



LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON LIBRARY & MUSEUM

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CLIFFORD, CLARK

LIST OF MATERIAL AT THE LBJ LIBRARY PERTAINING TO **CLARK M. CLIFFORD**

INTRODUCTION

This list includes the principal files in the LBJ Library that contain material on Clark M. Clifford. It is not definitive, however, and researchers should consult with an archivist about other potentially useful files. Those files listed below that are marked with two asterisks (**) are unprocessed and are not currently available for research.

Clark Clifford served the Johnson administration in a variety of capacities: as Secretary of Defense from March 1968 to January 1969; as Chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from the beginning of the administration to February 1968; as Chairman of the 1965 Non-Committee on Foreign Aid (also known as the 1965 Task Force on Foreign Aid/Clifford Task Force); as a presidential adviser at the Manila Conference on Vietnam in October and November 1966; as the President's emissary on a mission during July and August 1967 to confer with America's East Asian allies (the Clifford-Taylor Mission); as chairman of the Vietnam Task Force (the Clifford Group) established by President Johnson in late February 1968 to reexamine U.S. policy in Vietnam; and as an informal adviser to the President on many other issues, domestic as well as foreign. Johnson also frequently called on Clifford for informal advice while serving in the U.S. Senate during the 1950s.

NATIONAL SECURITY FILE (NSF)

This file was the working file of President Johnson's special assistants for national security affairs, McGeorge Bundy and Walt W. Rostow. Documents in the file originated in the offices of Bundy and Rostow and their staffs, in the various executive departments and agencies, especially those having to do with foreign affairs and national defense, and in diplomatic and military posts around the world.

More than half of the National Security File has been processed and opened for research. Consult the finding aid in the Reading Room or borrow a copy by mail by writing to the Supervisory Archivist, LBJ Library, 2313 Red River Street, Austin, Texas 78705. Those folders whose titles are preceded by an "X," an asterisk, or a date have been processed and their contents declassified in whole or in part. Lists of classified documents have been placed in those folders, and you may request mandatory review of individual documents which have not yet been declassified in full. Those folders not preceded by an "X," an asterisk, or a date are unprocessed and are not subject to mandatory declassification review. Consult with a member of the staff on the processing schedule.

NSF, Country File, Vietnam

Material concerning Clifford is scattered in many places in the Vietnam Country File, in addition to the folders noted below. See the NSF finding aid for a folder title list. Some items concerning Clifford are indexed on page 158 of [Vietnam](#)

Special Subjects: National Security Files, 1963-1969, published by University Publications of America. A copy is available in the Reading Room. (** = unprocessed)

	<u>Box #</u>
"Binder-Clark Clifford on additional U.S. Forces (Rostow Material), 3/4/68"***	75
"[March 19, 1970, Memo to the President on "Decision to Halt the Bombing" with copies of documents]"	127
"Manila Nations Conference Clifford/Taylor Trip, 8/67**	211
"Clifford/Taylor Trip Correspondence with Vietnam Troop Contributors, 8/67"***	211
 NSF, National Security Council Histories.	
In 1968, the NSC staff prepared documentary histories of 21 international crises and events from the Johnson Presidency. Compiled by photocopying key documents in the National Security File and in other files, these collections are extremely useful. In the "March 31st [1968] Speech" History, references to Clifford are scattered throughout.	
 NSF, Agency File	
"Department of Defense"	12-13
 NSF, Subject File (** = unprocessed)	
"President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, 2/65-8/68"***	41
 NSF, Special Head of State Correspondence File (** = unprocessed)	
"Clifford/Taylor Mission, 1967"***	1
 NSF, Intelligence File (** = unprocessed)	
"Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, Vol. 1" [11/63-4/64]	5
"Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, Vol. 2" [5/64-9/68]**	6
 NSF, Files of McGeorge Bundy	
"Cabinet Committee on Aid"	15
"Foreign Aid (1965 Clifford Task Force)"	15
"Non-Committee"	15
"Aid Meeting--Thursday [1965 Clifford Task Force]"	16
 NSF, Files of Walt W. Rostow	
"Meetings with the President, January thru April 1968"	1
"Meetings with the President, May thru June 1968"	2
"Meetings with the President, July thru December 1968"	2
"Tuesday's Luncheon, Suggested Agenda"	2
"Lunch Meeting with the President, Tuesday, June 11, 1968--1:00 P.M."	3
"W. W. Rostow, Breakfast, July 20, 1968"	3
"Lunch Meeting with the President, Tuesday, October 22, 1968 - 1:00 pm"	3
"Lunch Meeting with the President, Tuesday, January 13, 1969 - 1:00 p.m."	3
"Nixon and Transition"	14
 NSF, Files of Edward K. Hamilton	
"Cabinet Committee on Foreign Aid, 1965-1966"***	4

"Non-Committee on Foreign Aid - 1965"***	4
"1965 -- Non-Committee on Foreign Aid (Back-up papers)"***	5

NSF, Memos to the President.

This chronologically arranged series consists of memoranda (with attachments) to the President from his national security advisers, McGeorge Bundy (11/63-2/66) and Walt W. Rostow (4/66-1/69). The first 42 boxes (through mid-November 1968) have been opened for research, and significant portions have been declassified. Additional boxes are currently being processed. Material on Clifford can be found throughout this file.

Summary notes of White House meetings attended by Clark Clifford can be found in a number of files, particularly the following:

Cabinet Papers.

Minutes of Cabinet meetings were taken regularly starting in late 1967 but only on occasion prior to that time. Included in the Cabinet Papers are agendas, minutes, background memos, draft Presidential remarks, and other materials. See the description of the Cabinet Papers in the Special Files finding aid for additional information. Material on Clifford can be found in boxes 13-16 and box 19.

Meeting Notes File.

This three box collection includes notes for 100 of President Johnson's foreign policy meetings from 1963 through 1968, mostly with senior foreign policy advisers and Congressional leaders. Three-quarters of the meetings deal mainly with the Vietnam War. In addition, there are notes for 37 meetings at which Johnson discussed foreign affairs with correspondents. For meetings attended by Clifford, see all three boxes but especially boxes 2-3.

NSF, NSC Meetings File.

This two box collection contains notes of meetings, attendance lists, agendas, briefing papers, and papers discussed at meetings. See box 2 for meetings attended by Clifford in 1968.

Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings.

This collection includes notes for close to 120 meetings that President Johnson held with his senior civilian and military foreign policy advisors during 1967 and 1968, including 45 Tuesday luncheons. In addition, the collection includes notes for more than 80 meetings that President Johnson held with House and Senate leaders, correspondents, his Cabinet, the National Security Council, businessmen, and other groups. W. Thomas Johnson, who took the notes, has retained his copyright in these notes, but they are open for research. Box 1 contains notes for 1967 meetings. Boxes 2-4 contain notes for 1968 meetings. Extensive material on Clifford can be found throughout all four boxes.

WHITE HOUSE CENTRAL FILES (WHCF)

This permanent White House office was the main filing unit during the Johnson presidency, though not the primary file for foreign policy documents. Material was filed under 60 major subject headings. For descriptions, see the finding aid for WHCF.

Federal Government--Organizations (FG)	<u>Box #</u>
Ex FG 115 "Department of Defense (Jan., 1968-)"	166
National Defense (ND)	
Material on Clifford is found throughout this file. Please see the WHCF Finding Aid for further information.	
Public Relations (PU)	
PU 1/FG 115 "11/23/67 - 5/31/68"	6
PU 1/FG 115 "6/1/68 - "	6
Speeches (SP)	
SP/FG 115 "1/1/66 - 1/20/69"	17

WHCF, NAME FILE

This file serves as a name index to the Subject File. Name Files typically contain copies of the first page (cross references) of documents that were filed in the Subject File. Files should be requested by names of individuals or organizations. A card file in the Reading Room indicates which Name Files have been opened. Name Files will be processed upon request.

"Clifford, Clark" Box 275

WHCF CONFIDENTIAL FILE (C.F.)

Security classified and other sensitive material sent to the White House Central Files was usually placed in the Confidential File. The C.F. Subject File uses the same subject categories as WHCF. The Confidential File also includes a Name File (which serves as a name index to the C.F. Subject File), an agency reports file, and an oversize attachments file. The Confidential File is entirely processed, but portions are still classified.

	<u>Box #</u>
FG 100/MC "Cabinet Meetings (April 1967 -)"	23
FG 115 "Department of Defense (Jan 1968 -)"	27
ND 19/CO 312 "Vietnam - Situation in (Jan 1968 -)"	73

WHCF CONFIDENTIAL NAME FILE

"CI" Box 144

OFFICE FILES OF THE WHITE HOUSE AIDES

Many White House aides maintained office files of their own, separate physically from the rest of the White House Central Files. The files of each aide reflect his or her responsibilities. This list is not definitive, but

it does include most pertinent folders in the aides files. If a folder is not open for research, it will be processed upon request. Researchers should anticipate a delay in receiving this material.

Benchley, Peter		<u>Box #</u>
"Swearing in Clark Clifford 3/1/68"		5
Busby, Horace		
"Memos for Clark Clifford, 1964-1965"		18
Macy, John		
"Clifford, Clark M."		353
Moyers, Bill		
"Campaign [2 of 2]" [Memos relating to Clark Clifford]		53
"Bill Moyers/Cartoons" [Four items, including one each from Leon Jaworski and Clark Clifford, relating to cartoons]		63
Nimetz, Matthew		
"Weekend of October 21" [3 of 3]" [Material relating to October 21, 1967, (draft statement for the President about the demonstrations with comments by Harry McPherson, Clark Clifford, Abe Fortas, and Ramsey Clark)]		14
Panzer, Fred		
"Clifford, Clark M."		331

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON ARCHIVES (LBJA) 1931-1968.

In 1958, the Johnson staff instituted a records management program in the office which included a plan to dispose of noncurrent files. They set up the Lyndon Baines Johnson Archives (LBJA) to house items to be permanently retained rather than scheduled for disposal. Johnson files from the House and Senate period were screened, and selected items and files were moved to the LBJA file. Between 1958 and 1963, the staff continued to add to the file. Occasionally, items were added during the White House period. The LBJA consists of four parts: a Congressional File, a Famous Names File, a Selected Names File, and a Subject File. In the Famous Names File, there is one folder pertaining to Clark M. Clifford in box 3. Also, in the Selected Names File, there is one folder pertaining to Clifford, in box 14.

WHITE HOUSE FAMOUS NAMES

This collection includes correspondence with former Presidents, presidential candidates, and other prominent figures.

"Clifford, Clark M."	Box 1
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SENATE PAPERS, 1949-1961

Researchers may request review of individual folders. Advance notice is preferred. The papers reflect Johnson's role as Senator from Texas and as Democratic Party leader.

Senate Master File:	
"Cli - Cod" [1953-1960]	Box 37

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS, 1961-1963

The Vice Presidential Subject File is not currently available for research. Requests for review of individual folders will be accepted for the V.P. Masters File. Advance noticed is preferred.

VP Master File:	<u>Box #</u>
"Cli - Cod" [1961]	9
"Cli - Cod" [1963]	9

TASK FORCE REPORTS

The report of the 1965 Task Force on Foreign Aid, chaired by Clifford, is available for research in box 3.

PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT [1964-1968]

Material relating to Clifford can be found in box 45.**

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT FILE

This collection consists mainly of folders on individual Cabinet officials, aides, associates, and friends. Access to these files was strictly controlled by the President, and materials he deemed sensitive were filed here.

"Clifford, Clark"	Box 2
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THE PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENT FILE [DIARY BACKUP]

These files of backup material for the President's appointments include schedules, briefing papers, press releases, some memoranda of conversations, and other material. Organized by date, there is a folder for almost every day of the administration, with special folders for many head-of-state visits. While little foreign policy material was filed here during 1964 and 1965, Diary Backup includes a significant amount of foreign policy material for 1966-68. The Daily Diary is a log sheet of appointments and phone calls maintained by the White House secretaries.

The Diary Cards in the Reading Room provide an alphabetically arranged name index to the President's appointments. Once the date of an appointment has been determined, check the "Diaries and Logs" finding aid for the number of the appropriate box in Diary Backup. Material on Clifford is scattered throughout the Appointment File. Consult the Diary Cards, (there are over 600 cards mentioning Clifford) which list Clifford's meetings and phone conversations with President Johnson. Backup material for particular meetings can sometimes be found in the Appointment File.

STATEMENTS OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON

This collection is arranged chronologically and contains backup material, correspondence, drafts and final

copies of speeches. Request by box number.

	<u>Box #</u>
"President's Remarks at McNamara Reception for Clark Clifford, 2/8/68"	265
"Annual Message to Congress on State of the Union Changes Made by President, Fortas, and Clifford, 1/12/66"	173
"Birthday Greetings from the President to Clark M. Clifford, 1/11/67"	227
"Remarks of President at Swearing-In ceremony of Clifford as Secretary of Defense, 3/1/68"	267
"Remarks of President, General Wheeler and Secretary Clifford upon Presenting Distinguished Service Medal to General Wheeler, Chairman, JCS, 1/10/69"	295

WHITE HOUSE PRESS OFFICE FILES

These files consist of transcripts and backup material for presidential press conferences, news conferences, press briefings, press releases, and the staff's working files. Press Briefings usually covered routine or only moderately important news. The exception to this was when the meeting was off-the-record. At a normal briefing, the press release was given to the reporters, the Press Secretary discussed the announcement or report, and the reporters then asked questions.

"August 3, 1967 - August 28, 1967"-- "8/5 - Taylor and Clifford - Return from Vietnam"	Box 82
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WHITE HOUSE SOCIAL FILES

Social Files were generated by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and her East Wing staff during the White House years. Included is material on the activities of the First Lady and her daughters and the social activities of the Presidency.

Social Files-Alphabetical File.

This file contains outgoing correspondence from Mrs. Johnson or her staff and often includes the original incoming correspondence as well. Request by the name of the individual or the organization of interest.

"Mr. and Mrs. Clark Clifford"	Box 353
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POST-PRESIDENTIAL NAME FILE

These files consist of memoranda, correspondence, reports, speeches, invitations, and other material pertaining to President Johnson's activities after leaving the presidency, 1969-1973. With the exception of a few Name Files, the Post Presidential Files are not available for research.

"Clark Clifford"	Box 29
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PERSONAL PAPERS

This collection of papers from individuals or organizations came to the Library separate from President Johnson's papers. See the finding aid for information concerning the availability of individual collections.

Ramsey Clark.

Clark served as Assistant and Deputy Attorney General and as Attorney General during the Johnson administration.

"Vietnam" [1965-68]

Box 136

[Transcript of Clifford's 8/15/68 news conference on Vietnam]

George M. Elsey.

George Elsey served as Special Assistant to Secretary Clifford during 1968. Elsey's papers consist of notes of Clifford's daily morning conferences with his key aides. The collection is unprocessed. Box 1-3.

Clark Clifford.

The 26 boxes (11 linear feet) of material in this collection reflect Clifford's responsibilities as Secretary of Defense from March 1968 to January 1969 and his role in the reevaluation of the Vietnam War in February and March 1968. The first six boxes deal entirely with Vietnam and include Clifford's handwritten notes of meetings. Boxes 7 to 26 reflect the variety of Clifford's activities as Secretary of Defense and include material on staff meetings, Congressional relations, speeches, official and unofficial correspondence, ABM negotiations, the Pueblo incident, Vietnam, NATO, the F-111, and other topics. See the Personal Papers finding aid for a folder title list.

Drew Pearson.

Researchers interested in this collection should consult the folder title list in the Reading Room, which is also available by mail through interlibrary loan. The Drew Pearson Papers will be processed upon request, although there is a substantial backlog of researcher requests for this collection.

"Clifford, Clark"

Box G 131 [1
of 3]

"Clark Clifford - Defense"

Box G 266 [2
of 2]

Paul Warnke.

In 1968, Warnke served under Clifford as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Material on Clifford can be found in box 9.

William C. Westmoreland.

These papers consist of material reflecting Westmoreland's role as Commander of American forces in Vietnam and as Army Chief of Staff, 1962-1973. The folder below consists mostly of newspaper and magazine articles.

"OFFICIALS, Clifford, Clark M."

Box 22

RECORDS FROM GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

These materials consist of copies of selected records from government agencies, mainly covering the period of President Johnson's administration. Most of these records are on microfilm, but also included are photocopies on paper, carbon copies, and printed material.

Department of Defense

"Correspondence Files of the Secretary of Defense, 1963-69." 89 rolls of microfilm**

"Public Statements" of the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1963-69.

This 45-volume set consists of statements, addresses, remarks, messages, congressional testimony, press releases, press conferences, announcements, interviews, letters, and

other public statements of Robert McNamara, Roswell Gilpatric, Cyrus Vance, Paul Nitze, and Clark Clifford.

"Current News," 1963-69.

This 22 box collection consists of news sheets, printed by the Department of Defense on close to a daily basis, which reproduced articles from major newspapers dealing with defense-related matters, such as the Vietnam War.

REFERENCE FILE

The reference file has been assembled by the archives staff to assist them in answering questions about Lyndon Johnson, his family, and the Johnson Administration.

"Clifford, Clark"

ORAL HISTORIES

Transcripts of oral history interviews may be consulted at the Library or borrowed directly from the Library by writing to the Interlibrary Loan Archivist, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, 2313 Red River Street, Austin, Texas, 78705. Interviews with the following people contain material on Clark Clifford and are open for research. A complete list of oral histories is available. A card file of oral histories is maintained in the Reading Room.

George W. Ball	[Clifford's private opinions on Vietnam]
Zbigniew Brzezinski	[LBJ's reliance on Fortas and Clifford]
William P. Bundy	[Clifford & 1968 policy change; Clifford's denunciation of South Vietnamese]
George E. Christian	
Clark Clifford	
Alfred B. Fitt	[McNamara and Clifford]
John S. Foster, Jr.	[McNamara and Clifford]
James Gaither	[First Cabinet meeting attended by Clifford]
Loyd Hackler	[Clifford's role and influence as Secretary of Defense]
Lawson B. Knott, Jr.	[Clifford as an adviser on the proposal for the LBJ Library]
Harry McPherson	[Clifford and Vietnam]
Stanley R. Resor	[Comparison between McNamara and Clifford as Secretaries of Defense]
John P. Roche	
Dean Rusk	[Clifford before the Senate committee; Clifford's change of view on Vietnam]
Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor	[McNamara, Clifford, Nitze]
Volney R. Warner	
Paul C. Warnke	[comparison of McNamara and Clifford]
Gen. William C. Westmoreland	[Clark Clifford as Secretary of Defense]
Lee C. White	

AUDIOVISUAL ARCHIVES

The audiovisual archives holds an extensive collection of still photographs, motion picture footage, audiotapes, and videotapes. Consult the audiovisual archivist for information.