Collection Summary
Title: Clark M. Clifford Papers
Span Dates: 1883-1999
Bulk Dates: (bulk 1946-1998)
ID No.: MSS84499
Creator: Clifford, Clark M., 1906-1998
Extent: 29,000 items
Extent: 83 containers plus 1 oversize and 5 classified
Extent: 34.6 linear feet
Language: Collection material in English
Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LC Catalog record: https://lccn.loc.gov/mm00084499
Summary: Government official and lawyer. Correspondence, memoranda, speeches and writings, congressional testimony, printed matter, and other papers relating primarily to Clifford's personal and professional life, including his role as an adviser and counsel to four Democratic presidential administrations, his service as United States secretary of defense, 1968-1969, and his career as a lawyer in Washington, D.C.

Selected Search Terms
The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the LC Catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically.

People
Acheson, Dean, 1893-1971--Correspondence.
Alsop, Joseph, 1910-1989--Correspondence.
Anderson, Clinton Presba, 1895-1975--Correspondence.
Ball, George W.--Correspondence.
Bayh, Birch, 1928-2019--Correspondence.
Brown, Edmund G. (Edmund Gerald), 1905-1996--Correspondence.
Brown, Hillyard--Correspondence.
Bundy, McGeorge--Correspondence.
Bundy, William P., 1917-2000--Correspondence.
Carter, Jimmy, 1924--Correspondence.
Carter, Jimmy, 1924--Correspondence.
Clark, Tom C. (Tom Campbell), 1899-1977--Correspondence.
Colton, Barnum L.--Correspondence.
Cook, Donald C.--Correspondence.
Cooke, James--Correspondence.
Dart, Justin Whitlock, 1907-1984--Correspondence.
Davies, Joseph Edward--Correspondence.
Eagleton, Thomas F., 1929-2007--Correspondence.
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (Dwight David), 1890-1969--Correspondence.
Fulbright, J. William (James William), 1905-1995--Correspondence.
Halsell, Grace--Correspondence.
Harriman, W. Averell (William Averell), 1891-1986--Correspondence.
Hassett, William D., 1880-1965--Correspondence.
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978--Correspondence.
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973--Correspondence.
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963--Correspondence.
Kennedy, Robert F., 1925-1968--Correspondence.
Knight, John Shively, 1894-1981--Correspondence.
Laird, Melvin R.--Correspondence.
Lance, Bert, 1931-2013--Correspondence.
Lashly, Paul W. (Paul Webster), 1917-
Mathias, Charles McC. (Charles McCurdy), 1922-2010--Correspondence.
McCullough, David G.--Correspondence.
McGovern, George S. (George Stanley), 1922-2012--Correspondence.
McGrory, Mary, 1918-2004--Correspondence.
Morgan, Edward P., 1910-1993--Correspondence.
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996--Correspondence.
Onassis, Jacqueline Kennedy, 1929-1994--Correspondence.
Porter, Paul Aldermandt, 1904-1975--Correspondence.
Quesada, Elwood R. (Elwood Richard), 1904-1993--Correspondence.
Rowe, James H. (James Henry), 1909-1984--Correspondence.
Rusk, Dean, 1909-1994--Correspondence.
Smathers, George A. (George Armistead), 1913-2007--Correspondence.
Truman, Bess Wallace--Correspondence.
Truman, Harry S., 1884-1972--Correspondence.
Truman, Harry S., 1884-1972.
Wadsworth, James J. (James Jeremiah), 1905-1984--Correspondence.
Watson, Thomas J., 1914-1993--Correspondence.
Williams, Edward Bennett--Correspondence.

Organizations
Bank of Credit and Commerce International.
Democratic Party (U.S.)
United States. Department of Defense.

Subjects
Banks and banking.
Business.
Cold War.
Elections--United States.
Industrial policy.
International relations.
Law--United States.
National security.
Practice of law--Washington (D.C.)
Presidents--United States--Election.
Presidents--United States--Transition periods.

Places
Cyprus--History--20th century.
United States--Commerce.

Occupations
Cabinet officers.
Lawyers.
Provenance
The papers of Clark M. Clifford, government official and lawyer, were given to the Library of Congress in 1999 by his wife, Margery K. Clifford. An addition was given in 2000 by Randall C. Wight acting on behalf of Clifford's estate.

Transfers
Items have been transferred from the Manuscript Division to other custodial divisions of the Library. Some photographs have been transferred to the Prints and Photographs Division. Audiotapes have been transferred to the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division. All transfers are identified in these divisions as part of the Clark M. Clifford Papers.

Copyright Status
Copyright in the unpublished writings of Clark M. Clifford in these papers and in other collections of papers in the custody of the Library of Congress has been dedicated to the public.

Access and Restrictions
The papers of Clark M. Clifford are open to research. Researchers are advised to contact the Manuscript Reading Room prior to visiting. Many collections are stored off-site and advance notice is needed to retrieve these items for research use.

Security Classified Documents
Government regulations control the use of security classified material in this collection. Manuscript Division staff can furnish information concerning access to and use of classified items.

Preferred Citation
Researchers wishing to cite this collection should include the following information: Container number, Clark M. Clifford Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Biographical Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>LL.B., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-1933</td>
<td>Associate attorney, Holland, Lashly &amp; Donnell, St. Louis, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Married Margery Kimball (died 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-1937</td>
<td>Associate attorney, Holland, Lashly &amp; Lashly, St. Louis, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-1943</td>
<td>Partner, Lashly, Lashly, Miller &amp; Clifford, St. Louis, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-1946</td>
<td>Enlisted in U.S. Naval Reserve; served as special assistant to commander, Western Sea Frontier; assistant naval aide to the president; and naval aide to the president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td>Special counsel to the president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1968</td>
<td>Senior partner, Clifford &amp; Miller, Washington, D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Member, Committee on the Defense Establishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1961</td>
<td>Representative, presidential administration transition team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1968</td>
<td>Member and chairman, Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Fact-finding mission to Asia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1966  Adviser to the president, Manila Conference
1967  Trip to southeast Asia and Pacific as presidential emissary
1968-1969  Secretary of defense
1969  Awarded Medal of Freedom with Distinction
1976  Distinguished Alumnus Award, Washington University School of Law, St. Louis, Mo.
1977  Appointed special presidential emissary to Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus
1978  Lawyer of the Year Award, Bar Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.
1980  Appointed special presidential emissary to India
1991  Published with Richard Holbrooke, *Counsel to the President* (New York: Random House. 709 pp.)
1998, Oct. 10  Died, Bethesda, Md.

**Scope and Content Note**

The papers of Clark McAdams Clifford (1906-1998) span the years 1883-1999, with the bulk of the material dating from his appointment as special counsel to President Harry S. Truman in 1946 to his death in 1998. The papers reflect Clifford's service as a public servant and statesman in four Democratic party administrations and his corporate law career in Washington, D.C. The collection documents his role as a political strategist and adviser to Democratic presidential candidates and administration transition teams. It further records his appointment as secretary of defense, 1968-1969, and includes files concerning his attempts as a private citizen to effect a withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam. The papers are organized into the following series: **Public Service**, **Name File**, **General Correspondence**, **Subject File**, **Congressional Testimony**, **Speeches and Writings**, and a **Miscellany** consisting primarily of scrapbooks. Items removed from their series location are housed in the **Oversize**, **Classified**, **Top Secret**, and **Sensitive Compartmented Information** series. Other collections of Clifford's papers are located in several presidential libraries of the National Archives and Records Administration, including the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri; the John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts; and the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas.

Clifford was a counselor to presidents and political leaders alike, and the **Public Service** series contains correspondence, memoranda, cables, position and background papers, and related material pertaining to his service as a White House adviser to several Democratic administrations. As Harry S. Truman's special counsel, 1946-1950, Clifford was influential in foreign affairs and defense and helped articulate and implement such landmarks of American postwar policy as the Truman Doctrine and the National Security Act. As a domestic adviser and political tactician, Clifford is often credited as a coauthor of a famous 1947 memorandum which outlined the strategy for Truman's eventual victory in the 1948 presidential election. A copy of this campaign memorandum can be found in the **Public Service** series. While the series reflects Clifford's term as special counsel, the files are, for the most part, limited and incomplete.

Clifford remained Truman's personal friend and supporter after Clifford's resignation from the White House in 1950 and throughout his life. He and his wife, Margery, also enjoyed a close relationship with Truman's wife, Bess Wallace Truman. Correspondence and other material relating to the Trumans in the **Name File** and in speeches given by Clifford commemorating the Truman centennial year, 1984, in the **Speeches and Writings** series, render a fuller understanding of these relationships.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy, who had earlier chosen Clifford as his personal lawyer, enlisted him to help plan his campaign strategy for the presidential election and to prepare a study concerning the transfer of presidential power. Records from the Kennedy administration in the **Public Service** series contain material relating to both the presidential campaign and the transition. Papers concerning Clifford's personal legal efforts on behalf of the first family's real estate holdings can also be found here. Documents for both John F. Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis in the **Name File** complement this material and include items relating to Clifford's defense of Kennedy against accusations of plagiarism concerning the publication of his book, *Profiles in Courage*. The successful settlement of this matter in 1957-1958 helped forge Clifford's relationship with the future president.
When Lyndon B. Johnson became president following Kennedy's assassination, he solicited Clifford's advice and help in directing the transition. Along with Abe Fortas and Bill D. Moyers, both of whom are also included in the Name File, Clifford became one of Johnson's most trusted advisers and in 1968 was appointed secretary of defense. Documenting his role as presidential adviser, the Public Service series contains abundant material on selected subjects, including trips and fact-finding missions taken by Clifford on Johnson's behalf. The series also contains files related to Clifford's appointment, confirmation, and service as defense secretary.

As one of the administrations leading spokesmen on Vietnam, Clifford, who had been regarded as an advocate of a military solution to the war prior to his appointment as defense secretary, gradually embraced disengagement as the only viable policy. Clifford traced the beginning of his doubts about the conflict to a trip he had made in 1967 to Southeast Asia, New Zealand, and the Pacific region as President Johnson's emissary along with Maxwell D. Taylor. The Public Service series contains selected Defense Department files regarding Vietnam, as well as records kept by Clifford during his trip to Southeast Asia in 1967. Clifford examined the evolution of his views on Vietnam in an article in Foreign Affairs, July 1969, entitled “A Vietnam Reappraisal.” Material relating to the writing of and reaction to this article is in the Speeches and Writings series. Other material in this series, as well as in the Subject File and Congressional Testimony series, chronicle Clifford's efforts to influence the national debate on the course of the war following his term as secretary of defense.

Although appointed as a special representative to several diplomatic missions by President Jimmy Carter, Clifford's counsel was sought less frequently during the Carter presidency than in any previous Democratic administration. Nevertheless, the Public Service series contains records concerning Clifford's mission to Cyprus, 1977, which he undertook in an effort to seek a negotiated peace between the Greek and Turkish communities which shared the island.

The Name File is the largest series in the collection and consists of personal and professional correspondence and related reference material arranged alphabetically by name of correspondent concerning a variety of topics including defense and foreign policy, domestic politics, business and legal affairs, and social engagements. Characteristic of Clifford's correspondence were the warm, personal notes and social letters he wrote to friends and acquaintances, many of which are contained here. The names listed in the series reflect the network of business, entertainment, government, legal, political, and social contacts through which Clifford operated as both public servant and lawyer. Among the many prominent political and military leaders and statesmen noted in the Name File, in addition to those already mentioned, are Dean Acheson, Clinton Presba Anderson, George W. Ball, Birch Bayh, Edmund G. Brown, McGeorge and William P. Bundy, Tom C. Clark, Joseph Edward Davies, Thomas F. Eagleton, Dwight D. Eisenhower, J William Fulbright, W. Averell Harriman, William D. Hassett, Hubert H. Humphrey, Robert F. Kennedy, Melvin R. Laird, Bert Lance, Charles McC. Mathias, George S. McGovern, Edmund S. Muskie, Elwood R. Quesada, Walter Whitman Rostow, James H. Rowe, Dean Rusk, George A. Smathers, James Jeremiah Wadsworth, and Thomas J. Watson. Journalists and writers are represented by Joseph Alsop, Grace Halsell, John Shively Knight, David G. McCullough, Mary McGrory, and Edward P. Morgan, while members of the business and legal communities include Hillyard Brown, Barnum L. Colton, Donald C. Cook, James N. Cooke, Justin Whitlock Dart, Leonard K. Firestone, John H. Lashly, Paul W. Lashly, Paul Alderman Porter, and Edward Bennett Williams.

Late in life, Clifford's reputation was questioned because of his association with an international banking scandal. Although the General Correspondence series supplements similar material in the Name File, it mostly contains letters received in support of Clifford's legal defense against charges arising from the collapse of the Bank of Commerce and Credit International, as well as letters of congratulation on the publication of his memoirs, Counsel to the President.

As a former government official and established public figure, Clifford was frequently asked to testify before congressional committees on a variety of administrative, intelligence, and foreign policy related subjects. The Congressional Testimony series, which contains material gathered in support of his statements delivered at these hearings, demonstrates the range of his interests and the value placed upon his testimony for both its credibility and insight.

Clifford was a popular public speaker, and the Speeches and Writings series includes a full set of his speeches, lectures, and other public statements. Arranged chronologically, the series includes correspondence, drafts and outlines, notes, transcripts, and related material concerning many types of speeches from fully developed policy statements to commencement addresses. In addition to those prepared for social occasions, such as Alfalfa and Gridiron Club dinners, his speeches examined the issues with which he was associated throughout his life, including the relationship between business and government, politics, foreign affairs and national security, international relations, law, and the legacy of the Truman administration. The series also includes a small file of speeches delivered at Gridiron Club dinners which were written or edited for others by Clifford.
Organization of the Papers

The collection is arranged in twelve series:

- Public Service, 1945-1993
- Name File, 1942-1998
- General Correspondence, 1977-1998
- Subject File, 1959-1999
- Congressional Testimony, 1883-1992
- Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997
- Classified, 1948-1980
- Top Secret, 1961-1976
- Sensitive Compartmented Information--Top Secret, 1968
- Sensitive Compartmented Information--Secret, 1968
- Oversize, 1965-1968
Description of Series

**Container**

**BOX 1-17**  
**Public Service, 1945-1993**  
Correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, reports, notes, financial and legal papers, drafts, speeches and statements, position and background papers, press conferences, photographs, printed matter, scrapbooks, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items relating to Clifford's service as presidential adviser and government official.  
Arranged chronologically by administration and therein alphabetically by subject or type of material.

**BOX 17-46**  
**Name File, 1942-1998**  
Correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, reports, notes, financial and legal papers, drafts, speeches and statements, writings, background and reference material, press releases, interviews, photographs, printed matter, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items.  
Arranged alphabetically by name of person.

**BOX 46-51**  
**General Correspondence, 1977-1998**  
Letters received and copies of letters sent, memoranda, cards, notes, printed matter, and miscellaneous items largely relating to indictments returned against Clifford arising from the operation of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International and to the publication of his memoirs, *Counsel to the President*.  
Arranged alphabetically by name of person.

**BOX 51-56**  
**Subject File, 1959-1999**  
Correspondence, memoranda, telegrams, reports, notes, position papers, drafts, speeches and statements, transcripts, printed matter, and miscellaneous items.  
Arranged alphabetically by subject.

**BOX 56-62**  
**Congressional Testimony, 1883-1992**  
Correspondence, memoranda, notes, drafts and outlines, speeches and statements, background material, press conferences, transcripts, printed matter, and miscellaneous items relating to testimony given by Clifford before various congressional committees.  
Arranged chronologically.

**BOX 62-82**  
**Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997**  
Correspondence, memoranda, telegrams, notes, drafts and outlines, proofs, background material, photographs, transcripts, printed matter, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items relating to articles, books, speeches, lectures, interviews, and other public statements.  
Arranged alphabetically by type of material and therein chronologically.

**BOX 82-83**  
**Miscellany, 1952-1991**  
Interviews, photographs, certificates, scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings.  
Arranged alphabetically by type of material.

**BOX CL 1-CL 2**  
**Classified, 1948-1980**  
Correspondence, memoranda, cables, reports, congressional testimony, drafts, position and background papers, speeches, and miscellaneous items.  
Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.
BOX TS 1  
**Top Secret, 1961-1976**
Correspondence, memoranda, cables, reports, speeches, and miscellaneous items.
Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.

BOX SCI 1  
**Sensitive Compartmented Information--Top Secret, 1968**
Cables and reports.
Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.

BOX SCI 2  
**Sensitive Compartmented Information--Secret, 1968**
Correspondence and memoranda.
Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.

BOX OV 1  
**Oversize, 1965-1968**
Photographs.
Arranged and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed.
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<td><strong>Public Service, 1945-1993</strong>&lt;br&gt;Correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, reports, notes, financial and legal papers, drafts, speeches and statements, position and background papers, press conferences, photographs, printed matter, scrapbooks, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items relating to Clifford's service as presidential adviser and government official.&lt;br&gt;Arranged chronologically by administration and therein alphabetically by subject or type of material.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| BOX 1 | Truman administration<br>Miscellany, 1946-1951, undated<br>Newspaper clippings<br>Coal strike, 1946<br>Miscellaneous, 1946-1949<br>Truman, Harry S., 1946-1953<br>Truman Doctrine, 1947<br>Photographs, 1946-1949, undated<br>Presidential campaign, 1948<br>Krock, Arthur<br>Memorandum, “The Politics of 1948,” 1947<br>Special counsel to the president<br>Correspondence and memoranda<br>Memoranda to and from the president, 1947-1949, undated<br>Public, 1949-1950<br>White House, 1946-1951, undated *See also Classified<br>Duties and responsibilities, undated<br>Real estate, Harry S. Truman's property in Missouri, 1949<br>Resignation<br>Correspondence, 1949-1950<br>Letter of resignation, 1950<br>Speeches and statements<br>1950, Jan.-1951, Apr.<br>(2 folders)<br>BOX 2 | 1951, May-1953, Jan.<br>(2 folders)<br>Trips<br>1948, Feb.-Mar., West Indies *See also Classified<br>1948-1949, logs of trips to Key West, Fla.<br>Truman, Bess Wallace, Nurses' National Memorial, 1947-1948<br>Truman, Harry S., letter, 1945<br>Kennedy administration<br>Blauvelt family genealogy, 1957-1962<br>Correspondence and memoranda, 1961-1963, undated *See also Classified
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Inauguration, 1960-1961
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 1961-1963, undated See also Container 35, Onassis, Jacqueline Kennedy
Lincoln, Evelyn, 1963-1964
Miscellany, 1961-1962
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Miscellany
Newspaper clippings, 1959-1960
Policy committee, 1958-1960
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Virginia properties
“Glen Ora,” Middleburg, Va., 1960-1963, undated
Correspondence, 1962-1963
Deeds and conveyances, 1962-1963, undated
Drawings and surveys, 1960-1962, undated
Loan application, 1963
Leases, 1963
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Memorandum of agreement, 1962
Miscellany, 1962-1963, undated
Newspaper clippings, 1962-1963

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Personnel, 1960
Johnson administration
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Correspondence and memoranda, 1964-1967
Credibility gap, undated
Democratic party, administration's achievements, 1968
Farewell party, 1969
Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, 1966
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“The Changing Face of the American City,” NBC television program, 1967
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Gifts to the first family from foreign heads of state, 1967
Miscellany, 1963-1967, undated
Portrait, 1967
Nugent, Luci Johnson, 1966-1967  See also Container 43. Turpin, Luci Johnson
Robb, Lynda Johnson, 1967-1968
Johnson, Lyndon B.
Correspondence and memoranda for the president, 1963-1969, undated  See also Classified
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  Address lists, undated
  Air Force Department, 1968
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    Certificate of confirmation, 1968
    Letters of congratulation, 1968
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        (5 folders)
      H-V
        (8 folders)
    W-Z
      (2 folders)
    Selected correspondents
      List of congratulatory telegrams, 1968
      Report of hearing before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, 1968
      Scrapbooks, 1968
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          (2 folders)
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        (3 folders)
      Swearing-in ceremony, 1968
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      Awards and citations to Defense Department officials, 1969
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  Defense Department, 1964-1977
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  General, 1968
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  Chronological file, 1964-1968, undated
  State of the union addresses, 1964-1969
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  1965, Oct., Vietnam
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<th>Contents</th>
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           | Miscellany, 1965  
           | Newspaper clippings, 1965-1966  
           | 1967, July-Aug., New Zealand and the Pacific region  
           | Background material, 1967  
           | Cables, 1967  
           | Correspondence, 1967  
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           | Australia, 1967  
           | Korea, 1967  
           | New Zealand, 1966-1967  
           | Philippines, 1967  
           | South Vietnam, 1967  
           | Thailand, 1967  
           | Itinerary, 1967, undated  
           | Letters to government leaders  
           | Clifford, Clark M., and Maxwell Taylor letters, 1967  
           | Presidential letters, 1967  
           | Memoranda, 1967, undated  
           | Miscellany, 1967  
           | Newspaper clippings, 1967  
           | (2 folders)  
           | BOX 15    | Notes, 1967  
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           | Correspondence, 1965-1967  
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           | Carter administration  
           | Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 1977-1984, undated  
           | Correspondence, 1976-1980  
           | Mission to Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, 1977  
           | Background material, 1964-1967, 1973  
           | Briefing memoranda and reports, 1976-1979, undated  
           | (2 folders)  
           | Certification and personnel documents, 1968, 1977-1979, undated  
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           | BOX 16    | Correspondence and memoranda, 1977-1980, undated  
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           | Findley, Paul, 1978, undated  
           | Greek-Americans meeting, 1978, undated  
           | Itinerary and vouchers, 1977  
           | Makarios III, Archbishop of Cyprus, 1977  

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  Foreign, 1977, undated
Notes, undated
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BOX 17-46

Name File, 1942-1998
Correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, reports, notes, financial and legal papers, drafts, speeches and statements, writings, background and reference material, press releases, interviews, photographs, printed matter, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items.
Arranged alphabetically by name of person.

BOX 17

Acheson, Dean, 1947-1973, undated
Agnew, Spiro, 1970-1973
Albright, Madeleine K., 1996-1997
Alexander, Clifford L. (1933- ), 1977
Anderson, Clinton Presba, 1948-1969
Andrews, John S., 1974-1985
Baker, James Addison, 1989
Ball, George W., 1966-1991
Barrows, Allen E., 1978-1979
Baucus, Max, 1989-1990
Bayh, Birch, 1969-1986, 1992
Behn, Gerald A., 1966-1967
Behrend, Anne, 1970-1971
Bell, Griffin B., 1979-1982
Belman, Murray J., 1973
Bernet, Ester, 1981
Bierwirth, John E., 1965-1966
Biggers, John D., 1961-1963
Black, Eugene R., 1968
Black, Gordon S., 1970-1971
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Wadsworth, James Jeremiah, 1948-1984
Walske, Carl, 1969
Ward, Barbara, 1969
Watson, Thomas J. (1914-1993)
Correspondence, 1979-1991

BOX 44
     Trip to Moscow, 1980
Weaver, George L-P, 1967
Webb, Christopher Robin, 1962-1963
Webster, William H., 1979-1991, undated
Weiler, Mary M., 1980-1992
     (2 folders)
Weinberger, Caspar, 1983-1988
Welsh, Barnard T., 1979-1981
Wexler, Anne, 1979-1981
Wharton, Dolores D., 1977
White, Peter, 1988-1992
White, William S., 1965-1966

BOX 45
Whitehead, John C., 1985
Whitten, Jamie L., 1978-1989
Wiggins, J. Russell, 1968
Williams, Edward Bennett, 1965-1991
Williams, Harold M., 1977-1985
Williams, Kurrus & Co., 1963-1968
Williams, Larry L., 1969-1987
Wolfson, Louis E., 1971-1972
Wouk, Herman, 1971-1979, 1991
Wright, Jim
Correspondence, 1984-1987
Ethics inquiry and resignation
Congressional reports, 1989

BOX 46
Correspondence, 1989
Memoranda of meetings, 1989
Miscellany, 1987-1989
Newspaper clippings, 1989
Wyle, Frederick S., 1971, 1977
Wyser-Pratte, Guy P., 1974
Yarborough, Ralph W., 1961-1962, 1970
Yarmolinsky, Adam, 1971, 1978
Young-Hi Choi, 1976-1977
Zinat, Amir, 1979
Zorthian, Barry, 1979

BOX 46-51
General Correspondence, 1977-1998
Letters received and copies of letters sent, memoranda, cards, notes, printed matter, and miscellaneous items largely relating to indictments returned against Clifford arising from the operation of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International and to the publication of his memoirs, Counsel to the President.
Arranged alphabetically by name of person.

BOX 46
A-Ca, 1990-1998
(4 folders)
BOX 47
Ch-Gu, 1985-1998
(8 folders)
BOX 48
H-L, 1979-1995, undated
(8 folders)
BOX 49
(10 folders)
BOX 50
S-We, 1981-1995, undated
(8 folders)
BOX 51
(3 folders)

BOX 51-56
Subject File, 1959-1999
Correspondence, memoranda, telegrams, reports, notes, position papers, drafts, speeches and statements, transcripts, printed matter, and miscellaneous items.
Arranged alphabetically by subject.

BOX 51
Commission on CIA Activities within the United States (Rockefeller Commission), notes for meeting, 1975
John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Mass.
Correspondence, 1962-1980
Miscellany, 1964, undated
Planning and design, 1963, 1974, undated
Progress reports, 1964-1968
John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital, Palm Beach, Fla., 1965
Judson Welliver Society, 1984-1999
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, 1969-1971
Vietnam
    Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace
        Correspondence, 1969-1971
        Printed matter, 1969-1973
    BOX 52
    Correspondence and memoranda, 1969-1976, 1983-1984
    (4 folders)
    Dole, Robert, 1971-1972, undated
    *Hearts and Minds*, film, 1974-1975
    Help Unsell the War, advertising campaign, 1972, undated
    Miscellany, 1969-1975, undated
    BOX 53
    Newspaper clippings
    (7 folders)
    BOX 54
    (3 folders)
    Notes, 1970-1972
    POW/MIA Families for Immediate Relief, 1972, undated
    Peace initiatives and negotiations
        Correspondence and memoranda, 1972-1975
        Drafts and notes, 1972
        Miscellany, 1972-1974
        Newspaper clippings, 1971-1974
        (2 folders)
        “Pentagon Papers,” Vietnam task force report, 1971
    Press conferences, speeches, and statements
        Clifford, Clark M., 1970-1972, undated
    BOX 55
    Miscellaneous, 1965-1972
    (2 folders)
    (3 folders)
    Printed matter, 1965-1974, undated
    (3 folders)
    “Where Do We Stand in Indo-china?” CBS telecast, 1970
    Vice president, duties, 1964
    Watergate
        Presidential succession, 1973-1974, undated
    BOX 56
    Watergate Reorganization and Reform Act
        Correspondence, 1975-1976
Congressional Testimony, 1883-1992

Correspondence, memoranda, notes, drafts and outlines, speeches and statements, background material, press conferences, transcripts, printed matter, and miscellaneous items relating to testimony given by Clifford before various congressional committees.

Arranged chronologically.

1956, Jan. 24, Senate Government Operations Committee, Subcommittee on Reorganization
Background material, 1950-1956, undated
Correspondence, 1956
Drafts and outlines, 1956, undated
Newspaper clippings, 1956
Printed copies, 1956

1969, Oct. 28, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Background material and notes, 1969, undated
(2 folders)

1971, Oct. 28, Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments
Background material and notes, 1970-1971
Correspondence, 1971-1972
Drafts, 1971
Miscellany, 1971-1973
Printed copies, 1971-1972
Transcript, 1971

1972
Apr. 24, Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Separation of Powers
Background material and notes, 1945, 1972, undated
Correspondence, 1972-1973
Drafts, 1972
Miscellany, 1972
Transcript, 1972

May 18, House Foreign Affairs Committee
Background material, 1972

1973
Apr. 10, Senate Subcommittee on Separation of Powers and Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations
Background material and notes, 1883, 1897, 1934, 1973, undated
Correspondence, 1973
Drafts and outlines, 1973
Miscellany, 1973
May 8, House Foreign Affairs Committee, 1972-1973

BOX 59
1974, Mar. 28, Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy
Background material, 1974
Correspondence, 1974-1975
Notes and outlines, 1974, undated
Report, 1975
Transcripts, 1974

1975, Dec. 5, Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities
Background material, 1975 See also Classified
(2 folders)
Correspondence, 1975
Drafts, 1975
Miscellany, 1975
Notes and outlines, 1975, undated
Staff report, 1975, undated See also Classified

BOX 60
1976, Jan. 26, Senate Government Operations Committee
Background material, 1972-1976
(2 folders)
Correspondence, 1975-1976
Drafts, 1976
Newspaper clippings, 1976
Notes, 1976, undated
Transcript, 1976

1978
Apr. 4, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence with Reference to the National Intelligence Act of 1978
Background material and notes, 1978, undated
Correspondence, 1977-1978
Drafts, 1978
Newspaper clippings, 1978

May 2, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Background material and notes, 1978, undated
(1 folder)

BOX 61
(1 folder)
Correspondence, 1978
Drafts, 1978 See also Classified
Miscellany, 1978

1980, Mar. 18, Senate Foreign Relations Committee See also Classified
1985

Clark M. Clifford Papers 33

May 1, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science
- Background material, 1984-1985, undated
- Correspondence, 1985
- Drafts, 1985
- Newspaper clippings, 1985
- Transcript, 1985

1987, Dec. 16, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
1988
- Feb. 24, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Subcommittee on Legislation
- June 14, House Foreign Affairs Committee

BOX 62
- 1992, May 6, House Foreign Affairs Committee

BOX 62-82

**Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997**

Correspondence, memoranda, telegrams, notes, drafts and outlines, proofs, background material, photographs, transcripts, printed matter, cards and invitations, and miscellaneous items relating to articles, books, speeches, lectures, interviews, and other public statements. Arranged alphabetically by type of material and therein chronologically.

BOX 62

**Articles**

1964, May 18, “H. S. T. at Eighty,” *The Democrat*

- Background material and notes, 1968-1969
- Correspondence, 1969, 1975
- Drafts, 1969, undated
- Galley proof, 1969
- Newspaper clippings, 1969
- Printed copy, 1969
- Public response, 1969

**Name file**

A-L
(2 folders)

M-Y
(2 folders)

Unfavorable (“skunk mail”)

Reprint mailings, 1969


- Background material, 1965-1970, undated
- Correspondence and memoranda, 1969-1972

**Drafts**

- Inserts, 1970, undated
- Manuscripts, 1970, undated

BOX 63

**Miscellany, 1970**

Newspaper clippings, 1970-1974

Notes and outlines, 1970, undated

BOX 64
Payment and syndication statements, 1970
Printed copy, 1970
Public response, 1970
  Favorable
  (2 folders)
  Unfavorable
  Reader's Digest reprint, 1970
1972
  July 12, “The Danger of 'Decisive Military Action' in the Vietnam War,” Los Angeles Times
  Undated, “A 4-Point Plan for Vietnam,” Los Angeles Times
Book, Counsel to the President, requests for autographed copies, 1993-1997
Speakers and related items
  1946-1949
    (7 folders)
  BOX 65
    1950-1956
      (14 folders)
  BOX 66
    1961-1967
      (8 folders)
1968
  Jan. 20
  BOX 67
    Apr. 22-Oct. 18
      (9 folders)
  BOX 68
    Dec. 4
      (5 folders)
1969
  Feb. 17
  Mar. 13 See also Classified
  Apr. 24-May 7
    (2 folders)
  BOX 69
    June 18-Dec. 2
      (9 folders)
1970
    (5 folders)
1971
  Mar. 9-June 5
    (3 folders)
  BOX 70
    June 8
      (4 folders)
1972
    (2 folders)
1973
  Jan. 17-Sept. 26
    (4 folders)
    Addresses and critiques, 1973-1974
Background material and notes, 1972-1973
Correspondence, 1973-1974

BOX 71
Drafts, 1973, undated
Miscellany, 1973-1974
Printed copies, 1973

Oct. 10
1974
Jan. 13-Mar. 22
(4 folders)

BOX 72
Apr. 18-Dec. 6
(3 folders)

1975
Apr. 18-Oct. 31
(4 folders)

BOX 73
Nov. 12-19
(2 folders)

1976
Apr. 23-Dec. 15
(10 folders)
Correspondence, 1975-1980, undated See also Classified
Drafts and notes, 1976, undated

BOX 74
Miscellany, 1976-1977, 1988, undated
Transcripts, 1977

1977
1978
Jan. 21-Dec. 2
(13 folders)

BOX 75
Dec. 7
1979-1980
(15 folders)
1981
June 6
Sept. 10-Nov. 11
(2 folders)

BOX 76
1982
(4 folders)
1983
Jan. 19-Dec. 3
(8 folders)

BOX 77
Dec. 8-14
(2 folders)
1984
Mar. 29-May 21
(14 folders)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 78  | Sept. 13-Oct. 21  
(7 folders)  
1985  
Jan. 15-Nov. 8  
(7 folders) |
| 79  | Nov. 11-15  
(2 folders)  
1986  
(8 folders)  
1987  
Jan. 22  
Feb. 18, “Presidential Credibility and the White House Staff,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, N.Y.  
Background material, 1972-1973, 1984-1987, undated |
| 80  | Correspondence, 1986-1987  
Miscellany, 1987  
Newspaper clippings, 1987  
Notes, 1987  
Mar. 20-Nov. 18  
(10 folders) |
| 81  | 1988-1990  
(16 folders)  
1991  
June 20 |
| 82  | June 24-Oct. 15  
(3 folders)  
Speeches to the Gridiron Club written or edited for others  
Albert, Carl, 1964  
Brown, Edmund, 1959  
Long, Russell B., 1966  
Symington, Stuart, 1960 |
| 82-83 | Miscellany, 1952-1991  
Interviews, photographs, certificates, scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings.  
Arranged alphabetically by type of material |
| 82  | Interviews  
McDonald, Donald, “Counseling the President: An Interview with Clark Clifford,” Center Magazine, May/June 1974  
Williams, Marjorie C., 1991  
Newspaper clippings, 1952  
Photographs, 1976-1978, undated  
Presidential plane flight certificates, 1966, 1976  
Scrapbooks  
Mar. 1968-June 1969 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOX 83</td>
<td>June 1969-Dec. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 folders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX CL 1-CL 2</td>
<td><strong>Classified, 1948-1980</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence, memoranda, cables, reports, congressional testimony, drafts, position and background papers, speeches, and miscellaneous items.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX CL 1</td>
<td><strong>Public Service</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Truman administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special counsel to the president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence and memoranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White House, undated ([Container 1])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trips, 1948, Feb.-Mar., West Indies ([Container 2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kennedy administration</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence and memoranda, 1961 ([Container 2] <strong>See Top Secret</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson administration</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India and Pakistan, 1965 ([Container 4])</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson, Lyndon B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence and memoranda for the president, 1967-1968 ([Container 5] <strong>See also Sensitive Compartmented Information--Secret</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary of defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence and memoranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White House, 1968 ([Container 10])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Background material prior to appointment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cables and reports, 1967-1968 ([Container 12] <strong>See also Top Secret</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memoranda, 1966-1968 ([Container 12] <strong>See also Top Secret</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trip, 1967, July-Aug., New Zealand and the Pacific region ([Container 13])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correspondence and memoranda, 1968 ([Container 13] <strong>See Top Secret</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Trips</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967, July-Aug., New Zealand and the Pacific region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cables, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korea, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand, 1966-1967 ([Container 14])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>South Vietnam, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thailand, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Letters to government leaders</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Presidential letters, 1967 ([Container 14])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Miscellany, 1952-1991</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOX CL 2</td>
<td><strong>Carter administration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mission to Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, 1977</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Briefing memoranda and reports, 1976-1979, undated (Container 15)
   (2 folders)
Congressional testimony, 1977 (Container 15)
Correspondence and memoranda, 1977 (Container 16)
Itinerary and vouchers, 1977 (Container 16)
Miscellany, 1976-1977 (Container 16)

Name File
Lodge, Henry Cabot (1902- ), 1965 (Container 32)

Congressional Testimony
1975, Dec. 5, Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to
   Intelligence Activities
   Background material, 1975 (Container 59)
   Staff report, undated (Container 59)
1978, May 2, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
   Drafts, 1978 (Container 61)
1980, Mar. 18, Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Container 61)

Speeches and Writings
Speeches and related writings
   1969, Mar. 13 (Container 68) See also Top Secret
   1976, Dec. 28, “Factors Influencing President Truman's Decision to Support Partition and
   Recognize the State of Israel,” American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.
   Correspondence, 1975 (Container 73) See Top Secret

BOX TS 1
Top Secret, 1961-1976
   Correspondence, memoranda, cables, reports, speeches, and miscellaneous items.
   Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items
   were removed.

BOX TS 1
Public Service
   Kennedy administration
   Correspondence and memoranda, 1961
   Johnson administration
   Secretary of defense
   Vietnam
   Background material prior to appointment
   Cables and reports, 1968 See also Sensitive Compartmented Information--Top
   Secret
   Memoranda, 1968
   Correspondence and memoranda, 1968

Speeches and Writings
Speeches and related items
   1969, Mar. 13
   1976, Dec. 28, “Factors Influencing President Truman's Decision to Support Partition and
   Recognize the State of Israel,” American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.
   Correspondence, 1975

BOX SCI 1
Sensitive Compartmented Information--Top Secret, 1968
   Cables and reports.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Container</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **BOX SCI 1** | Public Service  
Johnston administration  
Secretary of defense  
Vietnam  
Background material prior to appointment  
Cables and reports, 1968 |
| **BOX SCI 2** | **Sensitive Compartmented Information--Secret, 1968**  
Correspondence and memoranda.  
Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed. |
| **BOX SCI 2** | Public Service  
Johnston administration  
Johnson, Lyndon B.  
Correspondence and memoranda for the president, 1968 |
| **BOX OV 1** | **Oversize, 1965-1968**  
Photographs.  
Arranged and described according to the series, container, and folder from which the items were removed. |
| **BOX OV 1** | Public Service  
Johnston administration  
Photographs, 1965-1968, undated ([Container 5](#)) |