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Page 1 of 2

Doc#	DocType	<u>Doc Info</u>	Classification	Pages	Date Re	strictio
13	airgram	open 9/30/11 per NLJ/RAC 1	0-328	9	5/7/66	- A
23	cable	Dakar 406 sanitized 9/30/11 per NIJ/10.		2	11/7/65	Α
24	cable	open 9/30/11 per NUT/PAC	s 10-328	-1	10/25/65	-^
25	cable	Dakar 383 FEXEMPT PER RAG 8/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/16/		2	10/22/65	Α
32	cable	open 9/30/11 per NIJ/RAC 1	0-328	3	12/31/64	_
33	cable	Dakar 1181 (SANITIZED PER RAC 8/16/00)Sam Csanitization 09 (24)	II per NIJ/RI	1 IC 10-32	5/28/64 9	Α
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50a	memo	Read to Bundy (SANITIZED PER RA 8/16/00) same sanih 201100 9/20/	ij ber ntzik	AC 10-3	11/17/65 29	Α
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51	memo	to the Director EXEMPT PER RAC 8/16/00) EXEMPT 9/20/11 per NIJ	S 	.1	10/22/65	Α
51a	report	Intelligence Information Special Repo	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	2 3	10/22/65 RAC 10-32	A
52	memo	for the Director (EXEMPT PER RAC -8/16/00]exempt 9/20/11 per NLJ/R	S	1	10/21/65	A
Collec		NSF, Country File "Senegal, Volume 1, 3/64-3/68"				
older	Title	Genegal, Volume 1, 3/04-3/06				

Restriction Codes

Box Number

98

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Page 2 of 2

Doc#	DocType	<u>Doc Info</u>	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
52a	report	Intelligence Information Special Report [EXEMPT PER RAG 8/16/00] exempt	9/20/11 per	NLT IRE	10/21/65 C 10-326	А

Collection Title NSF, Country File

Folder Title

"Senegal, Volume 1, 3/64-3/68"

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JUL 13 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALT S. ROSTOW THE WHITE HOUSE Hamiller 7/14

Pres (-7/16)

Subject:

Invitation to President Senghor of Senegal to make an informal visit to Washington, September 28 and 29.

It is recommended that you approve the enclosed telegram extending an official invitation to President Senghor to visit Washington September 28 and 29.

You will recall that we had extended an invitation to President Senghor of Senegal for a State visit in July. Unfortunately it was not possible to work out a mutually convenient time and the visit had to be postponed.

When Ambassador Mercer Cook made his farewell call, President Senghor mentioned that his visit to Canada was scheduled for September 19-28 and asked if an informal visit to Washington could be arranged just before or just after the Canadian trip. He indicated he would prefer Wednesday-Thursday, September 28-29 which accords with our own preference to have a Washington stopover occur on a weekday.

In addition to being a world renowned poet and philosopher, Senghor is one of the most influential statesmen in French-speaking Africa. His moderating voice is often heard in African and international councils and he has on several occasions expressed his understanding and support of our policy in Vietnam.

Furthermore, of course, he received President Johnson in Dakar when the latter was Vice-President and, as things stand now, he is the only African Chief of State we have invited whose visit is likely to materialize this year.

CONFIDENTIAL

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By C. NARA, Date 11-27-00

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

An informal visit is contemplated. It would include one substantive meeting with President Johnson, as well as meetings with the Secretary and other officials and perhaps an official luncheon. If he wishes, President Senghor and his party could then spend several days visiting places of interest in the United States as guests of the U.S. Government. An informal visit of this sort would be most acceptable to President Senghor.

Since he will be transiting the U.S. and we had previously invited him, I strongly recommend that you approve the sort of visit proposed.

/s/ B. H. Read

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

1. Suggested telegram to Dakar

CONFIDENTIAL

1 a

CONFIDENTIAL

Amoubassy DAKAR

Embassy requested deliver following message to President Senghor:

QUOTE: Dear Mr. President:

I am delighted to learn that September 28 and 29, following your visit to Canada, would be a convenient time for you to stop in Washington for an Anformal visit. It would be a particular pleasure for me to welcome you at that time. I sincerely hope your schedule will permit you to spend several days visiting other parts of the United States as well so that the American people will be able to join me in reciprocating the warm hospitality you extended when I represented the United States in Dakar on the first anniversary of Semegal's independence in 1961.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

END QUOTE.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Dept. Guidelines
By R. NARA, Date 11-27-700

7/13/66

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AF - Ambassador Trimble

AFRW - Amb. McIlveine S/CFR - Nr. Certer (draft)

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White House

CONFIDENTIAL

Corrections made on original green MUST be made on this and other flimsy work copies before delivery to Telecommunications Operations Division

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The President concurs with your opinion and has requested that you inform the Government of the Republic of Senegal that the appointment of Cheikh Ibrahima Fall as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Republic of Senegal would be agreeable to the Government of the United States.

W. W. Rostow

CF w/cy of Incoming
Country File w/Incoming

2

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

20

March 25, 1968

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ENCLOSURE

Dear Mr. President:

The Department has received a communication from the American Embassy at Dakar inquiring whether this Government agrees to the appointment of Cheikh Ibrahima Fall as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Senegal to the United States. A biographic sketch of Mr. Fall is enclosed.

I believe that the appointment of Mr. Fall at Washington would be satisfactory. If you concur in this opinion, I shall be pleased to inform the Government of the Republic of Senegal of your approval.

Faithfully yours,

Desukusk

Dean Rusk

Enclosure:

Biographic Sketch.

The President,

The White House.

RECEIVED ROSTOW'S OFFICE

1968 MAR 26 AM II 37

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JUST PETHENVIA DA FIRE F

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

CHEIKH IBRAHIMA FALL

Cheikh Ibrahima Fall was born in Dakar on February 4, 1930. He pursued his secondary studies at the Lycee Faidherbe in St. Louis, Senegal and, after obtaining his baccalaureate in 1953, became a teacher at the Lycee Van Vollenhoven in Dakar. He returned to his studies at the Institut des Hautes Etudes, Dakar in 1954 and subsequently at the University of Rennes in France. He completed his university training as a "Laureate of the Faculty of Law," received his Law "Licence" in June 1955, returned home, and entered the then-French civil service in Dakar.

From February 1956 to September 1957, Fall served as Deputy Chief for Production in the French High Commission of French West Africa's Directorate General of Economic Affairs. During this period he was also Director of French West Africa's Cotton Price Stabilization Fund. He became a technical advisor in the Office of General Economy, Plan and Economics Ministry (French West Africa) and Director of the important Peanut Stabilization Fund in September 1957, serving to October 1959. The following month he was appointed Cabinet Director to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, remaining in this position to February 1960, when he became Director of Economic Services in the same Ministry.

He was named Director of Commerce in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Handicrafts (of an independent Senegal) in March 1962 and accompanied a Senegalese delegation which visited the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in June of that year. Prior to October 1962, Fall had visited Scandinavia, Switzerland, France and Italy with another official Sengalese mission. From July 1963 to January 1964 Fall served as Director of External Finance in his

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

-2-

country's Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs. He visited the United States in 1963 to study United States financial methods, and was appointed Ambassador to Germany (and Holland) in January 1964. In March of that year Mr. Fall attended the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. He was a member of the Senegalese Delegation to the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council (presumably of the UN), was named his country's Ambassador to Moscow in September 1966, and accredited also to Poland in February 1967.

Mr. Fall is married. He speaks French, but nothing is known in Washington about his family, religion, personal habits and interests.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Walls Tulk

October 16, 1967

3

Mr. Hopkins:

To note and return, please.

Ruth McCawley



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Am 3919

2 - Ril. 30

XRay To: Hamilton
Fried

IN REPLY REFER TO S/S-17638

October 13, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALT W. ROSTOW
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Upcoming Negotiations with Senegal for Air Transport Services Agreement

The United States and Senegal will begin negotiations in Washington during the week of October 23 for an air transport services agreement providing for scheduled air services between the United States and Senegal by the airlines of the two countries.

Attached for your information is a paper describing the background, probable issues, and significance of the upcoming negotiations.

The White House will be informed of the outcome. If ad referendum agreement is reached between the delegations, approval to conclude an air transport services agreement will be sought.

> A Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

NARA, Date 11-2700

TOSTOORTIAL FIFT 12243

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

U.S. - Senegal Air Transport Negotiations

Background

Senegal is a party with eleven other former French countries in West and Central Africa to the 1961 Treaty of Yaounde which created a jointly-owned airline known as Air Afrique to operate international air services on behalf of the states party to the Treaty. Air Afrique currently operates modern and efficient services within West and Central Africa and to France. Due to French support and the dynamism of its president - Cheikh Fal, a Senegalese - it is regarded as one of the more promising airlines in Africa.

The United States has encouraged Air Afrique, both because we favor the sharing of scarce economic resources in developing areas such as Africa and because, from an aviation viewpoint, we desire to avoid the proliferation of non-viable national airlines with aspirations to serve the U.S.

In 1964, Pan American and Air Afrique worked out, with U.S. Government approval, a so-called blocked space arrangement under which Air Afrique sells a service to New York on the basis of a block of seats sold at cost by Pan American on its scheduled flights between New York and Dakar, Abidjan, Cotonou, and Douala. The arrangement has worked fairly well and will probably be continued for a while until Air Afrique believes it can operate independently to the U.S. on a profitable basis.

The upcoming negotiations have been scheduled in anticipation of eventual services by each airline independently between the U.S. and Air Afrique countries. Senegal is scheduled first because it is the most important aviation country in the Air Afrique group and because Pan American has operated services, not associated with Air Afrique, to and through Dakar to West Africa, Kinshasa, and Johannesburg for many years. Negotiations with other key Air Afrique countries will follow if a Senegalese agreement is successfully negotiated.

Probable Issues

We will be seeking a route to Senegal and beyond to other Air Afrique countries, as well as to other countries in Africa and possibly beyond across the Indian Ocean, while Senegal is expected to request a route to New York, possibly via the Caribbean and possibly beyond New York to Canada. We will press for acceptance of our standard aviation principles, including freedom to operate the volume of services desired by the airlines. The more likely issues may center on capacity freedom and our desire for full

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By , NARA, Date 11-27-00

traffic rights between points in Air Afrique countries. We might be willing to offer some accommodation on these issues, hopefully on a temporary basis, but will not for the sake of an agreement surrender principles having important commercial and aviation significance.

The most complex questions expected to arise may stem from our objective of concluding through bilateral negotiations a system of related agreements which have the effect of trading rights with the Air Afrique countries as a whole.

Significance

If concluded, a U.S. - Senegal agreement will be the first U.S. air transport agreement in Africa (except for South Africa). Negotiations last year with East Africa, where a multi-nation airline also exists, left several issues unresolved, with an understanding talks would be resumed later, possibly early next year. A good agreement with Senegal should help us in concluding acceptable accords in other key aviation areas in Africa. Politically, it should cement our generally good relations with the relatively stable and friendly OCAM countries.

CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State



3:25 P.M.

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TO SEVSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
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EXDIS

REF: STATE 137163

GOK CONCURS UNDER SECRETARY'S VISIT. FONOFF WILL INFORM SENGHOR WHO CURRENTLY ON STATE VISITS IN UAR AND ALGERCA THROUGH FEBRUARY 24. FONMIN THIAM WILL BE IN ADDIS FEBRUARY 27 FOR OAU MEETING.

RIVKIN BT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By _____, NARA, Date 11-27-00

-SECRET

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

SECRET

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR PRIORITY Amembassy BAMAKO Amembassy CONAKRY Amembassy ABIDJAN Amembassy NATROBI Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM " Amembassy LUSAKA

FEB 14 8 30 PH '67

Amembassy KAMBALA Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

INFO: Amembassy LONDON

137/6.3 STATE

EXDIS

REF DEPTEL 135564.

- 1. Plans now firm for Under Secretary's visit to all addressee posts except Bamako on dates shown.
- 2. You requested obtain local concurrence soonest with confirmation to Department. We plan press release re trip Thursday P.M., February 16.
- 3. Comments re programs suggested by posts in separate messages. Do not firm up/programs until received.
- 4. Desire Accra, Nairobi and Conakry proposed programs soonest.

End

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines By_ NARA, Date_11-27-00

AFI:Filladsel/JJWagner:dh 2/14/67

Tol. Ext. -3053

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

U - Jacob Rosenthal

Clearances: AF JPalmer

Mr. Walker

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

44

Info

SECRET

Action

PP RUEHC DE RUFNCR 1710FF 0441235

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

STATE GRNC

BT

SECRET DAKAR 1710

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

11228

9:17 A.M.

EXDIS

REF: STATE 135564

1. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR UNDER SECRETARY IN DAKAR FEBRUARY 27:

A. MORNING: DRIVE TO UNIVERSITY OF DAKAR WHERE UNDER SECRETARY SPEAKS INFORMALLY TO GROUP OF STUDENTS FROM SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND DAKAR JOURNALISTS FOR APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOLLOWED BY QUESTION PERIOD IN WHICH PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE ENCOURAGED ASK QUESTIONS ANY SUBJECT. ON WAY TO OR FROM UNIVERSITY, UNDER SECRETARY STOPS BY FOR FIFTEEN MINUTE VISIT TO JOHN F. KENNEDY LYCEE (AID FINANCED GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL) AND FIFTEEN MINUTE VISIT OF GRAND MOSQUE OF DAKAR. AT MOSQUE, UNDER SECRETARY HAS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET MOSLEM RELIGIOUS LEADERS PRIVATELY.

PAGE 2 RUFNCR 1710FF SECRET

B. LUNCH: AMBASSADOR HOSTS STAG LUNCH AT RESIDENCE TO WHICH WILL BE INVITED ABOUT SIX KEY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

C. AFTERNOON: OFFICIAL SEPARATE CALLS ON PRESIDENT SENGHOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER DOUDOU THIAM. INFORMAL ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION AT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WITH PRESIDENT LAMINE GUEYE AND FEW KEY MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY. AMBASSADOR AND MRS RIVKIN HOST 1830 TO 2000 RECEPTION AT RESIDENCE FOR GOS OFFICIALS AND SELECTED SENEGALESE PERSONALITIES OF INTEREST AND OPINION MAKERS.

- D. DINNER: SMALL DINNER AT PALACE TO BE GIVEN BY PRESIDENT AND MRS SENGHOR FOR UNDER SECRETARY AND MRS KATZENBACH.
- 2. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR MRS KATZENBACH:
- A. MORNING: BRIEF AUTOMOBILE TOUR OF DAKAR INCLUDING FIFTEEN

FEBRUARY 13, 1966

-2- DAKAR 1710, FEBRUARY 13

MINUTE STOP AT KENNEDY LYCEE TO COINCIDE WITH UNDER SECRETARY'S VISIT. VISIT TO CENTER FOR UNDER-NOURISHED CHILDREN SPONSORED BY WIFE OF PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT PIKINE JUST OUTSIDE OF DAKAR.

- B. LUNCH: LADIES' LUNCH HOSTED BY MRS. RIVKIN AT DCM RESIDENCE TO WHICH FOUR OR FIVE SIGNIFICANT AND ARTICULATE SENEGALESE WOMEN TO BE INVITED.
- C. AFTERNOON: VISIT TO ECOLE DES BEAUX ARTS AND ATTEND

PAGE -3 RUFNCR 1710FF SECRET
REHEARSAL OF SENEGALESE BALLET TROOP AT NATIONAL THEATER. IF
DESIRED, BRIEF VISIT TO DAKAR AFRICAN ART MUSEUM (LITTLE WALKING
INVOLVED.) AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION.

- D. DINNER: SEE ABOVE.
- 3. CHRONOLOGY OF UNDER SECRETARY'S PROGRAM DEPENDENT, OF COURSE, ON TIME OF APPOINTMENTS WITH SENGHOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER. POSSIBLE THAT MORNING AND AFTERNOON SCHEDULES MIGHT BE REVERSED. SENGHOR IS CURRENTLY ON STATE VISITS TO UAR AND ALGERIA AND WILL RETURN DAKAR FEBRUARY 22.
- 4. WE HAVE NOT SUGGESTED ANY VISIT TO PEACE CORPS PROJECTS AS ALL ARE DEEP IN INTERIOR EXCEPT FOR FEW SCHOOL TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN DAKAR. VISIT TO JFK LYKEE WOULD COMBINE PUBLIC EXPOSURE WITH QUICK LOOK AT CENTRALLY LOCATED AID PROJECT.
- 5. WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHO IN UNDER SECRETARY'S PARTY SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN SMALL LUNCHEON AND/OR DINNER. RIVKIN

FEB 10 10 09 PM '67

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines

INFO: Amembassy LONDON

STATE 135564

EXDIS

 Under Secretary Katzenbach plans visit addressee posts February 27 through March 11, 1967, accordance following tentative itinerary:

Date	Time	
Sunday, Feb 26	Late PM	Depart Washington
Monday, Feb 27	Rarly AM	Arrive Dakar
Tuesday, Feb 28	MA	Depart Dakar
11 11	AM	Arrive Bamako er Conakry
Wednesday, March 1	AM	Depart Bamako or Conakry
н н	AM	Arrive Abidjan
Thursday, March 2	Early AM	Bepart Abidjan
11 11	AM	Arrive Accra
Friday, March 3	Mid-day	Depart Accra
11 11	PM	Arrive Nairobi
Sat-Sun, March 4-5		Weekend in Kenya

Drafted by: AF/AFI:NFeld:dh 2/10/67

2797

relegraphic transmission an

The Under Secretary

U:JRosenthal
AF:JPalmer 2nd
AF:JWFredericks

S/S - Mr. Walsh

Monday, March 6 Early AM Depart Nairebi Arrive Dar es Salaam AM Depart Dar es Salaam Tuesday, March 7 Rarly AM Arrive Lusaka Wednesday, March 8 Estly AM Depart Lusaka AM Arrive Ndola PM Depart Ndola Arrive Entebbe Immesday, March 9 Entebbe/Kampala Late PM Depart Entebbe Late PM Arrive Addis Ababa Friday, March 10 Depart Addis Ababa Saturday, March 11 Arrive London (en route to Bonn for Chiefs of Mission Conference)

- 2. Party will include Mrs. Katzenbach, Wayne Fredericks and one other AF officer, Jack. Rosenthal, Special Assistant to Under Secretary, Manualization, possibly a consultant to the Department and perhaps two or three reporters.

 Separation

 Total not more than 12, more likely about 9, traveling in KC-135 Air Force tanker (military version Boeing 707) with crew of about nine.
- 3. Under Secretary desires: (a) minimum American-induced ceremony and maximum personal, infermal contacts with Africans, not only officials, but students, --especially youth; writers, opinion leaders wherever possible/ (b) minimum of protocol and large formal functions; (c) emphasis on personalities, not on time-consuming inspections physical facilities. (As example, since Under Secretary will be able during entire trip to visit only a few projects, Department will try to select from various suggestions by posts perhaps one or two conveniently located and intrinsically important AID projects, one Peace Corps facility best exemplifying

PC work in countries visited, one private US enterprise, etc. This in order to leave maximum time for contacts with Africans); (d) absolute minimum of briefings by Americans, since expects have extensive Departmental briefings prior departure and such other briefings as necessary while flying to posts.

- 4. For posts' planning purposes, examples good use available time would be car tour of Abidjan with President Houphouet, drive to Tema and Akosombo with General Ankrah, permitting, simultaneously, intimate conversation with African leader, exposure to public view and quick kaleidoscopic look at interesting points in briefest possible time. Posts might also keep in mind Under Secretary's background in civil rights in Justice Department in arranging for contacts with the public.
- 5. Re Mrs. Katzenbach's program, she interested in writers, artists, dancers, craftsmen performing their specialties, and in educational process. Thus would much rather talk to artists, writers, doctors, teachers and students, etc., than take long walks through hospitals, schools, libraries, art museums, etc. Posts should also bear in mind that she recovering from knee injury and finds walking difficult.
- 6. Publicity and policy climax of trip would be Katzenbach speech at Addis Ababa Law School, if it can be scheduled.
- 7. FOR BAMAKO AND CONAKRY: Under Secretary wants visit either Mali or Guinea, but not repeat not both. Ambassadors McIlvaine and Moore, therefore, requested give pros and cons of visit their respective posts. Upon receipt these statements, Department will choose one or other for inclusion itinerary.

- 8. FOR NAIROBI: In devising program comment on feasibility flight to Mombasa to visit beach areas, etc., during week end, and whether length runway there sufficient for KC-135 or alternate air transport will be required. Also on possibility visit Amboseli. In general, week end envisaged as one for relaxation as well as some work and should not be filled up with many events.
- 9. FOR ADDIS: Charge requested comment on feasibility Law School speech.
- 10. All posts should endeavor reply at latest by February 13, giving suggested tentative program which would accord insofar as possible with above ground rules and stating whether head of state will be in country at time of visit or any other event which might affect the trip. At this stage possibility of visit should not be divulged to host government.
- Wishes to afford him and party maximum exposure to cross section African countries and personalities. For this reason emphasizes again desire absolute minimum time-consuming but less productive tours, briefings, social functions. Typical emphasize good day's program, within these caveats, would/conversation--small intimate lunch and dinner gatherings with carefully selected personalities, and similar approach to events during rest of day, insofar as is possible.
- 12. Upon receipt replies Department will consider suggestions and notify posts its views regarding firm schedule, so that final arrangements can be worked out with bost governments.

End

RUSK

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

40 SECRET Action 55 CONTROL : Info RECD:

25134

NOVEMBER 28, 1966, 8:59AM

FROM:

DAKAR

ACTION:

SECSTATE

SECRET DAKAR 1140

EXDIS

REF:STATE 86369

GOS APPEAL APPEARS UNLIKELY.

GP-3

MCKESSON

02

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

Fa

July 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARVIN WATSON THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of President Senghor of Senegal

K

The President has approved President Senghor's Informal Visit to Washington, September 28 and 29, to be followed by a tour of the country as a guest of the government. President Senghor was invited for a State Visit for July. The dates could not be arranged and President Senghor asked if he could come in September or October. Since there are two State Visits in September (Ne Win and Marcos), an Informal Visit was agreed upon.

I recommend that the President participate in the following events:

September 28

11:40 a.m.	Greet President Senghor at the White House. Military honors.
Approved	
Disapproved	
12:00 noon	Meet with President Senghor for approx imately one hour
Approved	
Disapproved	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
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September 28 (Continued)

1:00 p.m. Give a stag luncheon for President Senghor.

Approved	E 6	- V
annroved	*	

No further participation.

James W. Symington

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

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45-42

CONFIDENTIAL

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Info

CONTROL:

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RECEIVED:

SEPTEMBER 21, 1966

7:19AM

FROM:

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC

CONFIDENTIAL DAKAR 500

AGREEMENT CHANNEL

SEPTEMBER 21

REF: DAKAR 484

WRITTEN AGRE MENT DATED SEPT 19 FOR AMBASFADOR RIVKIN RECEIVED THIS MORNING SEPT 21.

MCKESSON BT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By X , NARA, Date 11-27-00

CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

SENNGAL

CONTROL: 15655

SEPT/MBCR 17, 196 6 9: 5 AM

CONFIDENTIAL

DAKAK

ACTION:

FROM:

SECSTATE PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL DAKAR 484

SEPTEMBER 17

AGREMENT CHANNEL

FONOFF DIRECTOR GENERAL SARRE HAS JUST INFORMED ME ORALLY THAT AGREMENT GRANTED FOR AMBASSADOR RIVKIN. SARRE SAID THAT SENGHOR HAD BEEN CONTACTED BY TELEPHONE AND THAT WRITEN CONFIRMATION WOULD BE SENT TO EMBASSY FIRST THING NEXT WEEK. GP-3.

MCKESSON

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

CONFIDENTIAL

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

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Origin 22

ACTION: Amembassy MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

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Jun 11 4 44 PM '66

LIMDIS

Embtel 668.

You should not raise possibility of invitation. However if Aden raises it state President has busy calender during 1966 but that you will discuss on your return here.

END

RUSK

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

Drafted by:

AFNE: M. M. Doram: cyl 6/11/66
Clearances:

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AF - Joseph Palmer 2nd

G - Mr. Low s/s - Mr. Shostal White House -Mr. Smith (subs)

-SECRET

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

120

June 11, 1966

TO:

Mr. Walt W. Rostow

The White House

FROM:

Mr. Benjamin H. Read

Executive Secretary

SUBJECT:

Clearance of Cable to

Mogadiscio

It would be appreciated if clearance could be given on this cable today. Ambassador Thurston has an appointment with President Aden on June 12.

Attachment:

Cable to Mogadiscio.

#.

I cleaned their on hat

use LBJ calendox as an ex

2. File - S/5 suformed

Mol	R/ACTI	ON	DEPARTMENT OF STATE
/-			
RM/R	REP	F-5	AIRGRAM
/	2	AF	FOR RM USE ONLY
ARA	EUR	FE	4 202
NEA	5 CU	INR	A-383
	- 533	5	FS
E	Р	10	Department of State Dept pass:
4	4-96	3 AID	INFO ACCRA, ADDIS ABABA, BAMAKO, CONAKRY, DAKAR (3), FREETOWN, LAGOS,
1	6	20	MONROVIA, NOUAKCHOIT, OCAM capitals, PARIS POLAD/CINCSTRIKE,
PC 13	5/5	SIP	USCINCMEAFSA 15 HAC DILL AIR OSD FOR CINCSTENE IN SCHICHEAFSA FORCE BASE, FLA.
AGR	7 COM	FRB	FOR - 1
10	10	3	FROM: Amembassy DAKAR DATE: 1966
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Politico-Economic Assessment, Senegal
TR	XMB		DECLASSIFIED
3	4	AIR	REF : 11 FAM 212.3-5 E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
ARMY 3	CIA	NAVY	NLJRAC 10-328
OSD	16 USIA	S NSA	SUMMARY By NARA, Date 9-12-11
31	10	3	
NSZ			Basic US objectives in Senegal remain the continuation of a moderate and responsible regime on both the international and domestic front
_6			and the strengthening of the country's economy. In promoting these
			objectives, our economic assistance program constitutes by far our
			most important potential asset. Unfortunately, our aid program for Senegal has declined in the past year and a half almost to
			the vanishing point. A careful analysis of the various arguments
			for and against a meaningful aid program in Senegal leads us to
			the conclusion that such a program is important to US national
			interests in West Africa.
			INTRODUCTION
10			The recently revised Guidelines for US Policy and Operations in Senegal
35			provide a valid and comprehensive analysis of U3 objectives and of the courses of action devised to promote these objectives. The Embassy's
2	~		last annual assessment (A-398), furthermore, remains as relevant as
d	CCPYFLO-PBR		it was a year ago as events of the past twelve months have, indeed,
_	5		given added weight to the earlier arguments. Basic objectives and the courses of action which the US should follow in Senegal can, therefore,
2	1		be considered to have been adequately covered and need not be reiterated
V.AY	33		here.
966 MAY 10			The Embassy submitted on February 18, 1966, some sugaritions for minor
07			changes in the draft revision received from the Department of the
			earlier Guidelines paper.
		. 11	CONFIDENTIAL FOR PEPT. USE ONLY
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Drafte	ed by:	.M.	Ackessana Mars 6 1066 Contents and Classification Approved by:
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	E	سل الالباد	B:DIMcCarthy USDAO:Col. HKBrucet ADMIN:CAPlunkett

CHA

It is in the implementation of the agreed courses of action, however, that significant discrepancies occur which merit more careful attention. For if we have, by and large, implemented most of our courses of action to a satisfactory extent over the past year, there is unfortunately one area -- economic assistance -- where we have fallen far short of what can be considered a reasonable implementation of our avowed policy. As this area, moreover, is by far the most important in terms of realizing our objectives, this failure runs the risk of seriously undermining, if not negating, our entire effort in this country. This assessment will, therefore, concentrate for the most part on analysing the causes and consequences of our past failure in the aid field. Courses of action in other fields will then be briefly examined in the light of our agreed objectives.

I. US AID PROGRAM

US economic assistance for Senegal, which averaged \$3.8 million annually from 1961 to 1964, dropped to less than \$1 million in fiscal 1965 and has been confined in the last year and a half to refugee food shipments through Catholic Relief and gifts to the Dakar Negro Arts Festival. No new development projects of any kind have been concluded. Of Africa's 37 countries, only four (Gambia, Rwanda, Mauritania and Congo-Brazzaville) had smaller aid programs last year.

The reason for the absence of a meaningful aid program is certainly not that Senegal does not need aid or does not desire aid from us. Nor is it that the US has neglected Africa since large programs exist in neighboring African countries. The Senegal aid program has been small and diminishing largely because of a variety of policy considerations in Washington. It is of key importance, therefore, to examine in some detail the case against and the case for an aid program in Senegal.

A. The Case Against US Aid to Senegal:

There appear to be essentially four major arguments which are at various times used against giving any significant amount of aid to Senegal. Let us examine them in turn and attempt to assess their validity.

(1) The Dollar Drain Problem: As Senegal is a member of the French Monetary Union, all US dollars loaned or given to Senegal, which are not used to purchase goods or services in the US, become claims on US gold reserves by the Bank of France. In view of recent French behavior on the international financial scene, the US Government is understandably reluctant to approve

any form of aid which increases French dollar holdings. As a result, all forms of dollar loans or grants for local expenditures in Senegal tend to be opposed by the US Treasury and AID.

There is certainly considerable validity to this argument. An attenuating factor, however, is the fact that Senegal regularly imports considerably more from the US than it exports to the US and pays for the balance with dollars obtained from the Bank of France. In other words, Senegal's membership in the Franc Zone, which is used as an argument for drastically limiting US aid, is the very factor which makes possible dollar earnings for the US at the expense of the Bank of France. We are penalizing Senegal for a situation which enables us to realize in Senegal dollar profits several times the value of our aid program. It would seem that this might be taken into account in the formulation of the Treasury Department's attitude on this issue.

(2) The French Help So Why Should We: Perhaps the most frequently used argument against any appreciable US assistance to Senegal is that the French are providing large amounts of aid and that we, as a consequence, need not. France is giving assistance to Senegal in many forms estimated at around \$70 million annually, and France is unlikely wittingly to allow the current regime to collapse. It is appealing, therefore, for us to let the French carry the burden of our interests while we engage in efforts elsewhere. There is the added inducement, moreover, that the French may not want us to get too involved in Senegal anyway for fear of losing their political and cultural influence.

There are, however, several serious weaknesses to this line of argumentation. First of all it is clear that French and US interests do not always coincide. On many issues of major importance to us, such as Chinese representation, Article 19 (last year), and Vietnam, we are obviously not able to get any mileage out of French assistance to Senegal. Secondly, the Senegalese Government does not in any way consider that French assistance absolves the US of the moral obligation to assist a poor, friendly and, in Senegalese eyes, deserving nation. In view of their obvious needs and of our more generous aid elsewhere, the Senegalese resent this discrimination and do not accept the existence of French aid as an explanation for the absence of ours.

Finally there is still another consideration. While it is true that the French Government will endeavor to give Senegal enough to keep the country afloat, it is also true that France will seek to minimize its losses in this country. For a variety of reasons (influence of Cartierisme, desire

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of de Gaulle to extend French aid to new areas), France will do no more in Senegal than it considers absolutely necessary. It is clear, however, that with minimal assistance Senegal cannot achieve the rate of progress which, as we shall see in a later section, is of importance to what we consider to be US national interests in Africa.

(3) Senegal is a Low Priority Area: Although rarely voiced, and sometimes not even acknowledged, the most fundamental objection to aid to Senegal seems to be the belief that it is simply not important for us to help this country. Quite aside from the dollar problem or the extent of French aid, it is contended that there are other areas of Africa which are much more vital to us and that, as our resources are limited, Senegal must take a very low priority.

This attitude appears to be based partly on the feeling that we can take Senegal's friendship and support for granted regardless of what we do or do not do, and partly on the belief that it does not really matter very much what Senegal does anyway as Senegal does not belong to the "wave of the future" in Africa.

That there should be priorities in our aid program goes without saying. Even if there were no overall limitation of funds, a program giving equal attention to all conceivable aid recipients would certainly not appear tailored to optimum US national interests. Any policy worthy of the name implies a necessity for choice and US aid policy in Africa is certainly no exception. It is the contention of the Embassy, however, that far from being a low priority area in Africa, Senegal should be a relatively high priority area in terms of US aid. The arguments in justification of this position will be given in the next section presenting the case for US aid to Senegal.

(4) Inadequacy of Senegalese Projects: There is finally one argument, which must be listed for the sake of completeness, which is sometimes leveled against a meaningful US aid program in Senegal: GOS projects are invariably poor, inadequately documented and thereby unsuitable for US assistance. Although there is a superficial appearance of truth to this contention, a more careful examination will reveal that it has very little validity.

Certainly many projects proposed by the Government of Senegal are poorly conceived and most of them are presented initially without the voluminous dossiers of justification demanded by AID. The GOS has also frequently been dilatory in its handling of aid projects. If we are looking for reasons not to mount a program, therefore, it is easy enough to reject

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these projects on the grounds of their inadequacy. But surely it would be hard to contend that Senegal is less able to develop projects than any of its neighbors where trained cadres are fewer and US aid much larger. Even were it so, moreover, would this not be in itself a reason for US assistance in developing projects if the need were real and we desired to help. The record since mid-1964 when we abolished the aid mission in Dakar, turned down virtually all Senegalese proposals in Washington, and made little attempt until very recently to assist Senegal in developing any projects, suggests rather that the recent absence of any meaningful US aid program has not been due so much to the poor quality of GOS projects as to our own lack of interest in developing a program.

- B. The Case for US Aid to Senegal: Before presenting the case for an aid program in Senegal it should be made clear that we do not think that aid programs are always necessary for the conduct of diplomacy. Such programs become important, however, in situations which combine economic need of the recipient, US political interests in the area, and large programs for seemingly less deserving neighbors. US aid to Senegal appears to us to conform to US national interests on three separate though related planes.
- (1) As a Leverage to Promote US Interests: The simplest and most obvious purpose of even a modest aid program in Senegal is to provide the US Government with some leverage to promote some purely US national interests. We are constantly seeking to obtain Senegalese support in the UN and elsewhere on issues which are important to us but are of marginal interest to Senegal and sometimes actually contrary to Senegalese inclinations. These have included such issues as Article 19, Chinese representation, self determination for dependent territories (Guam), Vietnam, and elections to various international bodies. It becomes increasingly difficult to argue for Senegalese support on such issues if we are giving comparatively little to Senegal at a time when we are giving large quantities of aid to other countries which consistently oppose us on all of these same issues.

In addition to seeking diplomatic support we often seek to exert our influence to preclude Communist initiatives, such as civil air rights in Dakar, which we consider inimical to our interests. Again an adequate aid program can help to provide some leverage to our diplomacy.

Finally with regard to our image in Senegal, which our USIS program seeks to improve and consolidate, a reasonable aid program is of considerable importance. With the serious handicaps facing us in this field, such as the race problem in the US, African attitudes toward the Vietnam problem, and French criticisms of US culture, it would be valuable to be able to publicize significant American assistance to Senegal.

(2) As a Means of Consolidating a Democratic Pro-Western Government: Quite apart from the leverage we may be able to exert on specific issues, it is of considerable importance to us that Senegal maintain its present orientation which, though officially non-aligned, is friendly to the West. If the regime should change to a militant marxist type, it is unlikely that even a large aid program could give us a fraction of the leverage which a much smaller one could today.

The greatest danger to the present regime in Senegal is on the economic front. The country is poor and its economy is barely treading water. The French, as we have seen, are giving the minimum considered necessary to keep the country going. The safety margin is small and the danger of failure is great. A meaningful US aid program, properly conceived and executed could go a long way toward strengthening the country's economy and thereby consolidating the regime. For a moderate investment in US aid we could have valuable insurance against the danger of seeing a voice of reason and moderation in Africa replaced by one of hatred, abuse and subversion.

(3) As a Means of Influencing the Course of History in West Africa: Finally it is important to note that the maintenance of the present orientation of Senegal transcends in significance the borders of that country. This is precisely why we believe that Senegal is one of the countries to which we should give priority attention in Africa.

The continent of Africa is currently torn by a deep conflict of ideologies. In Western Africa there is a very clear and profound cleavage between those countries which have chosen the path of cooperation with the West and those which have adopted an ideology opposed to the West. The struggle is very real and the outcome uncertain. Within each of these countries the elites of tomorrow are watching the trends of today. If Senegal can overcome its economic difficulties and prosper the impact will be real and profound on its "radical" neighbors. Conversely if it should falter and fail the impact of that failure will be felt far beyond its borders. It has often been said in justification of aid to India that it must be shown that a democratic regime can do as well as or better than a communist regime such as China. Surely, on a smaller scale, we are faced with the same situation in West Africa.

At the present writing, Senegal is surrounded by countries which have either already espoused a form of Marxist radicalism (Guinea and Mali) or may be

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veering in that direction (Mauritania). If Senegal should join the "radical" camp as a result of economic difficulties, the entire Western bulge of the continent will have been lost to the West and no amount of US aid will then retrieve that which has been lost. If, on the other hand, Senegal holds firm and prospers while the "radicals" founder, trends of moderation and cooperation with the West could be set in motion which would alter the face of West Africa.

President Senghor has merely voiced the opinion of all leaders of the under-developed world when he has called for greater aid efforts by the richer industrialized nations. At the same time he has warned that if the West fails to meet this challenge, the poorer nations will be driven out of despair to extremist and anti-Western positions.

In our response to this challenge we must not, of course, neglect the multilateral approach. Bilateral programs are essential, however, if we are to capitalize on many of the political dividends accruing from our aid.

C. Recommendations

In conclusion, the case for aid to Senegal seems to us far to outweigh the case against aid to that country. There are, as we have seen, some valid arguments against such aid. None of them are conclusive, however, or even of major significance in terms of our national interests. The arguments in favor of a reasonable aid program in Senegal, on the other hand, are both weighty and bear directly on our national interests in Senegal and throughout West Africa. We have been fortunate so far in reaping the benefits of Senegal's moderation and friendliness without contributing much to the country's development. But the danger signals are clear and should not be overlooked. Senghor could be swept aside and with him the constructive approach of his government. We are like a man skating on very thin ice. We are still on top and may be complacent. If and when we come crashing through, however, it will be too late to mend the ice.

If it is essential to revitalize the US aid program in Senegal, it is equally important, if we are to have a program that is both politically and economically effective, that we concentrate our assistance efforts on limited specific goals which neither overlap nor conflict with the activities of other donors. A recent report of a US agricultural survey team indicates that such a target for US assistance exists in the agricultural development of the Casamance.

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Senegalese agriculture has grown up around the production of peanuts for export at the expense of cereals. As a result about \$25 million is spent annually in importing rice and wheat. Unused or inefficiently-used arable land exists in the Casamance in large areas, and unused manpower is waiting to be energized by knowledge, equipment and the benefits of water control and fertilizer. We, therefore, recommend an immediate and substantial program of assistance revolving around a central effort to help the Casamance increase and diversify its agricultural production for the purpose of feeding Senegalese.

II. OTHER US PROGRAMS

Other US programs and activities in Senegal have, by and large, been pursued satisfactorily during the past year.

Our Embassy contacts at all levels have been close and as effective as other circumstances have permitted. The most valuable step yet to be taken in this field remains an invitation to President Senghor to visit Washington. It was unfortunate that, for internal reasons, Senghor was not able to accept the invitation extended last April and we very much hope that it will be possible to set another date early this year.

Our Peace Corps program has continued to be very successful. We now have some seventy three volunteers throughout Senegal and the GOS has indicated a desire to increase this number. President Senghor has repeatedly praised the work of the Peace Corps.

On the whole our informational and cultural programs have fulfilled the objectives of our USIS Country Plan. Two areas of weakness should, however, be noted. The University of Dakar has been given less attention than would have been desirable owing to the absence of a Cultural Officer for over six months. Working with the University is almost a full time job and other demands of the program, including preparations for the World Festival of Negro Arts, have limited our possibilities of action. Another weakness has been that caused by the lack of American aid coming into Senegal. One of the objectives of the USIS Country Plan is to show how American aid helps Senegal economically. If there is little aii, we cannot do very much in this field.

Our small Military Assistance Program has also progressed in a generally satisfactory manner. Spare parts for the Engineer battalion equipment have been received and unused equipment has, for the most part, been returned. Again, some problems have been encountered. Our one English teacher

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assigned to the program departed last June and, despite every effort by our Defense Attaché and an expression of personal concern by the Ambassador, was not replaced until February of this year. We are still awaiting approval for an invitation to the Chief of Staff of the Senegalese Armed Forces to visit the United States which we understood to have been agreed to in principle in Washington six months ago. More recently, we have received Senegalese requests for landing craft and aircraft with which we may not be able to comply. At a time when our economic aid program is still in the doldrums, prompt and positive response in the Military Assistance field would be all the more desirable.

III. CONCLUSION

Recent coups in Africa have demonstrated the fragility of African regimes and the myth of the Strong Men of Africa. In a continent in turmoil, the only constant is the desparate need for economic progress. In this search for a better life, some countries have sought to achieve their goals through cooperation with the West; others through opposing the West. On balance the trend of world events over the past year has been in the direction of strengthening our friends and weakening our foes. This represents an opportunity which the West can ill afford to pass up. Failure to help those who are still giving us their confidence today can only lead to more bitter antagonisms tomorrow. Now is the time to do something to help the developing world before the gathering storm is unleashed against us. We have such an opportunity in Senegal today. Recent decisions taken by AID in Washington, such as the despatch of an agricultural survey team to Senegal last November and its return in March, give us grounds for hope that we will yet seize the opportunity in time.

Micron Col

PROCESSING NOTE:

Document #14, NSF, Country File, Senegal, Volume 1 was incorrectly filed in this location. It has been renumbered document #175 and moved to NSF, Country File, Spain, Volume 1, Box 204.

Jennifer Cuddeback Archivist

January 8, 2001

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

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86 Origin

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR 678

MAR 22 5 24 PM '86

SS AF P USIA NSC

- 1. Arrival dates Americans follow. Will send flight data on Dept sponsored individuals as learned. Mrs. Inness-Brown arriving March 26 at 7:15 AM via PAA 150 expects know flight data Committee sponsored. Except as noted, all will leave New York. Committee has blocked out rooms at Clarice (all twins-beds with bath) for all except John Davis.
- 2. Langston Hughes and assistant arriving March 28 at 7:15 AM wis PAA 156, for ten days. Is panelist at Colloq.
 - 3. Hale Woodruff same as Hughes. Is panelist, remains ten days.
- 4. Dr. St. Clair Drake tentatively same as Hughes. Is panelist for about ten days.
- 5. Dr. and Mrs. John A. Davis April 2 at 7:15 AM via PAA 150, for twelve days. Is panelist from the pa
 - 6. Frederick O'Neal April 2 for 14 days. Is listener.
 - 7. Dr. and Mrs. Robert Goldwater March 29 for 15 days. Is participant.
- 8. Robert Farris Thompson March 30 from Europe for ten days. Is listener.
 - 9. Tom Melady March 30 from Madrid for 15 days. Is observor at Colleg.
 - 10. Professor Roy Sieber March 30 from Europe for ten days. Is observer.

Drafted by

CU/AF: CChandler: tfb:3-22-66

AFW - Mr. Hettinger (subst) White House - Mr. Haynes (info)

CU/CP - Mr. Lahey (subst)

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

CU/AF - J. Roland Jacobs

USIA/IAA - Mr. Kasanof (subst) CU/ECS - Mr. Zempleny (subst)

S/S-Mr. Kelley

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- 11, Dr. Warner Lewson April 2 from Niger for five days. Is listener.
- 12, Duke Ellington and seventeen players April 2 for seven days.

 Players include Mercer Ellington and two band boys. Ten rooms at

 Clarice for players, two private rooms for family (Mrs. Ellington and
 daughter in one, niece in other) and two adjoining rooms (three if
 possible) for Duke and Stephen James.
- 13. De Paur Chorus comprising 29 people April 8 for six days.

 Require 16 rooms at Clarice.
- 14. Martina Arroya April 12 from Europe for six days. Her assistant Donal Nold April 13 for five days.
 - 15, Armenta Adams April 11 or 12 for five days.
- 16. Marion Williams and six accompanists April 13 for six days. Five or six rooms.
- 17. American Negro Dance Company of 31 dancers possibly April 20.
 Eighteen to 22 rooms.
- 18. Chairman and Co-Chairman of U.S. Committee will represent American artistic community at Festival. END.

RUSK

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

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86 Origin

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR

MAR 21 4 59 PM '66

CU SS AF P USIA NSC

For Ambassador.

- 1. Miss Marian Anderson informed Dept MARKEN her physician adamently opposes her taking immunization shots or undergoing trip at this time.
- 2. She expresses great disappointment inability attend Festival and requests you convey her sincere regret to President Senghor and Festival authorities. KNEX
- 3. Dept highly disappointed. Miss Anderson enthusiastic about going to Festival but medical difficulties block.

RUSK

Drafted by:

CU/AF: CChandler: tfb:3-18-66

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: CU/AF - J. Roland Jacobs

CU/ECS - Mr. Zempleny (subst) CU - Mr. Osborn (info) White House - Mr. Haynes (info)

AFW - Mr. Hettinger (subst) USIA - Mr. Kasanof (subst)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

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CU

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR

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MAR 10 12 59 PM '66

SAH AF P USIA

NSC

CPR

Your 579.

- 1. Duke Ellington and his seventeen players arrive April 1. Dept will pouch copy contract.
 - 2. De Paur Chorus, comprising twenty-nine members, arrives April
- 8. You have copy contract.
 - 3. Armenta Adams arrives April 11 or 12. Dept will pouch contract.
- 4. Marion Williams and her seven accompanists will arrive about April 13. U.S. Committee administering.
 - 5. Martina Arroya arrives about April 12. U.S. Committee administering.
 - 6. Warfield unable go and name must be withdrawn final program.
 - 7. Traditional African art exhibit isthere.
- 8. Contemporary Negro art exhibit discussed Deptel 654. Dept will inform you soonest.
 - 9. Books subject earlier message. USIA pressing John Davis for list.
- 10. USIA /pouched 16 record titles (35 records) March 7, and will try furnish six copies each title.

additional films early next week. 11. USIA will probably know final details on Reliational xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

12. USIA will pouch Magnum photo exhibit March 15 or 17.

Drafted by:

Telegraphic transmission and

CU/AF: CChandler: tfb:3/10/66 3703

classification approved by:

CU/AF - J. Roland Jacobs

O/CPR - Mr. Hand (info) S/AH - Mr. McIlvaine (info)

AFW - Mr. Hettinger (subst) USIA/IAA - Mr. Kasanof (subst) White House - Mr. Haynes (info)CU - Mr. Cowles (info) CU/CP - Mr. Lahey (subst) AF - Mr. Westerfield (info)

HSTA/TAA - Mr. Lewis (info)

White House - Mr. McPherson (in Rt) RODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS

CU/ECS - Mr. Zempleny (info)

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CHI/TR - Mr. Morrill

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- 13. Despite enormous effort U.S. Committee still has not raised funds cover American Negro Dance Company. Dance group should not RPT not be withdrawn final program since favorable solution anticipated next few days. Will advise soonest.
- 14. Dept will send flight data on performers when known.

 Arrival time specialists also will follow. END.

I, he have doored, comprised young-nice amounts, an

o. contemporary source are untable discussed Deptel 050. Dept will

RUSK



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

2. Ret.

April 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALT W. ROSTOW THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Interim Report On United States Participation In Dakar Negro Arts Festival

There is enclosed, for the information of the White House, an encouraging interim report on the First World Festival of Negro Arts - now being held in Dakar, Senegal - comparing United States participation in the Festival very favorably with that of the Soviet Union. It is believed that the enclosure will be of particular interest to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson in her capacity as Honorary Chairman of the US Festival Committee.

utive Secretary

Enclosure:

Embassy Dakar's A-347, April 11, 1966.

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RECEIVED ROSTOW'S OFFICE 1966 APR 23 AM 8 39

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AGR	сом	FRB	FROM : Amembassy DAKAR DATE: April 11, 1966
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Festival Status Report: US Image Bright: Russians Scrambling
TR	хмв	AIR	REF :
ARMY	CIA	NAVY	
OSD	10	NSA	We are off to a good start at the Festival. Thanks in large
1	10	3	measure to Duke ELLINGTON and his band, to Langston HUGHES, and to the effective role of both Negro and non-Negro members of the United States
		11/4	team at the Colloquium on African Art, the United States participation
	<u> </u>	UH	in the week-old Negro Arts Festival has clearly captured the imagination of the Senegalese public.
		CION	
	AS	LIUN	In addition the United States has come off very well in the
i	DAS		warious literary and artistic competitions. Ivan DIKON and Abby LINCOIN won the prize for the best Negro actors, for their role in "Nothing but
	DAS		a Man." This film won the prize for the best foreign film about the
	SA		Megro world. Mahalia JACKSON's record, "Greatest Hits," won the prize for Afro-American music of Christian inspiration. Louis AFMSTROHG's
4	PRO	CA	"Hello Dolly" won the Jazz prize. Duke ELLINGTON and Count BASIE
M	AFI	0	received additional jazz mention. The literary prize for poetry in the English language was taken by "Ballad of Remembrance" by Robert YAYDEN.
Œ	PIG.	6)	The two social science prizes were won by Kenneth Clark for "Dark Ghetto"
12	PF		and by Robert Weaver for "The Urban Complex." Iouis E. Iomax won a
1	LAS		prize for "The Negro Revolt" and Leroy Jones won a theater prize for "The Slave."
PGG APR	EDU EDU		
255	SPEC		In interesting juxtaposition with United States successes at the Festival, the local press announced April 7 a Russian decision to
	AF/P AF/E		send poet Yevgueni YEVIUCHENKO to Dakar for a series of poetry readings.
1			Yevtuchenko and his interpreter, Yevgueni DOIMATOVSKI, will spend three weeks in Dakar following a tour in Australia now ending.
	AFN		HOODE IN MARKE TOTTOWING A GOOD IN SHOULD NOW CHARLES.
All consistent			A three-man Soviet delegation participated in the Colloquium, and received one prominent story in Dakar-Matin. This delegation consists
		GEC CH	Decontrolled following 1/1/68
		-	LIMITED OFFICIAL USE FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
	CWG		HORM DS-323
			POL: DBEasum: sh 4/9/66 Contents and Classification Approved by: AMB: COOK (In Culture) Dr
	ATECO	HIDIN	Carthy USIS:TTenen
-			

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Page 2, A- 347 from DAKAR

of Dmitri OLDEROGGE (member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Professor at Leningrad University); Boris PIETROVSKI (member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and Director of the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad); and Galina TCHERNOVA (African art specialist at the African Art Institute).

The assignment of Yevtuchenko recalls to mind a recent report of Russian unhappiness over the alleged lack of Russian participation in the Festival relative to that of the United States. The Russian Ambassador is said to have argued at the Foreign Ministry that Russian scholars in the field of African studies, or Russian painters of African subjects, should have as much or more right to participate in the Festival as American Negro artists or scholars whose work shows no direct connection with African themes. Somewhat inconsistently, he is also alleged to have criticized the participation of such non-Negro nations as Morocco and the UAR. One wonders how he rationalizes the assignment of Yevtuchenko, avant-garde favorite of the intellectual youth but certainly neither Negro nor Africanist, and who speaks no French.

It is interesting to note that the Russian Ambassador did not attend any of the four Ellington performances (but was at the UAR one-night stand to see one Negro and 40 white dancers). The Ellington concerts were exceptionally well received, particularly the final show April 6 before a cheering overflow house of 1500 in the plush new Daniel Sorano Theater. This was an extra performance which Ellington agreed to give as a replacement for Miriam MAKEBA, who had informed the Festival Committee only two weeks ago that she could not keep her commitment.

President Senghor astounded Langston Hughes by quoting three of his poems (two in English) from memory during their interview late last week, and then invited him back for a second evening of drinks and more poetry. Hughes received much favorable comment for his Colloquium address on American Negro writers, and presided in able fashion over the literary jury panel. Other American participation in the Colloquium, which closed April 7, was equally expert and effective. And now we have 200 American tourists, mostly from ANSAC, who arrived April 8. With the DE PAUR Chorus here for its three performances, and with the renewed prospect of obtaining a Negro dance group after all, the current projectus for the United States image at the Festival is bright - in spite of the incredibly inept handling by our hosts of vitually every administrative detail.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

Donald B. Easum First Secretary of Embassy

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

COMPIDENTIAL

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR

FEB 18 8 12 PM '66

EXDIS

Reference URTEL 554

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM WILLIAMS

Fully appreciate importance attached visit by President Senghor and am pleased inform you he second on list AF nominees for visit. However, because very strict limitations placed number visits balance current fiscal year most unlikely one could be arranged for Senghor before June 30 unless first nominee should be unable come.

GP-3

RUSK

END

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

AF:WCTrimble:deh 2/18/66

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - G. Mennen Williams

S/2 - Mr. Rattray



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40 Action

CONFIDENTIA

CONTROL:

13298

RECD:

FEBRUARY 16, 1966 12:46 PM

FROM:

DAKAR

ACTION:

SECSTATE

CONFIDENTIAL FEBRUARY 16

EXDIS FOR SECRETARY AND WILLIAMS

SUBJECT: SENGHOR VISIT

VERY MUCH HOPE THAT INVITATION CAN BE EXTENDED TO PRESIDENT SENGHOR TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN LATE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER. PERIOD OF MAY-JUNE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING FIRST WORLD FESTIVAL OF NEGRO ARTS IN DAKAR (APRIL 1-24) WOULD SEEM PARTICULARLY OPPORTUNE. WHITE HOUSE AND DEPARTMENT WELL AWARE OF PAST HISTORY THIS INVITATION AND OF SENGHOR DESIRE TO MAKE TRIP. GENERAL DIALLO, SENEGALESE CHIEF OF STAFF, RECENTLY TOLD OUR DEFENSE ATTACHE THAT IT WAS "ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT PRESIDENT SENGHOR BE INVITED TO THE US THIS YEAR."

I APPRECIATE FACT THERE ARE MANY PRESSING DEMANDS ON PRESIDENT'S TIME BUT BELIEVE THIS PROPOSAL IMPORTANT TO US INTERESTS IN AFRICA GENERALLY AS WELL AS IN SENEGAL. LETTER TO WILLIAMS FOLLOWS WITH ADDITIONAL URGENT REASONS. GP-3.

COOK

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines NARA, Date 11-27-00

2)





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Action	
AF	NNNNVV FHE616VV HPA279
Info	DE RUFHPA Ø66FF 35Ø2155
SS	0 162150Z 0 1 3 2 1/3
G	TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 457 1965 DEC 16 PM 6 15
SP	INFO RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY IMMED TATE 305 DEC 16 PM 6
L	OTHER CAME
EUR	BT
P	CONFIDENTIAL DEC 16.
USIA NSC	REF DEPTEL 549
INR	BRITISH AMBASSADOR TERMS REF REPORT "TRIPE" WITH RESPECT SENEGAL.
NSA	HE WAS INFORMED AT LUNCH TODAY BY AMBASSADOR TO LONDON BOISSIER-
DOD	TALUN IMAI DENEGALESE CHARGE IN LONDON HAD CARLED DAVAD DE
AID	TIMES STORY DECEMBER 16 ON ALLEGED RREAD PALIN ASSUMED
PC	THAT TIMES MEANT LONDON BUT COULD HAVE BEEN NEW YORK TIMES.
-0	FONMIN REPLY DENIED REPORT. PECK CITES REPEATED ASSURANCES FROM GOS THAT BREAK NOT ANTICIPATED, INCLUDING PARTY POLITBUREAU
RSR	DECISION OF DECEMBER 15; SAYS FRENCH EMBASSY DAKAR HAS SAME ASSURANCES. GP-4. COOK
***	BT

ADVANCE COPY S/S-0 12/16/65 6:20 PM PASSED WHITE HOUSE 12/16/65 6:20 PM

DECLASSIFIED
Authority Group 4

By NARA, Date 11-27-00

CONFIDENTIAL

46 Action

VVNNV FHEØ94VV HPA919 O RUEHCR RUEHDT JE RUFHPA Ø34FF 3111255" ZNY SSSS

O Ø7125ØZ

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 406/ RUEHDT/USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE FIVE RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY BATHURST IMMEDIATE NINE STATE GRNC

1965 NOV 7 AM 8 47

002

E T NOVEMBER

USUN 1784 TO DEPT; EMBTEL 402 TO DEPT.

GOSSETT SAW FONMIN N'JIE NOVEMBER 6. FONMIN CONFIRMED PAPA N JIE NOT AUTHORIZED VOTE AT UN. GOG CABINET MEETING UPCOMING NOVEMBER'S EXPECTED RESOLVE GOG POSITION CHIREP DEBATE AND QUESTION OF POSSIBILITY SENDING FORMIN TO UN TO DEBATE AND VOTE CHIREP ISSUE. FORMIN URGING JAWARA SUPPORT US POSITION AND OPTIMISTIC SUCCESS.

GOG CANNOT FINANCE FORMIN'S TRIP UN AT THIS TIME. FORMIN ASKED CAN US PAY ALL COSTS SUCH JOURNEY FOR HIM AND ONE AIDE IF JAWARA AGREES SUPPORT US POSITION.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED GOSSETT NOT SHOW HIS HAND ONE WAY OR THE OTHER UNTIL JAWARA'S POSITION IS CLEAR. HE WILL PROMISE QUICK ANSWER, HOWEVER, IN EVENT PM AND CABINET SUPPORT FORMIN'S RECOMMENDATION.

I HAVE REQUESTED PREPARE FOR NECESSARY FINANCIAL TRANSACTION ON CONTINGENCY BASIS PENDING DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

3.3 (6)(1)

OBVIOUS PITFALLS OUR PROPOSED ACTION INCLUDE:

- 1. POSSIBILITY OUR ROLE WILL BECOME KNOWN; JAWARA'S OPPOSITION WILL ACCUSE HIM OF SELLOUT TO US. (THEY MAY DO THIS ANYWAY WHETHER OR NOT AWARE OF US ROLE.)
- 2. POSSIBILITY SENEGALESE RESENTMENT BECAUSE OF NO PRIOR CON-SULTATION BY GOG REGARDING VOTE, WHETHER OR NOT SENGALESE TIE GAMBIAN ACTION TO US.

SANITIZED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ/RAC 10-328 NARA, Date 9-12-11

SECRET

-2- 406, November 7, From: Dakar

3. WE WILL HAVE SET PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE HANDOUTS. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S URGENT GUIDANCE.

FOR USUN: WHAT IS EXPECTED DURATION OF CHIREP DEBATE AND TIMING OF VOTE ? GP-3. COOK

Advance copy to S/S-O 11/7/65 8:51 a.m.

Passed White House, CIA per S/S-O 11/7/65 9:30 a.m.

Handled Exdis Per S/S-0 11/7/65.

40

19409

OCTOBER 25, 1965, 7:18 A.M.

FROM:

ACTION:

CONTROL:

RECEIVED:

SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 38

SECRET OCTOBER .25

EXDIS

I DISCOVERED YOUR MESSAGE TO SENGHOR SUNDAY EVENING. AFTER READING IT CAREFULLY AND SLOWLY, HE SAID HE HAD NEVER THOUGHT FOR A MOMENT THAT THE PRESIDENT OR SECRETARY WOULD AUTHORIZE A PLOT AGAINST HIM. BUT HE HAD READ SOME BOOK WHICH CLAIMED THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS NOT ALWAYS INFORMED IN ADVANCE OF CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS. IF THE REPORTS HAD INVOLVED SOME OTHER EMBASSY, SENGHOR SAID, HE WOULD NOT HAVE DIVULGED THEM TO ITS AMBASSADOR. WITH THE US, HOWEVER, HE HAS PREFERRED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FRANKLY. HE APPRECIATED YOUR MESSAGE.

FOR AT LEAST THREE REASONS I FEAR THAT HIS SUSPICIONS WERE NOT ENTIRELY DISPELLED; 1) HE NEVER DISCUSSED THE SECOND REPORT, WHICH HE WOULD HAVE DONE IF HE HAD BEEN COMPLETELY FRANK. 2) HE INSISTED -- FOR THE THIRD TIME -- ON HIS NEUTRALITY IN FRANCO-AMERICAN SQUABBLES. 3) HE REPEATED THE SAME ARGUMENTS THAT HE HAD ON THURSDAY.

AS A LAST RESORT I TOLD HIM THAT THE VERY PEOPLE HE NOW SUSPECTED OF PLOTTING AGAINST HIM WERE THE ONES WHO RECOMMENDED THE GIFT OF THE PROTECTIVE DEVICE I HAD DELIVERED SOME MONTHS AGO. HOW STRANGE THAT THEY SHOULD NOW WANT TO HARM HIM. IT APPARENTLY IMPRESSED HIM FOR HE EXCLAIMED, "C'EST EXACT!" THEN HE SMILED AND STARTED TALKING ABOUT AID. MOMENTARILY THINGS WERE ALMOST BACK TO NORMAL.

Note: Advance copy to S/S-0 at 7:55 a.m. 10/25/65 Passed to White House at 8:01 a.m. 10/25/65

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ /RAC 10-328

40 Action SS

SECRET

CONTROL : 8885

RECD : AUGUST 12, 12:22 PM

FROM : DAKAR

: SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 172

SECRET AUGUST 12

EXDIS

ACTION

11

CIRCULAR 224.

EXPLANED CONGO (B) SITUATION TO ACTING PRESIDENT DOUDOU THIAM WHO MERELY SHOOK HIS HEAD FROM LEFT TO RIGHT AS I DESCRIBED THREE INCIDENTS. HE THEN THANKED ME FOR INFORMING HIM. GP-4.

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY DELIVERED TO SSO 1:03 p.m. 8/12/65 PASSED TO THE WHITE HOUSE 1:25 p.m.

BT '

Authority Group 4

By C. NARA. Date 11-27 00

SECRET

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43	CONFIDENTLAL
Action	27
FE	
Info	CONTROL 2179
SS G AF IO NSC	RECD: JULY 30, 1965 10:43 AM
INR DOD	ACTION: SECSTATE [11] DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines By ACS NARA, Date (1-)7.00
RSR	CONFIDENTIAL JULY 30
	FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS OF CIRCULAR 141, I TALKED WITH ACTING PRESIDENT DOUDOU THIAM JULY 29. HE LISTENED SILENTLY TO THE RECUFUGF DECISION TO INCREASE OUR FORCES IN VIETNAM, OF THE NEED TO SAVE FREEDOM THERE AMD ELSEWHERE, AS WELL AS OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. FINALLY I EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GOS WOULD CONTINUE TO VIEW OUR EFFORTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM WITH SYMPATHETIC L ILA XEPXJBNQS*HIS ONLY COMMENT WAS "VIETNAM IS A TERRIBLE AFFAIR.". IN STRIKING CONTRAST HE WARMED UP CONSIDERABLY AS WE TURNED TO OTHER MATTERS WHICH WILL BE COVERED IN SEPARATE AIRGRAM.
	MY IMPRESSION ONCE AGAIN WAS THAT, BUT FOR SENGHOR, SENEGALESE LEADERSHIP WOULD BE MORE OUTSPOKEN IN ITS CRITICISM OF OUR POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. GP-3. COOK *AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.
	RW/8

CONFIDENTIAL

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42 Action

A B

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 13722

Rec'd:

May 14, 1965

11:03 a.m.

11:03

FROM: Dakar

ACTION: Secstate PRIORITY 1553

DATE: May 14

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Dept. Guidelines

049

28

By C , NARA, Date 11-27-00

LIMDIS

Reference: Department telegram 1980

Following is unofficial translation of letter dated April 27 from Senghor to President Johnson requested reference telegram:

QUOTE

Mr. President. You assured me in your last letter that you would always be ready to receive my requests and suggestions. It is for this reason that I take advantage of the departure for Washington of your Ambassador in Dakar, His Excellency Mr. Mercer Cook.

First of all I must express to you my profound regret at not having been able to take advantage of the opportunity accorded me to make an official visit to the United States. As His Excellency Mr. Mercer Cook will have explained to you, 1965 is a difficult year for Senegal. Our total entry into the world market and the departure of the French troops - natural consequences which we accept of independence - will reduce our national revenue by 10 percent, by exactly \$60 million. On the budgetary level, this will mean a reduction in receipts of \$8 million. It so happened that precisely last month I had to prepare the budget for 1965-66, which will be an austerity budget, and the second 4-year plan for 1965-1969 which we intend to make a production plan.

However,

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__CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL.

-2- 1553, May 14, from Dakar

However, I am henceforth ready to go to the United States for an official visit at any time that you may wish, though I would prefer the fall. But once again your date will be mine, provided that I may be advised some six weeks in advance, for one does not go to the United States without preparation.

Since I have this opportunity, please permit me to state very frankly the opinion of my government on American policy in Africa. As you know, American-Senegalese relations have always been without a cloud and they have consistently improved since our national independence.

The profound reason therefor is that we believe in the reality of democracy in America and because of this we place our confidence in the federal government for a solution of the problem of civil rights for the American Negroes.

However, and I will not hide this from you, the friends of the United States, among whom we include ourselves, are frequently disappointed by the attitudes of the federal government with regard to African countries. We have noticed that the African countries that receive the greatest aid from the United States are not those which defend the free world but those who rail against it. Whence the discouragement which had spread to most of the OCAM states. But we were encouraged by the welcome which you gave to Mr. Maurice Yameogo, President of the Republic of Upper Volta.

Thanking you for the attention which you will give to my letter, I ask you to believe, Mr. President, in the assurances of my very high consideration. Leopold Sedar Senghor.

UNQUOTE

GP-3.

COOK

VIH

- CONFIDENTIAL

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50-41			LIMITED	OFFICIAL	USE			29
Action					Control:	11018	DOWMAN	
IO					Rec'd:	May 12, 196	65 COOPER	ı
Info	FROM:	Dakar				7:30 a.m.	ESSUP OHNSON	1
SS G	ACTION:	Secstate 15	541				_KEENY _KEENY _KOMER	E
AF EUR	INFO:	London 35					MOODY	
NSC		USUN 31					THOMSON	
INR CIA	DATE:	May 12						
NSA								
DOD						iė,, Gambian		
RMR					The state of the s	Jawara to p		

Commissioner to Senegal, have been asked by Jawara to proceed to New York following London Commonwealth Conference late June in order explore ways and means of setting up Gambian UN Mission.

We recommend Department invite Njie to spend several days Washington on completion his New York visit. Formerly Minister Public Works, Njie is one of Jawara's most senior and trusted immediate collaborators, and occupies key position in connection future Gambian-Senegalese relations. Embassy convinced modest investment Departmental funds and time will pay important dividends in terms our future relationships this individual.

Biographic data on Lane and Njie being forwarded by pouch.

Please advise.

COOK

EGM/12

80 Action

22

GONFIDENTIAL

Control: 26749

Rec'd:

April 30, 1965

1:56 p.m.

FROM:

Dakar

ACTION:

DATE:

Secstate 1500

April 30

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

X___, NARA, Date 11-27-00

EXDIS

002

FOR PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY

President Senghor has given me personal letter for President Johnson to bring with me when I return to Washington in mid-May. Essence of letters follows:

- 1. Senghor deeply regrets inability accept (March) invitation, recalls reasons (preparation GOS budget and 4-year plan) and says he could now go anytime President desires, with 6 weeks notice.
- 2. States Senegal "believes in reality of democracy in America and because of this places its confidence in USG for solution of problem of civil rights for American Negroes."
- 3. Senghor then writes, "however I will not hide from you that friends of US, of which we are, are frequently disappointed by attitudes of USG regarding African countries. We have come to note that African countries which receive greatest aid from US are not those who defend free world but those who berate it. Whence discouragement which had spread to most of states of OCAM. But we have been encouraged by welcome you gave to Yameogo of Upper Volta."

Comment: That Senghor should have chosen to raise above issue as single policy issue in his letter highlights depth of Senegalese feeling in matter. We have report that other OCAM moderates may also be raising issue separately or jointly in Washington in coming weeks.

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584

-2- 1500 April 30, From Dakar

It would be grave mistake, I believe, to underestimate continuing negative effect on our friends in Africa of our policy of giving priority attention to radicals. No amount of technical explanations can render understandable to poor and friendly country like Senegal fact that we yearly give over ten times more aid to neighboring Guinea, for instance, which has considerably more natural resources that Senegal but which consistently attacks US and free world and champions cause of Chinese Communist and Congo rebels.

When someone like Guinea Foreign Ministry declares as he did at last OAU meeting that "never can the hyena help the shepherd protect his flocks ... never can imperialism help us liberate our peoples: Never can the bombardiers prevent bombings," perhaps it is time for the "hyena" to stop trying.

Perhaps with improved situation in Congo-L and increased confidence shown by OCAM States time has come for us to begin thinking of certain African radicals as "wave of past" and concentrating our efforts in support of those fighting on our side.

Minasident Sepaparay rivolations in physical refit

GP-3

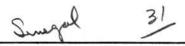
COOK

JB/17

ADVANCE COPY S/S-0, 4-30-65, 3:20 p.m.

Passed White House, 4-30-65, 5:15 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL



46		CONFIDEN		
Action	2002		Control: Rec'd:	18776 February 22, 1965
AF Info	FROM:	Dakar		11:36 a.m.
SS	ACTION:	Secstate 1174	DEC	LASSIFIED
G SP	INFO:	Nouakchott 56	E.O. 12 State De	2958, Sec. 3.5 pt. Guidelines
L EUR	DATE:	February 22, 10 a.m.	By, NA	RA, Date 11-27-10
NSC INR CLA	NOUAKCE	HOTT FOR WILLIAMS		
NSA DOD	FROM W	ILLIAMS		
IGA AID		r broke off political grant hour his time.		
RMR	to take	e us to Kaolack where h	e met us at ai	rport.

Most of discussion was on political matters which will be reported SEPTEL. Senghor did not raise question aid but when we did it was apparent Senghor much concerned. Ambassador Cook fears economic troubles here.

Senghor following realistic policy basic development including oxen and plows for families. In my mind this kind approach deserves our support. His most desired and urgent project is Casier de Demet which is contrary my Washington briefing in no way connected with French operation. It would be American show all way. I believe we should make every effort get this under way as soon as possible. To promote Harriman survey of helping anticommunist friends this would be important step.

Because of mutual disappointment with progress on projects
President eagerly accepted idea of American experts to develop
dossiers (feasibility studies) on such projects as Casier de
Demet. He requested such study after visit by AID agricultural
specialist due mid March. Obvious from Senghor's emphasis on

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CONFIDENTIAL

-2- 1174, February 22, 10 a.m., from Dakar

Casier that rejection this project would be bitter blow to US-Senegal relations. Plan official later said more than half cost for US equipment and services.

Additional items stressed by Senghor were university dorm and school for children of military. He described this not as military training school but rather for character building. Would attract students from other Francophone countries as well.

Significantly my visit Kaolack coincided with arrival in Dakar of Soviet mission to confer with GOS officials on implementation Russian loan. This contrast between Russian acceleration and US deceleration could jeopardize our position here. Senghor needs and deserves prompt evidence American support.

GP-3.

COOK

LFS

Surgal 32

40 Action

55

Info

SECRET

Control: 22335

Rec'd: December 31, 1964

11:44 a.m.

FROM: Dakar

ACTION: Secstate 940

005

DATE: December 31, 1 p.m.

EXDIS

Following are Embassy views current African crisis as seen from here.

- 1. African radicals (Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, etc.) are engaged in ruthless struggle to propagate own revolutionary concepts and to dominate continent. They are unalterable opposed to US influence in Africa as they view such influence as major obstacle to achievement of their goals. Virulent criticism Stanleyville rescue mission does not reflect so much emotional dislike Tshombe as it represents first convenient opportunity to strike at main target: the US. As Soviets, CHICOMS and radicals have chosen to make common cause on this issue, cold war already in Africa whether we like it or not and lines clearly drawn.
- 2. No amount of economic aid or reasoning with radicals by US or other Africans can be expected have any appreciable effect in modifying views of radicals or deflecting them from their objectives. They believe they are winning battle of Africa and are probably prepared to forego US aid rather than abandon their struggle for domination at this stage. All that US aid can accomplish, therefore, is (a) obtain from time to time from radicals meaningless verbal reassurances immediately contradicted by actions at every turn, and (b) to confuse, irritate and demoralize our friends and potential friends on Continent. We should recognize futility of attempting to curry favors of those who speak of our aid as "poisoned bread" and accuse us of "cannibalism" and "genocide." We should also realize untold

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NARA, Date 9-12-11

-2- 940, December 31, 1 p.m., from Dakar

damage which would be caused by an announcement such as proposed additional credits to UAR on heels of Nasser's attacks on US.

- 3. African moderates (Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, etc.) want to see Tshombe succeed not because they like him or even because of legality of his government, but because they view victory of rebels as strengthening position of radicals and thereby representing threat to themselves. Farthest we can currently expect moderates to go on Congo, however, is (a) to reaffirm loudly principle of non-interference in internal affairs of Congo by any state (African or non-African), (b) to support principle that GDRC, as sovereign state, entitled to receive aid from whomever it wishes, and (c) to acquiesce privately to covert operations to help GDRC.
- 4. We see nothing to justify "deep faith in the ability of the OAU to work constructively and realistically toward solution of the difficulties which Congo faces." It would seem of doubtful usefulness furthermore to express such thought to others. Most moderates well aware that it totally unrealistic to expect a constructive solution for Congo can come from an organization whose radical, and so far most powerful, wing is unalterably committed to expelling western influence from Congo and whose moderate wing is publicly committed to "non-interference." Senghor, for example, has privately dismissed suggestion of useful role for OAU and FONMIN Thiam publicly stated to press in Paris December 11 that assistance to Congo should not be channeled through OAU.
- 5. Most damaging aspect of US Congo policy in friendly as well as unfriendly African states has been glaring US presence in contrast to inconspicuous natures, so far, of CHICOM and Russian assistance to rebels. While we will need for some time to continue large scale economic aid and shipments of military

SECRET

-3- 940, December 31, 1 p.m., from Dakar

hardware, and to maintain closest (though preferably discreet) relations with GDRC, we should resolutely avoid any escalation of US involvement in the form of increased US personnel and programs as they will surely play into hands of our adversaries by enabling them to discredit GDRC in eyes of wavering Africans.

- 6. On positive side, it would seem to us that we would be well advised to use (within AID ceilings set by Congress) money saved by phasing out programs in countries fully committed against us to increase greatly AID programs for African nations whose policies are in tune with ours and for nations still wavering on borderline.
- 7. Similarly we could usefully move in same direction on the cultural and information fronts. Mauritania, for example, which is probably at crucial turning point, has no USIS staff, while Mali and Guinea who thwart our every move are favored with top notch USIA talent. Senegal now down to quota of two leader grants for current fiscal year compared with nine last year.
- 8. Finally, it would seem that in view crucial stage of struggle for leadership of Africa, of which Congo a symptom rather than cause, we would be well advised to select few African countries where we might temporarily cut all red tape in approval of assistance projects. Only risk would be possibility of approving an occasional project of dubious economic validity. Effect could be dramatic, however, in bolstering confidence of our friends in themselves, in us and in our common sense of values. Surely risks would be insignificant price to pay view of stakes involved.

GP-3.

COOK

LFS



55 — CONFIDENTIAL

Action AF Control: 24030 Rec'd: May 28, 1964 3:29 p.m.

FROM: Dakar

Info SS

ACTION: Secstate 1181, Priority

SAL

INFO: Moscow 7

P NSC

DATE: May 28, 5 p.m.

INR CIA

NSA

RMR

Reference: Department telegram 1386, Embassy telegram 1089

JOINT EMBASSY/USIS

3.3 (b)(1)

Russian Embassy Second Secretary informed Emmons May 28 they were cancelling English lessons because of our refusal accept payment. Moscow allegedly forbids gratis acceptance such instruction and exceptions apparently not permitted.

Eight classes held so far, only students being Ambassador and wife. Not clear whether payment issue is mere excuse for cancellation which would have come sooner or later anyway. We would be happy call their bluff and probe this question if Department/USIA can suggest device for accepting payment.

GP-3.

MCCLELLAND

FP/17

Note: Passed USIA, 5/28/64

SANITIZED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 NLJ/RAC 10-3-5 NARA, Date 7-12-11 OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

85 Origin

Amembassy DAKAR

1980

AF

ACTION:

7 /00 PM '65

SS

NSC

Embtel 1500.

FOR AMBASSADOR.

View White House interest, request you cable text of letter from President Senghor to President Johnson you plan bring with you on return to Washington next week.

GP-3

END.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

Drafted by:

AF/AFW: CHettinger: cyl 5/11/65

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AFW -

Ambassador Trimble

s/s - Mr. Rattray White House - Mr. Haynes

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CLASSIFICATION

CLASSIFICATION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

1- Haynes

May 11, 1965

Date

0K-2.7

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House Maryoun 1815 - 5/12

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

AR for BHR Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Cable to Amembassy DAKAR

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING NOT NAT'I SECURITY INFORMATION, E. O. 12356, SEC. ...1(a).

BY JOW ON 9/13/91

CONFIDENTIAL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

(TRANSLATION)

350

LS #0. 33533 T-109/R-XV French

Republic of Senegal
Ministry of Public Works,
Housing, City Planning
and Transport
Office of the Minister

(rec'd: 5 First Day Covers; 1 plate block of 4 stamps and Dakar, March 8, 1965 3 souvenir sheets)

Mr. Lendon Johnson,

President of the United States,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.

Subject: Senegal's philatelic homage on the occasion of the "In Memory of John F. Kennedy" issue

Mr. President:

The Post Office of Senegal has issued, as a tribute to the memory of John F. Kennedy, a postage stamp of which I have the honor and pleasure of sending you the enclosed samples.

Trusting that they will meet with your favor, I beg you, Mr. President, to accept the assurance of my very high consideration.

(SEAL) (Initials) The Minister
PRESERVATION COPY

Magatte LO

RÉPUBLIQUE DU SÉNÉGAL

Nº 1 15 1- MTPHU.T - CAT

MINISTÈRE DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS
DE L'HABITAT, DE L'URBANISME
ET DES TRANSPORTS

8 MARS 1965

LE MINISTRE

O

å .	Monsieur Lyndon JOHNSON				
	Président des États - Unis				
	Maison - Blanche				
	WASHINGTON	,. ,			
	USA				

Objet: Hommages Philatéliques du Sénégal à l'occasion de l'émission " A la mémoire de John F. KENNEDY "

Monsieur le Président,

L'Office des Postos du Sénégal a émis en hommage à la mémoire de John F. KENNEDY un timbre - poste dont je me fais un honneur et un plaisir de vous envoyer quelques exemplaires sous ce pli.

Vous en souhaitant bonne réception, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma très haute considération.



UNCLASSIFIED CLASSIFICATIO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

+ Haynes

April 19, 1965 OK, H

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House Jan Jensen 1510

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Draft Airgram to Amembassy Dakar re Receipt by President of Senegalese Commemorative Stamps

UNCLASSIFIED CLASSIFICATION

35c

UNCLASSIFIED

Amembassy DAKAR

Department of State

Receipt By The President Of Senegalese Commemorative Stamps

Under cover of a letter dated March 8, 1965, a copy of which is enclosed, Senegalese Minister of Public Works, Housing, Urban Development and Transport Magatte Lo sent the President several of the John F. Kennedy commemorative stamps issued by the Senegalese Post Office. Enclosed with the letter, in fact, were five first day covers, one plate block of four stamps and three souvenir sheets.

Unless some objection is perceived, it is requested that the Ambassador make suitable acknowledgement, informing Minister Lo that the President is pleased to know of this demonstration of the esteem in which the late President Kennedy was held by the Senegalese people and Government, and conveying the President's appreciation for the Minister's thoughtfulness in sending the commemorative stamps.

Enclosure:

Copy of a letter dated March 8, 1965.

UNCLASSIFIED

AF - Henry J. Tasca

AF/AFW: Chettinger: eyl 4/16/65 O/CPR White House S/S AF -

AFW - Hendrik van Oss

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

36

Origin SS

Info

ACTION:

Amembassy DAKAR Amembassy BATHURST

IMMEDIATE 5/6

Nov 8 7 o1 PM '65

INFO:

USUN NEW YORK

1115

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3:5

State Dept. Guidelines

NARA, Date 11-27-00

3-7

EXDIS

DEPTEL 515 to Dakar 10 Bathurst 1104 USUN

After careful consideration your proposal DEPT has concluded not in our best interest agree to FONMIN's suggestion, regardless of GOG decision on CHIREP vote. If decision taken to support U.S. position, you should inform FONMIN USG greatly appreciates Gambia's support but considers it not in Gambia's or U.S. interests to finance FONMIN trip to UN. If U.S. role ever disclosed, GOG would be vulnerable, especially from Chicom supporters, SOV bloc, and other Africans, in particular Senegal, to charge of accepting U.S. policy dictation. Long term result could be most detrimental GOG interests. If GOG unable finance trip itself or unwilling authorize present REP to vote (which we consider most practical solution), we prepared accept

Drafted by:

IO:UNPBJJones:gs 11/8/65

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

10 - Joseph J. Sisco

UNP - Miss Brown FE/RA - Miss Bacon FE/EA - Mr. Getsinger

AFW - Mr. Hettinger S/S - Mr. Walsh SECRET

FE - Mr. Berger
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Page 2 of telegram to

DAKAR

BATHURST

SECRET

Gambian GA
this. We note Papa N'Jie listed as alternate/REP and from UN
standpoint appears have right to cast vote.

FYI. In addition above and points made Dakar's 406, DEPT fears if it took suggested action and INFO leaked prior CHIREP vote net effect could be loss of votes. END FYI.

GP-3

END distriction long term result

ON COR PERSON ON CHINESE SOLE IN DESIGNATION COMMENT OF RUSK.

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

SECRET

ACTION:

Amembassy DAKAR IMMEDIATE

506

OCT 23 2 13 PM '65

EXDIS

FOR AMB COOK

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 State Dept. Guidelines

DECLASSIFIED

002

YOUR 383.

You are requested to deliver to President Senghor at earliest opportunity following message from Free dent richnsons

QUOTE Dear Mr. President,

Ambassador Cook has reported to me the concern you expressed to him on October 21 regarding reports of certain activities directed against your government, purportedly involving United States personnel, the patent absurdity of which he so rightly pointed out to you.

QUOTE I want to assure you most categorically that there is no shred of truth to the allegation that United States personnel are in any way connected with such activities. / * have always admired your leadership and devotion to advancing the interests and welfare of your country, and I value most highly the close friendship and cooperation existing between Senegal and the United States. / * darnestly hope that this relationship will continue to grow ever closer and more fruitful.

QUOTE As you may know, reports of this nature have been fahricated from time to time to sow distrust between friendly countries. This was recently

Telegraphic transmission and AFW:NFeld/CHREKINGER: gw 10/22/65 sification approved by:

Secretary Rusk

AF - Amb. Trimble.

INR - Mr. Hughes

AF - Mr. Fredericks

s/s Mr. Rattray

SECRET

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done to injure the United States elsewhere in Africa and could have occurred in the present instance as well. I am, therefore, requesting Ambassador Cook to deliver this message to you so that you will know that the very great importance We /kattach to maintaining the strong bonds of friendship that exist between our two governments and countries would preclude any such activities as those implied in the reports reaching your attention.

Sincerely,

Dean Rusk

UNQUOTE

End .

CP-3

RUSK

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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85 Origin

ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR

IMMEDIATE

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OCT 21 7 53 PM '65

LIMDIS

THE SECRETARY

PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR FROM/WIXXXXX

Lead article in October 28 issue JET Magazine reads as follows: 021

QUOTE. Dr. Cook To Quit Ambassadorial Post In Africa. An exposé of the

difficulties a Negro faces in serving as a diplomat, especially in Africa,

could be forthcoming when U.S. Ambassador Dr. Mercer Cook resigns his post in

December in Senegal, JET learned.

The former Howard University scholar, who was picked by the late President Kennedy to serve in the African country of Niger and was appointed by President Johnson to his present post, has told friends that the U.S. failed to give him financial support in each of the two countries.

The Agency for International Development program in both countries was kept at a minimum and eventually ruined his usefulness with country leaders, sources Said. and top-level State Dept. aides failed to back him up, / www.www.kkk Dr. Cook's resignation is regarded as unprecedented. No other Negro has resigned an ambassadorial post under such conditions. END QUOTE.

White House, Department, AID recognize this is obvious distortion any statement you might make for public consumption. We accordingly plan reply any press or other inquiries along following lines:

AF/AFW: CHettinger: cyl 10/21/65

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

The Secretary

AF - Ambassador Trimble AF - Governor Williams AID/AFR Mr. Hutchinson P - Mr. Phillips O/DG - Ambassador Palmer S/S - Mr. Read White House - Mr. Bundy LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

P - Mr. Greenfield

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END

RUSK

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTROL: 6186

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USIA NSC

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DOD NIC FAA ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN PRIORITY DAKAR Priority PARIS PRIORITY

> Amembassy CONARRY LAGOS MOSCOW PORT-OF-SPAIN rio de Janeiro

American Consulate GEORGETOWN Ref Deptel 257.

BOW CHASE _COOPER _JESSUP _JOHNSON KEENY

__MOODY

While talks with Cheikh Fall might be useful, decision re Soviet rights beyond Dakar will have to be made mainly on political grounds by GOS. Accordingly, in view importance we attach this matter, request you make further attempt persuade Senghor withhold approval Aeroflot agreement. If Senghor is unable or unwilling, as minimum, revoke or modify clause granting AEROFLOT beyond rights to Latin America, you should explore with him possibilities of bringing about indefinite delay in agreement's ratification.

Failing the above, request your views as to best means of obtaining indefinite postponement agreement's implementation. We suggest possibility that GOS might refuse to allow AEROFLOT exercise beyond or overflight rights until AIR AFRIOTE ready and able exercise its reciprocal rights beyond Moscow. If GOS adament on carrying out agreement do you feel it might be disposed to restrict Soviet services to limited number points in Latin America and might accept suggestions from us as to such points?

RUSK

cv1 9/10/65

Telegraphic transmission and P/AFW: HvOss: Chettinger: ARA/CCA: RAStevenson approved by

AF - G. Mennen Williams

RA/ECP - Mr. Silberatein (draft)

s/s - Mr. Merriam

/AN - Mr. Styles (draft) hite House - Mr. Komer

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5 CONFIDENTIAL

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FORM DS-322

State Dept. Guidelines NARA, Date 11-2700 CONFIDENTI

CLASSIFICATION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXECUTARE SECRETARIAT

MCGEORGE BUNDY'S OFFICE

1965 SEP 11 AM 10 35

September 10, 1965

Date

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

utive Secretary

Enclosure:

Draft cable to Abidjan, etc.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING NOT NAT'I SECURITY INFORMATION, E. O. 12356, SEC. .. 1 (a).

BY JAW ON 9/13/91

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION

SEP 1 3 1965

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

82

Origin NEA

ACTION:

Amcongen DACCA

1030 Amembassy KARACHI Amembassy TEHRAN 804

Mar 19 9 08 PM '65

Info SS G FE P CU USIA NSC INR CIA NSA DOD

AID

PC

Interagency Youth Committee teams planning visit selected posts soon in order observe operation "Emphasis on Youth", gain more precise knowledge opportunities and resources, appraise problems, and seek ways intensify program.

NEA-FE team wishes visit Tehran Karachi Dacca April 10-20, latter as follow-up to 1962 visit. Team members Guy A. Lee, Department; Thomas Rogers, Defense (Manpower); Floyd Feeney, AID (Special Assistant to CINCSTRIKE Administrator). CENCERASSAN being invited send representative. Rogers and Feeney will proceed FE from Dacca.

Team would expect briefing status Country Team efforts and principal factors conditioning execution program. Will hexperient discuss IAYC interest with all elements CT. Wish no outside publicity and would not contact locals unless Mission believed desirable.

Appreciate comments soonest. Will provide exact itinerary when available.

RIISK

Drafted by:

NEA: GALee/CU: MMcLaughlin: jas 3-18-65

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: NEA - Phillips Talbot

FE - Robinson

DOD - Rogers

USIA - Echols

AID - Feeney

CU/LAYC - McPherson

PEACE CORPS - Colmen

WHITE HOUSE - Bundy per RS
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S/S Mr. Christensen

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INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

49

Origin AF

ACTION: His Excellency

DEC 11 12 24 PM '64

Info SS

G P

USIA NSC

CPR

Leopold Sedar Senghor

President of the Republic of Senegal

Dakar

I deeply appreciate your kind message of congratulations on my recent election as President of the United States and assure you that I share your determination both to strengthen the bonds of cooperation between our two countries and to seek universal I send peace and friendship among all peoples. RDERESCHEERSE MY personal best wishes fack you, your Government and the people of Senegal.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Drafted by:

AF/AFW: Chettinger: cyl 12/7/64 Clearances: Mr. Davies

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AFW - Hendrik van Oss

S/S - MEXAGOREY AF

AF/F - Mr. Kent

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December 9, 1964

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Telegram to President of the Republic of Senegal from the President.

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

SANITIZED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 NLJ /RAC 10-329

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

43

Origin ACTION: Amembassy DAKAR 1487

AF Info SS

INFO: MOSCOW

3550

Embtel 1181 sent Moscow 7.

12 Chedany

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SP

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SAL

BTF EUR

P

USIA NSC.

INR CIA NSA JOINT STATE/USIA

You may inform Soviet Embassy Dakar that we would regret see Ambassador's

expressed desire to learn English founder over simple question of payment. As practice

Soviets already aware, it is our MARKES offer English language instruction,

where we are in position do so, as cultural service and general contribution to

international understanding, without thought of recompense. As consequence, we

have developed no procedures for charging or accepting payment for such instruc-

tion. Nevertheless, if Ambassador (or other Soviet personnel) seriously

interested in continuing lessons, we would be prepared make exception to our

general rule and accomodate Soviet desire make payment to US Government by

accepting whatever amount is called for by Soviet regulations. FYI. We would

treat Soviet payment as gift to Department of State in accordance Section 1021

Foreign Service Act of 1946, and any funds received should be deposited to trust

fund Symbol 19X8821. END FYI. This seems simple means permit him continue his

Drafted by

AF/AFW: CHettinger: cyl: 6/4/64

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - William C. Trimble

EUR/SOV - Mr. Polansky (draft) USIA/IAA - Mr. Dickson (substance) INR/CS - Mr. Wellborn AFW - Mr. Dorros

AF/EX - Mr. Cary L/O - Mr .Cohen(substance

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FORM DS-322

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

study of English. If for some other reason he prefers to terminate lessons that, of course, is another matter.

Report Soviet reaction.

GP-4.

RUSK

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

CHARGE TO

INDICATE: COLLECT To Be Sent April 4, 1964.

UNCLASSIFIED

37 Origin

AF

Info

SS

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P USIA

USIA Do Not Release Before April 4. ACTION: His Excellency

Please smed INFO Copy

APR 4 12 03 AM '64

Leopold Sedar Senghor,

AmEmbassy Dakar. 1189

President of the Republic of Senegal,

Dakar.

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and to the people of the Republic of Senegal on this fourth anniversary of your independence the friendly greetings and sincere best wishes of the people of the United States. Personally, I shall never forget the friendship and warm hospitality which you, your Ministers, and the Senegalese people extended to those of us who were honored by being able to join with you in the celebrations in Dakar marking the first anniversary of Senegal's independence. In fond memory of those festive days, and convinced of the special bonds of friendship which link our two great republics, it is a particular pleasure for me to add to these official greetings my own very best personal wishes to you and your countrymen on this important occasion.

Lyndon B. Johnson

AF/AFW:CHettinger:cyl 3/31/64

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - Henry J. Tasca

AFW - Mr. Dorros U/PR - Mr. Bowers S/S - Mr. Moose White House - Mr. Belk

UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Date 2. Return

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

> Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Draft cable to Dakar.

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

TELECOMMUNICATIONS OPERATIONS DIVISION THE WHITE HOUSE

WORK COPY

1750

To Be Sent April 4, 1964. UNCLASSIFIED

USIA Do Not Release Before April 4. Please sand INFO Copy AmEmbassy Dakar.

Leopold Sedar Senghor.

His Excellency

President of the Republic of Senegal,

Dakar.

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and to the people of the Republic of Senegal on this fourth anniversary of your independence the friendly greetings and sincere best wishes of the people of the United States. Personally, I shall never forget the friendship and warm hospitality which you, your Ministers, and the Senegalese people extended to those of us who were honored by being able to join with you in the celebrations in Dakar marking the first anniversary of Senegal's independence. In fond memory of those festive days, and convinced of the special bonds of friendship which link our two great republics, it is a particular pleasure for me to add to these official greetings my own very best personal wishes to you and your countrymen on this important occasion.

Lyndon B. Johnson

AF/AFWsCHettingerscyl 3/31/64

AF - Henry J. Tasca

AFW - Mr. Dorros U/PR - Mr. Bowers 8/3 White House

UNCLASSIFIED

Polly -

This was killed (as I informed you at the time) and Amb. Kaiser carried a letter back to Senegal with him.

Helen

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

December 2, 1963

To:

McGeorge Bundy

The White House

From: Benjamin H. Read

Executive Secretary

For White House approval prior to transmission.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

SE Holer , bell

LIMITED OFFICAL USE

Amembassy DAKAR

Transmit following personal message from President Johnson to President Senghor:

QUOTE Dear Mr. President: Mrs. Kennedy and the Government and the people of the United States deeply appreciate the tribute to our late President contained in your message of sympathy of November 23. In our great sorrow, we are all comforted and strengthened by the knowledge that many millions of persons throughout the world share our mourning and revere John F. Kennedy for his unswerving devotion to the cause of a just and lasting peace and his deep commitment to human dignity and freedom. You know personally, from your meetings with him just two years ago this month, how completely he embodied those qualities of courage, sincerity and faith that we all admire, and how these qualities, united with his high ideals, were reflected in his personal concern and efforts for the underprivileged, the downtrodden and those discriminated against—in his own country and throughout the world.

I especially appreciate your message extending condolences in behalf
of the Government and the people of Senegal at this tragic less of our
great leader and my dear friend because of the warm regard for you and
your people

AF:AFW:CHettinger:avm 11/29/63

AF - C. Mennen Williams

ATW - Ambassador Trimble

The White House -

S/S -

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Amembassy DAKAR

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

your people which I retain from my visit to Senegal on the occasion of the first Mr. President, anniversary of your national independence. And I wish to assure you, /mour recommendation of the friendship and affection which have marked relations between our two republics, nor the determination of this Government to pursue unchanged those policies initiated by my predecessor will in any way be changed as a consequence of his tragic and untimely death. As you know, I not only believe in but have been closely associated with the policies he initiated. Now that he is no longer here to lead us, I am firmly resolved that his policies shall be carried through to fruition. Our rededication in this difficult hour to the principles of freedom and justice for which he lived and died give renewed assurance that his and our common ideals will still prevail.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson UNGUOTE

Though we do not plan to release letter here, we would have no objection to and would, in fact, welcome its publication by GOS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

44c

(TRANSLATION)

8213 T-97/R-XVIII French

[TELEGRAM]

DAKAR VIA FRENCH 23 1012

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. LYNDON JOHNSON,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE LOSS OF PRESIDENT J. F. KENNEDY IN SUCH TRAGIC AND NR 386 UNEXPECTED CIRCUMSTANCES HAS DEEPLY GRIEVED THE PEOPLE OF SENEGAL. THIS GREAT STATESMAN, WHO HAS JUST BEEN TORN FROM HIS FAMILY, HIS COUNTRY, AND THE WHOLE WORLD BY A CRIMINAL HAND, DIED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE MOST NOBLE CAUSES, THOSE OF PEACE ON EARTH AND EQUALITY AMONG MEN. FOR THIS HEASON, WE REGARD HIS PREMATURE DEATH AS A SACRIFICE. MAY THIS SACRIFICE NOT HAVE BEEN IN VAIN. MAY IT AT LEAST ENSURE THE CONSUMMATION OF THE EFFORTS OF THIS MAN OF GOOD WILL, WHO HAD USED THOSE FINE QUALITIES OF COURAGE, SINCERITY, AND FAITH IN THE SERVICE OF HIS PEOPLE AND MANKIND. THE CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS ACTIONS HAD CONTRIBUTED TOWARD CHEATING ABROAD AN IMAGE OF HIS COUNTRY'S RESOLUTE AND DYNAMIC CONFIDENCE, JUST AS HIS STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL INTEGRATION, WORLD DETENTE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW COUNTRIES HAD WON UNIVERSAL ESTEEM AND ADMIRATION. IN MY OWN NAME AND IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF SENEGAL, I EXPRESS TO YOU, TO MRS. KENNEDY AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OUR MOST HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES. I BEG YOU TO ACCEPT. MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY VERY HIGH CONSIDERATION.

LEOPOLD SEDAR SENCHOR

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

CONFIDENTIAL

57

ACTION:

Amembassy DAKAR

880

AF

SS

G

INFO

Embtel 731.

Amembassy PARIS (by Pouch)

Jan ()

Authority Group 4

By C. NARA, Date 11-27-00

EUR IO PR P CU USIA

INR NSA

CIA 0

RMR

Concur your proposed reply to Lo. This exercise appears be typical UTO attempt, by misrepresenting facts and using name some important personage, to involve US officials with UTO in order reap propaganda advantage. FYI.. Woodbridge Connecticut First Selectman Clarke states he has received letter from Bressand, UTO headquarters Paris, and telegram from Thiam Dakar notifying him UTO World Congress and proposed Linguere-Woodbridge twinning ceremony have been postponed to first week of April in order avoid overlapping with Ramadan, and repeating invitation for him attend Congress and ceremony. Understand UTO is seeking UNESCO or UN subvention to cover travel costs of participants. USIA and Department are in touch with both AMA and Woodbridge authorities and appears most unlikely latter will agree to participate in either Congress or ceremony under UTO auspices. END FYI.

In last two months Department and/or White House have received five UTO communications from Dakar and Paris, all purportedly sent in Thiam's name, arguing organization's case. Thiam's most recent letter, dated January 4 and addressed to Secretary, encloses brochures and registration forms for January 30-31 UTO World Congress at Dakar and requests:

AF:AFW:CHettinger:me

1/24/64

classification approved by:

AF: Henry J. Tasca

cloard: Mr. Strong (draft) AFI: Mr. Olds (draft)

IO/OES: Miss Bell (draft) P/SI: Mr. Harben (subs.)

AFW: Mr. Dorros

USIA/IOC: Mr. Chambers (subs) USIA/IAA: Mr. Sewyer (subs)

EUR/WE: Mr. Long (draft) EUR/SES: Mr. Gordon (draft) CONFIDENTIAL

White House Arubeck - Mr. Moose

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CONFIDENTIAL

- (1) USG financial aid to UTO,
- (2) President Johnson's patronage for UTO, and
- (3) that Secretary either personally attend Congress or send representative.

As Embassy is aware, USG considers city to city program a non-governmental effort best conducted through the People to People Civic Committee cooperating with the American Municipal Association and its affiliates: State Municipal Leagues, International Union of Local Authorities at The Hague and the Inter-American Municipal Organization. USG gives no financial support to Civic Committee, AMA or local sister city committees. US policy is to discourage affiliations between US and Soviet cities. UTO-sponsored twinnings, on other hand, have invariably turned out to involve trilateral affiliations between (1) US (2) French or African and (3) Unnamed Soviet cities, and are thus contrary to US policy. Under circumstances, USG does not wish lend any support, financial or otherwise, to Communist-tinged UTO and prefers avoid giving written replies to communications from latter lest replies be misused by UTO for propaganda purposes. Fact that UTO communications are signed by or sent in behalf of Foreign Minister Thiam, at times even on Foreign Ministry stationery, poses awkward situation. Since you are in best position judge both importance Thiam attaches to UTO and whether or not he may have knowledge of a particular communication, Department prefers any necessary replies to these communications be made by you in manner best calculated maintain your necessary working relationships with him while avoiding official US involvement with UTO. You should accordingly make appropriate negative reply in Secretary's behalf to requests contained in Thiam's latest letter, drawing on foregoing as appropriate.

GP-4

BALL.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

January 24, 1964

Date

Mr. McGeorge Bundy The White House Jud Skill

The enclosed is for White House clearance prior to transmission.

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Draft telegram to

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING NOT NAT'I SECURITY INFORMATION, E. O. 12356, SEC. ...1(a).

BY JON ON 9/13/91

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION

45%

CONFIDENTIAL

Amembassy DAKAR

Amembassy PARIS (by Pouch)

Authority Grove 4

By K., NARA, Date 11-27-00

Embtel 731.

INTO

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AF:AFW:CHettinger:me

1/24/64

AF: Henry J. Tasca

AFI: Mr. Strong (draft) AFI: Mr. Olds (draft)

USIA/ICC: Mr. Chambers (subs)
USIA/IAA: Mr. Sawyer (subs)

White House

IO/OES: Miss Bell (draft)

EUR/WE: Mr. Long (draft)

P/SI: Mr. Harben (subs.) AFW: Mr. Dorros EUR/SES: Mr. Gordon (draft)

CONFIDENTIAL

Amembassy DAKAR

CONFIDENTIAL

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GP-4

EED.

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT 57

> ARA ADPS

EUR NEA

ATD P

USIA

NSC INR

CTA NSA

AGR COM

RMR

E IGA CONFIDENTIAL

Origin	ACTION:	Amembassy D.	AKAR	IMMEDIATE	818
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SS G			CONAKRY	"	Authority Group 4
SP			LAGOS NOUAKCHOTT		By C NARA, Date 11-2710
SAL			PARIS	an burers	a storic lastic barte during for

Dakar's 701 sent Paris 131 other addresses UNN.

Applicable portion Section 620 (a) Foreign Assistance Act as amended most recently follows:

Quote SEC. 620. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST FURNISHING ASSISTANCE TO CUBA AND CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES .-- (a) (1) No assistance shall be furnished under this Act to the present government of Cuba; nor shall any such assistance be furnished to any country which furnishes assistance to the present government of Cubs unless the President determines that such assistance is in the national interest of the United States. As an additional means of implementing and carrying into effect the policy of the preceding sentence, the President is authorized to establish and maintain a total embargo upon all trade between the United States and Cuba . . .

(3) No funds authorized to be made available under this Act (except under section 214) shall be used to furnish assistance to any country which has failed to take appropriate steps, not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1963----

Telegraphic transmission and

L/E: KEMalmborg/AFW: Chettinger:me

classification approved by: AF - Henry J. Tasca

Clearances: AID/GC:Mr. Stephenson (draft) ARA/CCA:Mr. Follestad (draft) EUR/WE: Mr. Long

AFW: Ambassador Trimble

CONFIDENTIAL

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Classification

- (A) to prevent ships or aircraft under its registry from transporting to Cuba
 Cuba (other than to United States installations in Cuba)---
 - (i) any items of economic assistance.
- (ii) any items which are, for the purposes of title I of the Mutual

 Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as amended, arms, ammunition and implements

 of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, transportation materials of strategic

 value, or items of primary strategic significance used in the production of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, or
- (iii) any other equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as Cuba is governed by the Castro regime; and
- (B) to prevent ships or aircraft under its registry from transporting any equipment, materials, or commodities from Cuba (other than from United States installations in Cuba) so long as Cuba is governed by the Castro regime. Unquote

Section 107 (b) Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1964 is same as Section 107 (b) prior year's foreign aid appropriation Act (CA-4841, November 2, 1962).

Sale of peanuts to Cuba for cash or on commercial credit terms payable in new francs or other hard currency at price at or above world market price would not be f furnishing of Quote assistance Unquote under Section 620 (a) FAA or furnishing Quote Appropriation items of economic assistance Unquote under Section 107 (b) APPROPRIATE Act. Broader sales agreement could raise question application these provisions however, should discounts, long range credit, or barter on non-commercial basis result.

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy DAKAR

CONFIDENTIAL

Request you raise Cuban visit with President Senghor along lines you employed with Thiam (Embtel 672), stressing unfavorable official and public reaction in US to gestures this nature toward Cuba, especially bad impression which would result from establishment diplomatic relations or conclusion broader trade agreement such as that reportedly under discussion, and langer that such agreement might pose undesirable problems in our mutual relations in view present US foreign aid legislation.

GP-4

END

NOTE: Pouched by OC/T

RIISK

Memos & Misc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Wednesday, September 28, 1966

Mr. President:

President Senghor is very interested in a new U.S. technical assistance project to increase agricultural production in southern Senegal. Bill Gaud tells me this morning that he has now decided to approve it. (It will cost about \$1 million per year for five years.)

This will be very good news to Senghar, particularly coming from you.

W. Cal. Rostow

Alice - Lile 5%

SECRET-EXDIS

November 18, 1965

Mac -

Attached cable asking Mercer Cook to stay on in Senegal till mid-'66 makes sense to me. Am only bothering you because you may know something I don't.

OK had heaps to the work from



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1965 McGEORGE CONTO OF

ECRET-EXDIS

1965 NOV 18 PM 12 41

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Ambassador Mercer Cook, Dakar

I am attaching a cable for your clearance from Governor Williams to Ambassador Cook asking him to remain at his post until June 30, 1966. In accordance with your request, I am sending this memorandum summarizing briefly the events which led up to this message.

In a letter dated August 7 to the President, Ambassador Cook declared his intention to resign from his post effective December 31, 1965, basing his decision largely on his inability to obtain sufficient aid for Senegal. Following a discussion of this letter between the President and the Secretary, Governor Williams wrote to Ambassador Cook on October 14 advising him that his resignation would be accepted.

Subsequently the subject became a civil rights issue. The October 28 issue of Jet magazine charged that Cook was resigning because US officials had failed to provide him aid support either in Senegal or at his previous post in Niger, and alleged that the Ambassador might use his experiences after resigning to expose difficulties faced by American Negroes in performing diplomatic duties abroad. In its November 2 edition the Afro-American claimed that the Ambassador wished to be relieved of his assignment because of the Department's failure to back him up in delicate policy matters.

At about the same time as the above-mentioned articles, the Senegalese President Senghor linked a rumor of an alleged plot against him by US agents to the report of Ambassador Cook's resignation. Ambassador Cook gave President Senghor strong assurances that no such plot existed and that his retirement plans were in no way related, but

SANITIZED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 By 15 NLJ/RAC 10-329 NARA, Date 5-12-11

SECRET EXDIS

-2-

the Senegalese appear to have lingering doubts on this score.

Delaying the effective date for the Ambassador's resignation until next summer would have several advantages:

- (1) It would tend to further reassure Senghor and the Senegalese that the US is not plotting against Senghor; and
- (2) It would blunt the allegations in <u>Jet</u> and <u>Afro-American</u> that have tended to create a false civil rights problem surrounding Cook's resignation; and
- (3) It would permit the Ambassador to be at his post during a major international cultural event → the World Festival of Negro Arts → to be held in Dakar next April; an event Cook has taken much interest in.

3.3 (b)(1) There is reason to believe from Cook's concurrence in the benefits which would flow from his staying in Dakar, that the Ambassador would accede to a request that he remain in Dakar until next June.

Secretary Rusk agreed to let Governor Williams propose this interim solution to the problem before his departure to Rio, if it were made entirely clear to Ambassador Cook, as the draft cable does, that his tenure is not to be linked in any way to US aid to Senegal.

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Draft telegram to Dakar.

TELECOMMUN. TIONS OPERATIONS DIVISION

WORK COPY

506

BECREE

Amenbassy DAKAR

SANITIZED E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 NLJ/RAC 10-325 NARA, Date 9-12-11

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM WILLIAMS

AGREMENT CHANNEL

- 1. Your concern, recently expressed with your concurrence, is shared here that recent publicity on your resignation has only served to further opposition's efforts to depose Senghor and exacerbate US-Senegalese relations.
- 2. Likewise shared conclusion that delaying (b)(l) effective date of your resignation could be important step toward salvaging the situation.
- 3. Therefore, with the approval of higher authority, I propose and urge that you remain at your post until June 30, 1966, and that your resignation be accepted but as of June 30, 1966. This will make it possible for you to represent US at Festival of Negro Arts and further strengthen relations with President Senshor.
 - 4. Over-all restrictions on aid have been tightened, but

AF - Gov. Williams

AF: GMW: CL: jml 11/16/65

U - Mr. Springsteen

S/S - Mr. Read

O/DG -Mr. Palmer

White House

-OECRET

DS-322

2

AmEmbassy DAKAR

SECRET

we will continue & vigorous efforts to face Senegalese aid problem.

Obviously, however, in any conversations with Senegalese it would be inappropriate to draw any connection between your tenure and aid.

5. Request your concurrence soonest.

END

Dug to The Komer 53

CONFIDERTIAL

OFFICIAL-DIFORMAL

American Embassy, Dakar, Senegal, August 7, 1965.

Dear Mr. President:

On April 27 President Léopold Sédar Senghor, one of your staunchest supporters in Africa, asked me to deliver a letter to you. To my amazement, that friendly communication was prevented from reaching its destination; otherwise it would surely have been acknowledged by now.

Moreover, my efforts to obtain aid for Senegal have been almost as unsuccessful as my attempt to transmit a letter from one President to another. Our aid policies are directly responsible for Senegal's acceptance of a \$6.7 million line of credit from the Soviet Union for the tuna complex and they are not entirely unrelated to Senegal's acceptance of the recent agreement with Aeroflot.

Obviously the time has come for me to return to teaching. I am therefore tendering my resignation as your Ambassador to Senegal and The Gambia. I should like to leave Dakar on or about December 31, 1965.

In the unlikely event that you ever see this letter of resignation, please know, Mr. President, that I shall always be deeply grateful for the privilege of having served as Ambassador under you and the late President Kennedy.

Respectfully yours.

Mercer Cook

The President,

The White House.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By ______, NARA, Date 11-2-770

COMPEDENTIAL

cc: The Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State
The Honorable William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary
for Administration
The Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary for
African Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE

54

May 17, 1965

Mr. Chase -

Mr. Jackson called about this memorandum this morning.

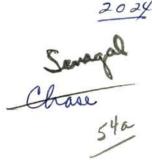
Mr. D'Arboussier is the senior W. African on the UN Secretariat and has had a rather long interview with deGaulle. State has had some thoughts on the subject and would like to discuss them with you before any further action is taken.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1965



MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY THE WHITE HOUSE

Letter to the President from Subject:

Mr. Gabriel D'Arboussier Suggesting

an Appointment

The Department has received from our Embassy in Dakar the enclosed letter to the President from Gabriel D'Arboussier of Senegal who was recently appointed Executive Director of the UN Institute for Training and Research. Mr. D'Arboussier recalls that when he met then Vice President Johnson in Dakar in 1961, the latter suggested that Mr. D'Arboussier call on him if his travels ever brought him to the United States. Mr. D'Arboussier suggests the acquaintance might be renewed now that he has taken up residence in New York where the UN Institute has its headquarters.

In view of the pressures on the President's time, the Department does not recommend an appointment for Mr. D'Arboussier at this time. Instead, we believe Harlan Cleveland should send to Mr. D'Arboussier, whom he knows, the enclosed reply on behalf of the President.

> Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

- Draft letter to Mr. D'Arboussier from Mr. Cleveland
- Original Letter from Mr. D'Arboussier dated April 22

Elma Jackson tell on the D'abonois Seem 6/4/65

<u>DEPARTMENT OF STATE</u> SUGGESTED REPLY BY MR. CLEVELAND

Dear Mr. D'Arboussier:

The President appreciated your letter of April 22. In view of the pressures just now on his time, he has asked me to reply.

I would hope you could make an early visit to
Washington so that there would be an opportunity for us
to talk further about plans for the Institute. There are
also a number of persons in the Government, at Brookings
and possibly also in the IBRD, whom it would be useful for
you to see.

The pressures on the President's time during the next few weeks are such that a meeting with him would be difficult to arrange. That will probably have to wait until world events are less pressing.

Do let me know when you think you could come down for a couple of days.

Sincerely,

Harlan Cleveland

Mr. Gabriel D'Arboussier,
Executive Director,
UN Institute for Training and Research,
United Nations, New York.



NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

TÉLÉPHONE : PLAZA 4-1234

CABLE ADDRESS - UNATIONS, NEWYORK - ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE

TRAINING AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE - INSTITUT DE FORMATION ET DE RECHERCHES
UNITAR

Executive Director Le Directeur Général

Dakar, 22 April 1965

My dear Mr. Président,

When I had the honour of officially welcoming you to my country during your visit to Dakar, you were so generous as to suggest that I should come to see you whenever my travels next brought me to the United States.

Having recently been appointed Executive Director of the United Nations Institute for training and research, it is my great pleasure to inform you that, as of 6 May, I will not only be revisiting your country but also taking up residence with my family in New York where the Institute is to have its Headquarters.

Certainly, nothing would give me greater pleasure in all the world than the opportunity of renewing our acquaintanceship and it is with this trought in mind that I have taken the liberty of writing you this letter.

Accept, dear Mr. President, the assurances

of my highest consideration.

Gabriel D'ARBOUSSIER

The President Of the United States
The White House
Washington D.C
United States Of America

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Department of State	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED				
FORM DS-4 TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATEApril 24, 1965			
	0001				
ToBureau of Internati Organization Affair		For the Attention of Hon. Harlan Cleveland			
FROM					
Amembassy DAKAR					
TO THE FOREIGN SER	VICE	TO THE DEPARTMENT			
For Transmittal to A at the Discretion of	- 11	Dept. Information Only			
Post Informatio		CERP Publications			
Transmit to Foreign	,	Enclosure to Previous			
Submit Report		Despatch			
Reply to the Individ	ua1	Reply to Dept. Request			
Transmit to:	(0.8.	(gency)			
Inform:					
Attached letter of April 22, 1965 to President Johnson from Ambassador Gabriel d'Arboussier					
ITEMS/REMARKS -					
I hope you can bring this to the attention of The President and if possible, arrange an appointment.					
Elman J:					
John I.					
IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NUMBER AND DRAFTING OFFICE					
IN REPLY REFER TO) FILE NUMBE SIGNATURE	R AND DRAFTING OFFICE			
TILL NO.	3.0	Mercer Cook			
CLASSIFICATION	OFFICE	Mercer Cook			
UNCLASSIFIED	J	Ambaaaadam			
OMOTOGITATED	1	Ambassador			

GPO 94362

June 19, 1964

FOR:

Mrs. Bess Abell

The White House

FROM:

John A. McKesson

Deputy Executive Secretary

Extension 6033

SUBJECT:

Call by Mrs. Cook on

Mrs. Johnson

Mrs. Mercer Cook, the wife of our Ambassador to Senegal, would like to pay a brief courtesy call on Mrs. Johnson.

Mrs. Cook met Mrs. Johnson when the Johnsons were in Dakar and interpreted for Mrs. Johnson at the time. Ambassador and Mrs. Cook will be in or near Washington through the first week in July and Mrs. Cook could call at any time with a day's advance notice.

I would appreciate greatly if you could possibly argange an appointment and let me know.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Mr. Valenti

SUBJECT: Appointment on Monday, June 15,

at 1:00 P.M.

- 1. On Monday at 1:00 P.M. you are scheduled to meet briefly in the Cabinet Room with three of your Ambassadors to African countries William Handley, Ambassador to Mali; William Witman, Ambassador to Togo; and Mercer Cook, a Negro who is your Ambassador to Senegal. Bill Brubeck will entertain the visitors in the Cabinet Room until Jack Valenti can escort you in at, or a little after 1:00 P.M.
- 2. As on previous occasions, you need only say a few words, have your picture taken with each Ambassador individually, and depart after a couple minutes. The Ambassadors know the scenario and your somewhat abrupt departure will not be taken amiss.
- 3. Some brief biographic data on the three Ambassadors is attached.

McG. B.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Seo. 3.5

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Dept. Guidelines
By_____, NARA, Date_11 27 00

MERCER COOK - Ambassador to Senegal

56a

Ambassador-designate to Senegal Mercer Cook has been Ambassador to Niger for the past three years. He is a close friend of Senegal's President Senghor, whom he has known since their student days together in Paris 30 years ago. A native Washingtonian 60 years of age, Ambassador Cook has spent most of his life in the academic field, and was Professor of Romance Languages at Howard University from 1945 until 1958. He is a noted authority on Negro literature and has published numerous books, articles and reviews in both French and English.

WILLIAM J. HANDLEY - Ambassador to Mali

William Handley, born in 1918 in Dutch Guiana of American parents, was the first career USIA officer to be appointed an American Ambassador. He has served in Mali since January 1962, during a period in which relations between Mali and the western world have improved steadily. In recognition of his achievements in Bamako, Ambassador Handley was recently nominated for a Rockefeller Public Service Award. Ambassador Handley is married and has two children.

WILLIAM WITMAN 2nd - Ambassador to Togo

Ambassador Witman, who was sworn in as the second American Ambassador to Togo on June 9, has spent his entire professional life as a career Foreign Service officer. Born 50 years ago at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he graduated from Yale in 1935 and began work shortly thereafter at the American Embassy at Caracas, Venezuela. For three years, he was Director of the Office of North African Affairs, a position which made him intimately concerned with the Algerian war for independence. For his performance, Ambassador Witman won the Department of State's Superior Service Award. Ambassador Witman is married.

Jan 30

CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR

GWEN KING

SUBJECT: Appointment with the President -- June 15 at 1:00 P.M.

- 1. The President is now scheduled to meet briefly with Ambassador Mercer Cook (Senegal), William Handley (Mali), and William Witman (Togo) on June 15 at 1:00 P. M.
- 2. I wonder if you would help us out on the following points:
 - (a) Would you reserve the Cabinet Room for the meeting and inform State?
 - (b) Since the meeting is off the record would you tell State to have the Ambassadors enter and leave the White House via the West Basement? The Ambassadors should be in the Cabinet Room by 12:55.
 - (c) Would you ask Sgt. Dan Lewis to be on hand in the Cabinet Room at 12:55 to take individual pictures of each Ambassador with the President?
- 3. Bill Brubeck will be the NSC man in the Cabinet Room. Please let me know if you have any problems with this memo.

Gordon Chase

cc: Mr. Valenti

Sgt. Dan Lewis

Mr. Reedy -- (Note 2(b). As we have been doing in the past, I will give you a paragraph for the afternoon briefing on June 15.)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1964

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presence in Washington of Ambassador to Senegal (much)

and to Mauritania Philip M. Kaiser

Our Ambassador to Senegal and to Mauritania, Philip M. Kaiser, will be on consultation in the Department through April 8, should the President care to see him.

Ambassador Kaiser has met the President on several prior occasions.

A biographic sketch of the Ambassador is enclosed.

Benjamin H. Read or Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Biographic Sketch.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH

Born in Brooklyn, Mr. Philip M. Kaiser has served as our Ambassador to the Republics of Senegal and Mauritania since June, 1961.

His career has been closely tied to Government service. He first joined the United States Government in 1939, when he received an appointment to the staff of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. From 1942 until 1946 he served as Chief of the Projects Operations and Planning Staffs of the Board of Economic Warfare and the Foreign Economic Administration. After brief service in 1946 in the Department of State as an expert on international organization affairs, he was appointed executive assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs. In 1947 he became Director of the Office of International Labor Affairs and two years later was named Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs, where he remained until the end of the Truman Administration.

In 1954 Ambassador Kaiser became labor adviser to the Committee for Free Europe and in 1955 was named Special Assistant to the Governor of New York, continuing his association with Governor Harriman until 1958. That year he joined the staff of American University as Professor of International Labor Relations and Director of the Program for Overseas and International Labor Studies of the School of International Service.

Ambassador Kaiser, who is 50 years old, received his undergraduate degree in 1935 from the University of Wisconsin, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Chosen to be a Rhodes Scholar, he was awarded both B.A. and M.A. degrees at Balliol College, Oxford University.

Ambassador Kaiser is married to the former Hannah Greeley. They have three sons: Robert, age 20, an undergraduate at Yale who worked last summer for the Washington Post as a reporter with his own by-line; David, age 16; and Charles, age 12.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

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December 6, 1963

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Ambassador to Senegal and Mauritania Philip M. Kaiser Requests Appointment with the President Brubech has talked & Kaise

Our Ambassador to Senegal and Mauritania, Philip M. Kaiser, now about this on consultation in the Department, requests a brief meeting with the President before returning to his post. Should the President care to see him, Ambassador Kaiser will be available until December 13, when he is scheduled to depart for Dakar.

Ambassador Kaiser will be the first of our Ambassadors to depart () School for Africa since the President assumed office. He is resident in Senegal, the only African country the President is known to have visited, and is accredited to two of the very few African Chiefs of State the President has met.

Ambassador Kaiser has met the President on several prior occasions.

A biographic sketch of the Ambassador is enclosed.

Benjamin H. Read For Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Biographic Sketch.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Mr. Philip M. Kaiser is, at the age of 50, one of our dynamic new Ambassadors. He received his undergraduate degree in 1935 from the University of Wisconsin, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Chosen to be a Rhodes Scholar, he was awarded both B.A. and M.A. degrees at Balliol College, Oxford University.

Ambassador Kaiser's career has been closely tied to Government service. He first joined the United States Government in 1939, when he received an appointment to the staff of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. From 1942 until 1946, he served as Cheif of the Projects Operations and Planning Staffs of the Board of Economic Warfare and the Foreign Economic Administration. After brief service in 1946 in the Department of State as an expert on international organization affairs, he was appointed executive assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs. In 1947, he became Director of the Office of International Labor Affairs and, two years later was named Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs, where he remained until the end of the Truman Administration. Ambassador Kaiser became Labor adviser to the Committee for Free Europe and, in 1955, he was named Special Assistant to the Governor of New York, continuing his association with Governor Harriman until 1958. That year he joined the staff of American University as Professor of International Labor Relations and Director of the Program for Overseas and International Labor Studies of the School of International Service.

Ambassador Kaiser is married to the former Hannah Greeley. They have three sons: Robert, age 20, an undergraduate at Yale who worked this past summer for the Washington Post as a reporter with his own by-line; David, age 16; and Charles, age 12.

Ambassador Kaiser has been emissary to the Republic of Senegal and to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania since June, 1961.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

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DATE: June 4, 1965

SUBJECT:

U.S. Participation in the First World Festival of Negro Arts.

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PARTICIPANTS:

Mercer Cook, American Ambassador to Senegal
J. Roland Jacobs, Director, Office of African Programs (CU/AF)
Converse Hettinger, Officer-in-Charge of Senegal (AFW)
William S. Dickson, Officer-in-Charge of Senegal, USIA

Bela Zempleny, CU/ECS Paul K. Morris, CU/CP Charles Lahey, CU/CP

Annis Sandvos, CU/MPP Clive Chandler, CU/AF

Mrs. Virginia Inness-Brown, Chairman, U.S. Committee for the First World Festival of Negro Arts.

Dr. John A. Davis, Co-Chairman, U.S. Committee for the First World Festival of Negro Arts.

The meeting was called to enable Ambassador Cook to discuss with Mrs. Inness-Brown and Dr. Davis the nature of U.S. participation in the First World Festival of Negro Arts, to be held at Dakar from April 1 through April 24, 1966.

1. Scope of U.S. Participation

Mrs. Inness-Brown stated President Senghor had told her that Nigeria would be the country of honor at the Festival and that the United States, as the nation second only to Nigeria in size of Negro population, would be the featured country. The U.S. Committee recognized that U.S. participation should be proportionate to the participation of African countries. Ambassador Cook agreed that the U.S. part in the Festival should be kept modest.

To avoid the danger of overshadowing performances by other nations taking part in the Festival, the U.S. Committee will consider reducing the extent of private U.S. participation.

The original plan called for 12 to 14 performances by American artists, requiring a budget of \$600,000.00. The revised proposal, costing about \$400,000.00, would provide for nine performances: two (April 1, April 4) by Quincy Jones' Band, to which the Department is offering a contract; two (April 10; April 11) by the de Paur Chorus, which the Department also plans to sponsor; two (April 17, April 18) by the American Dance Company, financed by the U.S. Committee; two (April 23, April 24) by the Theater Company, producing Raisin in the Sun, financed by the U.S. Committee; and one (no date proposed) by American soloists, possibly

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Armenta Adams, financed by the Department, and Martina Arroya and William Warfield, financed by the Committee. (The possibility of eliminating Raisin in the Sun was discussed at this point.)

The revised proposal eliminates Committee sponsorship for a jazz ensemble, believed unnecessary in view of Quincy Jones' expected performance; and of Black Nativity, which the change in dates for the Festival renders less appropriate.

Mrs. Inness-Brown felt that gospel and spiritual soloists should be substituted for <u>Black Nativity</u>. Ambassador Cook suggested that only spiritual singers be substituted, in order to limit the number of American performers. However, Dr. Davis said he felt it important to include gospel singers in the program.

The revised proposal, Mrs. Inness-Brown said, could be further curtailed by eliminating the American Dance Company, thereby reducing the total number of performances to seven and the Committee's budget to about \$300,000. However, the Dance Company numbers only 26 performers, of which six are soloists. It includes performers from several established dance companies who are prepared to join the Dance Company for this undertaking. In connection with the American Dance Company, Mrs. Inness-Brown understood President Senghor had expressed a preference for exclusively Negro choreographers. Ambassador Cook said he would inquire whether this were the case.

The American specialists whom the Department expects to send to Dakar are: Miss Marian Anderson, Dr. St. Clair Drake, Mr. Langston Hughes, and Professor Hale Woodruff. They will participate in the colloquium scheduled for March 30 - April 7. Dr. Davis reported Mr. Hughes was collating an anthology of certain American Negro writings, which Doubleday Co. has offered to publish. Dr. Davis noted that the demands on Mr. Hughes hampered completion of this project. Dr. Davis also thought it would be desirable to coordinate this project with an anthology of African writings, as a lasting monument to the Festival.

Referring again to the scope of U.S. participation in the Festival, Ambassador Cook thought it preferable that Mrs. Inness-Brown propose to the Senegalese Association too few American performances and be prepared for a possible request for more, rather than propose too many and be asked to limit them. Mrs. Inness-Brown agreed. A bassador Cook said there remained one critical question: how many American performances has the Senegalese Commission scheduled?

2. Request for Private U.S. Contribution to Festival

The Senegalese Commission seeks a contribution from private U.S. donors to the Festival's operating budget. Mrs. Inness-Brown has explained that

funds raised for private U.S. participation could not be diverted in this manner, but that the U.S. Committee is considering raising contributions toward construction of a permanent structure in the Cite des Arts.

The chief obstacle concerns the tax status of such contributions. The Committee will consult with counsel and various foundations on this subject.

3. Protection of Production Rights

The Government of Senegal has indicated it contemplates claiming production rights to all performances at the Festival. American performers and artists' unions, however, insist on retaining production rights to their performances. Legal counsel for the U.S. Committee, Mr. John Taylor, has drafted a statement protecting these rights, and Mrs. Inness-Brown will discuss it with the Senegalese Commission at the time of her trip to Dakar.

Mrs. Inness-Brown reported a rumor that the Government of Senegal would confiscate traditional African art brought from abroad to the Festival.

Ambassador Cook said such action would be inconceivable.

4. Mrs. Inness-Brown plans trip to Dakar.

Mrs. Inness-Brown plans to go to Dakar late in June to discuss the Festival with the Senegalese Commission and Government. Mr. Perry Watkins or Mr. Manning Durion, or both, may accompany her.

5. Press Conference contemplated.

Mrs. Inness-Brown reported the Committee's desire to hold a press conference, possibly on June 22, announcing formation of the U.S. Committee and setting forth initial plans. President Senghor has indicated his willingness to send a letter on this occasion. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson has prepared a statement expressing pleasure at being named Chairman of the Honorary Committee of the U.S. Committee.

6. Proposal for Telegram from President Johnson to U.S. Committee

Mrs. Inness-Brown proposed that President Johnson be asked to send a congratulatory telegram to the U.S. Committee at the time of the press conference -- i.e., possibly June 22. She said that, quite aside from the stimulus such a telegram would give to the U.S. Committee's work, it would provide an opportunity for the President to lend his name to an undertaking by a group of eminent Americans.

/ Ambassador Cook

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Ambassador Cook felt this to be a sound proposal. Mr. Jacobs said he would forward the proposal.

The pending proposal that Mrs. Johnson permit her name to be used on the U.S. Committee's letterhead was deferred for later discussion.

7. Chairmanship of U.S. Committee

Mrs. Inness-Brown stated she was prepared, if it seemed appropriate, to relinguish her position to a prominent American individual such as Mr. Arthur Watson, of International Business Machines, or Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., of Corning Glass. She will inform us if this should occur.

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