From Global Politics to Human Rights: The CSCE Follow Up Meeting,
Belgrade, 1977

Briefing Book

PART I
GLOBAL POLITICS

1975

14 January, Memorandum for Scowcroft from Springsteen, “Issue Paper on CSCE”
Attachment: [Secret] Background Paper on CSCE

17 January, Memorandum for Kissinger from Clift, “Issues paper”
Attachment: [Secret] Memorandum for the President, “Resumption of CSCE Negotiations”

17 January, [Secret] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 738, “CSCE: Ambassador’s Call on Kovalev”


25 February, [Confidential] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 2588, “Deputy ForMin on Berlin, CSCE”

18 March, (Translation) Record of Conversation, Cde. L.I. Brezhnev – Leaders of Fraternal Parties of Socialist Countries in Budapest (NSArchive)

27 March, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Brandt, Ford, von Staden, Kissinger, Scowcroft] “Portugal, Middle East, Turkey, CSCE, Southeast Asia”

2 April, [Secret] Memorandum for Kissinger from Sonnenfeldt, “Your Meeting with Dobrynin”

12 April, [Confidential] Telegram from US Mission Geneva to Secretary of State, 2532, “CSCE: State II Highlights – April 7-11”

29 April, Briefing Item, “Soviet Policy After CSCE”


16 May, [Secret] Secretary’s Staff Meeting


20 May, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Gromyko, Kissinger, Rodman, Sukhodrev], “CSCE Summit, India-Pakistan”

30 May, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ford, Kissinger, Scowcroft, Sonnenfeldt, Wilson, Callaghan, Hunt], “Briefly on CBMs, and on the Final Stage of the Conference”

11 June, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ceausescu, Mavovescu, Pungan, Bogdan, Ford, Kissinger, Barnes, Scowcroft], “Bilateral Economic Relations, CSCE, Middle East, Korea, Spain, Disarmament” (excerpt)

13 June, [Secret] Secretary’s Staff Meeting

17 June, Oral Message from Brezhnev to Ford, June 16, 1975
Attachment: US Note delivered to Dobrynin

July, Briefing Paper: “CSCE Background Paper”

8 July, [Secret] Memorandum for the Secretary from Sonnenfeldt, “CSCE”


23 July, Summary of Events, “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)”
24 July, [Confidential] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 10342, “CSCE and Eastern Europe: Some Random Thoughts”

30 July – 1 August, [Secret] Briefing Paper for the President from Kissinger, “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe” (background paper and talking point for the President’s address to the conference)


5 August, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, “President’s First Meeting with [Japanese] Prime Minister Miki” (excerpt)

6 August, [Confidential] Briefing Paper, “Talking Points for the Secretary at the Cabinet Meeting”

28 September, [Top Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ch’iao Kuan-hua, Huang Hua, Chang Han-chih, Lo Hsu, Shih Yen-hua, Kuo Chia-ting, Kissinger, Moynihan, Habib, Lord, Gleysteed, Solomon], “The Soviet Union, CSCE, Europe, Japan, Angola, Indochina, the President’s China Trip, the Global Strategic Situation, Korea”

1 October, [Confidential] Memorandum to the Secretary from Hartman through Sonnenfeldt, “CSCE Implementation: Overall Concept”

12 November, (Translation available) G.M. Kornienko, Memorandum of Conversation with U.S. Attache Jack Matlock (NSArchive)

18 December, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol 198 of CC CPSU Politburo Session, “About the Appeal to the FCP Leadership” (NSArchive)

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9 January, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation between Vasile Pungan, Counselor to President Ceaucescu of Romania, Secretary Kissinger, and Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff, “Middle East; CSCE Follow-up; Balkan relations; bilateral economic relations; Soviet Union”


[date unknown], Handwritten message from Ford to Scowcroft
Attachment: [date unknown], [Confidential] Memorandum for the President from Kissinger,
“Impact of European Security Conference on Baltic States”

27 April, [Secret] Memorandum for Scowcroft from Clift, “Implementation of the CSCE Final Act”
Attachment: Memorandum from Scowcroft to the President, “Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe”

26 May, Letter, Uhlmann (Assistant Attorney General Office of Legislative Affairs) to Lynn (Office of Management and Budget)

26 May, Letter, McCloskey (Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations) to Lynn (Office of Management and Budget)

28 May, Memorandum for the President from Frey, “Enrolled Bill S. 2679 – Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe”


6 October, Letter, Dante B. Fascell (Chairman of the House of Representative Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe) to Ford

8 October, Memorandum for Scowcroft from Borg, “CSCE Commission”
Attachment: October, Draft Presidential Letter, Ford to Fascell


3 December, Letter, Ford to Dante B. Fascell (Chairman of the House of Representative Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe)

8 December, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation between Representatives of the US, France, Federal Republic of Germany, and the United Kingdom

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26 February, [Top Secret] Minutes of Conversation with USA Secretary of State C. Vance
2 March, Instruction, “Clarifying the Position of the USSR and Guidelines for the Resumption of Preparatory work for the Belgrade [CSCE] Conference”

23 March, Robert Hunter, Memorandum for Landon Butler, “Meeting between the President and George Meany”

13 April, Gregory F. Treverton, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, “PRC Meeting on Europe, April 14, 1977, 3:00 p.m.”

14 April, Report, “Review of Soviet Internal Affairs, February-March 1977”


May, [Secret] CIA Report, “Soviet Objectives and Tactics at the Belgrade Conference”


8 July, [Secret] CIA Report, “Soviet Foreign Policy at the Crossroads”


24 August, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the Vice President, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, “PD/NSC-18, U.S. National Strategy”

7 September, Press Release, For Immediate Release: Office of the White House Press Secretary
   Attachment: 17 October, Time Magazine, “Détente with a Human Face”
   Attachment: 17 October, The Washington Post, “Goldberg and Aides…”

September, Memorandum on Belgrade CSCE

7 October, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the President, “NSC Weekly Report #31”

21 October, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the President, “NSC Weekly Report #33”


31 October, Telegram, “Belgrade CSCE—Soviet Warning in Basket One Human Rights Debate”

9 November, Telegram, “Belgrade CSCE—Ambassador Goldberg’s Human Rights Speech November 9”

10 November, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, “Belgrade”

18 November, Arthur J. Goldberg, Briefing Memorandum for the President, “Interim Report on the Belgrade Conference”

6 December, [Confidential] Robert King, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Topics for the President’s Meetings in Warsaw”

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11 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

30 January, [Confidential] Peter Tarnoff, Memorandum for Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Human Rights Policy”
Attachment: [date unknown], [Confidential] Anthony Lake, Memorandum for the Secretary through the Deputy Secretary, “The Human Rights Policy: An Interim Assessment”

31 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz
Attachment: 31 January, Dr. Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Honorable Arthur Goldberg, “Update on Scharansky and Kuznetsov Cases”


27 February, Joyce Starr and Greg Treverton, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, “Belgrade CSCE: Issue of Follow-up”


2 March, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, “Belgrade CSCE Report”


3 March, Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Belgrade, “White House Statement on Belgrade Meeting”

4 March, [Confidential] Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Belgrade, “Message from the President”

26 April, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, “Belgrade Conference Report”

18 May, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Bob Lipshutz, Stu Eizenstat, Joe Aragon
Attachment: 18 May, Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Moscow, “Statement on Orlov”

14 June, Telegram, American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, “New CSCE Approaches to Soviet Union and East European States”

20 June, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, Stu Eizenstat, “Ed Mezvinsky”

27 July, [Confidential] Telegram, American Embassy Amman to Robert Lipshutz, Stuart Eizenstat, Joe Aragon through Secretary of State, “Travel of Dr. Joyce Starr”
3 August, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for The President, “Information Items”

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   Attachment: [Confidential] “Human Rights”

12 December, Report, FBIS Trends, “East-West Relations”

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7 January, [Secret] The Director of Central Intelligence Memorandum, “Western Europe: Responses to US-Soviet Tension in Wake of Afghan Crisis”


17 April, [Secret] Paul B. Henze, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Dissidence in Eastern Europe and the USSR—Are We Doing Enough?”
PART II

HUMAN RIGHTS

[Collection from Istoricheskii Arkhiv, Vol 5, 1993]

1974

29 March, Letter from G. P. Vishnevskaya and M. L. Rostropovich to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

5 April, Letter from artiste from the Bolshoi Theater to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

12 May, [Secret] Letter from the USSR Ministry of Culture to the CC of CPSU, including an information supplement on the conversation with M. L. Rostropovich at the Ministry of Culture on 5 May 1974 (IA)

20 May, [Secret] Memo from the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel to the CC of the CPSU regarding the permit to tour abroad for M. L. Rostropovich and his family (IA)

Attachment: [Secret] Information from the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel (IA)

31 May, [Secret] Information from the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the CC of the CPSU about the seeing off of M. L. Rostropovich at his departure to England (IA)

16 November, [Top Secret] Information from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KGB under the Council of the Ministers of the USSR to the CC of the CPSU, “About M. Rostropovich’s improper conduct abroad” (IA)

16 December, [Secret] Information from the USSR Ministry of Culture to the CC of the CPSU regarding the extension of the validity of the Soviet passports for travel abroad for M. Rostropovich and his family (IA)

Attachment: Soviet Embassy in Paris, Soviet Embassy in Bern (for information) (IA)

31 December, [Secret] Information from the CC of the CPSU department of culture and the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel to CC of the CPSU, “About the extension of the validity of the Soviet passports for travel abroad for M. Rostropovich and his family” (IA)
1975

8 May, [Secret] Information from the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the CC of the CPSU, “About the improper conduct abroad of the violoncellist M. L. Rostropovich” (IA)

1976

November, [Top Secret] Information from the chairman of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR - U. V. Andropov, the minister of foreign affairs of the USSR - A. A. Gromyko, the minister of culture of the USSR - P. N. Deminchev, and the secretary of the CC of the CPSU - M. V. Zimianin to the CC of the CPSU, “On sanctions [merah v otnoshenii] against Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya” (IA)

1977

22 March, [Secret] Cable from the USSR Embassy in the US to the CC of the CPSU “On Rostropovich’s letter” (IA)


Attachment: Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC [confirmation sent from the Embassy] (IA)

19 October, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU “Regarding the non-admission to the USSR of the touring Washington National Symphonic Orchestra under the leadership of M. Rostropovich and the incoming Soviet artiste who belong to the same orchestra abroad” (IA)

Attachment: 13 October, [Secret] CC of the CPSU “Regarding the non-admission to the USSR of the touring Washington National Symphonic Orchestra under the leadership of M. Rostropovich and the incoming Soviet artiste who belong to the same orchestra abroad” (IA)

1978

1 February, Letter from G. P. Vishnevskaya and M. L. Rostropovich to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)


Attachment: 10 March, [Secret] On the revocation of Soviet Citizenship of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya (IA)
Attachment: Draft [proekt] decree [ukaz] of the Presidium of the High Council of the USSR for the revocation of Soviet Citizenship of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya (IA)

17 March, Letter from M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

28 March, [Secret] Information from the USSR Embassy in France for the CC of the CPSU, “Regarding the conversation with M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya from 20 March 1978” (IA)

11 December, Decree of the Presidium of the High Council of the USSR, “On the revocation of the national Soviet award received by M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya” (IA)

7 December, [Secret] Note from the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to the CC of the CPSU – A. N. Kosygin- on the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich (IA)

December 15, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, “Regarding the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich” (IA)

Attachment: December, [Secret] Draft [proekt] resolution [postanovlenie] regarding the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich (IA)

PART II
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

1970

23 October, [Secret] Report by CC CPSU Propaganda Department on Measures in Connection with Awarding Alexander Solzhenytsin the Nobel Prize (NSArchive)

1971

6 May, Zamiatin, Letter to Brezhnev (NSArchive)

1972

7 January, [Secret] KGB Report to CC CPSU on Budovsky Trial (NSArchive)

1973

3 April, [Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Secretariat Session on Publication of the Second Volume of History of the CPSU (NSArchive)

1974

7 January, [Top Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Politburo Meeting on Alexander Solzhenytsin (NSArchive)

1975

12 June, [Top Secret] M. Marinov, Notes from the June 11 conversation in the “BOYANA” Residence between Todor Zhivkov and comrades Kiseliov and Grubiakov

31 October, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum for CC CPSU, “About Some Results of the Preventive-Prophylactic Work of the State Security Organs” (NSArchive)
   Attachment: Information, “About the Number of Persons Subjected to Criminal Punishment and Prophylactic Work by the KGB Organs in 1959-1974”

29 December, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Report to the CC CPSU (NSArchive)

1976

3 January, (Translation available) Anatoly S. Chernyaev, Diary Excerpt (NSArchive)

13 March, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1975” (NSArchive)

25 October, [Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Resolution, “About Instructions for Soviet Ambassadors in Some Countries in Connection with the Anti-Soviet Campaign in the West” (NSArchive)

15 November, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “About the Hostile Actions of the So-called Group for Assistance of Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR” (NSArchive)

6 December, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On the Provocative Demonstration by Anti-Social Elements on Pushkin Square in Moscow and at the Pushkin Monument in Leningrad” (NSArchive)

1977

5 January, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “About the Measures to End the Hostile Activity of Members of the So-Called ‘Group for Assistance in the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR’” (NSArchive)


9 February, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On Receiving by A.D. Sakharov of a Telegram from Carter”

10 February, Memorandum, The White House, “Situation of Ginzburg and Orlov; Southern Lebanon”

14 February, [Top Secret], Information on the activity of the enemy following the SSSE [CSCE], and on compromising NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria], SSR [USSR], and other socialist countries before the conference in Belgrade.

15 February, [Top Secret], Information regarding the attempts of the enemy to renew its subversive activity against NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and to discredit our country as one that does not observe the humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki Accords, (excerpt)


18 February, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On Measures For Cutting Off Intelligence and Subversive Activities of the Special Services of the US Among ‘Dissidents’ and Nationalists” (NSArchive)
22 February, Bob Lipshutz, Memorandum for Rick Hutcheson
Attachment: 21 February, Jody Powell, Memorandum for the President, “Soviet Dissidents”

Attachment: March, L. Zamiatin, Memorandum to CC CPSU

1 March, [Confidential] Memorandum of Conversation with Vladimir K. Bukovsky [Ford, Mondale, Bukovsky, Clift, Levitsky, Krimer]

2 March, [Special Importance] KGB Annual Report for 1976 (NSArchive)

2 March, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1976” (NSArchive)


17 May, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Memorandum to Comrades Brezhnev, Kosygin, Andropov, Gromyko, Suslov, Ponomarev, Zimianin, G. Smirnov, “Extract from the Protocol No. 56 of the Meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on May 17, 1977”
Attachment: 13 May, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “In Regard to the Provocational Campaign of the So-Called ‘Sakharov Committee in Denmark’”


4 June, (Translation available) Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On a New Provocational ‘Appeal’ of Academician Sakharov”


20 July, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU
[Prior to October 1977], [Secret] Background Memorandum, “Shcharanskiy Case”

11 December, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, with coversheet

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6 January, Memorandum of Conversation, Arthur Goldberg, December 28, 1977


11 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

12 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

12 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, “Proposed Meeting with Alexander Slepak”

Attachment: 26 December, Alexander Slepak, Letter to Mr. Lipshutz

31 January, Bob Lipshutz, Memorandum for Zbig Brzezinski


31 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

Attachment: 31 January, Dr. Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Honorable Arthur Goldberg, “Update on Scharansky and Kuznetsov Cases”


Attachment: [date unknown] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, to be added to section 65 of the protocol no. 92

Attachment: 4 February, [Secret] Protocol No. 92/65, submitted to the Politburo of the CC CPSU

27 February, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Documents in 1977” (NSArchive)

26 March, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On A.D. Sakharov’s Visits to Embassies of Capitalist Countries in Moscow”

27 March, [Special Importance] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of KGB Work Against Terrorist Activities” (NSArchive)


April, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, “About the Forthcoming Trials of Anti-Social Elements” (NSArchive)

5 April, [Secret] KGB Report to CC CPSU, “To the Question of the So-Called Independent Trade Union” (NSArchive)


25 May, Memorandum, “Human Rights Developments in the USSR, January – May 1978”

26 May, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On the Malicious Hooliganism of Academician Sakharov”
   Attachment: 8 June, (Translation available) L. Brezhnev, Meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, “On Sakharov”

   Attachment: 23 May, “Pravda” publication, “Regarding a resolution of the Congress”
   Attachment: 22 May, “Izvestiya” article, “Criminals Are Punished”
   Attachment: 19 May, “Moscovskaya Pravda” article, “On the Wave of the Enemy: Notes from the Moscow Courthouse Hearing Room”

May, Report, “The Right to Know, The Right to Act; Documents of Helsinki Dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe [An Introduction to Charter ‘77 by Professor Vilem Precan]”

8 June, (Translation) [Top Secret] Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU (NSArchive)

22 June, (Translation) [Top Secret] Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU (NSArchive)
   Attachment: [date unknown] (Translated from English), Letter to President Leonid Brezhnev
   Attachment: [date unknown] Telegram to Leonid Brezhnev


13 September, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, “About the Subversive Idea of the West to Award the Nobel Prize to Ginzburg and Others” (NSArchive)
   Attachment: August, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU

4 November (Translation available) [Top Secret] CC CPSU Memorandum to Comrades Andropov and Rudenko, Extract from Protocol No. 128 of the Meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPSU
   Attachment: 31 October, (Translation available) [Secret] Andropov and Rekunov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On Measures to Stop the Activity of A.D. Sakharov Which Poses a Threat to National Security”

1 December, Rick Inderfurth, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Human Rights Performance”

14 December (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the Committee of State Security of the USSR, “On the New Trip of E.G. Bonner to Italy”

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6 March, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1978” (NSArchive)

2 April, [Special Importance] KGB Annual Report for 1978 (NSArchive)


Attachment: 29 May, [Secret] CC CPSU, To be Added to Section 67, Protocol No. 153
Attachment: [Secret] Soviet Ambassador in Washington, To be Added to Section 67, Protocol No. 153
Attachment: 22 May, Visa and Registration Services, Ministry of Interior Main Office in Moscow, From the Ivanov Family

30 July, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, “About Hostile Activities of the Enemy in Connection with Olympics, 1980” (NSArchive)

1980


31 January, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1979” (NSArchive)


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10 April, [Special Importance] Report on Work of the USSR Committee for State Security in 1981 (NSArchive)

31 August, [Secret] KGB Report to CC CPSU, “About Production by Sakharov of a New Anti-Soviet ‘Address’ to the West and its Use by Americans for Purposes Hostile to the Soviet Union” (NSArchive)

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3 October, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “About Measures for Perfecting the Prophylactic Work Conducted by the State Security Organs” (NSArchive)

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24 April, [Top Secret], D. Stoyanov, Information on the propaganda speculations against NRB [People’s Republic of Bulgaria] To: The Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party] – Comrade Milko Balev

PART II
THE MITROKHIN COLLECTION

[date unknown] Vasily Mitrokhin, “Chekisms: Tales of the Cheka,” a KGB Anthology, Notes on Non-conformism (Folder 9)

[date unknown] Vasily Mitrokhin, “Chekisms: Tales of the Cheka” a KGB Anthology, “The Operational Situation as reported in 1971, 1975, and 1981” (Folder 35)