## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1972

## MEMORANDUM FOR:

## MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

Several people have talked to me about the need for us to help House and Senate candidates in their races. I talked to Bob Finch about this and also, as you recall, we talked about it on the phone.

There is one problem that has occurred to me which must be borne in mind in any decision we make in this area. We have to remember that Connally's organization and our major labor supporters are supporting only the President for re-election and are making a great point of the fact that they are supporting Democratic candidates for the House and Senate.

i pt. We do nothing QT.

We also have to have in mind that a number of Democratic Governors and party leaders at the State and local level are sitting on their hands as far as the Presidential election is concerned and even quietly are giving us some support. On the other hand, they are strongly for the Democratic candidates for the House and Senate.

What this adds up to is that anything we do in behalf of House and Senate candidates must be <u>very low profile</u>. Also, I am convinced that we should not do anything which is too overt in this area until approximately three weeks before the election,

If for example we began a national campaign at this time aimed at helping Republican candidates for the House and Senate, many Democratic Party loyalists across the country who are cool on McGovern would become terrified at the thought of losing their House and Senate seats and might join up with McGovern in order to avoid a debacle. Incidentally, this also means that MacGregor, Mitchell, Finch, Dole and others who talk to the Press should go very light on any linkage between the Presidential campaign and the campaigns for the House and Senate at this time. We must not have a lot of national news stories two months before the election that the Nixon operation is going all out to elect Republicans to the House and Senate.

What can be done at this time is to lay out a very well planned PR operation in special Senate races and a few House races to begin a few weeks before the election. If we begin it then, it will be too late for the Democratic pro's to do very much with regard to turning their organization for McGovern in order to save House and Senate seats. On reflection, I believe that the most effective way to help them is to use direct mail and radio. Television tends to be too high profile and of course the same goes for billboards. I know I mentioned the possibility of billboards to you in our telephone conversation, but on reflection I think this is a bad idea. As far as billboards are concerned generally, incidentally, I do not believe we should use them for the Presidential campaign. There is no kind of activity which tends to be a target for those who claim we have too much money than the use of billboards. Having in mind the fact that they have only marginal effect in any event, I want you to see that the PR group knocks off billboard advertising wherever they can across the country. For us to have great numbers of flashy billboards and McGovern to have none would give the opposition a ready-made issue.

On the other hand, I am disappointed that on my trip out here I have yet to see a Nixon bumper strip except for the one on Presley's car. There may be some conscious PR decision not to use bumper strips, and if so I understand. If, on the other hand, we are going to use them, I would think that a concerted campaign could now be begun to get out the President Nixon bumper strips--don't use the Reelect the President one for the reason I have mentioned previously. I would think this would be an excellent project for our younger people to hit parking lots on a certain day, perhaps the 15th of September. As we have learned from experience, don't hand them out at rallies because people will not put them on. They will only take them home and put them on their mirrors.

The new Bachrach pictures were very satisfactory as far as everybody was concerned. I want you personally to follow up to see that they are distributed as broadly as possible and as soon as possible, particularly the ones of the family, of Pat and myself, and the new smiling ones of me should be used to replace the ones that are currently distributed to our campaign people and to the Press. Give me a report on what progress you make in this respect.

It is important to get our surrogates out immediately this next week on an all out attack on McGovern's more extreme positions. I noted 7/ in the Washington Post a story indicating that McGovern during the past week subtlely was changing his line and was sounding more and more like a Democratic candidate in the old Democratic tradition. We must not let him get away with this. It is vital to keep him on the defensive on his most vunerable issues. I am inclined to think that the issue that is most difficult for his to finesse is Vietnam and defense. He cannot move too far off of his extreme position here or he will lose his whole left-wing support. For example, the quote from Fortune with regard to his belief that the Communists would not test him because they would not want to lose his friendship would be very effective in carrying out George Meany's line that he just doesn't understand the Communist threat. It is very important here to see that this kind of material is used only by highly sophisticated people in a way that McGovern will not be able to respond that his loyalty or patriotism is being questioned. Every statement should be prefaced with the idea that he is naive and lacks judgment on appraising the Communist threat. But when you have such a collection of statements -- that the Russians were rearmed after World War II only because we did, that he would throw Thieu out and have a Communist government come into power in South Vietnam, the statement in Fortune to which I have referred, the quote from the Newsweek interview which Henry says he has given to Colson and which I doubt Newsweek will use--these and others provide ammunition that could be used for over the next two months in a devastating way.

Obviously every effort should also be made to keep reminding people of his extreme welfare plans and his high budget which would result in an increase in taxes. It is vitally important to keep the ball on his side of the court--in other words, have the debate be about his plans and not about our tax reform plan which may come later on in the campaign.

Finally, in view of the Harris poll results, our positive speakers should hammer courage, integrity, world leader, and of course the hard line in Vietnam knowing that we find a very receptive audience to begin with on these points. All speakers should now start taking the line of calling upon people to join the new majority, give the President the chance to finish the job that he has begun at home and abroad.

IE PRESIDENT