communist World (London, 1984). For the growing difficulties of the 1960s and the so-called Kosygin reforms, see in particu-