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Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
8	32	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From RN to Haldeman RE: Billy Graham and a Democratic National Committee event. 2 pgs.
8	32		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Slip of paper reading "Presidential Tape." 1 pg.
8	32	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From RN to Haldeman RE: campaign strategies in different states and how to use the First Family to campaign. 3 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM THE PRESIDENT

On Monday, I had the rather disturbing conversation with Alex regarding Billy Graham. Billy had apparently called on Sunday for me when I was out of reach, and then called back Monday to say that he had been invited to give the invocation at the Democratic National Committee gathering by Sargent Shriver. He wanted to get my advice on it. As you will recall, you had told me at an earlier time that Graham thought it was better, since he had not given the invocation at the Democratic National Committee, that he not do so at the Republican National Committee, and I agreed. In view of that conversation, I told Alex, since Alex was unable to get hold of you in California, to call Graham back and tell him that I thought that his doing the Democratic National Committee only would be misinterpreted.

It is not advisable in a case like this for me to talk to Graham directly. I do not want him to feel that I directly am telling him that he should not do it. On the other hand, as you know, he is extremely sensitive about hearing from anybody but me, or from you, on political matters. It may be that it went all right with Alex making the call. I strongly urge that you keep the closest contact with Graham, call him at least once a week regardless of what subjects you have to discuss, and inform everybody on the staff that if a call from him comes through that you will take it. Unless you take it, I should take it myself.

As you know, we have been trying to get McClellan's opponent in Arkansas, out of the race. I had taken this matter up with John Mitchell and he said that he would work on it. However, John is out of pocket, as you know. Connally told me yesterday that he had no success in talking to Winthrop Rockefeller in trying to get Winthrop to get him out of the race. Connally said that he thought that he had heard that the brother who had perhaps the most influence with Winthrop, was David Rockefeller. Apparently the man running against McClellan had a rather minor position with the FHA before Winthrop got him to run with the thought that in the event McClellan lost, that he would have

a candidate against Pryor. Under the circumstances, it now becomes vital that we make one last effort to try to get McClellan's opponent out of the race. It isn't that McClellan is afraid he will lose, it's simply that McClellan then will be freed to give us more open support, not only in Arkansas, but in many other areas. I would like for you to speak to Kissinger and see if he will call David Rockefeller and see what David can do in working on Winthrop. Also, if Kissinger thinks well of it, he might even consider calling Winthrop. Connally believes that Nelson is not the one to work on Winthrop on this matter. This is a matter of rather high priority, and touching base with Mitchell probably is a good idea, however, don't count on Mitchell to do it because I feel that at this time, he simply is unable to follow through on some of these things because of personal, and other considerations, which are overriding.

Connally seemed to be somewhat disappointed that he had not heard anything on the Ed Pauley matter. I would like for you to follow through as quickly as possible and inform Connally what Pauley's decision is.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPE

E-1. N-5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

In view of recent poll results, I have some revised thoughts with regard to the schedule for the family.

I think that Mrs. RN, Tricia, Julie, Eddy Nixon and Eddy Cox should be scheduled into all of the smaller States including the southern States between now and the Election. Of course Hawaii and Alaska should be excluded unless it appears that a trip to Alaska might be essential for the purpose of shoring up Stevens.

I think it is also important that the family be heavily scheduled into Massachusetts, West Virginia, Wisconsin and any other doubtful States.

With regard to southern States, I want to be sure that none of the southern States feel that they are being taken for granted. For example, I want to be sure that some member of the family is scheduled in the Mississippi/Alabama/Arkansas/Louisiana, as well as in the States where we have Senate contests we expect we have a good chance to win.

Whenever a member of the family goes into South Dakota, I want a particularly good advance job done to be sure that we get a good reception in that area.

Also, I want the members of the family to be informed that they are to go all out in standing behind the Republican candidates for the Senate in those States where we think our Republican candidates have a chance to win.

These comments apply of course to Agnew and the surrogates with Agnew having to play a somewhat more temperate role with regard to calling for the election of a Republican Senate for fear that we will stir up the animals too much among labor and conventional Democrats who are supporting us. Agnew of course cannot and should not stand aside from our Republican candidates but he should not make a great issue out of campaigning for a Republican Senate.

As far as other surrogates are concerned, those who are not too close to me can be more vocal in their calling for the election of Republican candidates to the Senate. People like Finch and Klein, on the other hand, should be somewhat more restrained because whatever they say will be attributed directly to the White House.

In the case of the family, the problem is not too difficult. It is expected that they will be supporting the Republican nominees and they will go it at a low key, personal way that will not raise the hackles of the Democratic politicians.

Confirming our conversation earlier today, I think it is important to take the allocation of advertising for Texas and put it into Massachusetts and West Virginia. I believe that Rhode Island will go with the swing and, as far as Wisconsin is concerned, it probably also will be affected by the swing, although if there is a way to get some special attention paid to Wisconsin, it should be done.

I particularly want to make sure that we don't overlook Senate contests in places like Montana, New Mexico and Louisiana where we might have a chance to win. Also having in mind the poll on Alabama, it is quite possible now I think that Blount could win. I think it is very important that at least one or two members of the family go to Alabama and be seen with Blount. Of course the other reason for going to Alabama is to make sure that the Alabamians do not consider that we are taking them for granted.

As far as the southern States are concerned, I will cover Atlanta and I have already covered Florida. The others should all--except for Texas--be covered by members of the family, and the same is true of mountain States and farm States, and the New England States--Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island--which are not on our target list.

On another subject, I would like for you to put somebody from Buchanan's shop on a special project entitled "What the Columnists and Commentators Would Like to Forget". Here what I would like to do is to pick up their predictions with regard to the election beginning right after the California primary and carrying through the Democratic and Republican Conventions up to election. I would pick up the major liberal columnists and of course virtually all of the television commentators where they have made predictions and statements which may well be proved wrong by the election results.

This will be very useful in the event I go forward with any writing about the campaign. I had great difficulty getting this material together for "Six Crises" and I am not sure I will want to use it, but in any event I want the material prepared so that if I do decide to write on this subject I will have it in my files.

With further reference to the Senate contests, I think it is important that you very discreetly find out what contests really need more money and try to channel some of our major contributors into those contests rather than into the national campaign.

On the same subject, let us be sure that in all the Senate contests we plan the three weeks' blitz of a combined media play which will give the major possible coattail effect where there is a chance that would help.

A case in point is Wes Powell in New Hampshire. He probably has very little chance to win at this point because of the split in the Republican ranks. On the other hand, with the swing as big as it might be, if he hangs tight enough to us he could pull it off and we should not move away from him because, while he is somewhat of a cross to bear, we owe nothing whatever to MacIntyre.

With regard to scheduling, both Tricia and Julie would like very much to work in tours to southern border States and also to the mountain States at this time. I think that we have been throwing them into the heavy media areas long enough and while, of course, we should not rule out such areas totally and particularly not rule them out for the last two weeks, it might be well to give them a respite from having to face the sharpies in the Press corps in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, et. al. and schedule them into States like Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma and others, as well as in the smaller towns in larger States like Texas where they will be particularly well received. The same can be said of Montana, New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Kansas and Nebraska as well as of other States of that type. Also, I want particularly emphasis on their schedules to be on towns that no national celebrity may have visited before.

THE PRESIDENT