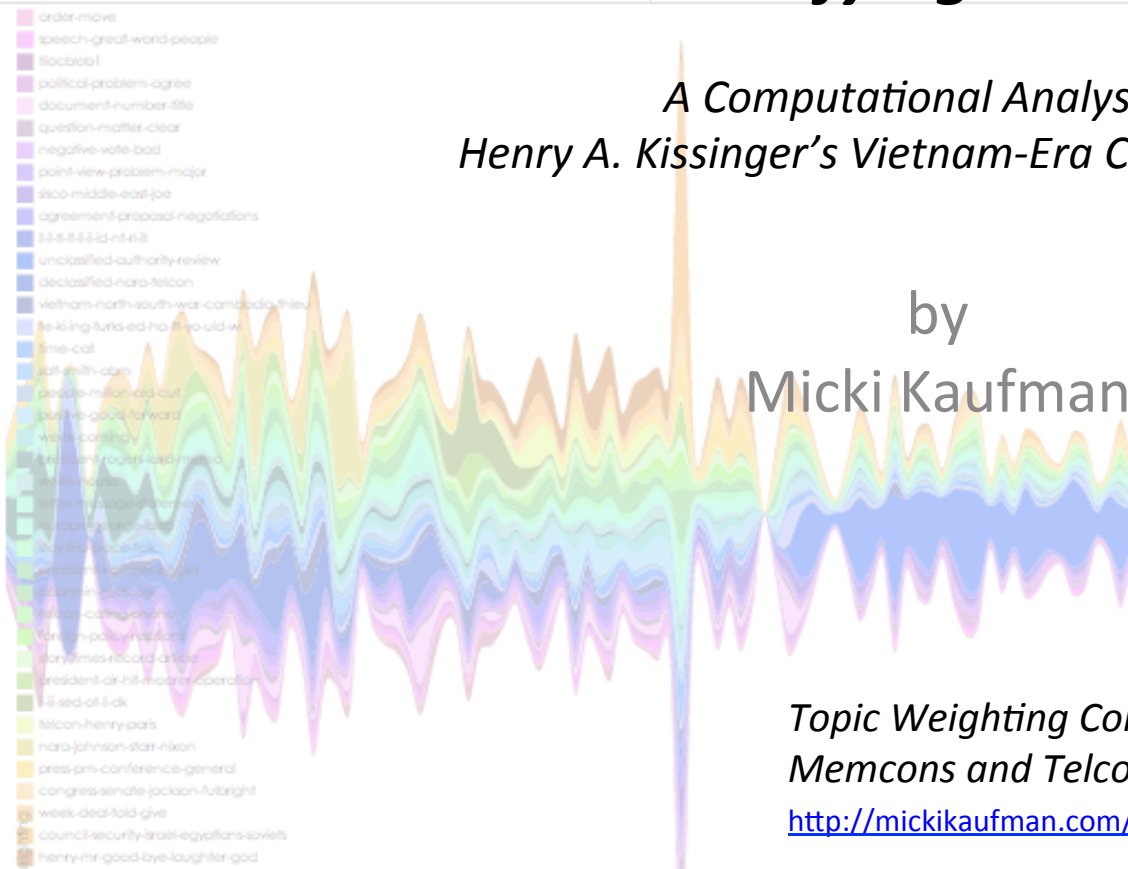


A Presentation to the
NEH Workshop on Digital Methods for Military History

***“Everything on Paper Will Be Used Against Me”:
Quantifying Kissinger***

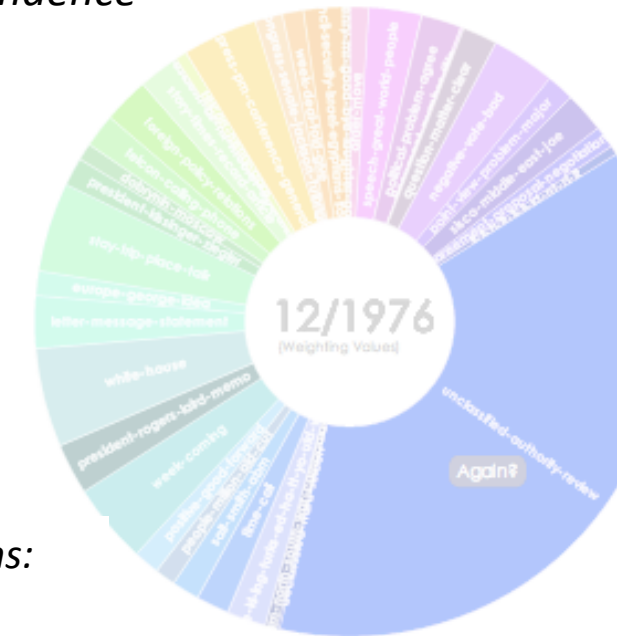


A Computational Analysis of
Henry A. Kissinger’s Vietnam-Era Correspondence

by
Micki Kaufman

Topic Weighting Comparisons:
Memcons and Telcons

<http://mickikaufman.com/d3/stack-stack.html>



Introduction to the project

- **A fascinating ‘Big Data’ problem:** the DNSA Kissinger Collections contains more than 2 gigabytes of text comprising 17,000 meeting memoranda (‘memcons’) and teleconference transcripts (‘telcons’) detailing Kissinger correspondence during the period 1969-1977, comprising his tenure as National Security Adviser (1969-1975) and Secretary of State (1973-1977).

www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/publications/DOC_readers/kissinger/

- **This project is an attempt to leverage some of these computational techniques** (eg ‘word frequency/ngram analysis,’ ‘word collocation,’ ‘topic modeling,’ ‘network analysis,’ ‘computer-aided visualization’)
- **Not the first such problem to face social scientists and humanists:** from Cliometrics to Cliodynamics historians and social scientists have grappled with new methodologies, tools, methods and readings/interpretations of quantitative data, adapting them from fields as diverse as Computer Science, Linguistics and Comparative Literature.
- **‘Teaching the Learn’d Astronomer:’** A new method or tool (‘telescope’) must confirm some of what is known about the heavens, but must also facilitate the discovery of all new worlds – all the while facilitating new questions and new kinds of questions.

Tools for Text Analysis of Historical Documents

- Data Collection and Management
 - *DownThemAll / FlashGotAll* <http://www.downthemall.net/>
 - *Microsoft Excel / OpenOffice*
 - *TextWrangler / SublimeText / NotePad* <http://www.barebones.com/products/textwrangler/>
- Word Frequency and Correlation
 - *AntConc* by Laurence Anthony, PhD <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>
- Topic Modeling
 - *MALLET* by Andrew McCallum and David Mimno <http://mallet.cs.umass.edu/index.php>
- Sentiment Analysis
 - *LIWC2007* by James W. Pennebaker, PhD <http://www.liwc.net/>
- Visualization
 - Network Analysis: Gephi <http://www.gephi.org>
 - Visualization and Statistics: R <http://www.r-project.org>

A bit about the archive of correspondence – What are 'memcons' and 'telcons,' anyway?

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Authority NDPP1520
By LGB NARA Date 10/10

September 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: September 13 meeting with the
Chinese Ambassador in Paris

I met with Huang Chen, the Chinese Ambassador in Paris, for almost two hours on September 13 before my other session, primarily to lay the groundwork for your trip to Peking and my interim visit. This meeting, the third that we have had, was once again extremely cordial.

Announcement of Trips

The Ambassador read an oral note from Peking, the full text of which is attached at Tab A. In response to our messages of August 16 and September 1 the Chinese made the following points:

-- They propose a four-day visit to Peking to make concrete arrangements for your trip. This should begin on October 20 (Peking time). I accepted this as it matched our proposals for length and timing.

-- The Chinese proposed announcing my visit on October 14. I made clear why we had suggested September 21 or 22: in addition to making the necessary arrangements for my travel, we preferred to announce my trip before Gromyko came to the U.S. on his annual visit to the UN. I explained that we did not want our announcement with the Chinese to look like a reaction to Gromyko's visit, during which the Soviets might well pin down your trip to Moscow, now that the conditions for it have been met in various negotiations. I said that I would have to check with you regarding the October 14 date for the announcement and asked them to let us know if they had any different views (i.e. moving it up) as a result of this discussion.

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYE

Authority NDPP1520
By LGB NARA Date 10/10 2 -

Reproduced from the open files
of the Nixon Presidential
Materials Staff

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sect. 3.6

By KW NARA Date 5/13/04 *

TELCON
VP Agnew
Mr. Kissinger
4-18-69 3:40 PM

VP said he was appearing on Issues and Answers on Sunday and wondered what kind of responses he should give if Korean question arises. K said he would send him the suggested questions and answers prepared for the President on this. VP said that would help and K said he would get it over this afternoon. VP ~~ask~~ asked if K would be in office tomorrow and K said yes. VP said he would check with him to see how things are and K said, of course, he would have to know before he appears on Issues and Answers.

proposed date of October 14.

Preparations for Peking Trips

In order to get the Chinese to do advance thinking, to pave the way for my trip, and to begin to shape a successful outcome for your trip, I gave the Chinese some technical questions and substantive suggestions.

-- On the technical side, I explained and handed over lists of questions which I had gone over with Bob Haldeman and a few others on the White House Staff. I suggested that my party would number about 10 people, both substantive and technical. I explained the responsibilities of each of the

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY



SEARCH DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS: FULL RECORD

MARKED LIST
(0 ITEMS)

Add to Marked List

Citation: [\[Attendance at National Security Meeting; Best Available Copy\]](#)

Non-Classified, Memorandum of Telephone Conversation, Annotated Copy, January 1150 Local Time, 1 pp.

Collection: Kissinger Telephone Conversations

Item Number: KA00001

Origin: United States. Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Location of Original: National Archives. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. Henry A. Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts (Telcons). Collection. Box 1. January 21-31, 1969

Individuals/Organizations Named: [Nixon, Richard M.](#) | [Volcker, Paul A.](#) | United States. National Security Council

Participant(s): Kennedy, David M.

Subjects: [Bureaucracy](#) | [Meetings and schedules](#)

Abstract: David Kennedy indicates to Henry Kissinger that he would like to be invited to the next meeting of the National Security Council.

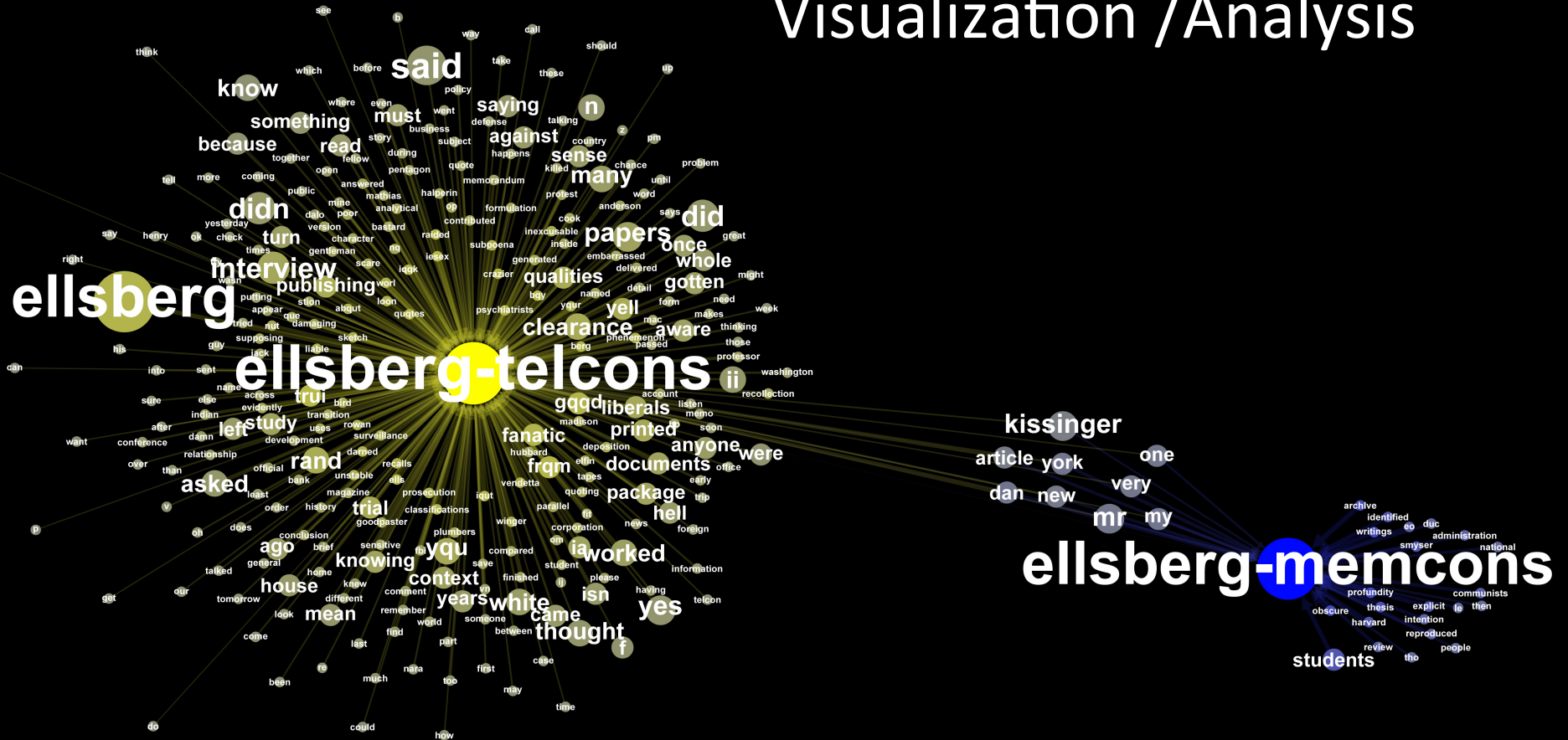
Full Text: [Document image](#)

docid	doctitle	date	classification	category	pages
144	[U.S. Military Assistance to Israel; Attached to Cover Sheet]	4-Jun-70	Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	3
145	[British Ambassador Freeman and Henry Kissinger Discussion]	5-Jun-70	Secret	Letter	3
146	Persian Gulf	5-Jun-70	Secret	Minutes	7
147	[Discussion of Middle East Negotiations]	6-Jun-70	Secret	Letter	3
148	Jordan	11-Jun-70	Top Secret	Minutes	13
149	Jordan	12-Jun-70	Top Secret	Minutes	7
150	My June 10 Meeting with Ambassador Dobrynin	15-Jun-70	Top Secret	Memorandum	13
151	Cambodia	15-Jun-70	Top Secret	Minutes	11
152	Mediterranean, Greece, Italy: NSSM 90	17-Jun-70	Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	8
153	[Meeting with Pakistani Ambassador Agha Hilaly]	17-Jun-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	3
154	Middle East	22-Jun-70	Secret	Minutes	14
155	[Strategic Arms Limitation Talks Agreement]	23-Jun-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	2
156	Verification Panel	24-Jun-70	Top Secret	Minutes	12
157	Vietnam Cease-Fire and Peace Initiatives	27-Jun-70	Top Secret	Minutes	24
158	U.S. Military Assistance to Indonesia	1-Jul-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	6
159	[Meeting with Anatolii Dobrynin]	7-Jul-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	2
160	The Middle East	9-Jul-70	Top Secret	Minutes	12
161	U.S. Military Assistance to Indonesia	10-Jul-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	6
162	My Recent Conversations with Ambassador Dobrynin	16-Jul-70	Top Secret	Memorandum	10
163	Defense Budget	17-Jul-70	Top Secret	Minutes	14
164	Middle East	20-Jul-70	Top Secret	Minutes	5
165	My July 20 Meeting with Dobrynin	21-Jul-70	Top Secret	Information Memorandum	7
166	NSC Meeting: Vietnam Ceasefire and Possible Diplomatic	21-Jul-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	6
167	[Meeting with Indian Ambassador Jha; Attached to Cover Sheet]	22-Jul-70	Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	6
168	MBFR Verification Panel	30-Jul-70	Secret	Minutes	11
169	Conversation with Vorontsov--Map Room--August 4, 1970	4-Aug-70	Classification	Memorandum of Conversation	2
170	Meeting between Israeli Ambassador Rabin and Mr. Kissinger	6-Aug-70	Top Secret	Memorandum	8
171	Conversation with Vorontsov--August 7, 1970	7-Aug-70	Classification	Memorandum of Conversation	2
172	Middle East	12-Aug-70	Secret	Minutes	9
173	[Discussion with Yitzhak Rabin]	15-Aug-70	Top Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	8
174	German-Soviet Negotiations	17-Aug-70	Secret	Memorandum of Conversation	5
175	My Meeting Today with Vorontsov on Possible Summation	19-Aug-70	Top Secret	Action Memorandum	2
176	Conversation with Brandt's Foreign Policy Advisor, Eggen	20-Aug-70	Secret	Information Memorandum	6
177	U.S. Strategies and Forces for NATO (NSSM 84) [and]	31-Aug-70	Top Secret	Minutes	17

Obtain and Examine the 'Metadata:' useful, descriptive information about the documents

[Durable URL for this record](#)

Today's Focus: Two Kinds of Network Visualization /Analysis



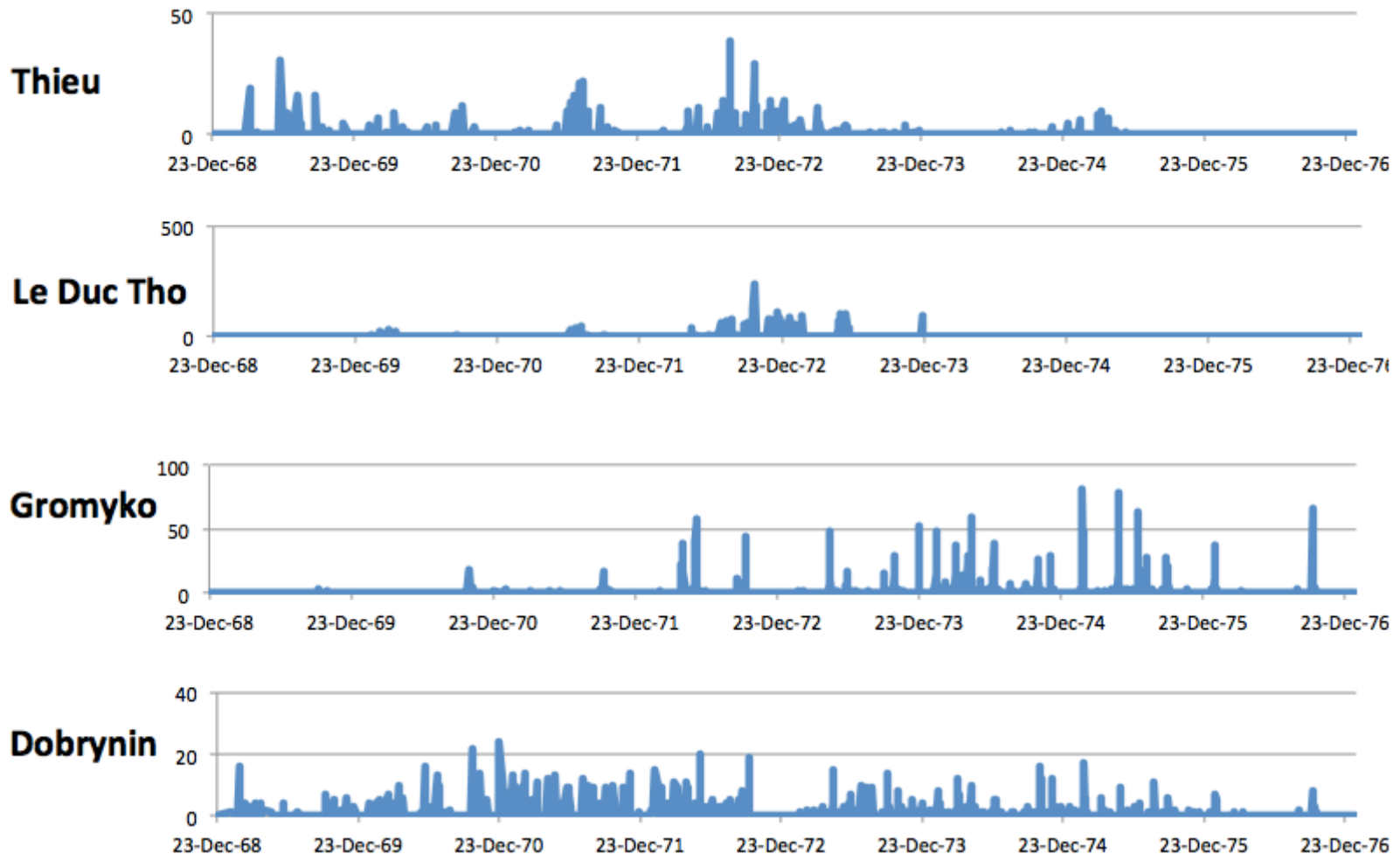
1. Word Collocation Analysis: Collocated Words (Telcons) <-> Target Word <-> Collocated Words (Memcons)

‘Word/ Collocation analysis’:
Counting the frequency of
all the words, combinations of words
and collocations of words



‘Word Cloud’

Counting the frequency of all the words and combinations of words



Counting Frequency:

The screenshot displays the AntConc 3.3.5m (Macintosh OS X) 2012 interface. The main window shows a list of concordance hits for the search term 'Cambodia'. The interface includes a 'Corpus Files' list on the left, a 'Concordance Hits' table in the center, and search controls at the bottom.

Corpus Files

- 00001_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00002_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00003_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00004_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00005_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00006_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00007_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00008_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00009_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00010_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00011_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00012_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00013_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00014_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00015_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00016_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00017_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00018_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00019_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00020_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00021_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00022_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00023_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00024_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00025_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00026_OCR.pdf.txt
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- 00039_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00040_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00041_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00042_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00043_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00044_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00045_OCR.pdf.txt
- 00046_OCR.pdf.txt

Concordance Hits 2096

Hit	KWIC	File
1	f forces completely out of Laos and Cambodia and the provision guarantees	00012_OCR.pdf.
2	n, (3) total withdrawal from Laos and Cambodia, (4) guarantees or assurances	00012_OCR.pdf.
3	atte.mpfto maintain groupings both in Cambodia:::an:d'~a~s ':, so that they	00037_OCR.pdf.
4	o'rth'Viet-Nam remains'in La.o.s and Cambodia. It~ii~ii~i::possible to h'ax	00037_OCR.pdf.
5	.a settleni~ri':~::~~q~ ..:,~ncl.': Cambodia shoUld .be iJ:?cluded and the	00037_OCR.pdf.
6	i'.i:f/;'.~::~:'. f. in Viet-Name Cambodia is a weak country:and if Sih	00037_OCR.pdf.
7	OW ,' ..::;. 8 t '...;;, ", ":->Cambodia to playa neutral but that he	00037_OCR.pdf.
8	Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos. On Cambodia they recognize the peaceful s	00047_OCR.pdf.
9	ereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia in its present boundaries. Th	00047_OCR.pdf.
10	In that area in the past they went to Cambodia. This time they reinforced,	00054_OCR.pdf.
11	SIVELY EYES ONLY 2 They warned that Cambodia might become a "second Laos"	00108_OCR.pdf.
12	~::~: ,.' Their remarks on Cambodia were troublesome, and may i	00108_OCR.pdf.
13	otally complete, and all the bases in Cambodia and Laos along the frontier a	00108_OCR.pdf.
14	then there would be a second Laos in Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk said himself	00108_OCR.pdf.
15	ia. Prince Sihanouk said himself that Cambodia will be turned into another	00108_OCR.pdf.
16	ietnam, how can you ,s,-qFce~.d . in Cambodia?' ',. ' . , " " ~, .. We ha	00108_OCR.pdf.
17	os and .the ,1954' agreeITlen~::~:ri~ Cambodia,.'!' But :tfyou G.O~.l't res	00108_OCR.pdf.
18	; said. We have made no effort to get Cambodia to abandon its policy .)f neu	00108_OCR.pdf.
19	problem respecting the neutrality of Cambodia. As you saw from", hat I s ai	00108_OCR.pdf.
20	r s request, that is all we want from Cambodia. It is also incorrect to inte	00108_OCR.pdf.
21	longer negotiating process. Laos and Cambodia ~ It may be desirable for m	00113_OCR.pdf.
22	say something about Laos and perhaps Cambodia, epending on developments th	00113_OCR.pdf.
23	s and you 0 rganized a coup d'etat in Cambodia in attempting to use these tw	00114_OCR.pdf.
24	ns. Secondly, a "lvord about Laos and Cambodia. (NVN discuss among themsel	00114_OCR.pdf.
25	say more ourselves About Laos and Cambodia: I am always very frank and	00114_OCR.pdf.

Search Term Words Case Regex
cambodia Search Window Size 50

Kwic Sort
 Level 1 1R Level 2 2R Level 3 3R

AntConc: <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>

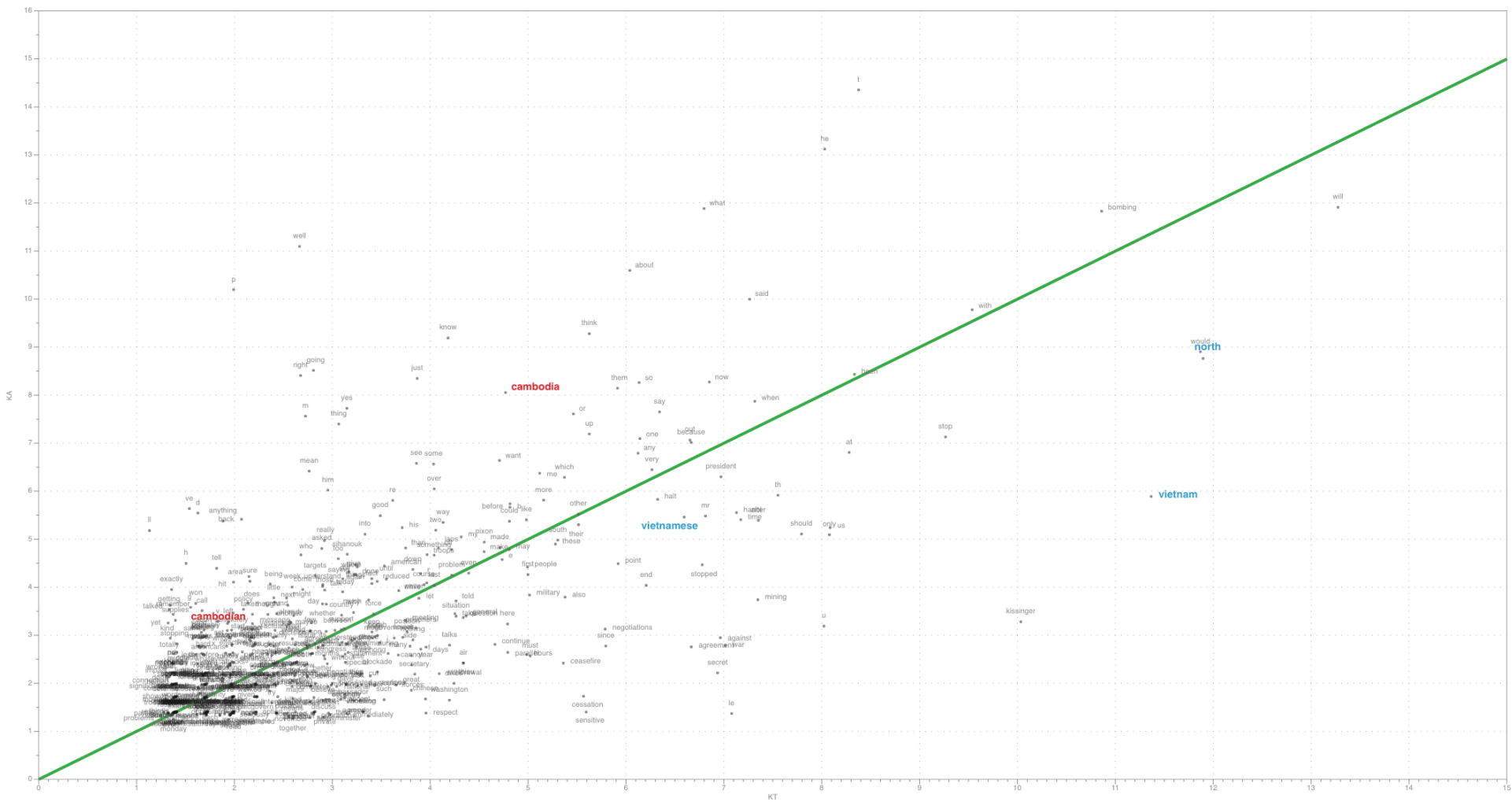
Counting Collocation:

The screenshot shows the AntConc 3.3.5m (Macintosh OS X) 2012 interface. The 'Collocates' tab is active, displaying a table of collocates for the search term 'cambodia'. The table has columns for Rank, Freq, Freq(L), Freq(R), Stat, and Collocate. The search term is 'cambodia', and the window span is set to 20L and 20R. The minimum collocate frequency is set to 2. The 'Sort by Freq' option is selected.

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	5185	2625	2560	5.51941	the
2	2803	328	328	10.20885	cambodia
3	2560	1312	1248	6.15922	and
4	2385	1252	1133	5.28776	to
5	2233	1412	821	6.09558	in
6	2205	1264	941	5.69936	of
7	1762	743	1019	5.48266	we
8	1342	633	709	5.27595	that
9	1295	559	736	4.64624	i
10	1234	554	680	5.34883	is
11	1227	601	626	5.02793	a
12	1070	724	346	11.11243	laos
13	980	446	534	5.42652	you
14	889	367	522	4.89421	it
15	887	515	372	5.76752	on
16	840	376	464	5.39163	have
17	687	301	386	5.49759	will
18	668	313	355	5.14777	kissinger
19	646	275	371	5.16067	be
20	627	279	348	5.61283	are
21	626	373	253	5.51512	for
22	555	241	314	5.22726	this
23	553	229	324	5.27054	not
24	532	326	206	8.18617	vietnam

AntConc: <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>

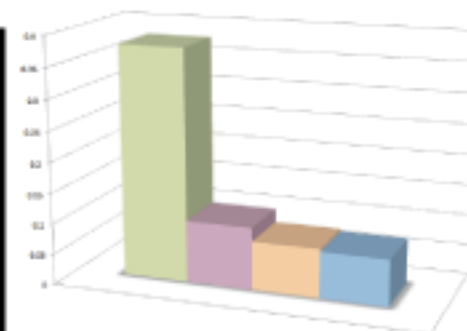
Word Frequency Collocation: 'Bombing'



'Topic modeling'

responded that more ^{supplies} ~~means~~ for cadres ^{was} ~~was~~ necessary. **President**
Nixon mentioned that **Hanoi** has never had ^{real} elections and is thus
employing a double standard. **Thieu** pointed out that 56% of those "elected"
in **North Vietnam** were women. This shows the magnitude of their man-
power problem. He reiterated that there would be elections after
the withdrawal of non-**South Vietnamese forces**. Thieu was prepared
for good international supervision -- even without troops. **President**
Nixon wondered whether the GVN could siphon off the **political forces**
in the center to weaken the Viet Cong. **Thieu** responded that when we
have a common position on our side, we can have a united front. What
made the middle ground in Saigon so uncertain was the fear that the
U.S. would withdraw support. Hence, many politicians were holding
themselves available for a coalition **government** with the NLF.

President Nixon asked why not a united front now; the GVN
is going to win and that is a great asset. Thieu stated very frankly
that there was a sagging ^{of spirit} in Saigon. Many still believe that the Viet



North-South-Thieu-Vietnam

.379

US-Nixon-Relations

.102

Soviet-Dobrynin

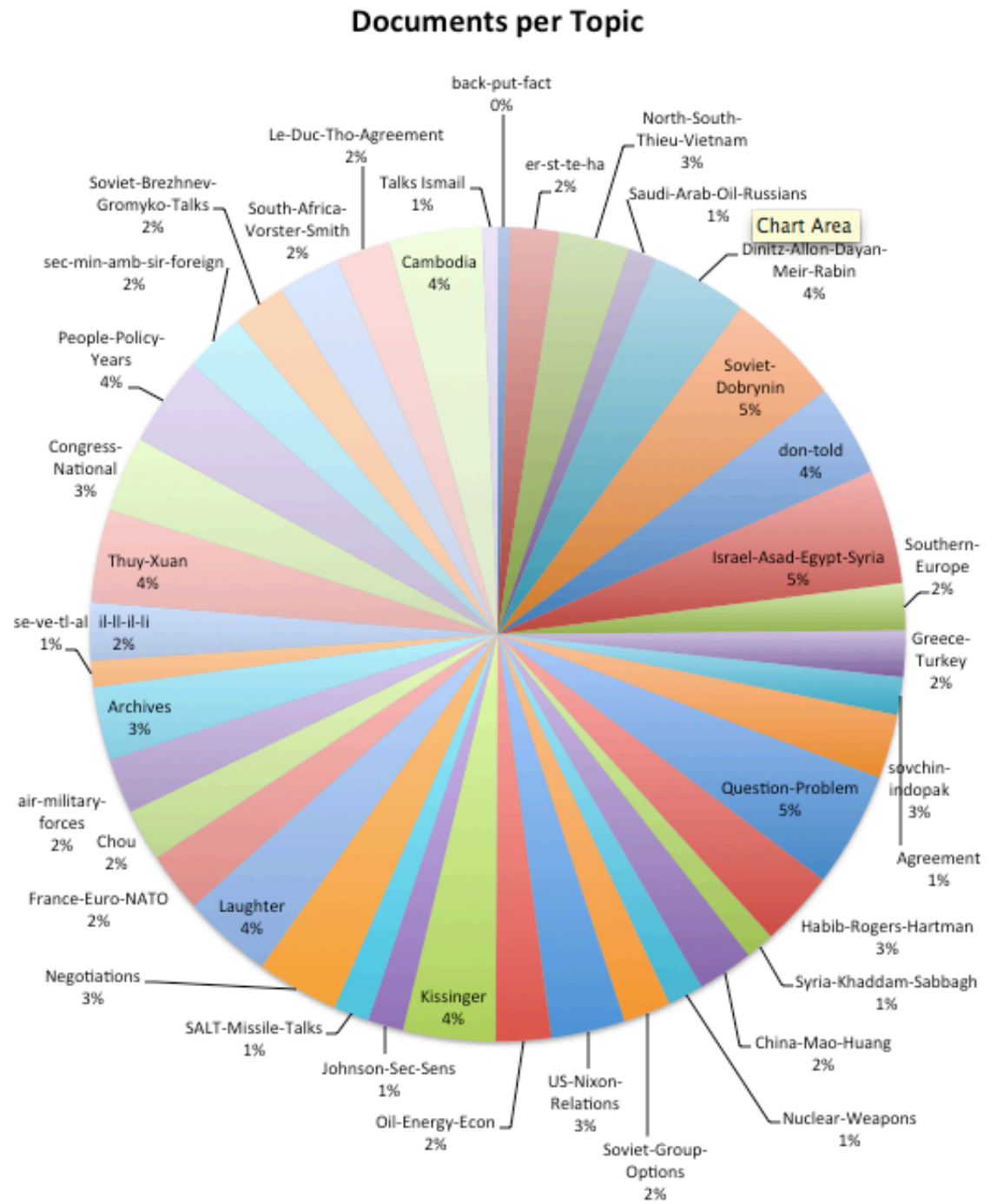
.08

Air-Military-Forces

.076

Topics are defined and assigned based upon the archive's content – a broad range of subject matter, geographical regions, and individual participants.

Topic Modeling:
MALLET
<http://mallet.cs.umass.edu/>



Methodology: 'Topic Modeling,' cont'd.

Assembling the documents into 40 'topics' grouped by word frequency

Computer-Generated Topic List

- back-put-fact
- Kissinger
- er-st-te-ha
- Johnson-Sec-Sens
- **North-South-Thieu-Vietnam**
- **SALT-Missile-Talks**
- **Saudi-Arab-Oil-Russians**
- Negotiations
- **Dinitz-Allon-Dayan-Meir-Rabin**
- Laughter
- **Soviet-Dobrynin**
- **France-Euro-NATO**
- don-told
- **Chou**
- **Israel-Asad-Egypt-Syria**
- air-military-forces
- **Southern-Europe**
- Archives
- **Greece-Turkey**
- se-ve-tl-al
- Agreement
- il-ll-il-li
- **sovchin-indopak**
- **Thuy-Xuan**
- Question-Problem
- Congress-National
- **Habib-Rogers-Hartman**
- People-Policy-Years
- **Syria-Khaddam-Sabbagh**
- sec-min-amb-sir-foreign
- **China-Mao-Huang**
- **Soviet-Brezhnev-Gromyko-Talks**
- Nuclear-Weapons
- **South-Africa-Vorster-Smith**
- **Soviet-Group-Options**
- **Le-Duc-Tho-Agreement**
- US-Nixon-Relations
- **Cambodia**
- **Oil-Energy-Econ**
- Talks Ismail

Librarian-Generated Topic List

- Wars in Indochina: not only **Vietnam**, but also **Laos** and **Cambodia**, and the White House's managerial role in United States military operations in these countries
- U.S. (especially Kissinger's) interactions with the North **Vietnamese**, the **Chinese**, and the **Soviets** in trying to bring conflicts in Indochina to an end
- the final stages of the Indochina wars, including U.S. reactions to the **collapse of the client regime in Saigon** and the rise of the **Cambodian Khmer Rouge**
- **U.S.-Soviet détente** and Kissinger's conduct of "**back channel**" diplomacy with the Soviet leadership
- **U.S.-China rapprochement**, including initial White House efforts to communicate with Beijing; Kissinger's "secret trip" to China, July 1971; and subsequent **high-level meetings with Chinese officials**, including visits by presidents Nixon and Ford in 1972 and 1975, respectively
- developments in South Asia, including the 1971 **India-Pakistan** war and the Nixon/Kissinger tilt to Pakistan during that crisis
- the **Middle East**, including U.S. conduct during the 1973 **October War** and Kissinger's role as **shuttle diplomat during 1974-1975**
- negotiations to end minority white rule in **Rhodesia/Zimbabwe**
- **U.S.-European relations**, including policy coordination and consultations on a variety of "hot spots" and "hot issues," including the rise of Euro-Communism
- the 1974 **Cyprus** crisis and U.S. relations with **Greece and Turkey**
- international economic, energy and raw materials policies
- relations between the mass media and policymakers

Methodology: 'Topic Modeling,' cont'd.

Assembling the documents into 40 'topics' grouped by word frequency

Computer-Generated Topic List

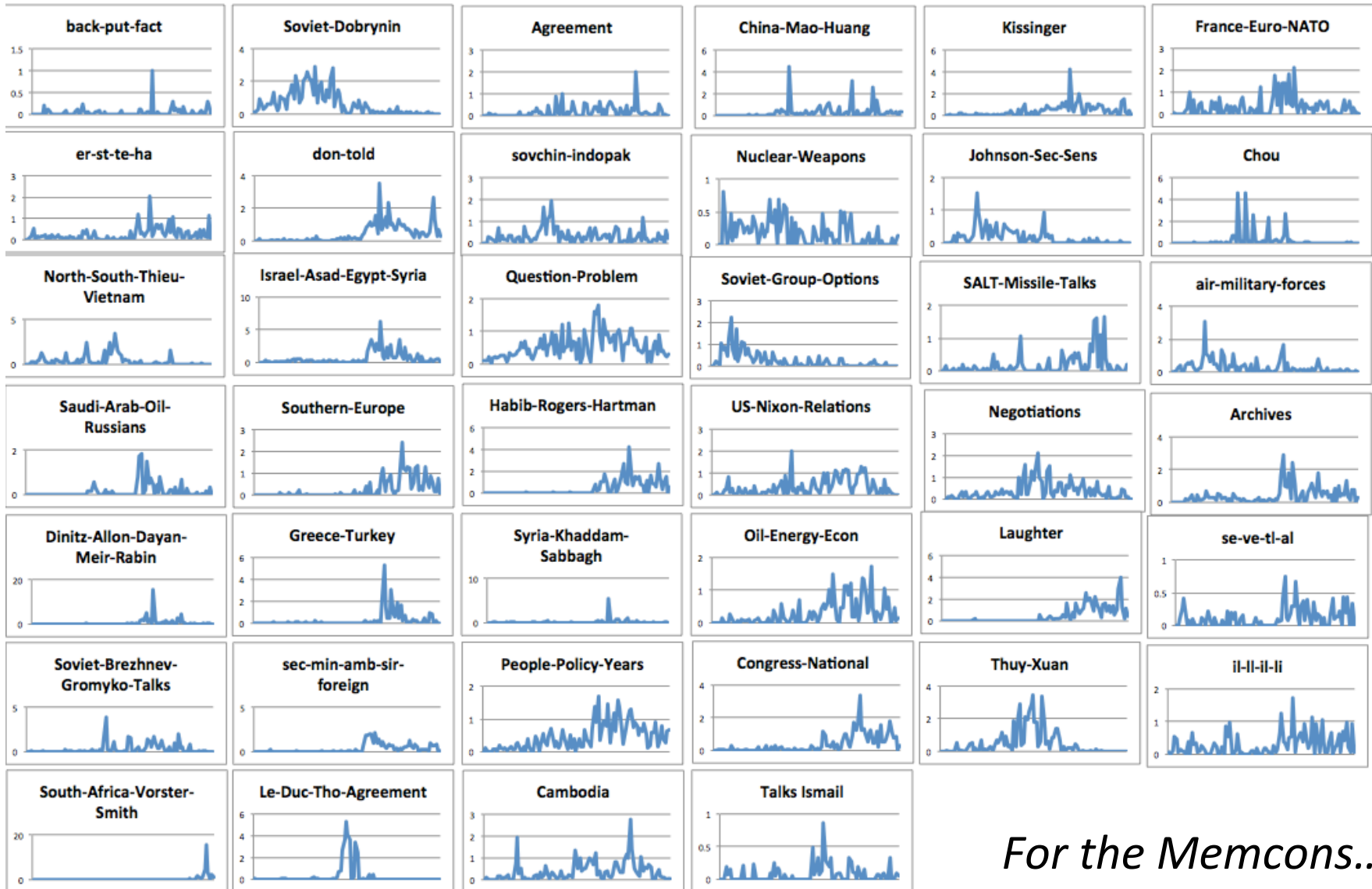
- back-put-fact
- Kissinger
- er-st-te-ha
- Johnson-Sec-Sens
- **North-South-Thieu-Vietnam**
- **SALT-Missile-Talks**
- Saudi-Arab-Oil-Russians
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- **Thuy-Xuan**
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- Congress-National
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- People-Policy-Years
- **Syria-Khaddam-Sabbagh**
- sec-min-amb-sir-foreign
- **China-Mao-Huang**
- **Soviet-Brezhnev-Gromyko-Talks**
- **Nuclear-Weapons**
- **South-Africa-Vorster-Smith**
- **Soviet-Group-Options**
- **Le-Duc-Tho-Agreement**
- US-Nixon-Relations
- **Cambodia**
- **Oil-Energy-Econ**
- **Talks Ismail**

Librarian-Generated Topic List

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- the 1974 **Cyprus** crisis and U.S. relations with **Greece and Turkey**
- international economic, energy and raw materials policies
- relations between the mass media and policymakers

Topic Modeling – Line Graph Visualizations

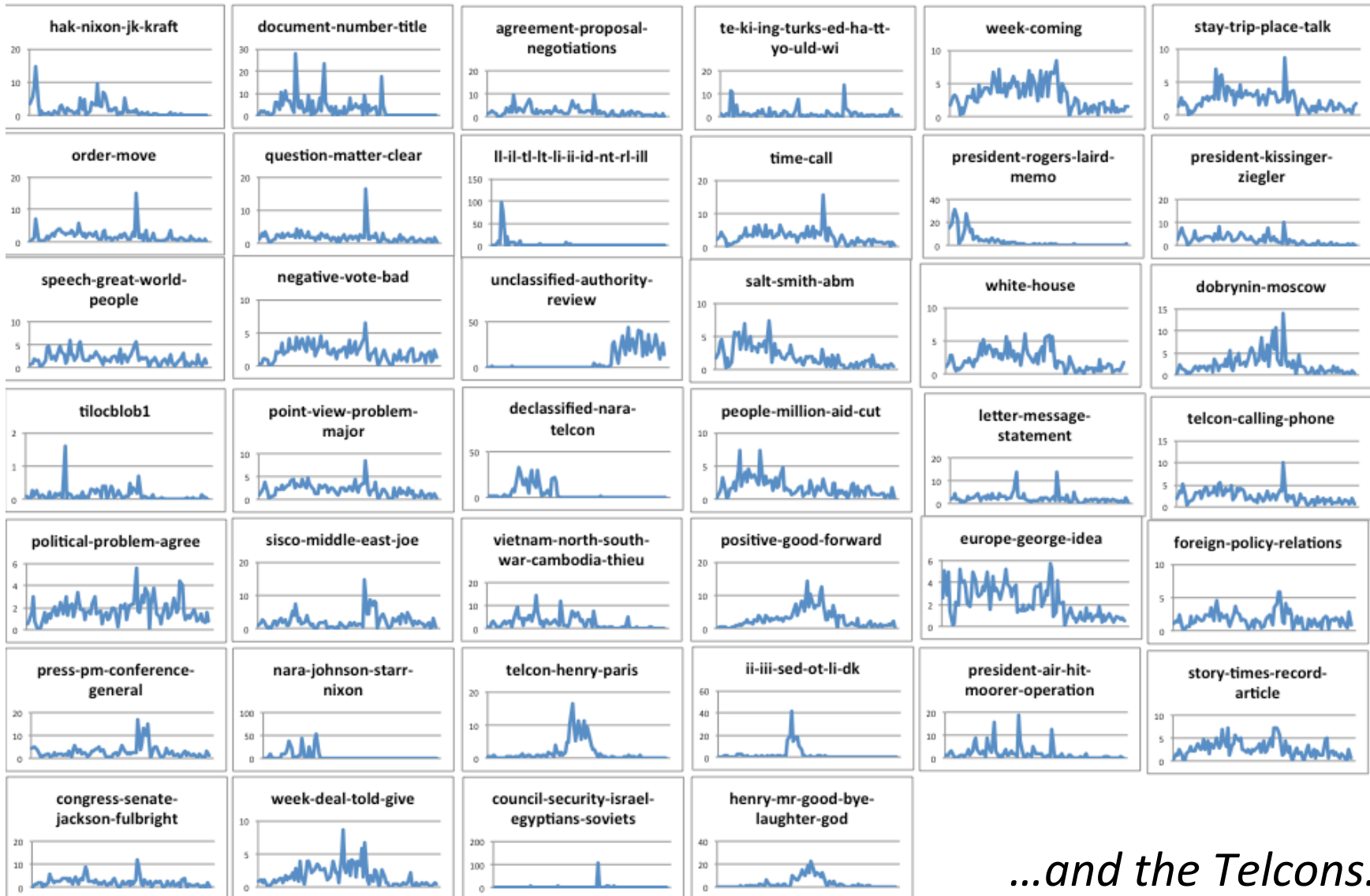
Graphing the frequency with which each of the topics occurs across the archive's time span.



For the Memcons...

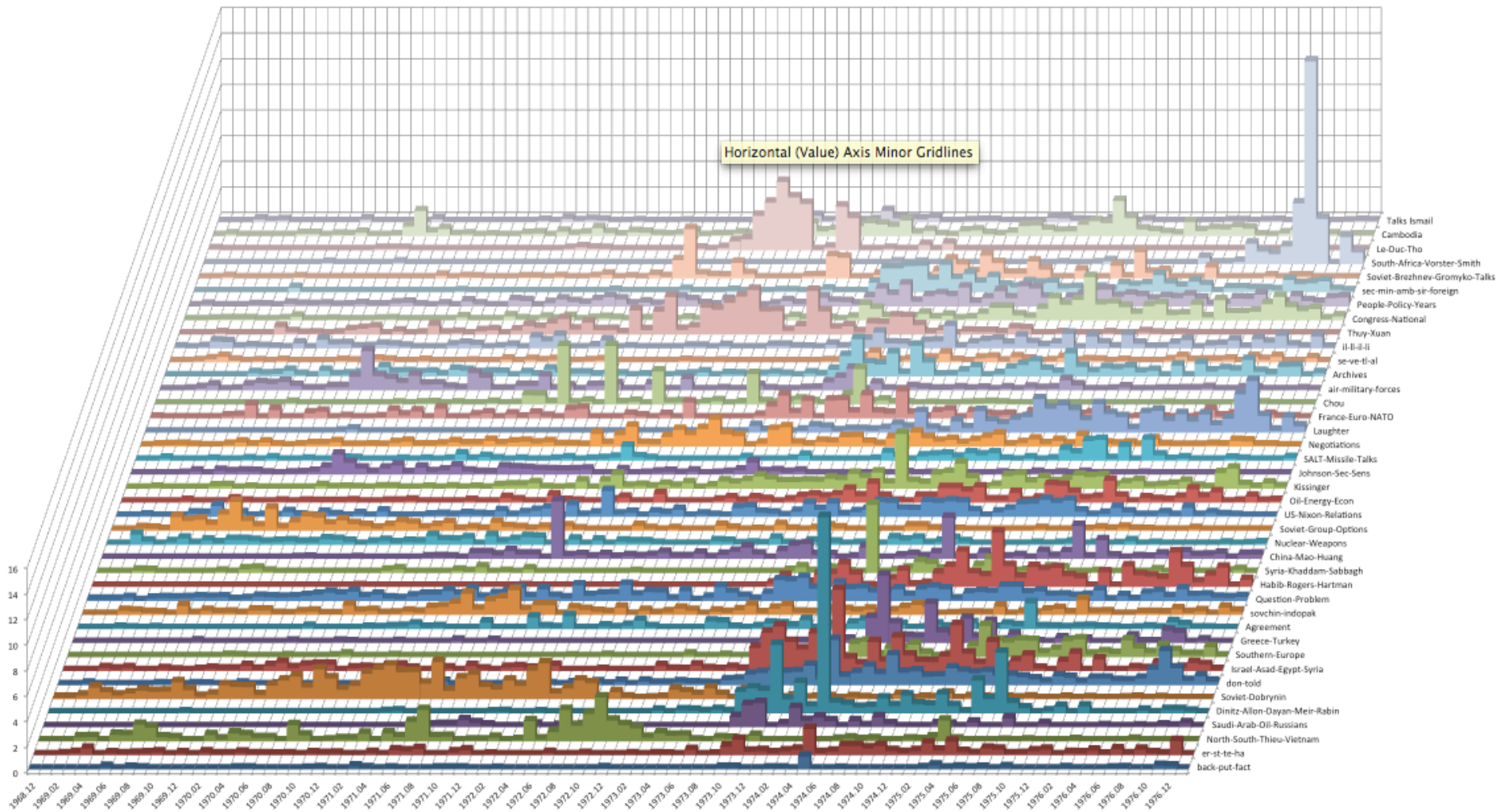
Topic Modeling – Line Graph Visualizations

Graphing the frequency with which each of the topics occurs across the archive's time span.

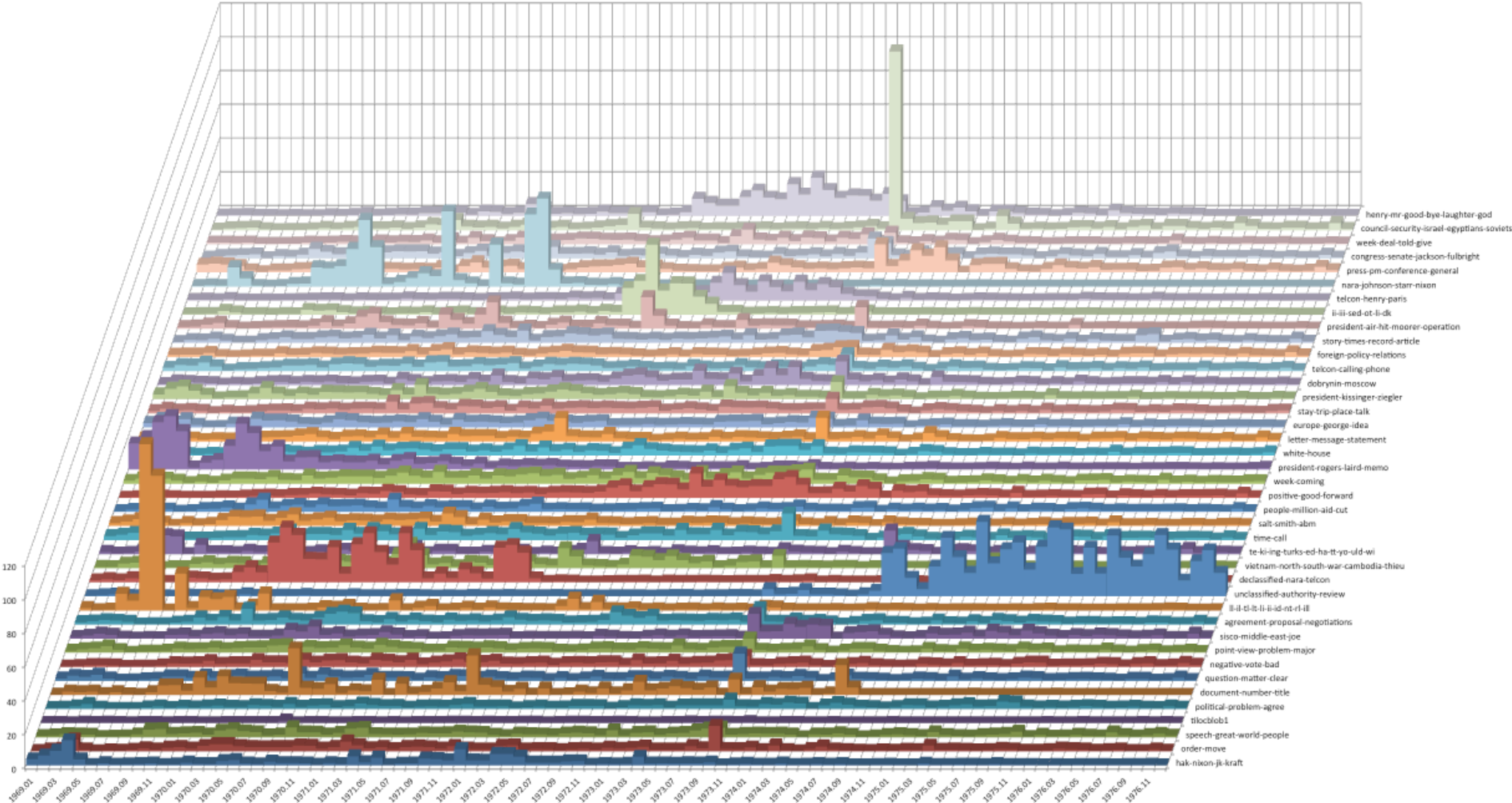


...and the Telcons.

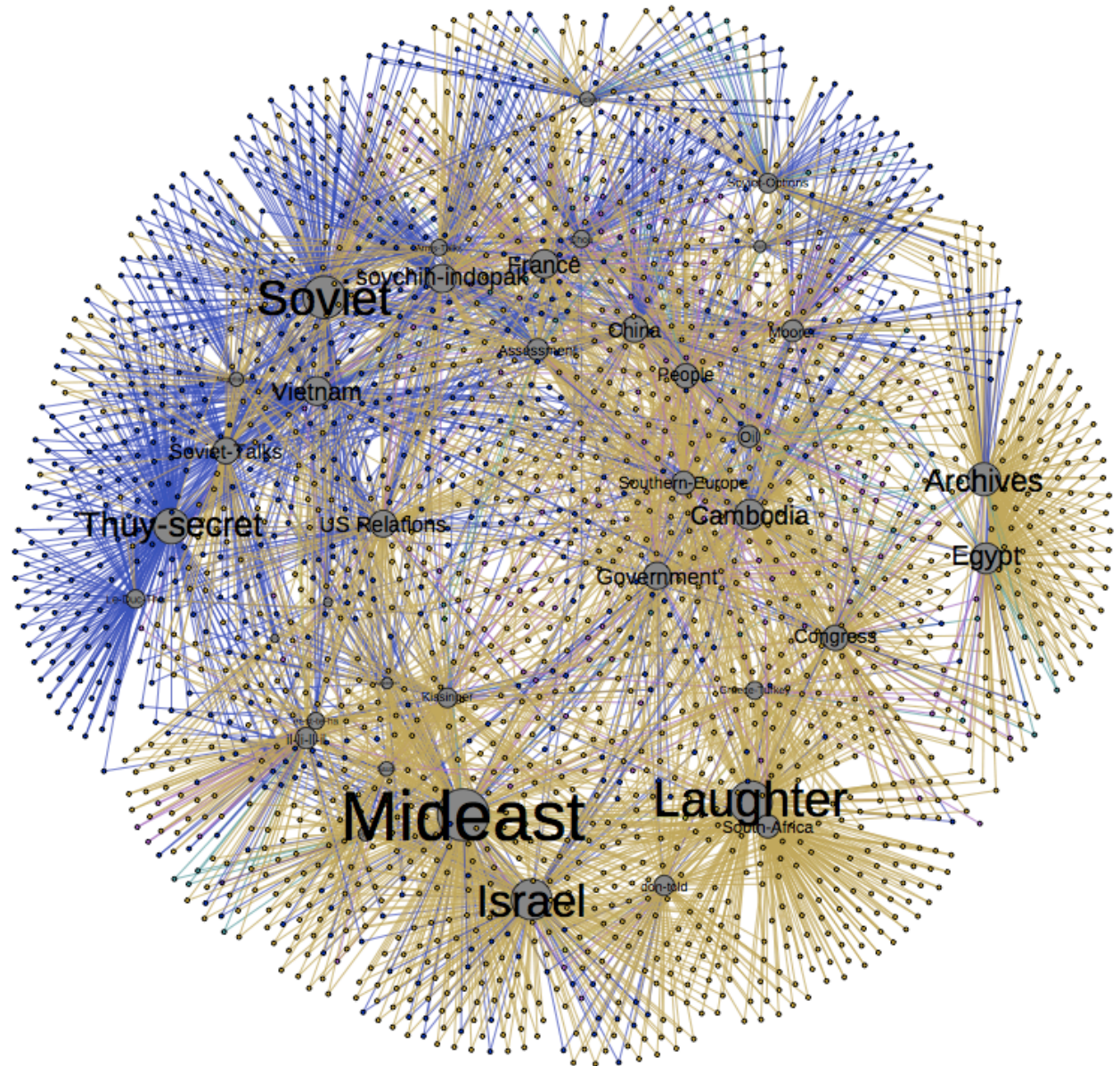
A combined, linear view of all of the topic frequencies is useful when looking for patterns that are specific to one topic, or patterns that may affect multiple topics, in the Memcons...

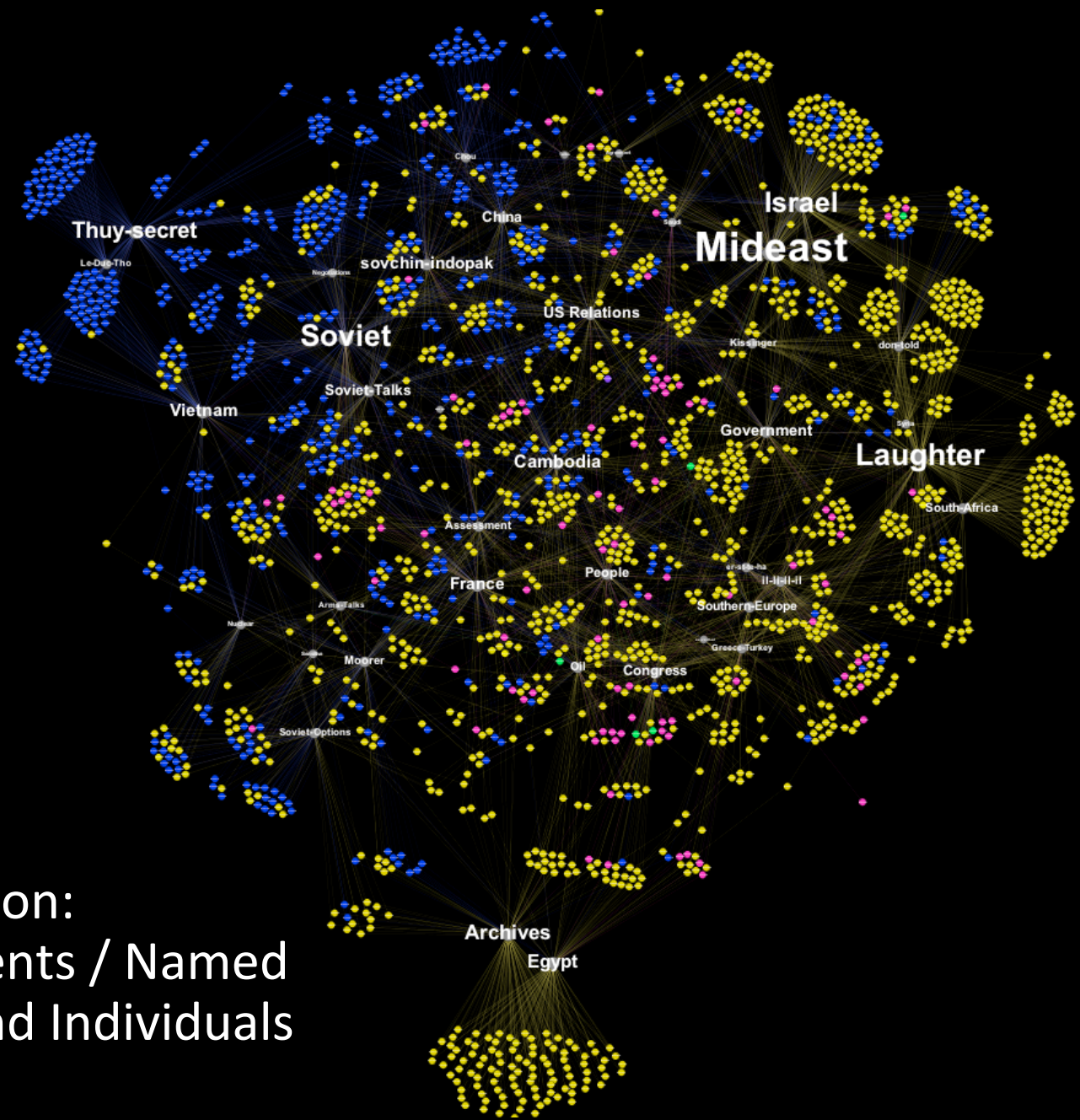


...or the Telcons. However, the large patterns and trends in the relationships between the topics and their constituent documents is less evident.

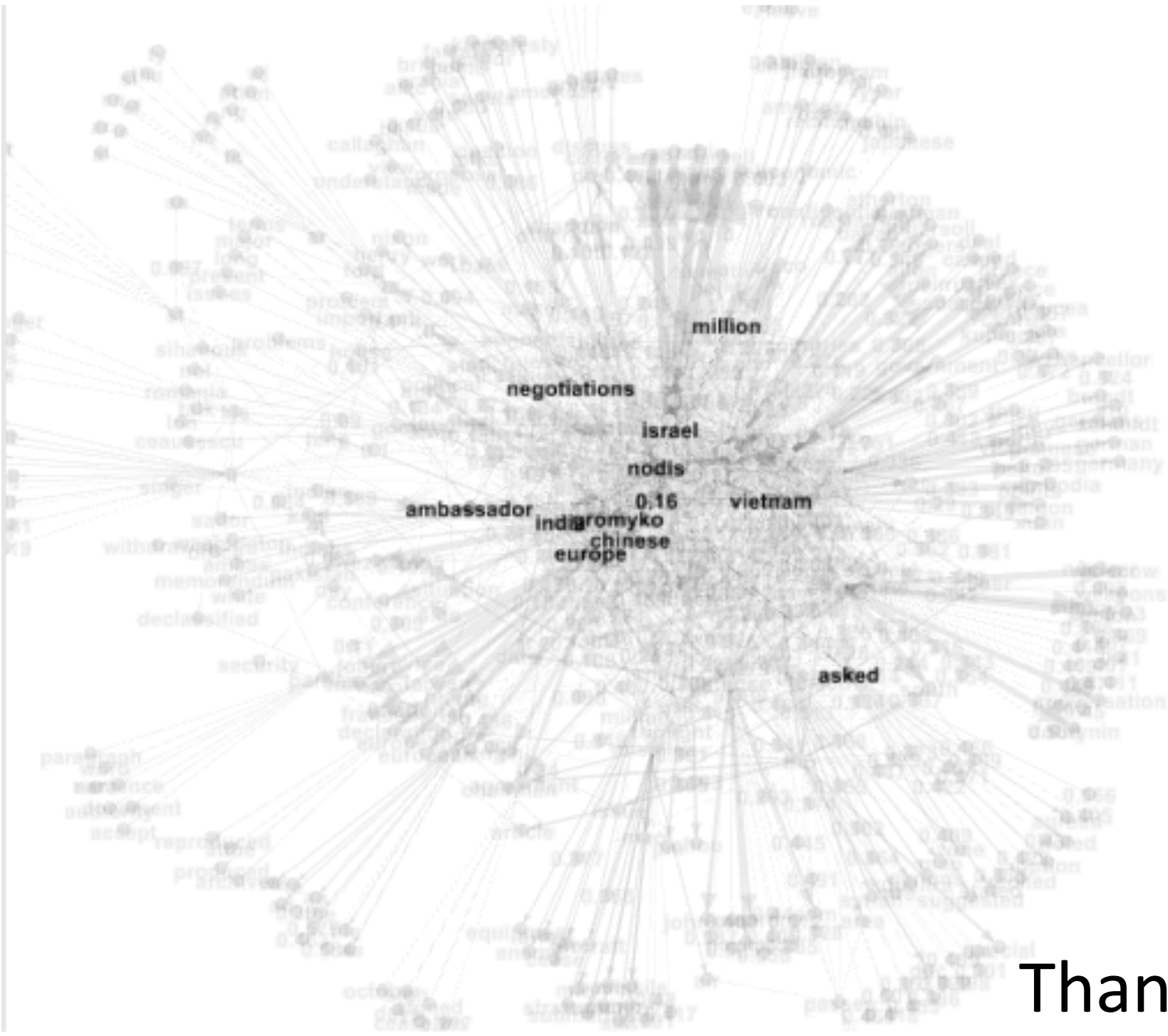


Graph all of the
above
(metadata,
document-to-topic
weighting, topic
frequency), all at
once,
as a network of
relationships.





Gephi Visualization:
 Topics / Documents / Named
 Organizations and Individuals



Thank you.