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MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Some ideas sent in that have some merit: Considering the "corruption" charge, etc., why not have the President photographed in quasi-religious services; either Sunday services, funerals, if they come up -- or other -- which in and of itself makes McGovern look nasty in the character of his charges.

Secondly, strongly recommend that we take out ads in all major black publications attacking McGovern for taking blacks for granted -- and calling on blacks to repudiate that sentiment. These ads would serve to force McGovern to spend money to answer them -- and they might well weaken him in the black community as McGovern has never been strong there personally. This is the one major voting block where McGovern wins overwhelmingly -- and some hard negative ads might convince blacks either to "go fishing" or cut McGovern.

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Buchanan

I disagree on
McGovern appears to have but one card left to turn over -- the "corruption" issue. And it is not a bad one. There is a theme abuilding in the media, which runs like this: What has happened that America and Americans are sympathetic that they will not become enraged at the atmosphere of scandal and chicanery that now exists in Nixon's Washington. Agronsky, Sidey, Severeid, Reasoner, Shana Alexander and a host of others are pushing the theme.

The Times has put its top Mafia guy on the Watergate-Espionage-Sabotage issue -- and the Washington Post may very well have a few more trumps to play.

My concern is that we not "freeze the ball" with our twenty-odd point lead, and three and a half weeks to go -- as we did in 1968. We have two possible lines of attack as I see it, and I would prefer the latter.

First, is to attack the Post head-on along these lines. "Just as in 1968, the leftist press is digging up all the dirt it can print between now and the election to salvage the collapsed McGovern campaign. In 1968 it was the Times when their smear on Agnew; in 1972 it is the Post's desperate last-ditch effort to smear the President on Watergate. Innuendo and unproven charges are being given the kind of ride they have not gotten since the days of Joe McCarthy. Where Dick Tuck's screw-ball antics were applauded and laughed off -- pranks performed by some over-zealous types a) have not even been tied to the President's organizations; and b) are condemned as though we were running a concentration camp."
Something along these lines -- taking the attack to the Post. However, before proceeding up this avenue, we had best know exactly how much more the Post has than the stuff it is running right now.

However, my preferred line would be for us to use the above only as an "answer" and to respond to the Washington Post's vendetta, and the others who are fortifying McGovern's charges, with their venom and outrage -- by stepping up the attack on McGovern on our issues. To this end, I believe that:

A) The earlier we use Connally, the broader the audience, the better. This speech not only creams McGovern -- it turns the focus of national debate back onto our issues -- foreign policy, defense cuts, amnesty, bipartisan tradition -- and hits McGovern hard for his radicalism.

B) We need new and more attack ads, in my view; and a crash program should be initiated to provide them. What are the issues hurting McGovern most? When we find these, we ought to have one minute reminder ads -- for massive use on a state-by-state basis in the waning days of the campaign.

C) We ought to consider the possibility of placing print ads in black papers all over the country condemning McGovern for not placing such ads and "taking blacks for granted." An ad which says in effect -- you won't see McGovern taking an ad in this paper because he thinks you're already in his pocket.

D) While we have hit McGovern some on his Vietnam speech, it is not enough, and not hard enough -- his speech disappointed and concerned even Kraft and Reston -- we should be hitting him hard and repeatedly, and at high levels on Vietnam.

E) We have several "bombs" lined up like the Defense Budget Analysis, the Welfare Analysis, the Connally Speech -- we need more major "events" or "attacks" at high levels, which can frame the debate in our terms, not theirs. We must keep the country thinking of McGovern and his idiotic schemes, his ineptitude and his radicalism -- if we are going to hold onto our existing lead.

F) The time is approaching I would think, when we would want to move the issue further by calling for a "vote against extremism" and get prominent Democrats and Union Leaders to start talking publicly, and calling for the "repudiation" of the Radical Left that has seized our party.
G) Perhaps we need once again to go back through all our anti-McGovern material -- pick out only the harshest and toughest material we have -- and feed that to the press for one more round.

In brief conclusion, the next ten days are crucial to breaking the back of the McGovern campaign; we ought not to be holding back material now -- but pouring out everything we have. We should be getting as much of this anti-material into the record as possible; if McGovern has made no progress by two weeks before the election, the stampede might begin, and that may be it.

Buchanan