



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

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Wednesday, September 20th. The President had me over for almost four hours this morning; went through the whole IMF speech idea. He wants to use the point that as weak nations become stronger, economic competition becomes much greater, and the possibility of economic conflicts increase. Work in some of this, to try and get a little more dramatic point to it, saying, that as our policies succeed in making Japan, Germany, Europe, and so on, strong economically, our competition increases, because we're not held together by the fears that united us before. Got into some other speech ideas for the campaign on the radio speeches and the regional deals. Atlanta he wants to do basically on national defense and world peace, picking up Connally's speech. What we need for peace, the progress we've made, how we did it, so on. Then for the New England speech, he wants to tie to the Bicentennial in, work in the kind of people that build America: hard work, pride, hope, wave the flag, not permissiveness, time for revitalization of our institutions, and that kind of thing. And he needs good talking points for the me--, citizens, and a speech to read for the cancer deal.

He also got into some schedule strategy, he wants to get into mid-America in the third week—the small towns, the mountain states, the Ohio motorcade, and that kind of thing. He decided not to do the Mormon Tabernacle, have the Vice President do that instead; also wants him to do Montana. He thinks he'll do an in-office press conference, either just before Atlanta or just before Boston. He wants to be sure that the VP doesn't take McGovern on, that it's better for Connally to do this. The VP should compare Nixon and McGovern, on the record, and the progress on revenue sharing, that sort of thing. Use the New American Majority, not Republican majority; work for the election of Congress and Senators who will support the President, not who are Republicans. He wants the surrogates and the VP to be a contrast to McGovern: be pro-President and pro-American; things are good, the economy's looking up, so we should quit running down the country; be proud of our President and our young people; show your pride by voting on election day to get the biggest vote in history. He wants all surrogates to carry this line, and also to compare now and in '68, enumerate how things have changed.



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He raised the question of Burundi, where he is just learned that 200,000 people have been killed by the government in order to maintain control; they're killing off all the intellectuals, apparently in the country, or intelligent people. He makes the point that we should...

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This is continuing Wednesday, September 20th. The, I was making the point that the President was concerned that the slaughters in Burundi, and feeling that we should have a contingency plan to deal with this kind of thing, or if they should capture UN guy or something of this sort.

He covered some other strategy items that we should use: the don't let them take it away line; building peace, economy; end of permissiveness; or the peace and prosperity idea. There's a change of view here; the mood of the nation has changed; we don't need to be against status quo as we had thought a couple of months ago we needed to be. The people are now shifting to where they have a more optimistic outlook, and we can work with that. He wants to be sure we make a big thing out of the fact there were no casualties in Vietnam last week, and that we answered the McGovern defense thing, which is out tomorrow. He's concerned about Gelb, Halperin, and some of our other people who are now on the McGovern defense list, and wants to be sure Henry knows how we were snookered on that; thinks we ought to get Huston back for planning in the next Administration to smoke out this kind of people. Got back on the point that the



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Congressional candidates should be supporting the President rather than he supporting them; that it's okay to go ahead on the endorsement letters, but beyond that, they should grab onto the President's coattails, we shouldn't be pushing them down people's throats. He feels that as of now we should leave the campaign basically where it is: first, keep Agnew positive; second, go ahead on the Congressional letters; third, focus on Connally to the maximum possible extent; fourth, on the family, cut back and low key them, no more press conferences for them at all.

On the house cleaning post-election, he wants to get after ACDA, who are always cutting up the President according to Scoop Jackson, and slice it to the bone. He also wants to dump the Science Advisor, the Space Council, and all those miscellaneous staffs under the Vice President.

Later today, he had Ehrlichman and Weinberger up to Camp David for a general meeting: first, extensive discussion of veto strategy and the plans for the balance of this Congressional session; then, a discussion of policy, post-election. He feels that we've got to recognize what our mandate is; that it's not toward a more liberal domestic policy; that we've had enough social programs -forced integration, education, housing, and so on; this is contrary to what the establishment thinks; they and the Congress think that the country want this stuff. He referred then to the Disraeli point of Gladstone being an exhausted volcano, with all his reforms, and the point that the people do not want to be improved. The huge social programs have been tried, they don't work; people don't want more on welfare, they don't want to help the working poor; and our move has to be harder on this, not softer. People will say that the mandate means to go forward with all our revolutionary programs, but the President feels, totally different from Reagan, that the huge colossus of the federal government is a mess. The people running it are incompetent and it won't change, and the American people don't want to support it. We can't just allow the country to grow like top seed; we have to do something, but we have to move toward slimming down rather than fattening up the federal government. He wants a review of the list of things to



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drop, but he wants to add to it. In the White House, he wants to drop the Science Advisor, Committee for International Economic Policy, the Advisory Boards, whatever can be done within the law to cut our own shop down. Most of the programs he wants to drop are in HEW, the higher education subsidy, and that kind of thing. Make it clear to the NEA that they supported McGovern and they're not welcome anymore at the White House. In the health field, we should do much less, and we should hit some of the sacred cows, like the cotton program at Agriculture. On welfare, we have to support HR 1 until the election; afterward, we should not send it back to Congress.

His theory on the election is that he's got a better, we've got a better chance to win the House than we do the Senate. He thinks if we get over 55 percent we can carry the House, because they're more affected by the swing than the Senate is. The problem is that in the new Congress, we'll have some issues like trade, health, tax, and energy, which Ehrlichman points out that can virtually, but that we can virtually avoid programmatic initiatives. We need to get OMB going on listing the bad programs. He points out that we shouldn't assume that a great Administration is one that does new things—maybe it's one that gets rid of old things. We should not make it Reagan-like, not obtuse and anti-people, we should make it for people, get government off their backs.

Say as little as possible during the campaign so we have the fewest promises to have to keep, and so that we have an ability to interpret our mandate our way. The process must have a setting and with the big, and that that, a setting that'll bring Congress along with us by exerting public opinion and leadership. The question of the value of reorganization, Weinberger and Ehrlichman point out, it provides the opportunity to break up some of the baronies, but we need to study what's do-able. Same with special revenue sharing: rework them and then send them back in on the basis that we can get something through.



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If we win, we don't intend to coast in the second term. In the first year, we've got to really do something regarding a new government. Something that the President really believes in, tear the State Department to pieces, and Defense; don't just preside over the huge morass. Also, the Treasury bureaucracy is bad and so is Justice. We need a study on the Vice President's office in a ruthless way; eliminate all the surplus staff and committees. Then he raised the question of who's doing the CIA study. He feels Helms has got to go and...

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...we should get rid of the clowns by cutting personnel forty percent. The information they develop is worthless...

...some discussion on the problem of intelligence, reorganization; and the real problem is, of course, Defense and Congress.

He wants to tell all hands that everybody should resign November 8, but no one should plan on a vacation; that the period of November 7 to December 7 should be the most intensive month ever. We should have a total cutoff of the press during that period and have some intensive Camp David sessions and really get the thing hammered together. Also, Kissinger should know there are to be no foreign leaders after the election until after the Inaugural, and we should tell them that now.



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End of September 20th.