

# Sources

## *Sources for the Foreign Relations Series*

The *Foreign Relations* statute requires that the published record in the *Foreign Relations* series include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation on major foreign policy decisions and actions of the U.S. Government. It further requires that government agencies, departments, and other entities of the U.S. Government cooperate with the Department of State Historian by providing full access to records pertinent to foreign policy decisions and actions and by providing copies of selected records. This access is further defined in formal agreements concluded between the Historian and the various relevant agencies. The editors believe that in terms of access this volume was prepared in accordance with the standards and mandates of this statute and the implementing agreements.

The editor had complete access to all the retired records and papers of the Department of State: the central files of the Department; the special decentralized files ("lot files") of the Department at the bureau, office, and division levels; the files of the Department's Executive Secretariat, which contain the records of international conferences and high-level official visits, correspondence with foreign leaders by the President and Secretary of State, and memoranda of conversations between the President and Secretary of State and foreign officials; the files of overseas diplomatic posts; and the sensitive intelligence files of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. All the Department's indexed central files for these years have been permanently transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II) at College Park, Maryland. Most of the Department's decentralized office (or lot) files covering this period, which the National Archives deems worthy of permanent retention, have also been transferred from the Department's custody to Archives II.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series have had full access to the papers of President Johnson and other White House foreign policy records. Presidential papers maintained and preserved at the Presidential libraries include some of the most significant foreign affairs-related documentation from the Department of State and other federal agencies including the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Department of State historians also have full access to records of the Department of Defense, particularly the records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretaries of Defense and their major assistants.

Since 1991, the Central Intelligence Agency has provided expanding access to Department of State historians to high-level intelligence documents from those records in the custody of that Agency. This access is arranged and facilitated by the History Staff of the Center for the

Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, pursuant to a May 1992 memorandum of understanding. The Department of State and CIA historians work together to identify the key portions of the Agency's intelligence records that had an impact on U.S. foreign policy.

All of this documentation has been made available for use in the *Foreign Relations* series thanks to the consent of these agencies, the assistance of their staffs, and especially the cooperation and support of the National Archives and Records Administration.

*Sources for Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXVI*

While different files from specific sources proved useful for the compilations in this volume, some general observations can be made. For all compilations, the subject-numeric Department of State Central files were most important single source, followed closely by records from the Johnson Library. Of the Department of State Central Files, the primary file for the U.S. concern about Indonesian confrontation against Malaysia is POL 32-1 INDON-MALAYSIA. An important file, POL INDON-US (and its variant POL 1 INDON-US), is useful for the full range of the U.S.-Indonesian relationship. During the period of transition from Sukarno to Suharto, from late October 1965 to March 1966, POL 23-9 is an important file. The Department of State material on Malaysia and Singapore comes from a number of files, but POL 7 MALAYSIA (the visits files) is the most cited. The best overall Central file for the Philippines is POL US-PHIL (and its variant POL 1 US-PHIL). Documentation on the Philippines' contribution to the war effort in Vietnam is in POL 27-3 VIET S, but many documents are misfiled in the far larger general file on the Vietnam war, POL 27 VIET S. These are only the most widely cited files from the Department of State. The list at the end of this note includes all other Department of State files cited in the volume.

The Johnson Library contains the single best set of materials relating to Presidential and White House interest in the area, especially the Country Files in the National Security File: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. Robert Komer was the White House staffer most concerned with the area and his files in the National Security File are an important collection. The Memos to the President file in the National Security File is also of value, especially for the Philippines. Documentation on President Johnson's interest in "More Flags in Vietnam" is in a subsection of the Vietnam Country File (5 (D) 9, Allied Troop Commitments and Other Aid) in the National Security File. George Ball's telephone conversation files, a separate private collection at the Johnson Library, reveal much about U.S. confusion during and just after the Gestapu coup in Indonesia. The list at the end of this note includes these and all other Johnson Library files cited in the volume.

Because of the strong Department of Defense interest and presence in the Philippines and Indonesia, the records of the Secretary of Defense (various OSD files) and the records of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (various OASD/ISA files) were particularly useful. The compilation on Indonesia contains the most intelligence-related documentation because of the challenge that the turmoil in Indonesia presented to intelligence analysts and because of the limited covert operations there. Intelligence-related material in this volume comes from the files of the Central Intelligence Agency, including the Deputy Directorate for Operations, the Directorate for Intelligence, and the Director's files; the unretired historical files of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR/IL); the retired INR finished intelligence files for East Asia and the Pacific; the 5412 and 303 Committee records at the National Security Council; and the records at the Johnson Library.

Department of State historians had full access to the audiotapes of President Johnson's telephone conversations, which are held in the Johnson Library. Tapes constitute only a small portion of the documents, but they are a good indication of President Johnson concerns and interests. The transcripts or extracts of transcripts prepared by the editor are not a substitute for listening to the tapes, where nuances of voice and inflection can be discerned. The tapes provide unique insights into President Johnson's thinking and personal relations with his advisers. The Johnson Library is now in the process of releasing the entire collection of tapes.

All sources cited in this volume are identified in the list below.

## Unpublished Sources

### Department of State

#### Bundy Files: Lot 85 D 240

Files of Assistant Secretary of State William Bundy, 1963-1969.

#### EAP/INR Files: Lot 90 D 165

National Intelligence Estimates, Special Intelligence Estimates, and related memoranda as retired by the East Asia and Pacific Division of INR, 1960-1986.

#### EA/VN Files: Lot 75 D 303

Record of free world assistance to South Vietnam, 1963-1971.

#### INR/IL Historical Files

Files of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research relating to intelligence matters including records of the 5412 Special Group and 303 Committee.

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

*Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State*

Subject-Numeric Indexed Central Files

- POL INDON, general policy and background to Indonesia
- POL 1 INDON, general policy and background to Indonesia
- POL 2 INDON, general reports of Indonesia
- POL 2-1 INDON, Joint Weekas on Indonesia
- POL 2-3 INDON, politico-economic reports on Indonesia
- POL 7 INDON, visits to Indonesia and meetings with Indonesians
- POL 12 INDON, Indonesian political parties
- POL 15 INDON, Indonesia government
- POL 15-1 INDON, Indonesian Head of State
- POL 23-8 INDON, demonstrations, riots, and protests in Indonesia
- POL 23-9 INDON, rebellions and coups in Indonesia
- POL 27 INDON, Indonesia military operations
- POL 32-9 INDON, rebellions and coups in Indonesia
- POL INDON-MALAYSIA, *Indonesia-Malaysia relations*
- POL 32-1 INDON-MALAYSIA, territorial disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia
- POL INDON-PHIL, *Indonesia-Philippines relations*
- POL INDON-UK, general Indonesian-British relations
- POL INDON-US, *U.S.-Indonesian relations*
- POL 1 INDO-US, general policy, *U.S.-Indonesia relations*
- POL 17 INDON-US, diplomatic and consular representation between Indonesia and the United States
- POL ASIA SE-INDON, *Indonesia relations within Southeast Asia*
- POL 1 MALAYSIA, general policy and background to Malaysia
- POL 7 MALAYSIA, visits to and meetings with Malaysians
- POL 15-MALAYSIA, head of state, executive branch Malaysia
- POL 16 MALAYSIA, independence and recognition of Malaysia (Singapore)
- POL 18 MALAYSIA, provincial and state governments in Malaysia
- POL 23-7 MALAYSIA, infiltration, subversion, and sabotage in Malaysia
- POL MALAYSIA-SINGAPORE, *Malaysian-Singapore relations*
- POL 32-1 MALAYSIA-PHIL, territorial disputes between Malaysia and the Philippines
- POL 7 PHIL, meetings and visits with Philippines officials
- POL 14 PHIL, elections in the Philippines
- POL 15-1 PHIL, head of state and executive branch of the Philippines
- POL PHIL-US, general policy, *U.S.-Philippines relations*
- POL 1 PHIL-US, general policy, *U.S.-Philippines relations*
- POL 17-1 PHIL-US, Philippine diplomatic representation in the United States, acceptability and accreditation
- POL 23-7 PHIL, infiltration, subversion, and sabotage in the Philippines
- POL PHIL-MALAYSIA, general Philippines-Malaysian relations
- POL 33-4 PHIL-US, *U.S.-Philippines differences over territorial waters*
- POL 2 SINGAPORE, general reports on Singapore
- POL 7 SINGAPORE, visits and meetings with Singapore officials
- POL 16 SINGAPORE, independence and recognition of Singapore
- POL 17-4 SINGAPORE, ceremonial and social affairs in Singapore
- POL SINGAPORE-US, *U.S.-Singapore relations*
- POL 1 US, general background, *U.S. foreign policy*
- POL 3 MAPHILINDO, *Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines negotiations*
- POL SEATO 3, SEATO organization
- POL 7 US/Bunker, travel and visits of Ambassador Bunker

POL 7 US/Forrestal, travel and visits of NSC staff member Forrestal  
 POL & US/HUMPHREY, travel and visits of Vice President Humphrey  
 POL 7 US/Kennedy, travel and visits of Robert Kennedy  
 POL 27 VIET S, military operations in Vietnam  
 POL 27-2 VIET S, use of foreign country troops in South Vietnam  
 AID 1 INDON, general aid policy for Indonesia  
 AID (JAPAN) INDON, general Japanese assistance to Indonesia  
 AID (US) INDON, general U.S. assistance to Indonesia  
 AID (US) 1 INDON, general policy on U.S. assistance to Indonesia  
 AID (US) 8 INDON, U.S. grants and technical assistance to Indonesia  
 AID (US) 15-1 INDON, policy plans and coordination of PL-480 aid to Indonesia  
 AID (US) 15-6 INDON, U.S. surplus commodities to Indonesia  
 AID (US) 1 PHIL, general U.S. aid policy to the Philippines  
 DEF 6 INDON, Indonesia military  
 DEF 19-8 INDON, military assistant to Indonesia, equipment and sales  
 DEF 21 INDON, Indonesian military communications systems  
 DEF US-INDON, U.S.-Indonesian defense policy  
 DEF 19 US-INDON, U.S. military assistance to Indonesia  
 DEF 19-8 US-INDON, U.S. military assistance for Indonesia, equipment and sales  
 DEF 12-5 MALAYSIA, procure and sale of armaments  
 DEF 6-5 PHIL, irregular, non-conventional Philippine forces  
 DEF 9 PHIL, Philippines military personnel  
 DEF 15 PHIL-US, U.S. base and installations in the Philippines  
 DEF 15-3 PHIL-US, U.S. status of forces agreements in the Philippines  
 DEF 15-4 PHIL-US, U.S.-Philippines base agreement  
 DEF 19-8 PHIL-US, U.S. military assistance to the Philippines, equipment  
 E-INDON, general economic policy for Indonesia  
 E 1 INDON, general economic policy for Indonesia  
 E-8 INDON, general economic conditions in Indonesia  
 EDX-31 INDON, educational and cultural exchange with Indonesia, grants and contracts  
 FN 14 INDON, Indonesia's public debt  
 INCO 15-2, nationalization and takeovers of U.S. businesses  
 INCO RICE 17 INDON-THAI, Indonesia purchase of Thai rice (with US credits)  
 ORG 3-2, meetings and conferences of chiefs of mission and principal officer of embassies  
 ORG 7 JUS, foreign travel and visits of the Attorney General and other Justice Department officials  
 PER HOWARD, JONES P, personnel administration of Ambassador Jones  
 PER 4-1 DJAKARTA, reduction in force of Embassy Djakarta  
 PS 7-1 US-INDON/LOVESTRAND, protective services, assistance to missionary Harold L.B. Lovestrand

#### Lot Files

##### Ball Files: Lot 72 D 272

Personal and official correspondence of Under Secretary of State George Ball, 1961-1967.

##### EA/Indonesia Files: Lot 68 D 467

Economic and political files for Indonesian Affairs of the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs for 1965.

##### EA/Indonesia Files: Lot 70 D 3

Indonesia files of the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs for 1966.

## XVIII Sources

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### S/S Cabinet Files: Lot 68 D 350

Files of the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State relating to Cabinet meetings, 1963-1965.

### S/S Conference Files: Lot 66 D 110

Chronological files of foreign visitors to the United States and international conferences attended by the President and Secretary of State, 1961-1964.

### S/S-Visit Files

Lot 67 D 587: Chronological files of foreign visitors to the United States, October 1966-May 10, 1967.

### S/S-Conference Files: Lot 68 D 453

Chronological files of conferences and meetings attended by the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Under Secretary of State, and Ambassador at Large Harri-man, May 1967-January 1968.

### S/S-White House and Agency File: Lot 70 D 217

Records of memoranda and letters sent by Secretary and Under Secretary of State to the White House and other Agencies 1963-1966.

### S/S NSAM Files: Lot 72 D 316

The Department of State's files relating to National Security Action Memoranda (NSAM's) as maintained by the Executive Secretariat.

### Record Group 263, Records of the Central Intelligence Agency

#### *Studies in Intelligence*

#### Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, Virginia

#### DCI/McCone Files: Job 80-B01285A

Files of the Director of Central Intelligence, John McCone, 1961-1965

#### DDO Files: Job 78-00061R

Files of the Far Eastern of the Directorate of Plans

#### DDO Files: Job 78-00597R

Files of the Far Eastern Division of the Directorate of Plans

#### Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

Official Records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Official Files 9150 (1 Oct 1964), files for Asia (Southeast)

Official Files, 9155.3 (22 Jan 1965), files for Vietnam

#### Johnson Library, Austin, Texas

#### Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson

#### National Security File

Country File, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam (SEA Development Program and 5 D(9), Allied Troops Commitments and Other Aid)

Head of State Correspondence

International Meetings and Travel

**Name File**

National Security Action Memorandum  
National Security Council Meetings  
Special Head of State Correspondence  
Files of McGeorge Bundy  
Files of Robert W. Komer  
Files of Walt W. Rostow  
Files of Bromley K. Smith

**Special Files**

President's Daily Diary  
Recordings and Transcripts of Telephone Conversations and Meetings  
Meeting Notes File  
Memos to the President

**Other Personal Papers**

Dean Rusk Papers, Rusk Appointment Book  
Cabinet Papers, Cabinet Meetings  
George W. Ball Papers, Telephone Conversations  
Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings

**National Security Council****Special Group/303 Committee Files**

Minutes of meetings and related papers of the Special Group, the 303 Committee, and the 40 Committee

**Washington Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland****Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Assistant Secretaries of Defense****OASD/ISA Files: FRC 68 A 306**

Decimal Files of Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for 1964.

**OSD Files: FRC 69 A 7425**

Decimal Files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense for 1964.

**OASD/ISA Files: FRC 70 A 3717**

Decimal files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for 1965.

**OASD/ISA Files: FRC 70 A 5127**

Decimal Files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for 1965.

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OASD/ISA Files: FRC 70 A 6648

Decimal files of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for 1966.

Office of the Secretary of Defense Files: FRC 70 A 4443

Decimal files of the Secretary of Defense for 1966.

Secretary of Defense Files: FRC 72 D 2468

Decimal files of the Secretary of Defense for 1967.

Record Group 84, Records of U.S. Embassies and Posts

Djakarta Embassy Files: FRC 69 A 6507

Classified and unclassified central subject files for 1965-1966 (originally Lot 69 F 42).

## Published Sources

### Official Sources, Memoirs, and Other Documentary Collections

Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, *Indonesia, The Coup That Backfired, Indonesia, 1965*, RSS No. 0033/68, December 1968.

Green, Marshall, with a forward by William P. Bundy, *Indonesia: Crisis and Transformation, 1965-1968*. The Compass Press: Washington, 1990.

Jones, Howard Palfrey, *Indonesia: The Possible Dream*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971.

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U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966*. Washington, 1968.