



H. R. Haldeman Diaries Collection, January 18, 1969 – April 30, 1973

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Saturday, July 17th. Still at San Clemente. The President was in for the morning, mainly reviewing the China announcement, going over some follow-up plans. He decided to have Rogers go out today before the cameras on covering foreign reaction, and then thought better of it and didn't do it. Instead, the President had his session with the Jaffe and Krogh people on their foreign trip regarding dope, and that was our TV news item for the day. He had a lot of little follow-up odds and ends: like getting MacGregor to go to work on Dominick, to convince him the President knows what he's doing, some plans for the White House staff meeting on Monday, and the need to get Reagan's statement to Buchanan, to simmer him down, get Kissinger to work on the Right Wing, send out Kissinger's backgrounder, tell MacGregor not to let anybody ease up on the Mansfield amendment, that it's even more important now. Wants Kissinger to brief Connally separately on Monday with--, covering things that he doesn't cover in a general Cabinet meeting. He's decided he wants to do a poll, get a reading on how all this came out. And, that about covered it.

He also got into some changes in the schedule plan, as he realized that he was really pretty tired as a result of the tension of all of this, and that he hadn't had a vacation out here, even though he had taken most of the afternoons off. I made the case that he had built himself and his position up to a point now where, it seemed to me, he would be perfectly justified and would have no problem in announcing a two week vacation and actually taking off in San Clemente for two full weeks in the latter part of August. He agreed with this; so we'll go ahead and schedule on that basis.

We also got into Bill Rogers's reaction. He felt the whole story on the China thing had played very well, but he said he wanted some time with the President to be sure that what he says and does is correct. Especially he's concerned about how to handle the representation question in the United Nations and needs to decide whether the President wants to make a maximum effort to



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save the Taiwan seat, and it's ticklish as to whether we really try this or whether we just go through the motions. If we fight, we may still lose, but if we appear to fold, the Conservatives will hit us. As a result of this question, the President decided to invite him to dinner tonight at 6:00 with Mrs. Rogers and then also said he would talk with Rogers on the plane on the way back to Washington.

In terms of general commentary regarding the whole China thing, the President made several wide-ranging observations. One thing, he was commenting on how stupid the Birchers are in attacking us on this, because they should see this in terms of the matter against the Russians and be delighted with it. The point to make is, that what would have happened if we hadn't done this, and SALT, for instance? We'd be collapsing now in Vietnam, and the Congressional resolutions on pull out would be passing; the UN issue for China was lost anyway. So we've got to build the point, especially to the Conservatives that they have to have confidence in the President and in what he's doing. He told Henry to tell the Right Wing not to get out on a limb on this stuff that they've got to trust the President.

Then we got to talking about Yahya's cooperation in this whole thing with Henry, particularly how funny it was that Yahya made such a point at the luncheon in Islamabad of making a fuss over Ken, Henry's so-called stomachache, and in effect ordering him to the mountain retreat, and saying he would send his Deputy Foreign Minister to keep him company, and so on, making a big public fuss out of Henry's indisposition so that it would be reported as such, and give Henry the cover he was seeking.

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He also brooded some again today, as he does frequently, about the question of how Taiwan can survive now, and that obviously really concerns him. The point here is that no promises have been made and no commitments have been made to the Chinese that have to be delivered prior to 1972. But after that, it's inevitable that Taiwan is going to have to become a province of China or something of that sort. And it does pose a problem especially since the President has been an old China hand from way back—a free China hand, that is. He also was talking about the problem of what happens to Hong Kong.

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He commented at some length with Henry as to the strain that he'd been through on this, and that you don't realize how much tension you're under in trying to keep a secret of this magnitude; and of course, he also was greatly disturbed and sweating all this out vis-a-vis the Rogers problem, and that made the strain all the more difficult. He also commented that the thesis that the Right Wing has, that there should be no contact with the Communists, is absolutely wrong. The President has always felt that was wrong. He's always favored the need to talk. And we've got to make the point to the Right Wing that we can't just arm ourselves to the teeth and keep the bad guys away; that we're going to have to talk with them and try to handle things in a way that we come out on top, or at least that we don't lose anything.

He talked about the pressure for a press conference and decided that, while he could refuse to discuss the Vietnam negotiations and the substance of China, that he was better off not to even try one before the 26th, when Henry goes back for his next secret meeting in Paris with Le Duc Tho.



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End of July 17th.