



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 526-001](#)

[Conversation No. 526-002](#)

[Conversation No. 526-003](#)

[Conversation No. 526-004](#)

[Conversation No. 526-005](#)

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



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- 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



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- 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



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- 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



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- 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



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- 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



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- 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



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

Haldeman left at 9:38 am.

Conversation No. 526-005

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

Individual calling for Steve Bull.

Conversation No. 526-003

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



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- 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



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- 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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[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/24/2017.]

[Unintelligible]
[526-003-w003]
[Duration: 4m 51s]

Leopold Sedar Senghor reading prepared remarks in French

- Political situation in Africa
- Two dangers

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

[National Security]
[526-003-w001]
[Duration: 18s]

- 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



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- 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]

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

[National Security]

[526-003-w002]

[Duration: 2m 58s]

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



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- The People’s Republic of China [PRC] on the Security Council
 - 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

- New Unites States [US] initiative with People’s Republic of China [PRC]
- 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]



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[Duration: 1m 15s]

Helicopter departing

Historical perspective

The President's impression

-The People's Republic of China [PRC]

The President as a pragmatist

-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



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-President's support of Senghor's efforts

Appreciation of cooperation

Farewell

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

Conversation No. 526-004

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.