

Clark M. Clifford Papers

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Prepared by Michael McElderry with the assistance of Sherralyn McCoy and R. Michael McReynolds

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 ; 83 containers plus 1 oversize and 5 classified ; 34.6 linear feet

Language: Collection material in English

Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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 Library's online catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically therein.

People

Acheson, Dean, 1893-1971--Correspondence.
Alsop, Joseph, 1910-1989--Correspondence.
Anderson, Clinton Presba, 1895- --Correspondence.
Ball, George W.--Correspondence.
Bayh, Birch, 1928- --Correspondence.
Brown, Edmund G. (Edmund Gerald), 1905-1996--Correspondence.
Brown, Hillyard--Correspondence.
Bundy, McGeorge--Correspondence.
Bundy, William P., 1917- --Correspondence.
Carter, Jimmy, 1924-
Carter, Jimmy, 1924- --Correspondence.
Clark, Tom C. (Tom Campbell), 1899-1977--Correspondence.
Clifford, Clark M., 1906-1998.
Colton, Barnum L.--Correspondence.
Cook, Donald C.--Correspondence.
Cooke, James--Correspondence.
Dart, Justin Whitlock, 1907- --Correspondence.
Davies, Joseph Edward--Correspondence.
Eagleton, Thomas F., 1929-2007--Correspondence.
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (Dwight David), 1890-1969--Correspondence.
Firestone, Leonard K. (Leonard Kimball). 1907-1996--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.
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973.
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963--Correspondence.
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963.
Kennedy, Robert F., 1925-1968--Correspondence.
Knight, John Shively, 1894-1981--Correspondence.
Laird, Melvin R.--Correspondence.

Lance, Bert, 1931-2013--Correspondence.
Lashly, John H. (John Henderson), 1916-1987--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- --Correspondence.
Morgan, Edward P., 1910-1993--Correspondence.
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996--Correspondence.
Onassis, Jacqueline Kennedy, 1929-1994--Correspondence.
Porter, Paul Aldermant, 1904-1975--Correspondence.
Quesada, Elwood R. (Elwood Richard), 1904- --Correspondence.
Rostow, W. W. (Walt Whitman), 1916-2003--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 Jeremiah, 1905- --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.
United States. National Security Act of 1947.

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.
Vietnam War, 1961-1975.

Places

Cyprus--History--20th century.
United States--Commerce.
United States--Foreign relations--1945-1989.
United States--Politics and government--1945-1989.

Occupations

Cabinet officers.
Lawyers.

Administrative Information

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

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
1906, Dec. 25	Born, Fort Scott, Kans.
1928	LL.B., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
1928-1933	Associate attorney, Holland, Lashly & Donnell, St. Louis, Mo.
1931	Married Margery Kimball (died 2000)
1933-1937	Associate attorney, Holland, Lashly & Lashly, St. Louis, Mo.
1938-1943	Partner, Lashly, Lashly, Miller & Clifford, St. Louis, Mo.
1944-1946	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
1946-1950	Special counsel to the president
1950-1968	Senior partner, Clifford & Miller, Washington, D.C.

1960	Member, Committee on the Defense Establishment
1960-1961	Representative, presidential administration transition team
1961-1968	Member and chairman, Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
1965	Fact-finding mission to Asia
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
1969-1991	Senior partner, Clifford & Warnke, Washington, D.C.
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 Harry S. Truman Public Service Award
1982-1991	Chairman, First American Bankshares, Washington, D.C.
1991	Published with Richard Holbrooke, <i>Counsel to the President</i> (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 advise 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 Aldermandt 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](#)
- [Miscellany, 1952-1991](#)
- [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

Series

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.

Container List

<i>Container</i>	<i>Contents</i>
BOX 1-17	<p>Public Service, 1945-1993</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Arranged chronologically by administration and therein alphabetically by subject or type of material.</p>
BOX 1	<p>Truman administration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Miscellany, 1946-1951, undatedNewspaper clippings<ul style="list-style-type: none">Coal strike, 1946Miscellaneous, 1946-1949Truman, Harry S., 1946-1953Truman Doctrine, 1947Photographs, 1946-1949, undatedPresidential campaign, 1948<ul style="list-style-type: none">Krock, ArthurMemorandum, "The Politics of 1948," 1947Special counsel to the president<ul style="list-style-type: none">Correspondence and memoranda<ul style="list-style-type: none">Memoranda to and from the president, 1947-1949, undatedPublic, 1949-1950White House, 1946-1951, undated <i>See also Classified</i>Duties and responsibilities, undatedReal estate, Harry S. Truman's property in Missouri, 1949Resignation<ul style="list-style-type: none">Correspondence, 1949-1950Letter of resignation, 1950Speeches and statements<ul style="list-style-type: none">1950, Jan.-1951, Apr. (2 folders)1951, May-1953, Jan. (2 folders)
BOX 2	<p>Trips</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">1948, Feb.-Mar., West Indies <i>See also Classified</i>1948-1949, logs of trips to Key West, Fla. <p>Truman, Bess Wallace, Nurses' National Memorial, 1947-1948</p> <p>Truman, Harry S., letter, 1945</p> <p>Kennedy administration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Blauvelt family genealogy, 1957-1962Correspondence and memoranda, 1961-1963, undated <i>See also Classified</i>

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	Real estate
	Virginia properties
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	"Wexford," Atoka, Va.
	Correspondence, 1962-1963
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	Drawings and surveys, 1960-1962, undated
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Public Service, 1945-1993

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	Correspondence and memoranda for the president, 1963-1969, undated <i>See also Classified</i>
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	Messages to Congress, 1966-1967
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Public Service, 1945-1993

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- Foreign Policy Advisory Group, 1967
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 - Letter of resignation, 1969
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Public Service, 1945-1993

Container

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 - Foreign, 1977, undated
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- 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.
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	Udall, Morris K., 1972
	Udall, Stewart L., 1977
	Valenti, Jack J., 1964-1982, 1989-1994
	Vance, Cyrus R., 1967-1970, 1976-1991
	Vaughan, Harry H., 1964-1968, 1975-1979
	Vinson, Fred M. (1925-1982), 1965-1978
	Wadsworth, James Jeremiah, 1948-1984
	Walske, Carl, 1969
	Ward, Barbara, 1969
	Ward, David A., 1983-1991
	Watson, Jack H. (1938-), 1976-1982
	Watson, Thomas J. (1914-1993)
	Correspondence, 1979-1991
BOX 44	Trip to Moscow, 1980
	Watson, W. Marvin, 1965-1973, 1982, undated
	Weaver, George L-P, 1967
	Webb, Christopher Robin, 1962-1963
	Webb, James E., 1965-1968, 1976, 1983-1992
	Webster, William H., 1979-1991, undated
	Weiler, Mary M., 1980-1992
	(2 folders)
	Weinberger, Caspar, 1983-1988
	Welsh, Barnard T., 1979-1981
	Westmoreland, William C., 1968-1983, 1989, undated
	Wexler, Anne, 1979-1981
	Wharton, Dolores D., 1977
	Wheat, Francis M., 1977-1991
	White, Peter, 1988-1992
	White, Theodore H., 1960, 1971, 1983
	White, William S., 1965-1966
BOX 45	Whitehead, John C., 1985
	Whitten, Jamie L., 1978-1989
	Wicker, Tom, 1980-1984, 1991, undated
	Wiggins, J. Russell, 1968
	Williams, Edward Bennett, 1965-1991
	Williams, Harold M., 1977-1985
	Williams, Harrison A., 1961-1964, 1970, 1976-1977
	Williams, Kurrus & Co., 1963-1968
	Williams, Larry L., 1969-1987
	Wisner, Frank G., 1963-1965, 1973
	Wolfson, Louis E., 1971-1972
	Wood, Laurence I., 1964-1972
	Woods, Richard R., 1966-1971
	Wouk, Herman, 1971-1979, 1991
	Wright, Jim

Name File, 1942-1998

Container

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BOX 46	Correspondence, 1984-1987 Ethics inquiry and resignation Congressional reports, 1989 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, <i>Counsel to the President</i> . 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	M-R, 1977-1996, undated (10 folders)
BOX 50	S-We, 1981-1995, undated (8 folders)
BOX 51	Wh-Z, 1991-1995 (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	Alfalfa Club, 1959-1981, 1993-1995 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

Subject File, 1959-1999

Container

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	John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital, Palm Beach, Fla., 1965
	John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, 1980
	Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation, 1962, 1971
	Judson Welliver Society, 1984-1999
	President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, 1969-1971
	Vietnam
	Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace
	Correspondence, 1969-1971
BOX 52	Printed matter, 1969-1973
	Correspondence and memoranda, 1969-1976, 1983-1984
	(4 folders)
	Dole, Robert, 1971-1972, undated
	<i>Hearts and Minds</i> , film, 1974-1975
	Help Unsell the War, advertising campaign, 1972, undated
	Miscellany, 1969-1975, undated
	National League of Families of American Prisoners of War and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia, 1970-1972
BOX 53	Newspaper clippings
	1969-1972, Apr.
	(7 folders)
BOX 54	1972, May-1975, 1982-1985
	(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)
	Nixon, Richard M., 1969-1972
	(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

Subject File, 1959-1999

Container

Contents

Miscellany, 1975-1976

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 56

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)

BOX 57

(1 folder)

Correspondence, 1969

Newspaper clippings, 1969

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

BOX 58

Correspondence, 1972-1973

Drafts, 1972

Miscellany, 1972

Notes, 1972, undated

Outlines, 1972

Printed copies, 1972

Telephone messages, 1972

Transcript, 1972

1973

Apr. 10, Senate Subcommittee on Separation of Powers and Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations

Congressional Testimony, 1883-1992

Container

Contents

- 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** Transcript, 1975
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)
(1 folder)
- BOX 61** Correspondence, 1978
Drafts, 1978 *See also Classified*
Miscellany, 1978
1980, Mar. 18, Senate Foreign Relations Committee *See also Classified*
1985

Congressional Testimony, 1883-1992

Container

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Apr. 29, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1969-1975, 1984-1985, undated

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*

1969, July, "A Vietnam Reappraisal," *Foreign Affairs*

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)

BOX 63

M-Y

(2 folders)

Unfavorable ("skunk mail")

Reprint mailings, 1969

1970, May 22, "Set a Date in Vietnam. Stick to It. Get Out." *Life*

Background material, 1965-1970, undated

Correspondence and memoranda, 1969-1972

Drafts

Inserts, 1970, undated

Manuscripts, 1970, undated

BOX 64

Miscellany, 1970

Newspaper clippings, 1970-1974

Notes and outlines, 1970, undated

Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997

Container

Contents

	Payment and syndication statements, 1970
	Printed copy, 1970
	Public response, 1970
	Favorable
	(2 folders)
	Unfavorable
	<i>Reader's Digest</i> reprint, 1970
	1972
	Jan. 30, "Open Peace Covenants, Openly Arrived At," <i>New York Times</i>
	July 12, "The Danger of 'Decisive Military Action' in the Vietnam War," <i>Los Angeles Times</i>
	Undated, "A 4-Point Plan for Vietnam," <i>Los Angeles Times</i>
	Book, <i>Counsel to the President</i> , requests for autographed copies, 1993-1997
	Speeches 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 <i>See also Classified</i>
	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)
	Oct. 9, "The National Interest and Military Power," Pacem in Terris III convocation, Washington, D.C.
	Addresses and critiques, 1973-1974

Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997

Container

Contents

	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)
	Dec. 28, "Factors Influencing President Truman's Decision to Support Partition and Recognize the State of Israel," American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.
	Correspondence, 1975-1980, undated <i>See also Classified</i>
	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)

Speeches and Writings, 1946-1997

Container

Contents

BOX 78	Sept. 13-Oct. 21 (7 folders) 1985 Jan. 15-Nov. 8 (7 folders)
BOX 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
BOX 80	Correspondence, 1986-1987 Miscellany, 1987 Newspaper clippings, 1987 Notes, 1987 Mar. 20-Nov. 18 (10 folders)
BOX 81	1988-1990 (16 folders) 1991 June 20
BOX 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
BOX 82-83	Miscellany, 1952-1991 Interviews, photographs, certificates, scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings. Arranged alphabetically by type of material.
BOX 82	Interviews McDonald, Donald, "Counseling the President: An Interview with Clark Clifford," <i>Center Magazine</i> , 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

Miscellany, 1952-1991

Container

Contents

BOX 83	June 1969-Dec. 1971 (2 folders)
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 CL 1	Public Service Truman administration Special counsel to the president Correspondence and memoranda White House, undated (Container 1) Trips, 1948, Feb.-Mar., West Indies (Container 2) Kennedy administration Correspondence and memoranda, 1961 (Container 2) <i>See Top Secret</i> Johnson administration India and Pakistan, 1965 (Container 4) Johnson, Lyndon B. Correspondence and memoranda for the president, 1967-1968 (Container 5) <i>See also Sensitive Compartmented Information--Secret</i> Secretary of defense Correspondence and memoranda White House, 1968 (Container 10) Vietnam Background material prior to appointment Cables and reports, 1967-1968 (Container 12) <i>See also Top Secret</i> Memoranda, 1966-1968 (Container 12) <i>See also Top Secret</i> Trip, 1967, July-Aug., New Zealand and the Pacific region (Container 13) Correspondence and memoranda, 1968 (Container 13) <i>See Top Secret</i> Trips 1967, July-Aug., New Zealand and the Pacific region Cables, 1967 (Container 14) Countries Australia, 1967 (Container 14) Korea, 1967 (Container 14) New Zealand, 1966-1967 (Container 14) Philippines, 1967 (Container 14) South Vietnam, 1967 (Container 14) Thailand, 1967 (Container 14) Letters to government leaders Presidential letters, 1967 (Container 14) Miscellany, 1967 (Container 14)
BOX CL 2	Carter administration Mission to Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, 1977

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.

Sensitive Compartmented Information--Top Secret, 1968

Container

Contents

Arranged and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were removed.

BOX SCI 1

Public Service
Johnson 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
Johnson 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
Johnson administration
Photographs, 1965-1968, undated ([Container 5](#))