Conversation No. 526-001

Date: June 18, 1971
Time: 8:40 am - 8:42 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Item from Henry A. Kissinger

Butterfield left at 8:42 am.

Conversation No. 526-002

Date: June 18, 1971
Time: 8:45 am - 9:38 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

Pentagon Papers
- Upcoming statement by President
- Content of written message
- Patrick J. Buchanan
- Public relations
  - Support for war
- Content of message to National Security Council [NSC]
- Content of message to be submitted by staff
- Preparation
  - Effect of consensus
-Need for chief writer
  -Buchanan
  -Role for press conferences
-Media memorandum
  -Raymond K. Price, Jr.
  -John D. Ehrlichman
-Content
  -Need for confidentiality in negotiations
  -Declassification

Awarding of honorary degrees
- President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal
  - Reflection on "Today's" schools
    - Harvard University
    - University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]
- Accomplishments of Sedar Senghor
  - Haldeman’s experience on Board of Regents of University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]
  - Role of recipients
  - Value of honorary degrees
  - Senghor accomplishments
    - Compared to some US mayors
    - Size of Senegal
  - Heads of Black African states
    - Haldeman’s view
    - Attractiveness as honorary degree candidates
  - Honorary degrees

Pentagon Papers
- Statement by President
  - Efficacy
  - Nixon administration role in Vietnam
  - Ehrlichman
  - Bombing halt
  - Request for Henry A. Kissinger and Haldeman meeting
  - Consequences
-Administration strategy
-Two issues
  -Relationship of content to administration’s policy
  -Seriousness of security breach
-Need for clear focus of administration strategy
  -William E. Timmons
-Support for administration
  -Among publishers
    -James S. Copley
    -Carl T. Curtis opposition
  -Rationale
  -Barry M. Goldwater
  -Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor
  -Promotion
  -Gale W. McGee
-Congressional strategy
  -Timmons
  -Relationship to Alger Hiss case
  -Potential headlines
  -President's support during Hiss case
-Issues
  -Attack on New York Times
    -Kissinger statement
    -Ronald L. Ziegler
    -Use of Kissinger on Rochester trip
      -Hypothetical attack on liberals
      -Joseph McCarthy
-Statement by President
  -Content
  -Impact
  -Constraints due to court case
  -Use of national television
    -Nature of audience
  -Herbert G. Klein
    -Position of press
    -Freedom of press
- Klein and Ehrlichman role
- Impact of statement concluding a briefing
  - Domestic emphasis
- Domestic policy
- Comparison with Birmingham remarks
- Use of national audience
- Personal letter to editors and television producers
  - World War II classified documents
  - Korean classified documents
- Washington Post story
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower [?]
  - Source
  - Implication
  - Post use of Pentagon Papers
- Administration reaction to use of documents
- Klein’s outlook
- Use of Kissinger
  - Effect on Senators or Congressmen
  - Air Force One
  - Possible comments
- Timing of fight with Times
- Effect of court decisions
- Charles W. Colson
- Use in Congress
- McGee
- Image of White House action
- Political impact of Times story
  - Involvement of Democratic Presidents
    - John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
    - Franklin D. Roosevelt
    - Harry S. Truman
- Confidential advice
  - Effect on current negotiations
    - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
    - Middle East
    - Berlin negotiations
- Weighing of good story against United States [US] interests
- Rationale for statement
- Report of President's statement
- Robert J. Dole statement
  - Content
- Political nature of the battle
- Dole statement
  - Content
  - Partisan play by Democrats
    - Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy
    - Hubert H. Humphrey
- Humphrey statement
- Johnson
- Dole statement
  - Effect on Johnson
- Opposition to Vietnam War
- Robert H. Finch
  - Return from Chicago
  - Views
- Freedom of the press
- President’s relationship with the *Times*
  - Future relationship
  - George P. Shultz
  - *Times* reaction
  - Peter Lisagor reaction
  - Restriction of Times
  - Coverage
  - John F. Kennedy
    - *Herald Tribune* subscription
  - Subtlety of attack
    - Comparison with Spiro T. Agnew attacks
- Timing of Presidential statement
  - Relation to judicial process
- Daniel Ellsberg story
  - Current play
  - Ellsberg disappearance
-Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] visit
-Leak of Kissinger recollections
   -Ellsberg actions in Vietnam
-Kissinger and Ellsberg visits
   -Santa Monica Outlook story
   -Source
-Kissinger’s view
   -Leslie H. Gelb
   -Ellsberg
-Kissinger backgrounder on Air Force One
-Ehrlichman outline for statement
-Haldeman and Ehrlichman meeting
-Timing of statements by President
   -Relation to court case
-Dole statement
   -Response to order from President
   -Partisan political impression
-Press reaction to administration response
-Press reaction to lack of response
-Ehrlichman
-Kissinger backgrounder
   -Possible comments
   -Timing
      -Florida trip
      -Air Force One to Rochester

Drug policy
-Drug policy statement
   -Media play
-Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe
   -Organization
-Personnel moves
   -Shultz report
   -Allen J. Ellender
   -Hospital staffing
   -Early Jaffe moves
- Hospital closing
  - Effect
  - Shultz's report

Vietnam
  - Coverage of casualties
    - Walter Cronkite statement
    - Other reporters' statements
  - Coverage of anti-war amendments in Congress
    - Wording of reports

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 9:28 am.

Schedule
  - Letters
  - Memorandums

Butterfield left at 9:31 am.

  - Arrival of President Senghor of Senegal

Pentagon Papers
  - Kissinger backgrounder
    - Benefits of statement

President Senghor

Pentagon Papers
  - Kissinger backgrounder
    - Ehrlichman
      - Notification of press

President's schedule

Pentagon Papers
  - Effect on administration
-Reaction by administration
-Administration response
  -Dwight L. Chapin
  -Humphrey
  -Dole attack
  -Kissinger's role

Haldeman left at 9:38 am.

Date: June 18, 1971
Time: 9:38 am - 9:40 am
Location: Oval Office

Individual calling for Steve Bull.

Date: June 18, 1971
Time: 9:40 am - 10:34 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Leopold Sedar Senghor, Jose De Seabra and W. Marshall Wright and Stephen B. Bull; members of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings
  -Last meeting at Charles De Gaulle's funeral

Senghor's trip around US
-Previous trips
  -1967
  -Visit with John F. Kennedy

Senghor’s background

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 9:40 am.

Refreshments

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 10:08 am.

Senegal
  -Cultural and political independence
    -Economic role
      -Georges Pompidou [?]
    -Senghor's background
      -Sorbonne
      -Professorship
    -French Culture
      -Complement to Senegal
    -Senegalese cultural roots
      -Cultivation
      -Senghor's early efforts regarding independence
    -De Gaulle's review of Constitution
      -Role of delegation from Senegal
        -Confederation with France
      -Pompidou's role
        -Reviewing commission conclusions
        -Effect on Senegal independence
    -Senegalese educational reforms
      -Use of French system
      -Stress on mathematics and technological subjects
      -Increase in number of Senegalese professors
      -Stress on languages
        -Native Tongues
- French
- English

- Nature of civilization
  - Monopoly of input
  - Benefits of international unity
    - United Kingdom [UK] role in European community
    - Admission of African states to European community
- United States [US]-Senegal relations
  - Relations with "Euro-American" Nations
  - Ties to the Americas
  - Ties to Asia
  - Afro-Asian group (Group of 77)
    - Inclusion of Latin America
- Senghor family background
  - Portuguese roots
    - Political effect in Senegal
- Cultural balance
  - Senegalese
  - Brazilian’s
- Influence of US the World community
  - Senghor travels in United States [US]
    - Black and White universities
  - Spirit of vitality
  - Responsibilities of United States [US]
    - Cultural diversity
- Black students in United States [US]
  - Return to Africa
    - Benefits of United States [US]
    - Participation of Blacks
    - Contact with students
  - Need for stressing culture

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Leopold Sedar Senghor reading prepared remarks in French

Political situation in Africa
   - Two dangers

Senegal
   - Political situation in Africa
     - Two dangers
       - Stench of communism

Great Britain, France, and United States [US]
   - Differences between the countries
     - Not important

Dangers of communism
- Threat of communism
  - Soviet Union [USSR] influence
    - Student left
    - Communist influences
    - Maoists
      - Paris
    - Influence from the United States [US]
      - Students
  - Senghor visit to Soviet Union [USSR]

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[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-008. Segment declassified on 10/04/2017. Archivist: JD]

Influence of the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Danger
  - Embassies

Senegal’s strategic importance
  - Senegal is surrounded by the People’s Republic of China [PRC] aligned countries
    - Embassies in Bali and Guinea
      - Providing money
    - Advocate violence
    - Attempted destruction of French cultural center
      - Georges Pompidou

United States [US] policy towards the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Admission to the United Nations
    - Taiwan
- 700 million population

Political standpoint of Senegal
- Chinese newspaper
- North Korea
- Assassination

Size of Senegal
- Defend independence
- Danger of Soviet Union [USSR]
- Greatest threat is the People’s Republic of China [PRC]
  - Danger in West Africa
    - Strangled embassies
      - Zambia to Somolia
      - Penetration of Congo
- Great danger of communism in Africa
  - Peking not Moscow

Foreign affairs
- Communists
  - Desire for expansion
- Need to develop Modus Vivendi
- Need to bring People’s Republic of China [PRC] into community of nations
- United States [US] and Soviet Union [USSR] nuclear arms control

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/24/2017.]
[Unintelligible]
[526-003-w004]
[Duration: 1m 15s]

Helicopter departing

Historical perspective

The President’s impression
  -The People’s Republic of China [PRC]

The President as a pragmatist

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- The People’s Republic of China initiative
- Communist revolutions
  - Removal of isolation
- Latin America
- Africa
  - Naivete of some leaders
  - End of imperialism
  - Need for close trading ties
    - Investment
    - Conglomerate capital
- Development view of African leaders
- Best chance of African development
  - East compared with West
- African resources
- Black Americans
  - Effect on Africa
    - Advancements in the United States [US]
      - Desegregation
      - Job opportunities
      - Housing
      - Welfare
- United States [US] respect for African choices
-President’s support of Senghor’s efforts

Appreciation of cooperation

Farewell

The President, Senghor, et al. left at 10:34 am.

Date:  Unknown between June 18 and June 22, 1971
Time:  Unknown between 10:34 am, June 18 and 1:48 pm, June 22, 1971
Location:  Oval Office

Unknown people met.

Schedule (?)
  -Conference Room

The unknown people left at an unknown time before 1:48 pm, June 22, 1971.