

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: Donated Historical Materials
Collection/Office of Origin: Bush, George H.W., Collection
Series: Personal Papers
Subseries: United Nations File

OA/ID Number: 25863
Folder ID Number: 25863-012

Folder Title:
Notes 5/2/71 - 7/19/71

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	5	1	5	4

May 2, 1971 - General observations.

The ping pong diplomacy has broken. We had the captain of the ping pong team over to the UN - Jack Howard. I was amazed at the different reaction of the ping pong players. The hippie got a lot of the attention. Another young kid saw instant acceptance of the Mao line - system. But Jack Howard was a very reasonable guy. He indicated that he was no instant expert, the visit was worthwhile, the system in Peking was regimented, etc. There has been a lot of talk about this in the UN. I have never seen such concern on the part of the Russians as there is on this subject. All the delegates are talking and laughing about ping pong diplomacy. The Russians are up-tight. Gromeko's son came by and saw me, and then I saw him again at dinner at the Gardners' and he mentioned this. We speculated as to how the Chinese would behave. Most people at the UN seemed to feel that the Chinese will raise hell for a while and cause a lot of confrontations. Nobody seems to know for sure. The Russians indicated they felt this way.

JDL harassment - As a result of threatened demonstrations on Long Island and as a result of a bomb at

Amtorg which exploded, I went up and had a long talk with Malik. He keeps talking about our knuckling under to the Zionists. I think he honestly knows that we cannot control these hooligans, but he sure capitalizes on it. It's amazing how when there is an incident in this country immediately there is retaliation in Moscow. The Russians are understandably incensed.

Today I received a call from the Byelorussian Ambassador protesting about harassment of his family. They drove out of their estate on Glen Cove - the ambassador's wife, daughter, chauffeur, chauffeur's wife, daughter, and friend - and were repeatedly harassed and stopped by a group of hooligans hitting on the car. The daughter was scared to death and apparently needed doctor's care. They got the license number and we are running it down. The car belongs to Mr. Tettlebaum whose son is a member of the JDL. This outrageous behavior has got to stop, but I don't know quite what we can do about it. We have gotten our Mission together and we are pushing a package of increased legislation, more EPS people, and public opinion. I sent a statement via Lou Rudin to a group of Jewish people who were meeting and in the statement I said something about this kind of move will cause anti-Semitism to increase. Apparently this got the Jews all up in arms. They are very

sensitive about this subject. We had a call from Rita Hauser etc. We are pussyfooting on this question, and I don't think we are hitting hard enough against the outrages of the JDL. I talked to Max Fisher about this at the White House and he told me the harder we hit them the better. I had a visit however with my dear friend Len Garment and he wanted to go slow. He did not want to get an injunction against the JDL. I also heard from Rita Hauser that this could backfire on us. I also heard from Dave Guyer saying that the young Jews would be "lost" if we crack down too hard on JDL. In my view we cannot cater to irresponsibility or extremism, and I told them this. I am for a very hard line on this subject. It makes relations impossible, and I don't know where it will lead. At the Daily News luncheon I spelled this out to their editors. I don't know whether it will have any effect or not. I also brought it up at the Cabinet meeting in April. The President seemed concerned.

Some of the considerations of the Cabinet meeting were about the extremists who were then marching on Washington. The President was very firm. You could tell that he was very upset about the tearing down of the flags at the Washington Monument and the destruction of the seats,

but he remained very calm. We got a report on the Youth Conference held in Colorado. Most of the recommendations were against the President. Eliot Richardson reported on the meeting. The President was very contained but you could tell he was damned upset by some of the recommendations.

On the UN the President mentioned moving the UN General Assembly or Security Council meetings around. He mentioned it a couple of times. That night I saw him at a meeting of the Volunteer Action Group and afterward I went up and talked to him about it. I told him I liked the idea and he said for me to go ahead and carry the ball. I know this will drive the State Department up the wall, but it is a worthwhile thing. There are some other complications with it such as the delegates not liking it because it will cost them money, but the idea of taking the UN to other countries or other cities for major meetings makes a good deal of sense. I am continually impressed by how unrealistic a place New York is. I find it very difficult to be polite when people ask me how I like New York. It is an unrepresentative city. There are tremendous host country problems. There are tremendous intensified urban problems that are not "the real America."

The newspaper represents a very bias view particularly on South Vietnam and all in all it is a lousy place for the UN. Anybody in his right mind would admit this. I had lunch with Frank Stanton and Mr. Paley at CBS and Paley admitted that very much. Paley said if we had to do it all over of course we wouldn't have the UN here. I'm just as clear as heck in my mind that this is true, but I am amazed at how protective both the people in our Mission are and the New York establishment is. They will broach no substantive criticism about all of this. I am continually amazed at the arrogance of the intellectual elite in New York. They are so darn sure they are right on everything. It's unbelievable. Having lived in Texas for 23 years I had forgotten how concentrated this problem is, but it's sure there.

Visit with Stanton and Paley - Frank Stanton reported that in his view Frank Shakespeare took a much harder line than the Department of State did on China. He said that there was a big battle between State and Shakespeare and that Shakespeare won. I have heard absolutely nothing about this. It is amazing how these things get going.

The Cabinet Meeting - The President was really strong when they were talking about veterans' employment. The guy from the Commerce Department reported that the veterans were not being hired, some of it due to the "My Lai syndrome"; that some of the personnel officers were holding My Lai against the vets. President Nixon got really furious about this. He told Jim Hodgson to call these guys in here and really ball them out. Get the top people not their personnel people and really lay it on the line to them. In my view the President is absolutely correct.

We have been plagued the last few weeks by overcriticism of the FBI, overcriticism of the military, etc. He also talked about the demonstrations and the President took a very firm line here. This was at the time when the demonstrators were coming in with the expressed purpose of shutting down the city.

I am doing a fair amount of speaking around, but it is very difficult to get any press. I spoke at Salem College and there was nothing at all in the Boston papers about it. I am not happy about our press setup. We have been operating undermanned with Chris Phillips gone and Zagorin and Bennett about to come on board. We need them.

I have never seen a job that has more demands on a person's time.

On Thursday, April 29 we had four receptions after 5:00 - Grow Chemical, Japanese Embassy, Israeli Embassy and then a fascinating small dinner given by Governor Rockefeller. I think meetings like the CBS hierarchy, the Board of Directors of the Chase Manhattan, etc. are worthwhile. You can give the President's view and express ones hope for the UN.

On Wednesday the 28th I had a very important background press meeting with Bud Sperling of the Christian Science Monitor and his group. There were about 18 reporters there - all top-flight. That day at lunch we had the Chase Board. This was good publicity, good background. That kind of thing can help the President, and we want to do more of it.

On the 27th we had a dinner at the Alibi Club that Henry Bellmon thought up and that I hosted. We had the heads of some of the oil companies talk about the seabed. Jack Stevenson from State, Lee Radiner from Defense, several senators and congressmen and others were there. It's the kind of meeting also that makes a good deal of sense - informal. The kind of meeting that doesn't make sense was what happened Monday the 26th at Richard Gardner's.- a bunch of liberal big wheels (head of the Metropolitan Museum) who are interesting to meet but that don't help the job at all.

We have got to sort out the important things and do only those that help the job, help the President, etc. These social things like the Stuttgart ballet which was very pleasant simply don't make any sense at all in terms of commitment of time.

We went to a dinner at Paul Hoffman's. Again it was pleasant but I am not sure it helped the job. Ruddy Peterson has been asked to take on the Hoffman job. I sent a memo suggesting that the President call Peterson but apparently he was unwilling to do this, feeling that Peterson always needed special attention. This is discouraging. Bob McNamara feels that Peterson would be very, very good.

I am beginning to speak around some - Salem State College, Norfolk Azalea Festival, and tomorrow in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This is an important part of the work.

I got the Mission together the other day and told them that we were reacting. If somebody blows up a bomb there are protests and then we get on the ball with host country problems. Somebody says something against us in the economic field and we react then. It is essential that we sit down and plan where we want to be a year from now or five years from now and then try to implement it. The financial problems still have me bugged. I met with Phil Klutznick, an Adlai Stevenson man, and he gave me

some good advice. Don't knuckle in. Don't make concessions to the Russians. If you do, they'll only consider it a sign of weakness and take that as a point of departure. We are facing a major financial crisis, and I think Klutznick is right. We have to be absolutely firm. I am convinced if we are not, we cannot get support from our Congress so we might as well start from that realistic point.

Private - I worry about the family situation. The boys are in good shape. Jebby is going to need some help I am sure. He is a free and independent spirit and I don't want him to get totally out of touch with the family. He doesn't want to be. But I am just worried with our strange hectic life and Jeb going back to Texas this summer that we may lose touch with him. The other boys seem to be in good shape. Jeb will be staying with George and this is good. George will be a good influence on him. Jebby is a deep sensitive kid with lots of compassion and love in his heart, but I worry that he might take on some crazy idea. He has not so far nor is there a sign of it but it just plagues me a little bit.

China - On Friday at Andover I got a call from Air Force One. Gen. Al Haig, Kissinger's assistant, was calling about China. He said that the President was very

upset by a remark that Secretary Rogers had made about China. Apparently the question was asked of Rogers, "What happens if the Russians and Chinese get fighting over this, and there is some beneficial fallout to us?". Rogers simply answered "So much the better." This upset the President because he did not want it to appear that we are trying to put Russia up against China. Haig's point was say nothing about this and be very, very careful because the boss is really upset about it. Fortunately I have not been saying anything other than that the President has made damn clear that we don't want to put our overtures to China in the posture of doing something against Russia. The Russians are really uptight on this and I can see why Nixon is concerned.

May 20, 1971 - random comments.

Secretary Rogers' trip to the Middle East was the subject of a good deal of discussion. Rogers made very clear publicly that he wasn't expecting too much. I got a first-hand report on this at the Cabinet Meeting Tuesday, May 11. Rogers was in exotic spirits - very high, very pleased at the crowds. He continually pointed out to the Cabinet how warmly he had been received, how this reflected good feeling for the United States and a strong confidence in the President's position in the Middle East. Rogers is excellent with people. He comes off very well close up. He is reasonable, sensible, not a big shot, decent, not hot on all the details but makes an excellent impression.

On May 16 Rogers, Sisco, McCloskey and I had dinner (along with Ann Farish). He was very relaxed. We first went by his apartment for a drink. He makes nice, down-to-earth comments - appreciating the apartment, noting the boats going up the river, the view, etc. I had intended to talk a good deal of business with him about the Secretary General election and all these things but he was tired. We had a couple of drinks. That was the end of the serious thought. I am very much impressed with

him. Sisco pushes very hard. He is strong, able, egotistical, very much opposite from Rogers in a lot of ways, although Rogers' drive is just as much. Rogers has more "class". I was impressed with McCloskey - his friendliness, his sense of humor, etc.

The visit with Jarring and U Thant was a good one. Rogers suggested to Jarring that he address himself to the Palestine question in order to keep King Hussein from feeling left etc. Jarring needed some persuasion on this, but Rogers made a darn good presentation. U Thant brought up at the meeting the idea that the President on September 6 might want to come to Geneva to meet with Chou En Lai and the other leaders of the Big Six. It was a good idea. Rogers listened attentively and said that he would present it to the President. It will be interesting to see what comes of this. It might capture Nixon's fancy.

The President suggested at a Cabinet Meeting that it might be a good idea for the UN to meet abroad. I saw him that afternoon at a reception given by Mrs. Nixon for the "Volunteer Sector". I asked him if it would be all right to go ahead and surface the idea. He said definitely yes. I asked him if there were any political problems involved as to timing or as to '72. He said no. I discussed the matter with U Thant who expressed some reservations because of cost and who emphasized

that it might be better for the Security Council. I then went ahead and made a speech before an international law group about it. Pauline Frederick cut a television tape on it. It wasn't run. I was invited to CBS to talk about it but they got involved in talking about Egypt. We put out a bunch of press releases and there was no coverage at all. The State Department - out of courtesy I asked Tom Lias to tell DePalma about it and he kind of groaned and seemed shocked. I was impressed that if we had sent the speech through channels it never would have gotten done, although this may be unfair. The idea fell with a reasonably dull thud though it is a good one and we will continue to push it. The New York people will probably be down on it. They are not eager to have anything "leave New York".

My observations at this time are that New York is a horrible place for the UN. The host country problems continue to mount. The Jewish Defense League actions are awful. I went down to Washington to talk to the Attorney General and J. Edgar Hoover. I had a very interesting visit with J. Edgar Hoover. We talked about security problems including the JDL. He pointed out that the Black Panthers are just as active as ever and probably the biggest single menace, although the SDS is still going strong. Mitchell advised that they were really going to crack down on the JDL's and get big bonds etc.

They asked for big bonds but then it turned out that the judge cut the \$50,000 bonds in half to \$25,000, thus making it easy for Kahane to get out on bail.

We have just about completed a series of dinners at the Waldorf. The dinners have been pretty good. We tried to keep the men and women from going off into separate rooms at the end of the dinner. We tried to keep it informal. At the last one Bryce Harlow attended and gave a marvelous talk about the "real President Nixon". He was very articulate, very able and did an excellent job. Charlotte Reid sang and she was most attractive. I am confident that these ambassadors find this kind of evening an improvement over just sitting around yakking and smoking cigars.

The Secretary General successor problem is upon us. Jakobson of Finland, a strange man, wants to have the job. We are backing him. There is something funny about him and I don't feel particularly close to him, but I am told he is the best one there is. I like Waldheim of Austria but others tell me he is not particularly capable. It is awfully hard to judge from just meeting a man once. He was Foreign Minister of his country.

I continue to have a decent relationship with Ambassador Malik. On May 13 he came by and talked for some 50 minutes about various problems. He was in an expansive mood. He can blow hot and cold. He always is inclined to give the rhetoric. He always kind of attacks. I wonder what our relationship would be if I kept attacking him, mentioning Soviet Jewry, mentioning Russia and Czechoslovakia, etc. He probably would react very differently. One night at a dinner he told me that he had been the Ambassador to Japan and talked about this. He was there in Japan when the atomic bomb went off. He told some of his men to go look it over, and they came in protesting that they would be sterilized if they went down there due to radioactivity. I asked Malik where he was during the bombing raids, and he said he was lying on the floor in the bottom. I asked him if he had a bomb shelter, and he told me no.

On the Jewish Defense League question I met with leaders from the Responsible Jewish Community, the American Jewish Committee, Anti-defamation League, etc. They were upset because I had said that if people did not speak out against the JDL and the JDL was allowed to prosper it could result in anti-semitism. This latter offended them terribly although I am confident it was true.

Apparently it is an old sore and represents an old point of view. When these leaders came to the office I apologized for that and told them that I had made this mistake unintentionally and I think we had a good frank session. They are very sensitive, up-tight guys, but they are down on the JDL's. Their point is that they need some attention that they can pass along to their constituents to show that they are trying to do something. If they don't do this the extremist tactics can capture the imagination of some of the people.

We had an anti-JDL meeting that Lindsay and I co-hosted. I am amazed at how much Lindsay is inclined to be "front and center". He spent 20 minutes at the last meeting at which I was host giving a summary speech on things. I was a little surprised at this. Arthur Goldberg talks a great deal and is terribly egotistical, but he does make a substantive contribution. He is a very vain fellow, but in a way rather charming. Lindsay can be very pleasant too, but he certainly wants to dominate things at these meetings.

The New York establishment is an amazing thing. I have never seen such arrogance and self-assurance - unwillingness to accept criticism etc. Some of them are delightful people of course, but there is a total arrogance that I simply cannot understand. Anything out of

New York is for the birds. I mentioned to Ambassador Plimpton, who incidentally is a very fine fellow, that the UN might benefit from meeting elsewhere. He told me that in theory the idea was all right but of course it would be bad for New York and thus he would not be for it. Here is the United Nations and the U.S. Mission which is supposed to be truly national, but he was looking at it through the eyes of a New Yorker. I guess one has to understand that. It seems difficult to me.

The President has seemed rather tense to me lately at the Cabinet meetings. We talked about the youth and I could see that he was concerned about some of the outrageous youth statements. He talked about the demonstrators. We just had the veterans demonstration. He was concerned of course about how they were behaving. I think he would like to be a lot tougher, but I think he is conscious of public opinion and wants to appear to be concerned. I think his own gut reaction is to crack down on these people. I must say I concur with him on that.

There have been a lot of rumors around. On the CBS morning program they asked about whether I would serve as Vice President. These questions are designed strictly to put one on the spot. They are impossible to answer. I did call up the Republican State Chairman in Texas, George Willeford, and told him under no conditions would I

be a candidate for governor. It's funny how quickly one gets out of touch with the political scene there. I have a good strong feeling for Texas but I really don't have much judgment on exactly what's happening there. It appears to me that Connally should prove to be the best thing that ever happened to Tower. I must say Connally is making a very, very strong pitch for Nixon support. He is giving speeches to congressmen and others and is talking about Nixon's courage and farsightedness etc. etc. He speaks with great authority at the Cabinet meetings. I had a little nostalgia when he spoke at the Chamber of Commerce meeting and berated the Democrats for their criticism of Nixon on the economy and on the welfare system - the same two issues that he used to berate Nixon with in defeating me in the fall. He has taken a complete 180 degree opposite position. It is absolutely amazing. He does it with great strength, great presence, great charm. Inside I wonder what the real Connally is all about. I just hope that he doesn't ream President Nixon in the process.

Peter O'Donnell was up the night of May 6. He is a very fine fellow. He is cross-threaded with the White House and with John Mitchell and with the President. It's too darn bad because he is totally dedicated to politics, and is one of the most generous men in the business. I don't know what can be done about this.

We have just drawn up our list for the first General Assembly delegation. Last year this wasn't finalized until September and it caused great consternation. We are trying to get it done early. It will be interesting to see if we can get it through soon. It would be a great feat but I am not all that confident about it. I suggested people that should have the political support of the President - Moynihan, Harlow, Dr. Hill (a black Africanist and first cousin of Ed Brooks) and an astronaut. They would make a good combination. I am not sure they would serve, but it would be great if they would.

On the UNDP Rudy Peterson is still considering being willing to serve. He had gone and talked to Hoffman. It is quite amazing. There is a lot of kind of individual diplomacy going on. Arthur Goldberg indicated he wanted to see the President to talk to him about the Jakobson candidacy for Secretary General. I am quite doubtful that Nixon will see him. He shouldn't in my view.

I attended Dad's 76th birthday in Greenwich. All five of us were there and all the in-laws were there except Bar. It was a very touching occasion. I think how lucky we are as a family to feel so very, very close. I look around at our friends and there are very few that have this same closeness in their families during these peculiar times. I am hoping our children will have it

but there is no way one can guarantee how these things work.

I went down and spoke to the Education for the Blind Institute. I wondered why I went. It took a long time to get out there and back and there was no press. Yet I am glad I did it. I wish my kids had seen it. We sat in this big hall. I was sitting next to the head of the Speech Club, who was totally blind. She read her impassioned introduction from brail. When the kids marched into the room all groping with their hands outstretched and their eyes obviously not focusing, I got a lump in my throat and I thought I wouldn't be able to talk to them. Some of the kids were legally blind but could make out shadows. They were also deaf, so they used sign language with each other. It was a motley looking group if I ever saw one and yet the questions were excellent and their attention was terrific. I was terribly grateful when I left and felt thankful for my blessings. It was a great lift but a very emotional experience for me.

May 24, 1971 - Visit with Henry Kissinger.

We view you as White House staff - same as President's family - will keep you informed.

China - five weeks or so more before know what to do - may stick with present script - contacts going on (super sensitive) - until we got your memo did not focus in on Security Council seat at all - Murphy went to Formosa, had chats and assured Chang could hold Security Council seat - Henry Kissinger blames Marshall Green for this (Kissinger feels Green wants Taiwan out) - now have to completely reverse field.

(I worry about credibility in light of new Peking detente, if we stick to old policy - so advised Henry Kissinger.)

I mentioned Friends meeting - new way of handling China - simply have credentials of Peking accepted.

Much of what we decide will be determined by new contacts - "in-depth out of White House"

Secretary General - had not talked to Richard Nixon on this - "surprised if anyone around here would want him to stay on" (Henry Kissinger not up on this one!!) - did mention Jarring

Middle East - Cisco a real worry - doesn't keep 'em informed - reports conflict - Rabin showed Henry Kissinger transcripts that were very different from Cisco reports - (deep division here) "Lies!!"

I urged that on any National Security Council meetings on Mid East Henry Kissinger insist USUN be included. I told him we see important role to play - Henry Kissinger in full agreement on this one.

(I get feeling maybe Rogers handling this and Henry Kissinger out a little) - "After we get Southeast Asia under control we'll do more here."

Question of different reports most disturbing.

UN Delegation - give him my pitch on advocates etc. - told him memo circulated all over the place - "send me some names" - I told him we had - he had not seen them - "agreed on Vietnam approach"

New York Times - interested in Clifton Daniels comments on Nixon's experience in foreign affairs - very true says Henry Kissinger - 1. Peking moves, 2. SALT breakthrough, 3. Middle East cease fire - What did Kennedy do??? - President Nixon mentioned same thing on trip to Texas

Post Vietnam plans - interested in memo from us on this!!

May 25, 1971

'Malik - hooked on press conspiracy.

Theory - "Jews are against Vietnam so they can free all attention to their problem in Middle East.

That's why the New York Times supports this position.

I have had many discussions with Malik on this press conspiracy deal. I talk about "freedom." He scoffs.

TV Program - Issues and Answers. He turned it down even though I offered to control subject matter and have instantaneous translation.

"I'll make a TV star out of you," I said.

"Yah, and in the process I'll make a political hero out of you." Vice Presidential reference.

Dictated on June 12, 1971 - On the eleventh I had a very interesting luncheon with Yakov Malik up at his apartment. I am told this is rather unusual. We have been having a good many problems with the JDL and some big arguments on the Middle East, but in spite of this he appears to be very friendly to me. Malik had with him one counselor. We met up on the penthouse of the Mission. Before going in I talked to the police officers in front of the Mission to see if the JDL had been bothering them. One of the first things I told Malik was that the day before we had had five rabbis in and that I had had the federal marshals throw them out. In that incident they came to the Mission for the fourth time. Max Finger overrode the decision of the security people and permitted them to come up to Chris Phillips' office. Glennon wanted to keep them on the first floor. They did come up to the office and then proceeded to sit in. Chris received them at 11:00. He left for lunch at 12:00. At 2:30 when I got back the security people told me they were waiting for Finger to return in order to have him try to talk them out of it. He tried but they wouldn't. He suggested a deal - if I would see them sometime in the future they would then leave peacefully. I was a little unhappy about any kind

of a deal. But it turned out they wouldn't leave at all, so Glennon got the federal marshals out. I talked to the marshals. Then I went in and talked to the rabbis. I told them they were hurting their cause, and I asked them courteously to leave. They wouldn't do it so the marshals very forcefully, but without use of violence, threw them out. We took them out through the basement so they would not get their wanted press attention on the street side.

I told Malik about this. He said, "I do not want to talk about these people." We had a fascinating luncheon. Vodka before, Vodka during, wine during, offer of cognac after, long philosophical discussion about what the people in Russia thought about us and what the people in our country thought about them. He repeated all the cold war rhetoric - that we were imperialists. He told me one interesting thing when I questioned him about the fact that in the elections in the Soviet Union there was no opposition. "Yes, but you don't have to vote for the man, thus you can register your disapproval." I told him that would never get by in a country like ours with open press. He keeps accusing the press in our country of being Zionist-controlled. Then he made this interesting point. He himself as ambassador has to sit in a commune-

like gathering in his own Mission while they all criticize him, and during those meetings he is not the ambassador. He is just one more person. I told him it didn't seem likely to me that they would give him the full treatment of criticism but he assured me that they did. His deputy kept nodding all the while. He invited me out to the Dacha in Long Island which Mike Newlin tells me is a rather rare invitation and one I should accept. We talked about the Vietnam war, and I reassured him we want no territory there. He jumped on me about the aggression. We talked about the Middle East. I talked about Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He did not want to talk about the budget. He did not want to talk about the Secretary General's succession. He was in a very likeable, expansive mood, and yet he could be very tough and doctrinaire. I am sure in the next Four Power meeting he will act totally cold and tough, but these contacts must be kept up. I am impressed with Hambro, the Norwegian who is trying to solve the financial problem, but I don't quite see an answer. I suggested to Hambro that we ought to make this solution part of something bigger, for example endowing the U.N. or peacekeeping so as to be moving forward instead of just picking up the pieces of the past. I could not come up with a specific suggestion as to what it should be.

Ralph Bunche is about to die and we are spending a lot of time talking about who should be his successor. The White House read me a letter of condolence that Eliska Hasek was writing for Bunche and it was appropriate. There is a danger to paint Nixon too close to Bunche. Bunche has been very critical I am told of the President and Republicans in general, but he has been the epitome of an international servant, and to this end and considering his tremendous sacrifice, our country owes him a great debt of gratitude. I would like to see Brian Urquhart succeed him, provided we are given a very strong, forceful position up on the 38th floor, a position of the same rank.

One of the French foreign officers who is on a two-year tour of duty on the 38th floor with U Thant tells me they are trying to eliminate the Bunche job and just not replace him with anybody. The Frenchman, who was in Tricia's wedding, felt that this would be bad and encouraged me to push for an immediate successor.

The battle is on for the succession of Secretary General. I went over and had a very frank discussion with him, laying it on the line, telling him that I did not want to be going around his back talking about succession unless he made clear to me that he did want to move out. He seemed to appreciate this frankness, although I was

later told that the inscrutable western way is to be not quite so direct. This was passed along to me by Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan. In any event I simply told U Thant that I did not want to be negotiating for a successor until he himself told me that he was not going to be available. He made as direct a statement as possible, and it has subsequently been followed up two times in the press. I find U Thant fascinating. He is obviously against us on the war and things like this, but I must say he impresses me. He is a man totally dedicated to peace. He is a philosopher and not an administrator. The U.N. desperately needs administration at this critical point, but U Thant cannot, will not, does not want to provide it.

I am increasingly concerned about the overlay of inefficiency that I am told exists there. Everyone knows it, but nobody does much about it.

We floated the proposal for the U.N. to meet in various other countries. I talked to U Thant about this. He endorsed the idea about the Security Council Meeting but not the others. He was concerned about the cost etc. My view is that we can find a way around the cost. In our own Mission there is horror about this. Now that the word is getting around that the President wants it, there is a little more cooperation.

I have had a couple of visits with Paul Hoffman about his successor. He wanted to have David Morse take it over for a year or a year and a half. I told him the President was considering Rudy Peterson and Hoffman said, "Well Peterson could not possibly step right in to the job and do it." I told Paul that I did not feel that an intermediate solution was the answer. I told him I thought McNamara was for Peterson, and that I would like to talk to McNamara. Paul told me to go ahead. I did and McNamara said I was free to tell Hoffman that the interim suggestion would be no good and that he supports Peterson. We are still hoping Peterson will do this UNDP job.

I am amazed at how ideas keep cropping up in the Mission. I am not convinced that moving the UNDP to Geneva to fill up that big empty building would be a bad idea. The building is being emptied by ILO. It doesn't appear that the Congress will approve the \$20 million necessary to build the southward extension of the U.N. All of our people, Chris Phillips, Finger, and on down the line feel this would be very bad for UNDP. McNamara tells me that it wouldn't hurt it any, but the line in our building

is that it would. Bernie Zagorin came up to talk to me, and this was one of the things he wanted to visit about. I told him he would have to document it and give specific reasons. I still haven't seen any that I think are all persuasive.

The relationship between IO and the USUN is a troubling one. IO is not forceful and there seems to be a tendency to be withholding information or not aggressively going after it to see that we get it. Sisco on the Middle East plays things very close to his vest and this is bad. I saw Kissinger at the White House wedding, and he mentioned to me that, "The people at the State Department are going to get us into war in the Middle East if they are not careful." He is very much concerned about this and mentions it all the time. I don't quite know what the background is on all of this, but I would like to find out. I think it is fair to say that Kissinger and the State Department are completely apart on the Middle East policy right now, and I can't quite understand why. I have the feeling that Kissinger wants to put less pressure on the Israelis, but I am not sure about this. I am worried right now how we can keep Jordan out of the

Security Council. The treaty that the Russians entered into with Sadat should not have been unexpected, and although there was nothing particularly new in it, the Israelis are going to play it to a fare-thee-well in our country. There has got to be some sign of movement, but I can't see it yet.

The Four Power talks at this point are useless and a total waste of time. We go through the motions. The Russians at the last meeting put forth a communique encouraging withdrawal, supporting 242 etc. I blocked it because we had no instructions to go ahead with it and because Sisco feels it would be no good. Frankly I don't think it would have positively done anything, but at least we would be keeping the pressure on the Israelis to do what they had agreed to do.

Rollie Evans told me today that they are trying to play for time til after the election. Rabin, the Washington ambassador, keeps talking about after the election. Humphrey apparently is all out for Israel - the big hawk for Israel, closely followed by Jackson. Muskie apparently has played it very cool and very straight.

The jews for some reason are not particularly down on Nixon, but if he has to stand up to them and get tough they will be.

Tap Bennett, formerly ambassador to the Dominican Republic and to Portugal, came on board after a little battle with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The battle was mainly put on by a fellow on the staff of Javits who is trying to "Get Bennett". Bennett lost a vote or two in committee, but it all went through the Senate in good order. The thing that burns me up is that there is some talk in our Mission that Bennett would be no good and that Latin Americans wouldn't like Bennett, etc. etc. He is a most impressive fellow to me with a fine personality and manner, and I think he is going to do real well. I just don't want the hand-wringers to take over for him.

Another incident - Teddy Kennedy made a speech on the floor of the Senate during the week of June 4 in which he said that Nixon wanted to prolong the end of the war until 1972 for political purposes to help get re-elected. To me this was one of the crassest, cruelest

statements I had ever heard. When I gave a speech to the Andover Chamber of Commerce with a good press conference beforehand, I denounced the statement as cruel and mean. I can understand debate on the war, but I cannot understand somebody making a statement like that and yet the press let Teddy get away with it. They simply don't jump him out as they would somebody else. It was irresponsibility at its worst, and yet he wasn't damaged a bit by it, I am sure.

Vietnam is in the U.N. People talk about it. They've got the wrong slant. The New York Times is quoted all the time and that's all people see.

I am totally convinced at this point that New York is the wrong place for the United Nations. It gives the wrong point of view, the wrong picture of America, and the one-sided liberal thrust of the New York Times gives a false impression of this country's desires. I'm continually besieged by host country problems - Yugoslavian ambassador's daughter robbed, coat slashed with a razor - another ambassador's car stolen - harassment of the Soviet ambassador by the

Jewish Defense League. One darn thing after another. We have been working closely with the White House trying to get more done in the way of protection for missions in New York. Something may happen on this.

The Arthur Houghtons have offered their beautiful house at #3 Sutton Place North to be the Embassy of the United States. The house, built by J. P. Morgan's daughter, is one of the prettiest, most beautiful houses I have ever been in. The State Department is checking it all out. The property would be valued in my view between a million and a half and two million dollars. The question is whether we can come out better that way, accepting the property and staffing it or staying at the Waldorf. At this point it is too early to tell what is going to happen.

Miscellaneous - We have started advancing the appearances around the country for speaking and it makes a tremendous difference in the press coverage. They never used to do this before. It's amazing. I guess when you had a man like Adlai Stevenson who is well-known you didn't need to call press conferences or encourage the press. They were always there. But in our case obviously you need to work at it. Apparently with Yost they did none of this.

At the White House at Tricia's wedding Pete Flanigan mentioned how disappointed they were in Yost and how he behaved. I took on Kennedy on the speech about being cruel and mean to the President regarding the remarks about the war to continue for political purposes. The White House got very interested in this, and they told the President about it. They encouraged me to do as much of it as possible.

The relationship between Kissinger and Rogers still continues to interest me. I can't really figure it out. I am not sure how it works. Neither Kissinger nor Rogers go out of their way to keep us informed but I don't believe they should. Certainly Kissinger should not. When I ask for information from either of them I get it right away. But there are times when we simply don't get the important dope. I mentioned it to Jack Irwin and he seemed very much concerned. I believe the thing to do is to talk to Jack about it, and I will follow this up. Jack Irwin is very impressive, solid, decent, and I think maybe the thing to do is to keep in much closer touch with him.

Nixon-Cox wedding - We were very pleased to be included. The Cabinet had assigned seats as did a few

family friends. The rest of the people were all seated wherever there was a chair in the Rose Garden. It rained and the ceremony was held in between rain and clouds. They got away with it, and it was a terrifically beautiful occasion. The President looked happy. The Cabinet got to go through the receiving line first. I had a little visit with both the Coxes and the President. Mr. Cox seems like a stuffy kind of a guy. He did mention for about the eighth time playing tennis at the River Club. I am told he is not too hot, although the son is supposed to be pretty good. Were it not for the tennis courts, I would not be in the River Club. It is indeed a stuffy place.

I talked with Billy Graham at the wedding, who said there were lots and lots of young people coming to his crusades. He really felt a change coming about in the country away from the wild stuff, away from the outrages of the dissent. I hope like heck he is right.

Chief Justice Burger made an interesting comment as the Nixons went upstairs. "The country needs many more things like this," he said. Burger is a very sensible, solid fellow and the more I see of him, the more I like him.

The U.N. job is an interesting job. People are "rooting for you" - Democrats, Republicans, all people. Some, because of the illustrious predecessors, have an inflated idea about what the job is. My assessment at this point is that the job is broad, interesting, fantastic but that it is not as "important" as some think because we have less policy input at this point than I would like to see it have. I am still convinced that the way to get that is to earn it, not go down and demand it as Goldberg did. I'll never get over Goldberg telling me how he planted phone calls. People come in and hand him a note that the President is calling. Goldberg gets up and leaves and of course the President wouldn't be calling. I think the problem was that some of the ambassadors might have thought the President was calling, but most people that followed the U.S. Mission knew he wasn't.

Profile in Courage - I watched John Kemper in much amazement at the last two Andover meetings, the trustees meeting and another, at which he gave a complete diagnosis of his case, not holding back on the seriousness of the cancer of the lung that he has, pointing out the odds etc. He was unemotional but firm and direct, and

I thought to myself what terrific courage it took to do this. Then at commencement, no mention of self, no mention of his own fate, his own illness, what he felt etc. An excellent presentation to the students - short, highly commendatory of Dr. Chase who had been there a long time. "I hope that the boys come out with values etc..."

Some of the kids missed the point completely, I am sure, but all in all I came away with great respect for Kemper. This might well be his last graduation.

John Connally-watching is an interesting sport in Washington. The Wall Street Journal carries a little squib that Connally is on the wane already. I must say I have never seen a subject on which Connally is uninformed or on which he doesn't have an opinion. I caught Leonard Garment laughing at him at the Cabinet meeting. Connally is so sure of everything. He is talking all the time. I remember going down with the President to the LBJ Ranch. Rogers and Connally were up with the President and the President invited me to come up. Connally in the most forceful way gave his opinion on everything. He amazed me. He is totally lacking of any humility. At some points he sounds pretty far right. I am amazed that the very things he was clobbering me for in the campaign he is

now the champion of - welfare reform, economy, etc. I have heard him berate Flanigan to the skies. The President and Rogers were talking about getting Flanigan to go to the State Department to be Under Secretary for Economic Affairs. Connally was saying what a good idea it was. Somebody asked me what I thought and I pointed out that I probably knew Flanigan better than anybody there, that he is a good friend, and he is, but that I thought he was abrasive and might turn off the very people that the President was trying to woo by this decision. At that point Connally said, "Well, I think George is right on his assessment, but I still feel he would be good." Prior to this he was simply going along with the suggestion, advocating it forcefully, strongly as though he was a great expert on Flanigan, and yet I heard many, many times Connally bitching about Flanigan. The Democrats from Texas are shook up by it all, and I still think the President is very shrewd, and it was a totally sensible move when he put Connally into this position. I watch Agnew at the Cabinet meetings with some interest. He speaks his peace and to me makes sense. I have respect for Agnew. He cannot help but get on the press. Even at the Cabinet meetings he'll mention media etc. but his point of view, where he is positioned on the issues, all is pretty darn sensible.

It's almost as though nobody listens to him, but he is always very forthright, speaks his mind, doesn't demand agreement, doesn't claim too much time, and then shuts up. He is much more impressive in this kind of gathering than he is ever given credit for publicly. I asked Roy Goodearle one time how he was affected by this debate about being kicked off the ticket etc. and Goodearle said it was bound to hurt him, but that he really never talked about it or made much of it, even with his close friends and advisors like Roy. The press don't give him any kind of a shake at all in my view.

The UNA - I had never heard of the UNA until I came here. They do do a good job on raising the money, putting together panels, etc. It is almost, however, when you analyze it, like a shadow government, a shadow cabinet. There are panels put together by the New York establishment i.e. Council on Foreign Relations. It is totally Democrat-establishment oriented, although there are some Republicans like Renshier and McCollum etc. on there. Potter McKeever and the others on the staff are avowed liberals. They have meetings at the U.N. They get the Secretary General to come, and I am having difficulty sorting out whether this is as it should be. I

think we have got too many people that are dealing with the U.N. Secretariat. I am confused about the Quakers' holding a foundation meeting on Red China and inviting a lot of the ambassadors and none from the United States. I am confused about the UNA sponsoring panels and turning these panels directly over to the U.N. Dick Gardner set up the environmental meeting and had Muskie there. I would not have been invited to speak unless I had pushed my way in. Muskie of course was not there to say anything good about our policy. He was there mainly to put forth his own ideas, which is fine, but which should not be confused with the foreign policy views of the United States.

There is to be a big dinner, 1,600 people, at which I am the speaker. Goldberg, Yost, etc. will all be there. This is of course as it should be, but I think the business community supports the UNA and I know darn well a lot of those businessmen would not be supporters of many of the UNA "points of view".

Successor to U Thant - They all tell me that Jakobson is the man to do it, and yet I must say I feel a little disquiet when I hear Jakobson way off on the Albanian resolution on Red China. He seems so eager to

see Taiwan kicked out. I can't quite understand why this guy is the man we want. I am told by those who know him that he is the best administrator, the strongest character, etc.

I mentioned to Bill Rogers that I had reservations about Jakobson. I don't really know why. I am not appreciative of the fact that Jakobson went down to Washington for talks and we never heard anything about it. This is one of the matters we will make clear to Irwin, Rogers, etc.

Arthur Goldberg is strongly for Jakobson. He had planned to go down and talk to President Nixon about this. I am not sure that Goldberg should see Nixon on this matter. In fact, I am quite sure he shouldn't. We don't need all kinds of separate negotiations on these things.

Dictated on June 27, 1971 - Present New York Times flap is very much in the air. The New York Times disclosed some classified documents. My own feeling is that there will not be much damage to the national security from the release of these documents by themselves. The great problem lies in the damage to the national security if the concept ever gets around that each individual can indeed be his own judge as to what should be classified and what should not be. The press is a very liberal press. People are trying to make a hero out of Ellsberg. It will be interesting to see how the trial comes out if he is given one.

Hypothetical question - Suppose a citizen had given these documents to the Soviet Union directly and it had been found out that he had so conducted himself. What would be the reaction of the American people? What price should he have been asked to pay?

Ellsberg did not do this. What he did do was not very different though. He gave to the New York Times, they published them and of course the Russians have them. The difference is not so easy to see.

The Sequoia trip we had was a very good one. This week we took a group down the river. One of the

perquisites of being in the Cabinet is use of the Sequoia. The people all enjoyed it. I find that on an event like this, you do have a chance to get some business done. I made a pitch to Frank Shakespeare to reconsider the decision of the Voice of America not to broadcast in Yiddish. It seems to me it would be useful if they broadcast a small amount in Yiddish to express concern that the Americans feel about the Kishinev trials. We would not be knuckling under to irresponsibility and we could in fact de-escalate some of the irresponsible acts by this small course of action. I am proposing to the President that he make a statement welcoming emigrating Jews to the United States and also expressing his concern about the trials. He could also override Shakespeare on the Voice of America and at the same time make a statement against irresponsible action. Perhaps this would be helpful to the overall Jewish community. The question of Jews in New York is unbelievable. The pressure mounts all the time. The other day at the Four Power Meeting I was somewhat "open-minded" about a communique to be joined in by the others. The Russians, French and British had of course been pushing for one. Joe Tekoah, Israeli Ambassador, obviously knew about this when he came to call on me the day after the Four. He really put the pressure

saying the communique would be an absolute disaster. We had a very interesting discussion. I don't think it would be a disaster.

Miscellaneous - I like U Thant. I definitely think he should get out but we do have a decent, personal relationship. Today I arranged for him to go to use Bob Mosbacher's house in Bermuda. Thant had arranged for a \$150-a-day cottage at a hotel and Brian Urquhart tells me that he is absolutely broke. Thant called me himself on Sunday morning to thank me and to see if it was all right. He did not want to "accept too much" from anybody. I assured him that the Mosbachers wanted to do this on a friendship basis, that there would be no publicity or press and that all in all it was a gesture of kindness on their part. He was terribly grateful and I am hopeful that the visit will work out all right.

I am convinced that personal relationships are important in this work. I had a very good chat with Gunnar Jarring on the phone on the 26th of June. I called him to see if he would receive me in Sweden. He must go back to Moscow on the 3rd of July so we are going to have dinner at his house on the 2nd. I am really looking forward to this. We will fly to Copenhagen and then go from there. Apparently it is about a one-hour trip.

I hope that we can get something done that we can report to Jarring - something of importance. I am worried that this won't be the case.

The problem of communications - I am convinced more than ever after four months here that we are going to have to have more direct talks with the Secretary. I have several nettling problems hanging fire and I found that in a short one-hour discussion we took care of a lot of them including the General Assembly, our views on the Middle East, discussion of a successor for Bunche, discussion of a successor for U Thant, etc. We have files on this. Rogers is very easy to visit with. He is very direct. He makes his points well, and he is very open with me. I am amazed at the communications problem in the Department, however. For a long period of time we did not see important telegrams on the Middle East. This troubled our staff immensely. When we called it to their attention, they did send them. I am determined not to make a big-shot move on all of this, but I am also determined we will see the telegrams.

I believe Tap Bennett will be very useful to our Mission. He is a gentleman, he is an experienced man, and and I see a bigger and bigger role for him at the Mission.

There was an interesting comment with Rogers. We got talking about Africa and the critical statements that are made about our government, the outrageously critical statements that is. Rogers told me of an incident where he saw that the Polish had been critical of the U.S. When the Polish Foreign Minister came to see him the man said, "Our relations have never been better between the two countries." Rogers then asked him, "Why did you make this horrible speech about us yesterday?". The visit screeched to a halt in about five minutes and a year later the Polish Ambassador was apologizing to Rogers for the intemperate remarks of his Foreign Minister. We worked out an arrangement with the Secretary which I am determined to follow-up on under which we are to call these outrageous statements at the U.N. to the attention of the Secretary of State. They will call in ambassadors in Washington and at least let them know we don't appreciate them. Without going to war over these things, I am convinced we have got to do more of this.

During the latter part of May Somalia detained some of our vessels, vessels belonging to Houston contracting companies. Bill Clements is fit to be tied. The crew was held without counselor access and all in all it was a very horrible experience. Clements even went as far

as to suggest that we put a cruiser off the coast. It turned out that the vessels were inside what Somalia claims is her waters and were not flying their flags and did not understand their signals. Nevertheless the Somalese have a history of behaving badly on all of this, but it shows me how frustrating some of these events can be. A little pip-squeak, tiny country, unpersuaded by even normal diplomatic etiquette, holding our ships incommunicado, leaving two of them in real distress sinking of the reef, and we are not able simply to command them to let them go.

The JDL continues to plague us. We had a sit-in by moderate rabbis. I had them evicted by the marshals and then we had a chain-in. They were arrested. Not a happy thing to do but if we permitted everybody who wants to demonstrate against the government to take the law into his own hands, we would be doing nothing but worrying about how we would get into the building.

Ambassador Malik - I have had two very interesting events with Malik, one a luncheon at his penthouse. He invited me with just Ovinikov up to his penthouse apartment. We sat and discussed philosophy for a long time. He is totally closed-minded. We are the aggressor, the imperialists. Our bases around the world show that we are aggressive. We invaded Mongolia. We are imperialists and aggressors in Vietnam. We do not have

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	CLASS.
01. Redaction	Personal Notes - United Nations Redaction of 2 sentences (1 pp.)	06/27/71	C	
COLLECTION George Bush Personal Papers United Nations File				
FILE LOCATION Notes 5/2/71 - 7/19/71 OA/ID Number 25863 Date Closed 6/28/2002				

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

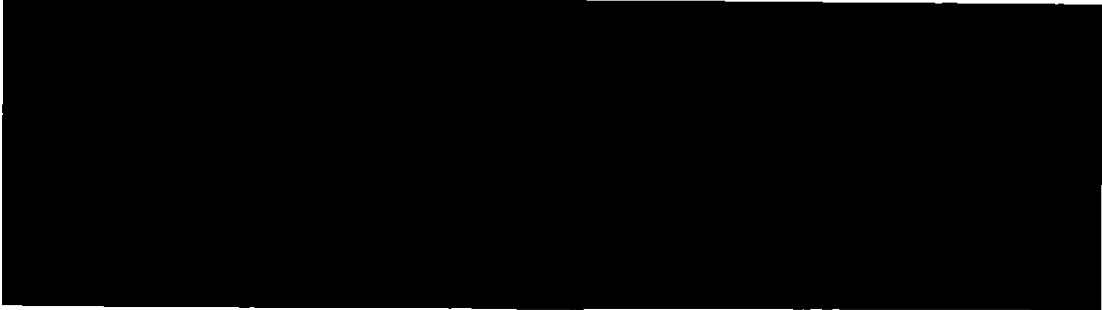
PRM. Closed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- F-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

free press. We are controlled by the Zionist conspiracy. Our whole government is beholden to the Zionists. We can solve the problem in the Middle East by simply dictating to Israel what they should do. I feel we had a very free-wheeling discussion where we argue heatedly and impassionedly. He was very good natured, very firm. In the Four Power talks he is most different. He aims these formal statements at the ambassadors that are really quite insulting. I answer back usually quite briefly on the response. But I am amazed at the fact that they feel they must go through their same old rhetoric time and time again. Each Four Power Meeting has produced this.

President Somoza of Nicaragua came to breakfast during June. We chatted for an hour. He is about my age. He went to West Point. He speaks very good colloquial English of course, and he is very much a friend of the United States. We got along very well indeed I thought,



Foreign Minister Singh of India - I had a visit with the Foreign Minister when he was in New York in June. Our discussion revolved around the Pakistan crisis. His main point was that we had called for restraint but what was there for India to "restrain itself about." They had not been the aggressors. It brought home to me quite clearly how semantics are so important. He felt that when we called for restraint we were asking him to stop from doing something that he was already doing. I told him that we were simply urging moderation and that they not do something that would be detrimental to the situation there. Our whole discussion which lasted much longer than scheduled revolved around this point almost entirely.

During this period I also visited with Foreign Minister Lunz, who is to become Secretary General of NATO. Lunz is a very interesting fellow. They tell the story about when Lunz was the Number 2 man. The Dutch Government was being formed and the man putting the cabinet together was looking for a foreign minister. Some woman spoke up and said, "Have you considered Lunz?". She said, "He is the Number 2 man in our mission to the United Nations." They brushed off the suggestion and Lunz too as having no experience and being unknown etc. Weeks

later they still didn't have a foreign minister. She made the same suggestion and the Prime Minister wired Lunz saying, "If you will accept my foreign policy, I will put you on the list to be considered for foreign minister." Lunz wired back, "I don't know anything about your foreign policy, but otherwise I accept."

Brandt told this at a luncheon given by the Secretary General and it got a great big laugh. Brandt was rather formal. He seemed somewhat reserved although he expressed his appreciation to me for having gone over to make a *dee marche* asking the Secretary General not to have lunch with the East German leader.

The Secretary General took ill and not only has he canceled his trip to Moscow but also to Geneva. I urged that he take up the question of Soviet Jewry when he went to Moscow so I am sorry he won't get to do this, but I am glad he will not have the German meeting.

China - Apparently there is a lot happening that is very complicated on China. The Murphy mission was not particularly spectacular and it developed that there was no discussion of the Security Council seat. Kissinger tells me that it was almost a waste of time. Murphy had focused in on the wrong things. Kissinger feels that

Marshall Green is absolutely dead set against what the President wants on China. Rogers told me that he felt we would go the dual-representation route.

It is difficult to get much going in the way of public opinion on the U.N. I have been speaking a fair amount. The UNA Speech I feel was reasonably successful, as was the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce appearance. It is almost impossible to make a dent without real access to television, but I'll keep on trying.

Successor to Secretary General - The battle is shaping up. Jakobson seems to have been resurrected. He is a difficult man to get close to. I feel much closer to Waldheim of Austria whom I have just met a time or two than to Jakobson, but everybody in the Department tells me that Jakobson is first-rate. He is way over on the Albanian Resolution on China but I am reminded that this is his position as far as the government goes.

Cabinet meeting of June 29 was a most unusual one.

There were no other people in the room except the Cabinet people themselves and Haldeman. The President was tremendously upset about leaks in government. I have never seen him more forceful or more fired-up. He talked about the people in the woodwork who are trying to get the Administration, the people who use their own judgement as to what to leak all in an effort to unseat the President. He seemed firm. The President said that Haldeman would be policing these leaks and not to try to go around Haldeman for he had the full authority of the President.

The point is very well taken. How can a Presidential decision be made if "it is tried in the press" beforehand. Leaks representing the points of view of the newspapers are often encouraged and to the degree the President does not have maximum flexibility his hands are tied.

The President seems upset with Burns although he recognizes his right to be independent. He felt that on many of the economic policies Burns himself was in effect tying his hands by his discussions of matters with the press, although the President did seem to totally

understand his right to do this. He pointed out that Connally would be the top economic spokesman of the Administration, an announcement that was subsequently made. The President talked a very strong, earthy language about this whole question of leaks and of disloyalty in the bureaucracy. Without revising the Civil Service, I frankly don't know how you can ever get around it. It is there, it's true, and it makes the President's job extremely difficult.

July 19, 1971 - Random notes on the ECOSOC Meeting in Geneva

This is a major production. We have a delegation of ten - conferences, dinners, entertainment and yet it seems to me that so very little will come out of the meeting.

I was tremendously impressed with Sadruddin Khan and his desire for a change at the United Nations and his feeling that the Secretariat needed to be revised. I worry about "getting nothing done". I got the ECOSOC delegation together before the meeting and we discussed what their goal was. I wanted to get the goal in sight before the meeting and see what came of it after the meeting. There are too many meetings. Speeches are too long. The debate is not real debate.

The Soviets are the same the whole world over. Cesterenko gave a real diatribe against the United States. At the end of his speech I made a "parliamentary inquiry" and asked what my right of reply was, and whether it needed to be germane. The Russians got the message. Afterwards I had a discussion with Mr. Cesterenko and his top people and asked them to criticize my speech so I in turn might criticize his. I told him at a time when Brezhnev thinks we are trying to get closer together, it was difficult to understand how a speech like his could contribute anything.

I note that a lot of our people are opposed to Sadruddin Khan for Secretary General. The feeling is no chance etc. I went to his villa across from the lake in a beautiful speedboat, sat there in opulence and yet found him to be a man of great compassion and concern. He talked beautifully about what needed to be done at the U.N. I asked him about his candidacy. He quite obviously would like to do it. He did not want to run because U Thant put him in office. He can obviously afford to do it. I asked him about Russian opposition due to his wealth. He indicated he thought he could get their support even though it would be a handicap. He discussed frankly the problems he was having in India as the result of his owning land in Pakistan while trying to perform his important duties as high commissioner. Later on, after returning to the states, I had a long talk with Kosciusko-Morizet who shares my views about Sadruddin Khan. He is very high on the man. Kosciusko-Morizet incidentally was very much down on Jakobson. My problem is that all our people tell me Jakobson is the best, and yet I simply can't warm up to him as an individual. Maybe it's because I don't know him very well. I am going to try to push forward the idea of Sadruddin as somebody worthy

of consideration. I wrote a letter directly to the Secretary making this recommendation.

There is a big philosophical problem. I am appointed by the President and presumably know what the President wants. Yet the decisions are made down in the lower echelons of the bureau by men who could care less about the President. The recent case in point -- the Senegal-Portugal debate which came before the Security Council. In this one we had worked out a rather moderate resolution which did not specifically condemn Portugal but which endorsed a fact-finding mission. It was far less militant than Somalia and others wanted. In the final moment the State Department called and said that they couldn't approve it. I had a firm and firey discussion with Sam DePalma at IO about this, stating that if they hadn't wanted a resolution at the beginning they should have told us. He maintained that had we gotten the right kind of resolution at the beginning they should have told us. He maintained that had we gotten the right kind of resolution they approved it. Ernie Grigg, our African expert, was terribly concerned and discouraged over the Department's position. I must say that it was a good experience in a way because it teaches me that we

have got to get better communications or better understanding. The big problem remains. How much flexibility should the President's representative have? DePalma quoted the White House so I called Henry Kissinger's office and talked to Hague. He had never heard about the Portugese resolution, although they did say that they did not want to irritate Portugal. The point is the resolution was reduced so it couldn't possibly irritate Portugal. The Department was locked into this position that it would.

The whole IO thing is wrong. Without going to Rogers or NSC, USUN has very little policy input. This is not the way I am told the President wants it or thinks it is, but it is a fact. We will have to work on this with the Secretary of State if I am going to be effective at all.

Nixon-China visit -- The China announcement came with an amazing surprise value particularly in light of the Pentagon papers dispute. At this dictation the U.N. community is very much in favor of it. At this moment I don't know what our China policy in the U.N. will turn out to be, but all the U.N. people feel that the ball game is over, Peking is in and Taiwan is out. Kosciusko-Morizet came up for the weekend to Maine, and we had a long talk about his views on all of this. He thought

it was a very good move, that the Russians would be climbing the walls and that it would make for a much more realistic world. I was with Vinci and Carlos Ortiz De Róza of Argentina when the announcement was made. They were both elated. They both kept emphasizing what this would do to the Russians. They have got to make clear to the Russians we do not plan to make capital against them with this. This was a brilliant move. Tower and Dominick in the Senate attacked it but Clark McGregor tells me that the rest of the reaction has been very good indeed. The President apparently had discussed our relations with China ahead of time with Goldwater though not the specifics of the trip. I am convinced that only Kissinger and Rogers and a few of Kissinger's aides knew about this. The regular White House and Cabinet did not. I am also convinced that this is the way it must be if the secret is to be kept. There will be hurt feelings abroad for not having briefed them in advance. I am sure this is true of the Secretary General of the United Nations whose relations with the President are not good anyway.

The Cabinet Meeting - the President (see notes of Cabinet meeting) emphasized over and over again the need for security. He discussed nothing with the Cabinet about

policy, gave no indication about whether Vietnam was involved, gave no hint about what the U.N. policy would be. He simply asked for as little speculation as possible due to the sensitivity of the Chinese on this point. In a matter like this it is better not to know so that you don't inadvertently foul up these very difficult negotiations.

The question of the successor of the Secretary General - U Thant's illness kept him from going to Russia and kept him from going to Geneva. It resulted in his visit to the Mosbacher house in Bermuda. It seems to make everybody convinced that he will not serve as Secretary General again. At a lunch during the week of July 12 with Rudy Peterson we discussed this at length. U Thant talked more and more as if he were definitely going to leave. We are trying to escalate the acceptance of this fact. I told him we were taking him at total face value and he affirmed that this is what we should do. The Russians are still not convinced and neither are the French. Kosciusko-Morizet made this very clear to me.

Mary Lindsay told Nance that Lindsay was going to shift his registration to Democrat. The White House seems very pleased at this. I don't know if he will go through

with it now because of Nixon's announcement on China. Lindsay might feel that the timing is bad. The plan was for him to switch his registration at City Hall before going for a week in Colorado. Time will tell.

Back to the bureaucracy. There is definitely the feeling in the State Department that Presidents come and go but that somehow the policy decisions will be made right here in the Department and "we will go on and on." It is not right. The Department is officially reflective of the President's desires but there are too many ways where little things can be sneaked in that he or the Secretary can't possibly know about. I remember once talking to Rogers about the need for a communique on the Middle East where we made our views strongly known to Sisco's office. Rogers did not even know about it. The idea was cut off or blocked at this Assistant Secretary level, and yet many of these men are career men, excellent men in every way but not tuned in to the President's philosophy or to what he really wants. Rogers made an interesting statement on this to me at a meeting. He said there are not many Republicans, not many of us who we can appoint or have any experience in foreign affairs. He was a very

valid observation. This came up in connection with finding a successor for Ralph Bunche. He is right. The whole kind of establishment -- Council of Foreign Relations, eastern establishment -- seems to be Democrats or Republican business types who would not be willing to undertake this kind of a job.

Richard Gardner of Columbia comes to mind as a fellow like this. On the sidelines teaching, available to leave his teaching profession to serve, strongly out and out for the Democrats but wedging his way into many groups and being a real activist. He is energetic, attractive and I presume bright. But he couldn't be less interested in President Nixon or Nixon's policy or furthering what Nixon wants. And yet here he sits on several committees advising the U.N. I am confident that if the Democrats come back in, Gardner will be in my job or something similar. There is a whole reserve squad, red shirts you might say, hitting on the college campuses ready to take over. Philosophically they are not attuned with the President but with Muskie or whoever the Democrat might be.

General observation -- Watching these cabinet meetings and seeing how little decision making goes on there, there is a certain luxury in being out of Washington. You are not under the intense political pressure or fire all the time and yet there is a certain degree of access by being

a Member of the Cabinet. I am convinced that very little decision-making is done at cabinet meetings. It's usually information, giving instructions, etc. I have not yet sorted out what route should be taken in order to have a real input on decisions, but I am clear it is not through the bureaucracy in the State Department and it is not through the Cabinet meetings themselves. I think it is probably direct personal contact with the Secretary of State and direct personal contact with NSC and Kissinger, mainly Kissinger. Of course in some crisis it would be the President himself. The whole concept though of instructions needs review and work just as the whole classification system in the government needs work. Instructions can really come from so low down as to be meaningless or as to be out of touch with the President in terms of philosophy. Of course too many darn documents are classified.

Pentagon papers -- I feel that Ellsberg indeed is a thief and should be treated as one. I feel that he was wrong in stealing these secrets and that this effort to make him into a big hero is detrimental to our nation and certainly to our foreign affairs. I see it very clearly. I get it from discussion with other ambassadors and if indeed Ellsberg can be turned into a martyr or hero the country is faced with a very serious problem. In my own view the average American would not view him as that, but an effort is underway to make him into that.