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August 12, 1971 -- Random Notes

China - the new China policy really livened up the U.N. and has given me a new insight into some of the inner workings of the government.

I had two chats with Kissinger on August 5 and 6. It is easy to see that he is uptight about the Mission to Peking. He is determined that we keep a low profile. I expressed my tremendous concern that Nixon did not need the image of duplicity, not need the image that we were offering a China policy but not willing to fight for it. I cited a Wall Street Journal story and a New York Times story plus Marvin Kalb's analysis. This argument is rather prevalent now at the United Nations. I think we can get rid of it by hard work, but I made it clear to Kissinger that in my view we need to be able to brief the press and to do some television. At issue is the question as to whether I should be on "Issues and Answers." Kissinger was courteous and friendly though appearing much more harassed than I have ever seen him. And on the Friday meeting he indicated it would be all right to do television but we should avoid any blasts against Peking.

I had a chat with Al Haig who told me that the Pakistan problem was closely interlocked with the President's visit to Peking and that we must avoid bias blasts against the government of Pakistan etc. I got the feeling from Hague that the Pakistan situation couldn't derail the President's visit. He told me that the Paks would be requesting a Security Council Meeting and that we should back this. He was going to get the word to the State Department on that.

I had a meeting with Connally, the President and Rudy Peterson on the 6th of August. Peterson was about to take on the UNDP job. Nixon gave a strong nationistic speech to the four of us (Al Haig was there) telling Peterson and the rest of us that the U.N. was "lower than a snake's belly" in the eyes of the people here. A lot of this came about because the American taxpayer never saw that he was getting anything out of the U.N. The United Nations was really inefficient in solving some of the problems. Nixon pointed out that from many of these multilateral agencies all got was grief once we put our money in it. He made clear to Peterson that he was expecting more out of the UNDP under Peterson. Peterson seemed agreeable to this. I think the President is correct in this general approach though caution has to be exercised here. The President told

Connally to convene a meeting of the top Americans involved in some of these organizations like the ex-im bank etc. Peterson and I were to be included in on it and each of us is to prepare a report at the time as to what we are doing along the line. It makes a lot of sense. I was surprised to find the President focusing in on this particular problem. Connally announced that he would have to turn around Treasury for it had been taking the lead on these multilateral things.

Connally is in solid with the President. He defers to him in conversation, always builds him up in conversation, and it is very clear that Connally is setting in very close to the President. When Peterson, Haig and I walked in, Connally was finishing a cup of coffee at the President's desk while he and the President were going over other business.

I have great respect for Bill Rogers. He is easy to work with, to talk to. I know he finds it hard to battle the State Department bureaucracy at times. He never fails to return a phone call, and I am feeling closer and closer to him. The battle between the White House and the State Department is very clear. I mentioned to Sam DePalma and the Secretary my concern over the Tad

Szulc story that we were going to take a dive on the China issue. Rogers and DePalma both said that probably was leaked out of the White House. I mentioned to Al Haig the same thing, and he said Tad Szulc is their boy at the State Department and we're going to raise hell with them about this leak. There is a cross fire there that it would be well to avoid getting caught in. I'm not sure it's all together possible.

I made a suggestion to Bob Haldeman that I hold some international economic briefings for top business people in New York - getting Pete Peterson to come up. On the phone Haldeman told me he thought it was a good idea and that we ought to get it done - maybe get Connally up there. He then wrote me a letter indicating that he was asking Chuck Colson, Pete Flanigan, and Pete Peterson to discuss the matter. The trouble is some of these men - particularly Colson and Flanigan - are part of the problem, not part of the answer, in terms of close relations with the business community. One of Flanigan's own partners told me that they viewed him as very arrogant. Ralph Cordiner confirmed the same thing. Connally has some

relations problems with the New York business establishment although George Bell at Dillion Reed told me that as of right now he is highly regarded as a bright man.

. I had a frank talk with Bill Rogers on the 10th of August about this, expressing my concern as to the President's communication with the New York business community. Rogers seemed to understand this very well indeed and said that perhaps he could help when he is up here at the General Assembly. I know he can communicate with this business establishment. It is necessary for Nixon. I have great respect for Haldeman, and I think I have good relations with him but I worry about the relationship of Nixon's big supporters to the White House. There is great discontent among them. True they have no place to go but there are degrees of enthusiasm in supporting people.

At this juncture there is talk of a conservative revolt on the China question but in my view it will not come about. I think the new China policy makes great sense and is something I can support with conviction. Rita Hauser asked me today whether my neck was on the line, whether I would be the victim if we lost. That had not entered my mind, but it is possible. And yet it will be difficult to win it. We must give realistic appraisals to the NSC and the State Department as we go along. We

are working on a full schedule of appointments. I am insisting that we see some of the smaller ambassadors in their own missions and everybody is working on the project. Perhaps we can win it. It is tough to be on the opposite side from our good friends and allies the British. Hopefully they will not feel they have to do too much against us.

In mid-August it looks like the fall will be an interesting time at the U.N. The big issues are Pakistan, successor of U Thant, Middle East and of course China with Cyprus hovering around the outside of things.

Secretary-General succession - I like U Thant. There was a story in the New York Times by Benjamin Wells on Indian Pakistan indicating that the U.N. was simply a tool of the U.S. This really hurt U Thant, and I fired off a telegram to the State Department protesting it. The Rogers visit helped tremendously in this regard. Rogers did a marvelous job with Thant. Thant is a sensitive man. My relationship with him is good, and I told him after the Rogers visit that I wanted to come by and follow up to see what we could do. Sisco and Rogers both felt that when Thant started to mention Article 99 at our meeting that Thant was signaling that he indeed would be a candidate for re-election. I am not sure of this at all.

I said I accepted him at face value and they both said that they believe he is available and wants the job. I don't know him well enough, and I expect in a total deadlock he would serve. At this time, I do not feel he is pushing in that direction.

The weather is hot and humid. The weekends in Maine are relaxing. We took Kosciusko-Morizet and the Crowes on different weekends to Maine. Trips like that make for great personal relationships. I have invited Malik to Maine. Whether he goes or not I don't know though he has accepted. They make the weekend a little less relaxed but they are good.

Personal touch - I saw the President on an August 6 meeting. He gave me a golf ball. I told him, "Great, I'll use this in Maine tomorrow." He asked me to fly with him to Maine which I did. On the plane we reminisced a bit about Maine and I told him it was my mother's and dad's fiftieth anniversary and he immediately placed a phone call from Air Force One to my father. Unfortunately Dad was not there at the time. Nixon does nice, gracious things like this but he gets little credit on that score.

Appearance at Bohemian Grove. I went out to the grove. I feel this is very worthwhile visit. This is

the place that Nixon respects, the place where he turned his career around when he was out of office. The talk at the Grove went well. It was informal, outdoors, by the lake - thirty minutes of frank discussion of pros and cons of the UN, a strong support of Nixon in the area of foreign policy. The luncheon that George Pfau gave was a good one - fifty people. The press conference in California gave us pretty good press. The same for Omaha, Nebraska at SAC on the way out. Neither of these things are as helpful as an appearance like the Grove where you're dealing with real thought leaders.

There is an escalation of political speculation and the whole China question will propel the UN into more visibility for the fall of '71. We are trying to get the Mission pulled together. We are going to make a change in the press section which I think will add a little spark. I am concerned about the Administrative officer lacking imagination.

Waldorf rent increase has been turned down so we have to find some alternative living plan although I suspect I could slip the Waldorf some extra personal dough to stay in there rather than worry about the damn thing.

We are shaping up the General Assembly delegation and although we made rapid progress at the beginning we seemed to have gotten bogged down because both Bryce Harlow and Dr. Adelaide Hill had to turn it down.