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April 5, 1971 - General observations.

Four Power meetings serve a useful purpose in that we talk and we have communications etc., but we don't seem to be getting anything done. Clearly we are dragging our feet, and this is known to the others.

The Pakistan civil strife has arisen, and it's interesting to see the pressure being brought by the Indians to have the UN intervene. Our feeling has been that we should not interfere in the internal affairs of another country. It may be difficult to keep this position, but it is definitely the one we need.

I am more and more convinced that the financial problems of the UN have got to be solved with imagination and a whole new thrust. They are so serious that nothing can compare with them. There is no point in building an extension on a building without coming to grips with these major financial problems. The UN is living from hand to hand. I get the impression there is very little management, and yet we have not been able to figure it all out yet. I had a long talk with U Thant about this, emphasizing as strongly as I could the need to do this long-range planning. He sat there friendly but impassive. He is a difficult fellow to read - always tremendously

polite to me, always very friendly, but showing lots of reserve. When we took the \$1 million letter of credit (\$1 million out of \$2 million) to him for the drug program, he was positively enthusiastic. But this is the exception rather than the rule.

I don't quite see how we are going to get the UN story across without a massive victory. The Middle East presents the best shot for this, but this sometimes seems far away.

Bush vs. Lindsay background seems to have surfaced in a story by Mike Berlin. He is a very peculiar fellow, digging for some special line or special interest and not addicted to the facts completely. John was very friendly at the Museum reception for the UN people.

I had an interesting lunch last week with the editors of Newsweek. I have never seen people so unanimously - 1,000 percent - against the President as they are on Laos and Vietnam. It is amazing to see a war half-reported and to draw conclusions from just seeing half the show.

I got into a big fight with Malik at the Four Powers Meeting today. He accused the U.S. of being tools of the Zionist conspiracy which is nothing new. He accused Ralph Bunche and Rolz-Bennett of being two people on the

38th floor who did the bidding of the 11th floor at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations who did the bidding of the State Department. I climbed on Malik very firmly and told him that I felt he was smearing the names of these good men and that there was no excuse for this and that he could not possibly justify it. I really gave my strongest smash at him and he did not come back quite as strongly. Afterwards I went up and shook hands with him and he was fairly jovial. His text during the first round of the Four Talks was a long political harangue harassing the United States, harassing Israel and harassing Bunche and Rolz-Bennett. I am amazed at this "obvious" propaganda that he resorts to, but he does it over and over again. I just wish those who think the Russians have completely changed could listen to these outlandish claims and comments. It would do the world good to have all of this on TV. It would bore them to death, but this propaganda that seems so overt and obvious and base is resorted to at every meeting. I simply can't get over it. I recognize that we seem to be dragging our feet, but it's not this that he objects to. It is simply that we are the tools of the Zionist conspiracy etc. etc. ad nauseum. Kosciusko-Morizet is a very hard guy to read.

He appears very determined to play an important role in all of this. Sir Colin Crowe continues to be a man I have great trust and confidence in.

Random notes - I am still amazed at the way Malik insists on making a tirade. On April 8 we went to make our report to the incoming and outgoing presidents of the Security Council. Malik insisted on re-opening the old sore about our being a tool of the Zionist conspiracy. He did point out that we are dragging our feet in the Four Power talks - he is right about this. Thus he gains some credibility, but he goes from there to hammer us on a lot of absurd things.

Friday, the 9th, we had a meeting with Joe Sisco, Atherton, Mike Newlin, Tap Bennett and Sam DePalma. We discussed the Middle East and Pakistan and hopefully we cleared up the matter of telegrams. Joe Sisco plays his cards very close to his vest. There were a whole bunch of telegrams on the Middle East that he didn't send us. I talked to Rogers about one exchange of letters between Nixon and Sadat and the next day these arrived. Joe makes a big mistake in my view in forcing me to eventually get someone to tell him that all the telegrams will come to us. At this point I am not worried

about getting that done. He is a very intensely egotistical man, full of drive and very strong willed. He starts with the four-weeks old quote, "I can bring peace to the Middle East..." etc. This infuriates the other State Department people around him. His egotism gets them upset with him, but his drive and his persistence and his ability has got to be important. I predicted to him that there is a danger in his plan on the Suez in that Congress could react against it, claiming that it is simply a unilateral benefit for Russia to get down into the Indian Ocean. Sisco felt that he could control Congress. He pointed out that he had had visits with one hundred congressmen etc. I am not seeking any contacts with the congressmen at this point although I know I could be a help to the Department down the line. I would just as soon duck it.

Tap Bennett came here for the first week. I am impressed with him - his gentlemanly manner, his sincerity. Warren Unna, formerly of the Washington Post, called and told me Bennett was a disaster, that the Department was framing me etc. in order to bail out what had been a lousy record in the Dominican Republic and Portugal. I

had him talk to Bill Macomber which he did. Unna had only met Bennett once. There has been a little grumbling in our office about it at 799, but I have told them that Bennett was executing policy. We should support him.

On the financial end of things, I had a long talk with Hoffman last week. He is 82 years old and should step out, but there is no sign that he wants to. I am determined to get a fundamental look at our policy on finance, location of the UN, etc. New York, it seems to me, is the absolute "worst" place where it could be in the United States. The press gives a distorted view of America, the problems of the city give a distorted picture of America, and all in all if one were starting from scratch, it shouldn't be here. I keep talking about efficiency. When I raise this the people in the Mission and particularly at the UN keep talking about "fractionating" the UN. This will be the first step toward disillusion. "If it were located elsewhere, it would be out of sight and out of mind, like the League of Nations." I still insist we need a fundamental policy review.

I got a little insight into White House bumbling the other day. We were called by Bruce Ladd and told to go ahead with Ruddy Peterson as the UNA Day Chairman. We

were given the total green light. I called him and invited him and then Marshall Wright called and told me there was a little foul-up and that the President had not approved it and that he had talked to Porter McKeever. This really disturbed me.

I met with the editorial board of Time-Life. I am convinced we can do some things with them that will be helpful. They do not seem as hostile to "things Nixon" as Newsweek did.

The first dinner party we had was good. It was fun. Bucky sang, and people seemed to enjoy it. Peggy Heckler and Pete Frelinghuysen both talked - a little embarrassing in their glowing terms about me. Other than that I think it made for an interesting evening. Barbara Walters and her husband Lee Gubber were there - both very interested.

Friday the 9th we had a JCS briefing and I had lunch with Tom Moore and Mel Laird. Laird is a cool, cold guy - very able. Moore is a most attractive fellow. The briefing covered many, many subjects. Arnie Shade set it up, and I must say the Navy does things well.

I threw out the ball for the Mets' opening on the sixth. There was a little conflict with Lindsay. When he was told he was not going to throw out the ball, his staff called back and said he would come but he had to sit exactly next to Mr. and Mrs. Bush.

March 20, 1971 - This has been a very interesting week. At the Gridiron Dinner on the 13th I saw Thomas E. Dewey looking very well indeed, and a week later he was dead. I attended his funeral, meeting the Presidential party at Sheep's Meadow. I rode to the church with Hugh Scott, Javits and Buckley - the first of having Javits and Buckley in public together, I guess. Javits is amazingly selfish. He handed a big envelope to the driver and told him while we were in the church to take the envelope to the Westbury Hotel. The driver looked slightly panicked, recognizing that in this long motorcade he couldn't possibly do that and get back into the line. When he explained this to Javits, he was slightly perturbed. This is very much like the time Javits raised hell with the people handling the baggage in Mexico when we were there on an interparliamentary trip. He was pushy and not very pleasant.

The Dewey funeral was WASP except for Cardinal Cooke who sat in our pew. It was a wonderful funeral service -- good hymns, and the eulogy was very, very brief. It was very much different from the Whitney Young funeral service held on Tuesday this week.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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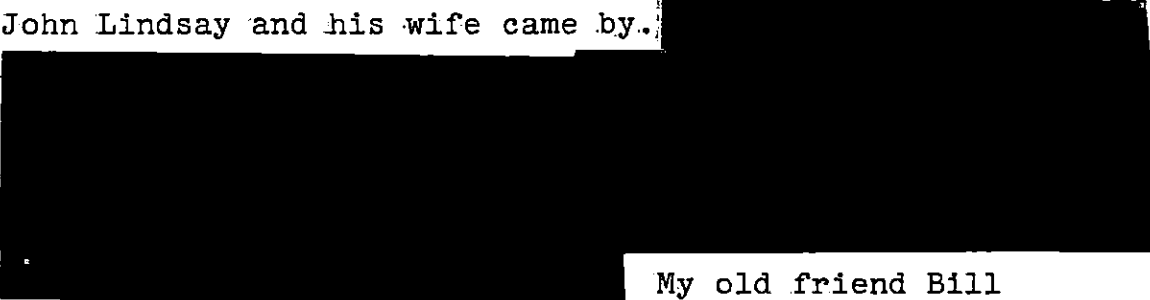
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I went out to meet the Whitney Young body on Monday the 14th and was standing with the Nigerian ambassador. John Lindsay and his wife came by.



My old friend Bill

Trent was with Mrs. Young, and Vi Trent and her daughter Toni came and sat with us in the car to stay out of the cold until the Presidential plane coming back from Africa landed. Ramsey Clark was there and he subsequently criticized the President for not doing enough. This matter came up at the Cabinet meeting on the 16th, and the President was obviously perturbed by these unfounded statements made by Clark.

Most of the week was spent substantively on the Middle East. On the 15th I had lunch at Time-Life. Hedley Donovan was the host. A bunch of big wheels, mostly from the publishing business, were there. Norman Mailer spoke about the prizefight. When he got through describing it, I wouldn't have recognized it as the same fight that I had seen. He put into it many connotations about race, underprivileged, etc. - all of course being on the side of Ali. Frazer was the white man's candidate, the square, etc.

Mailer really felt Ali was in the fight all the way, and I certainly didn't agree with that.

I visited with Ambassador Ham, the Ambassador from Korea. He made a strong pitch for keeping Korea out of the United Nations. He reviewed the whole Korean War situation. He is an intense little man, very nice indeed.

Monday the 15th we had our first function at the apartment. Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas and Ambassador Vinci of Italy came with Pres and Betty Lou to the opera. Ortiz de Rozas is a most attractive man. This month he is President of the Security Council. I briefed him thoroughly on what was going on at the Four Power Meetings.

On the 16th I attended the Cabinet meeting. I flew down to Washington after the Whitney Young funeral on an Air Force plane. I had lunch with Henry Catto and Ambassador Jova where we discussed a little bit about OAS work.

One of the things that concerns me is how we are going to coordinate all the environmental programs at the UN. I met with Russell Train on the 16th to discuss this. He and MacDonald are two of the three top people in the Environmental Council. It is evident that we need to have more than one agency dealing with the international aspects of the environment but the proliferation is very dangerous. Train agreed to come up to New York.

I think there is some conflict between Herter and Train, but Train is the acknowledged expert in this, and I want to get him thoroughly immersed in what we are doing, and hopefully he can be helpful in eliminating overlap.

Tuesday night we went to the White House for dinner and the announcement of Tricia Nixon's engagement. There was a lovely evening of entertainment - Irish songs for the Prime Minister.

The UN lunches are something else again. For example, on Wednesday the 17th a lunch with the Secretary General - formal, wines, toasts, stilted. It was the same thing on Thursday the 18th - a luncheon given by Ambassador Bitsios of Greece for the Secretary General. Lunches usually last from 1:15 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. - much too long indeed.

I had a visit this week from Ken Towery of the USIA, following a visit from Ted Weintal of USIA and a consultant to Shakespeare. Shakespeare is being very cooperative in trying to restaff our press setup and get it toned up. I think we are going to make some changes on it although the people are working very hard there.

Friday the 19th after the Dewey funeral I attended a dinner given by the Vice President. Most of the members

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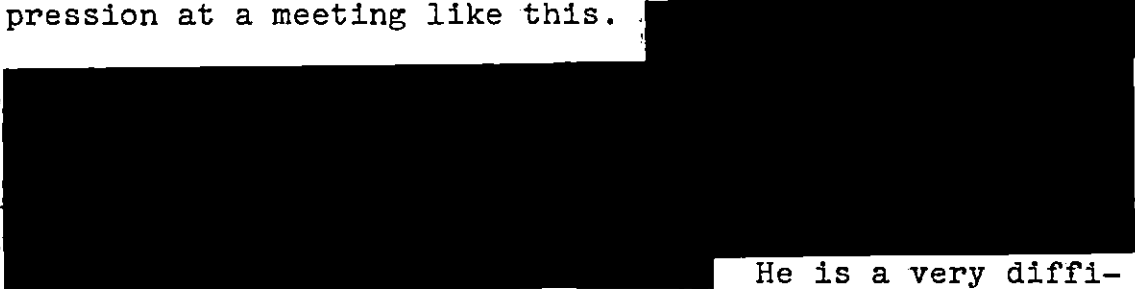
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of the Cabinet attended - no wives, just Cabinet. Rumsfeld and Schulz from the White House were there plus most of the other cabinet officers. John Connally gave his pitch about the election. It was amazing to me to hear him talk about how great Agnew had been on pointing up the problems of the TV. My mind couldn't help but go back to the election when Connally was berating the Administration and particularly the financial policies. Here he is now right in the Treasury. He makes a very good impression at a meeting like this.



He is a very difficult guy to predict. All through the Vice President's dinner when he was talking he said, "You have got to do that," and "You have got to prove this." It was not "we". This concerns me a little bit. Connally has a good deal of power and he could indeed leave the Administration and some think run as a Democrat. We talked about which Democrat would be likely to run. Connally thought Scoop Jackson would be the toughest to beat but that he couldn't get the nomination. He thought Kennedy would be far the easiest to beat. I did not agree with this and I told him so. He feels that Humphrey is most apt to get the

the nomination. A good deal of time was spent talking about the press and what to do about it. I think we make a mistake to single out the commentators. Agnew was very strong on this, not singling out an individual but in figuring we couldn't possibly win unless we get the press and commentators lined up. This seems to be an obsession with him though certainly what he is saying is very true and I am just afraid it is a losing wicket. There was some talk about revenue sharing and how it was going. There was also some talk about getting the true image of the President across. I think this is very worthwhile. I am convinced the country does not appreciate the good sides of the President. They have him pictured as cold and cool and calculating but no warmth. I also think Mrs. Nixon is underappreciated. This came up and most of the Cabinet members felt the same way exactly.

Saturday morning I met for an hour and a half with Kissinger prior to Meet the Press. Twice while we were there the President called. Kissinger is very easy to talk to. He expressed some real concern about the State Department on the Middle East. He felt that Sisco was pushing the Israelis too hard and echoed the sentiments that Sisco could get us into a shooting war in the Middle East. This is at a time when Abba Eban had been to the

White House and had had a long visit with Rogers on the 19th. Eban was standing firm that the Israelis must have a presence at Sharm El-Sheikh and Rogers was arguing strongly with him that the next move to keep the Jarring talks going was up to the Israelis. Kissinger seemed to have a softer line than Sisco which surprised me because I thought they were exactly on the same wavelength. Kissinger seemed to indicate that Rogers would be pulling back a little from his statement, and he urged me to study the President's March 4th speech which "gave the Israelis a lot more leeway." My personal view at this time is that we should keep the pressure on the Israelis and this seems to be more Sisco's and Rogers' view than Kissinger's surprisingly. We talked about Red China. Kissinger seemed to feel that we should be flexible with Red China but firm in our protection of Nationalist China. He had a strong feeling that the State Department was maneuvering around to sell out Nationalist China down the line. This is all very new, so I don't know if there is anything to it or not. We talked about the Laos operation, and he suggested that I not make it all sound great, but point out that though there had been problems with it, generally speaking it was successful, backing this up with plenty of statistics etc.

On Monday the 15th the President telephoned to tell me that he felt I had done a good job on speaking for the Administration at the Space Dinner and that he wanted me to seek out more public appearances. This was very flattering and certainly very cheering. This side of Nixon is totally unknown to people. On the 20th I met with Abba Eban after coming back from Washington. He did most of the talking, reiterating the position that they felt they had been responsive to Jarring, that they wanted Jarring to continue, but that they needed to find some break-through. I had the feeling they were sorry they put the sentence in there about "not withdrawing," but certainly he didn't say this. I told him I understood he had the greatest command of the English language with the possible exception of Churchill and that I felt, given this command of language, he could devise some letter to Jarring that would cause no political problems at home and yet move the talks forward without exactly repudiating the second sentence of paragraph 4 in the Jarring initiative, the one about withdrawal. Eban overlooked mentioning the fact that the Egyptians had come a long way in talking about peace and their willingness to find a peace agreement. In fact, he just downplayed this completely and yet all along historically this has been

the one thing the Israelies have wanted. It is a very interesting shift. After the Eban visit we met with Gunnar Jarring at our apartment and reported to him in detail about the meetings with Rogers and Eban. It is hard to predict what Jarring will do at this point, but he was very grateful for the information. I am very anxious to stay in close touch.

Orvil Hansen from Idaho was there. He seems very knowledgeable on the Middle East and he said just the right things for Jarring to pep him up and to tell him how the Congress appreciated what he was doing. I was most impressed with his grasp of the subject. Orvil felt that the Congress would not buckle under to Israeli pressure and that it did appreciate the fact that the UAR had been forthcoming in their willingness to sign an agreement for peace.

There has been a lot of briefing and reading for Meet the Press.

March 28, 1971 - The UN Building expansion. Chris Phillips felt strongly as did others at our Mission that I should testify on the building expansion for hearings that are coming up on March 29 or 30. This is a plan to enlarge the UN building with the Federal government putting in \$20 million in addition to what it puts in indirectly. I voted for this in the Congress. My view was however that I would not be able to influence John Rooney. Bill Macomber and DePalma are convinced that the building thing will fail. My position is that the financial affairs of the UN are in such sorry shape that we better not use up our "brownie points" on problems that are not striking at the fundamental core of the problem. I am worried sick about how we are going to solve these overall United Nations problems. I had a meeting last week at which the financial people from the United Nations came over and they were talking about having to take out of trust funds in order to pay the salaries. This is depressing, and it certainly reflects terrible management. I don't know what the answer is going to be, but we must take a real hard look at it.

I talked to Charlie Bartlett about this and he confirmed my judgment. He felt that somewhere there ought to be an important role in being critical of the New York aspect of the UN without getting all the New York

establishment down on your neck. It is the most expensive place, terrible crime, impossible living conditions, and yet here we are recommending we expand the facilities here. It really doesn't make any fundamental sense. It's a very ticklish issue though, and we are going to have to handle it very carefully in the future.

I attended the Cabinet meeting and the NSC meeting. The NSC Meeting was on China, and I was very interested in Vice President Agnew's and John Connally's view that the country was strongly opposed to Peking coming in and that they would rather see us going down in flames. Neither of them in my view were focusing on what this meant to Formosa but their gut political instincts were most interesting. The President was very courteous about giving me a chance to express myself on the China question.

National Security Council - 3/25/71 - Dual representation resolution approach suggested by Henry Kissinger and Rogers - urge consultations soon - "Blanket of Universality" - very general. President Nixon mentioned Opinion Research poll - people 3-2 vs. Red China in UN - UN generally lacks support in U.S. - discussed need to handle politics - "wheel it" - he felt we could. Agnew made strong support with "go down with ship" - Asians will respect us more etc. Connally - "need an enemy" -

Peking is a good one -- need something to be against -- so what if Taiwan not in UN etc.

I ran into Ambassador Phil Habib and told him I thought it might be a useful thing for him to go over with me and talk to U Thant. His response was worth noting. He said, "I am a foreign service officer. I don't want to 'play games'. I would be glad to do it but there are some things you ought to think of, namely, this might open the door for the North Vietnamese to do it." He told me to talk to the Secretary of State. I went in to talk to the Secretary about it, and Habib was there. I made him look good on this by telling the Secretary Habib's reaction in front of Habib. Habib will come up to the Mission and will brief our people. The more contacts we have like this, the more we can articulately defend the policy that nobody around New York seems to like.

Politics - Charlie Bartlett is convinced that Lindsay has the money and is going to run for President, hoping to end up on the ticket as Vice President. He is also convinced that Agnew will not be able to run on the Republican ticket and that the President will have to go elsewhere. He thinks that Agnew is too great a liability. I am not sure that he is reading the country

correctly on this but he feels firm in his view. He feels we should be doing a lot more speaking, cutting down on the New York society kind of thing and doing as much as we can with the press. I am convinced that this is correct.

Twice I ran into Bill Draper this week. He picked me up on the way to the Cabinet meeting and I saw him at a lunch given by Joe and Ginny Tydings given out at Oakington, Maryland. Draper continues to amaze me. He is a fantastic salesman. He is upset that the bill that I sponsored and helped get through the House is not being fully funded so he had me tackle Bob Finch at the Cabinet meeting, and I also talked to Bob Veneman who was there in place of Eliot Richardson. I then got Draper to call Veneman and at the Tydings luncheon he told me he had some "good news". I hope I have as much energy at 72 years old.

I went to the Arsht-Freedman wedding. Walter Freedman is a leading Jewish lawyer in Washington. I sat between a Mr. Arnold Levi and Mr. Dick Creigor of GEICO. Both of them put on the hard sell on Israel. They feel very very strongly and they echoed all the arguments given by Abba Eban. They were friendly but I could see that they were just adamant in their views.

Middle East - Bill Rogers went up to the Senate this week and spoke to the senators trying to get them on the program. He is very pleased with his response. Javits and Ribicoff came out saying that they didn't realize that Israel would not have to withdraw until after an agreement. This showed me clearly that they were being somewhat hypocritical. The Secretary nor any other person had ever made the statement that they would have to withdraw before firm agreement was reached, but these senators used this point of view. It's a very tough one. Senator Bill Saxbe told me that he had spoken to a couple of Jewish groups lately and that they got up and said, "We won this territory by force, and we ought to keep it," and the room broke out into ear-splitting applause. There is still a danger of public opinion being mobilized for the Israelis, but I don't think it's all that great because in my view Rogers and President Nixon have handled this pretty well.

Four Power Meetings - After the Four Power Meetings Malik was talking about whom we wanted for Secretary General. It was a very general conversation, both of us fencing back and forth, neither of us saying anything. It will be interesting to see how this one works out, but the more I look at the financial management problems facing the United Nations, the more I realize the im-

portance of having some kind of forceful administrator at the top of all this. I like U Thant personally very much, but I don't think he is strong or tough enough in this administrative field. He was after all a school teacher with no experience along this line. I am afraid that things are drifting and propagating, and I don't quite see where the end lies.

Social whirl - I am going to have to sort out some priorities. The long deadly luncheons given for people by the Secretary General and the others are too much. They are having a series of going away luncheons for Ambassador Farra of Jordan. The cocktails, the wine, the heavy meal, the whole thing consumes a couple of hours and they are a total waste of time. It is going to be difficult drawing the line between being polite and courteous and yet not wasting time. On the other hand, the UN dinners can be productive. At the dinner given by Colin Crowe I had a chance to visit intimately with two or three of the ambassadors in a rather relaxed surrounding. This week we took the Ambassador of Madagascar to a hockey game with one of his boys and then Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria brought his boy to go to a basketball game. I think this kind of thing will be

important to do, and I think it demonstrates a certain friendliness that the UN ambassadors should show to other people.

As I dictate this the Laos operation has ended. My knowledge of the operation and what I get from reading the press are two different things. I am hoping that the operation will prove to have been a success, but from reading the papers one gets the feeling that it was a total washout. From reading the papers one feels that we lost many more helicopters than ever when in essence we lost less than we did in Cambodia in the same number of days and only ten percent more than during normal operations. There are many such statistics including kill ratio etc. but these are passe and no one is interested in them.

Prisoners of War - I hope we can do more to emphasize the plight of the prisoners here. Housewives of Chatham came up and we got pretty good press on it. Ross Perot was there by chance. He is a difficult fellow to figure out. He has always been very friendly to me, and he and his wife Margo are great, but he is a very complicated man. I think he now pictures himself as totally non-partisan.

Meet the Press - We got a lot of comment on this. I think it went well. Of course the people who think it went poorly wouldn't tell you. Bob Oakley was very frank and said, "I think you get a B+ for this performance." I respected him for this. Frankly there were lots of things I would have liked to have done differently, but I was awfully busy trying to keep out of trouble on policy.

Incident with Lindsay on narcotics - I guess we are going to have a contest with Lindsay. He called me on Friday and said that he was having one of this regular lunches with the Secretary General and the subject of narcotics came up. The two men from the Secretariat came in and they had had a very good discussion. The police commissioner had been with him and they had talked about the need to control narcotics abroad. We can double the policemen on the street but they won't be able to handle the international narcotics problems. He then told me when he left the press grabbed him downstairs and he made some comments about the importance about the UN work. The press asked him whether he had talked to the US Mission at the UN and he said no. He was calling me to invite me to a luncheon that he is going to give on the very same day I am to present a

check to U Thant for \$1 million. It seemed very clear to me that John was "horning in" on all of this but was embarrassed on the way it came up. I called Jack Stuart but didn't get him so I talked to our other press people. They called me back to tell me, as did Chris Phillips, that Lindsay had set this meeting up specifically to talk about narcotics, that they had tried to get a lot of press and that it was quite obviously an effort to move in on the thing. It was not all that critical to me, but I told him I was not able to go to the luncheon he was planning. I don't think we should let him take the play away on this issue which is one of the obvious things that the USUN has to make a splash on. John is a very difficult, funny guy. He is competitive and very hard for me to read.

April 19, 1971 - General Observations

I had a meeting with Henry Kissinger on the 17th. I am impressed with Henry's general feeling that the State Department is not following the President's policies. On China he specifically commented that Marshall Green would like to see Nationalist China out, that there was no fight for it. He told me that they had sent Robert Murphy as an emissary out to Chiang. I asked him about the Security Council slot and he said that nothing had been mentioned to Murphy about the Security Council slot. He asked me for a memo which I got to him after talking to Mike Newlin. I told Kissinger that the Security Council slot was not "vetoable" since it was a matter of credentials. If the question had been on two Chinas - admitting a new state - then it would have been vetoed. But on a dual representation it would not be vetoable in the Security Council. Procedures for a new member require the Security Council to approve it with all permanent members supporting and then the General Assembly to support it by two-thirds. I went back to my State Department office, typed up a memo after talking to Mike and sent it over to Henry Kissinger. Kissinger is a warm guy with a good sense of humor. He

keeps telling me, "You are the President's man." He is much more communicative with me than Bill Rogers.

On Saturday evening I met with Bob McNamara for the first time on my new job. I had known him before. He talked about the UN and how it was doing much more good than he realized before, how fouled up the finances were, and how pleased he was that Ruddy Peterson was considering doing the UNDP job. He thought it was important to get the President to call Ruddy. I mentioned this to the President on Sunday at the White House church service going through the line. I don't think the President quite captured what I was saying. He was standing next to Joe Frazier.

Peterson was in the Mission last week, and I was very much impressed with him. He is a most attractive man and younger appearing than I had thought he would be. Everyone says he is extremely able. Having written the Peterson report on multilateral funding, he should be excellent. I am hoping he is going to accept this important job. McNamara also told me that U Thant had said to him that he was going to get out. Today I met with Max Jakobson, the Finnish candidate. He had been

traveling all over the world garnering votes. The word we had gotten was that his candidacy was dead, that the Arabs didn't want him because his wife was a Zionist and that his campaign was not getting off the ground. Jakobson seemed so much more encouraged than this, mainly because there was no other candidate surfacing. He felt that the Russians' first choice would be to continue Thant in office for a year or two. I think it is becoming clear that this is correct.

I had a meeting last weekend with Joe Sisco on the Middle East. Joe plays his cards very close to his vest. We found that there were a bunch of telegrams that we hadn't gotten and Mike Newlin talked to Atherton about it. Mike thought it would be better if I didn't mention it to Sisco. I did in passing mention it to Kissinger, and he said Sisco does things that we don't even know about over here. I gather now that we have our communications problems worked out. Sisco is a very vain and arrogant man - very vain and egotistical. I have great respect for him since he is such a hard charger, but he does not want to share the information. I don't think that he views us as any kind of competitors up here. I just think he is used to running things, and

likes it that way. We may have to have a showdown as far as information goes someday, but I hope not.

The social whirl is too much. We are going to have to cut down on some of these useless evenings. Tonight it was the Stuttgart ballet. Actually it was great fun, but it didn't help the job any, it didn't help the President any, and it didn't help my ulcers any. I am very tired. I have never seen a job where there is such constant activity. There are so many things to do. There is one appointment after the other and very little time to do any reading.

The Host Country problems are beginning to bug me. It's a shame to have to spend any time at all at these crazy things, but they must be done. Malik called me about a planned demonstration at Glen Cove. He had received a letter from Mayor DiPaola and the Mayor had him all upset that there would be 10,000 people. The State Department did not want to use EPS troops. I got on the phone to Bob Douglas, the Governor's man, Lou Frank, the County Commissioner of Nassau County, and the Mayor. Douglas got the county to provide troops with the state as a backup. It turned out on Sunday that there were 500 demonstrators and 200 cops, but

at least Malik was happy. Malik raised hell with me about "throwing away frogs" in the Amtorg office. The crazy JDL let loose a bunch of frogs and mice which terrified the people in the building. Today the South African Consulate was bombed by black extremists. New York is a miserable place to have the UN. This is heretical to say in the Mission, but it is true.

The Mission is wed to certain ideas that need to be challenged. For example, any moving of the UNDP would be bad. I checked this with Bob McNamara, and he didn't agree. I checked about the moving of UNICEF with Henry Labouisse and he didn't agree, but Al Bender, Finger et al keep talking about how horrible it would be. I simply don't understand what they mean. Maybe they are right, but I don't think so right now. They also are insistent on the building expansion program. I am not convinced that this is fundamental for the survival of the UN, particularly when rents are going down, and there is empty office space. I am having a man from the Young Presidents Organization take a fresh look at the project, and I am convinced that it can be done in another way - maybe in not as good a way, but that it can be done. Yet Finger today had former Congressman Tenzer and Congressman Addabbo in to see me. It was

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quite obvious that he had told them to pressure me into appearing before the Congress. I told Joe Addabbo that I disagreed with his approach and I felt that more fundamental than the building expansion was the overall financing. Friday they had to hold up all checks until a check cleared. McNamara told me they were borrowing from banks at the UN. Bender, however, called over to the UN and called me back, almost indignant, telling me this was not true. I told him I would call McNamara with this information which I plan to do. McNamara feels that Paul Hoffman will gracefully step out. I am not quite so sure, but it will be my unhappy lot to confront him with his resignation.



We have a new young man in our life - Dick Neuberger. He is an attractive Jewish fellow who is working at the

Embassy in the evenings. He is a Georgetown graduate who seems very eager. We need a man around there in the evenings. We will have to wait and see how this one works out.

The Lodge formula on entertaining seems to be a good one - mix the crowd, have a little entertainment, don't separate the men and women after the dinner. It's a mixed bag approach. It worked at our first dinner. We are scheduling a bunch of these things.

There are great news media opportunities - Time-Life Board, Newsweek Board, AP Board - and then there will be the New York Times, Chase Bank Board, etc. These have been good opportunities to spell out Administration positions etc.

The East Pakistan matter looks rough. The Indian Ambassador, Ambassador Sen, comes around and talks about it a lot. He is a depressing kind of fellow. I like the Pakistan Ambassador better, but I am afraid his government is going to end up looking pretty bad in all of this.

Joe Lyday from Texas, whose daughter is Sandra Mitchell, was in. Sandra's husband kidnapped their son and flew to Cuba. We are trying to find out something through the Canadians. It has been five years since that

child was taken away by the husband, and apparently it is wearing very much on the mother. I feel frustrated. I checked with the CIA people, but we have no hope there.

Our environmental day with Russell Train at center stage worked pretty well. We met at the Mission, and Peter Thatcher briefed him on what was going on at the UN. That evening there was a large reception for him, after which the Trains, the Curleys, the Phillips and ourselves went to see Jane Morgan.

The Big Four Meetings are bugging me a little bit. They are not making much progress. The Russians are accusing us of stalling and they are right. At a briefing for the incoming president of the Security Council and the outgoing president, Malik got into a big tirade about our trying to impose ourselves as an intermediary in the Middle East. I rebutted him and he was wrong in this, but he did accuse us again of stalling in the Four, and though I denied it, I think he is probably right.

The Cabinet meeting on the 13th was on energy. There were some very interesting discussions, presenting to the President the alternatives about going for a breeder reaction development in atomic energy. The number of subjects

he has to grasp is amazing. This one would take a major commitment of dollars and it would of course offer long-range fuel requirements for many, many countries. The environmentalists will probably jump all over him if he decides to go this way and yet Seaborg, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, testified that there was infinitesimal "units" connected with exposure to one of these plants - something like in the average room there are 200 units of radio activity and around a plant there would be 1/10 of one percent more. I don't know which way this decision will go yet.

I played tennis the last two weeks with Red Blount. I am convinced he is going to run for the United States Senate. Jimmy Allison has done his surveying for him along with Ken Reitz. They think it's a long shot, but Blount is really ready to charge. I like him. He is strong - a real man.

I am very much concerned about the attack on the institutions in this country. One gets a tremendously distorted view of America from New York. I am convinced of this. The drumbeat of attacks on Hoover are in the news right now. My own personal view is that Hoover

should have gotten out a long time ago, but to degrade him and to give him a "bum rap" is not correct.

The same was true on the Calley case, with the thrust up here being an immoral nation. The whole country is corrupt etc. etc. I have never seen such distorted impression of America, and I am afraid it is not good for the UN to see all of this. Continually at the Four Meetings Malik quotes back to me things that are wrong with our country, things that he has read in the paper. The Times is quoted all the time.

Our friend Pete McCloskey is now looking like a more active candidate to run against Nixon. I am convinced he is being used. He is presenting a distorted view on Vietnam. Al Lowenstein is masterminding it, and he cannot possibly have McCloskey's interest at stake. He is a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat, and in the final analysis he will dump McCloskey cold.

Last week Charles Yost did an article in the paper on Vietnam. Kissinger was furious about it and told me the President was too. I wrote a letter to the editor, dictated it to Kissinger's office, and he and the President discussed it. The President was very gratified about the letter, but they decided I should not send it.

I had called Henry Tanner and had asked him if we should have some kind of release. Tanner had suggested no release and no letter. He finally said a letter might be all right. Tanner was very pleased when I called him back and told him that I decided to take his advice. I did not tell him that the President and Kissinger were involved. Henry made some comment about Yost probably writing the article "in the apartment we graciously let him stay in for a month." People that are disloyal to the President are understandably not very highly regarded around the White House. I can understand this because the pressure on the Vietnam decisions are great, and it is easy to criticize and harp.

Part of the problem at the UN Secretariat is the age of the people. A lot of them came in 25 years ago. Thant is not an administrator. He is a delightful, peaceful man, but he is not strong, and he does not like financial problems, administration, etc. A lot of the people around him are weak too. Hoffman at UNDP is 80 (some say 82). He does not seem to want to get out. McNamara and many others concede that this has been a disaster. We are really going to have to work to restructure the whole organization, and it won't be easy. Ambassador Bernie Zagorin should be

on board soon and this will help the economic and social end. Tap Bennett should be up before the Senate next week to be confirmed for the Number 3 spot. Once we get these people on board, my job should be somewhat easier, although I don't quite see an end to this trail of visitors.

On the political front I have tried to put an end to any speculation about running for Governor. I keep telling Texas reporters as firmly as I can that there is nothing to it in a total Shermanesque statement, but out comes more speculation. Margaret Mayer did print in the Dallas Times Herald that there was no chance.

There is a lot of Vice President speculation, mainly among close friends who are wishful thinkers. I have told them, people such as O'Donnell, Mosbacher, Jimmy Allison, Will Farish, that we don't need money now and that I do not want to do anything to appear as if I am campaigning for Vice President. The essential thing is to do this job and to do it well, and to make clear that I am not running for anything. There has been a lot of speculation in the papers, mainly in Texas, although Newseek and a couple of others up here had mention of this. This kind of speculation is no good at all. I got word back from somebody that had seen Dick Watson in Paris that he was pushing this kind of idea.

At this point in time I would have to think twice about whether I'd rather have this job or be in the Senate. Two months ago or three it wouldn't have been any choice at all, but now I find this work so fascinating that it is hard to tell. I worry sometimes about the lack of accomplishment on the political or diplomatic side. It seems to me a lot of times we are simply following out orders in the Four Power meeting, although I feel the talks with Kissinger on China and the Middle East have been more substantive than that. In time I hope to move more into the policy end of things. In the meantime it is better to do my homework, not bother the President or Secretary, and learn the business cold.