



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

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Wednesday, June 23

President had breakfast with Mansfield this morning and apparently really laid it to him on two points. First, they went into the question of the release of the Pentagon Papers, and the President worked out a deal whereby we will turn the papers over to Mansfield and Albert, and they can figure out how to handle getting them to the proper Congressional committees, etcetera. This puts the heat completely on them. It fits in with Ehrlichman's strategy on the basis that they will then have to hold hearings, etcetera, to follow up on this, which will be an enormous problem for the Democrats to figure out how to cope with.

The President then, after leading Mansfield on and finishing that up, indirectly led him into the question of the Mansfield amendment yesterday calling for a date certain to end the war in nine months, and the President gave him a basic ultimatum regarding the harm that the Senate did, and he rather happily described this to Kissinger and me and Ehrlichman, who was there for it, in his office. He made the point that we are in the middle of negotiations started-- that started May 31, and we'll know within a month whether the Senate action has ruined those negotiations. If so, the President will have to go on to the people and explain that the reason for the collapse was the action of the Senate, and that Mansfield will have to take that blame. He made the point to us that, if we do get to the point where we have to withdraw because the negotiations failed, he will do it with a total bombing of the North to eliminate their capability of attacking; so in order to get out, we escalate to accelerate our withdrawal.

Henry was in and out several times in the morning, as he was getting ready to leave for London for his cover-up to his move on to Paris this weekend for the negotiations. The President made the point to him regarding Paris that, this is it: he's got to get it settled, that from here on everything is based on the domestic political outlook, and he's got to realize that. He makes the point, too, that with the Mansfield resolution, now maybe we have the excuse for flushing the whole deal. That we had to make that decision last year, either to stand up or to flush, and we made the decision to stand up, feeling that we'd never have the chance to decide it again. But



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now we probably do have that chance, because of the Senate resolution; and if the negotiations fail, that may be exactly what we will do.

On the release of the material, he made the point we won't compromise codes and sources, but we are going to release other materials, and he wants to get Willard Edwards in and get him to have *The Trib* start demanding papers. He feels that *The Times* Papers incident is the yellow streak for Hubert, his Chappaquiddick, because he waffled on it. He made the point, in discussion, of his contempt for "swaydo-intellectuals," which was kind of amusing.

Regarding the declassification of other papers, he's determined to do everything we can to our advantage, on the assumption that we have only a year to do it, for sure. He wants to move into World War II, Korea, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Bay of Pigs and the murder of Trujillo. He wants me to set it up to give someone free rein in these files, and put a full team on it that's absolutely trustworthy and get it all done within this next year. Also, now that we have our man in the IRS, he wants to pull the Clark Clifford file--and also all the top supporters of the doves, the full list with a full field audit--and see what we can make of it on analysis.

Also, Kissinger has reported to him that Teddy Kennedy is now in the position of practically being a total animal. At the opening of the Kennedy Center, he went to work on Christine Ford, who he had also propositioned at the Carlyle before he went to Paris for de Gaulle's funeral. She was on the thirtieth floor, he on the seventh. He walked up to her floor, said he wanted to screw her, and she said that they couldn't because of the press, and he said that the press will never touch me. He pulled the same thing on Edgar Bergen's daughter, according to Mrs. Bergen. So we need to take advantage of this opportunity and get him in a compromising situation if we can.

We had a couple of political sessions today, one with Colson, at which he wanted to be sure that we lay off of LBJ, don't defend him, but no overt attack on him. Instead, attack the JFK, Eastern elite. Also, we should lay off the newspapers and go after the thief, playing up the stolen top secret documents. And, on the Mansfield amendment, for those who voted for it have to take the responsibility now for the failure of negotiations, if they do fail.



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We had another political session in the afternoon at EOB with Harlow and Dent, got into the discussion of the Democrat problems, as they go down the road to their convention, and the impossibility, almost, of their arriving at one candidate, thereby the almost virtual necessity of a fourth party. He concluded in that discussion that the basic issue really becomes patriotism, and the bad guys are the ones that make that issue for us.

This evening we went out on the *Sequoia* with Connally and Shultz, Ehrlichman and Flanigan. The basic purpose was for an economic discussion and the President had Shultz lay out his view of the current status of the economy, which basically is that it's not as good as we would like, but it is basically going the right way and we should stay with our plan. Connally then pretty much confirmed this, and the discussion then became one of strategy and implementation. Primarily, how to turn off the many voices that are speaking out, so that we can get to a point where we're operating with one Administration spokesman. As a result of that discussion, the President is going to hold a meeting on Monday morning with the CEA and the concerned Cabinet officers and lay down the line to them.

End of June 23.