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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
JOHN EHRLICHMAN  
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Beginning Monday, there are but seven weeks left in the Presidential campaign. Our two operative principles on the attack in those seven weeks should be a) the issues of 1972 have long ago been decided and made and b) we should re-cycle those issues, points and positions which resulted in the collapse of the McGovern campaign. There seems to be a tendency on our part at times to seek out some new indiscretion on the part of the Opposition and attack that simply because it is "new." When we have an airtight case of forcible rape -- this is like saying, "And yeah, we can get him for jaywalking, too."

In the last few days, in my judgment, we have allowed McGovern to "lead" the national debate; our major political statements have focused (i. e., Butz counter-charges, and MacGregor) precisely on those issues McGovern thinks are the only winners he has. In addition, we have sought to counter the charges of campaign financing finagling with the old discredited "tu quoque" argument ("you're another") -- which is the weakest of all arguments.

Meanwhile, little has gone into the public record in the last several days -- from us -- which focuses on and advances the major personal and political issues which are ours. This is partly our fault; but partly the reason is that we now need heavier guns than the ones we have been using.

There may be a point to muddying up the matter -- but we have other fish to fry this fall; and we ought to be about that business.

THE FIRST WEEK. I would open up with two barrels this week. The first is Foreign Policy. And the Vice President is the man. High-level defense of RN's brilliant foreign policy is first third -- and then into McGovern's Asian and European policies as enunciated by him and Chayes.

Filled in with McGovern quotes; McGovern on the POWs; McGovern on the Middle East. Conclusion and lead -- George McGovern is a well-intentioned, but naive bungler, whose foreign policy views are foolish and would be dangerous to the peace and security of the United States and the world. Call for a national debate on two opposing views of America's role in the world. The second barrel would be a John B. Connally, highly publicized response to McGovern, hammering on the title Confidence and Credibility. All of the McGovern waffles would be rolled into this one on the credibility side -- the McGovern flip-flops -- then also, in a peroration, the worst of the McGovern radical rhetoric. Why John Connally broke with McGovern, could include Hoover remark, Hitler remarks, etc. Extremist rhetoric unbecoming a presidential candidate -- least of all these charges is what he says about me. If we could get that peroration on the air; "the language of an extremist" we could resurrect our big winner. Also, to be included here is the Humphrey, Jackson, Muskie and Meany statements -- the more brutal ones on McGovern. Why Democrats are staying away in droves.

The two speeches would be on different days -- maybe two days apart. Given free time, I could get done the entire first speech and the "core" of the second.

What we ought to remember in both these speeches is that the press is less interested in writing about a pro-speech, than they are about attack material -- whether the attack is high level or low level. Both speeches should be built up -- and we should make our television on them those nights.

Note: The attack group should be aware of what the President is doing that day also for media -- he can knock us off the front pages and the networks quicker than anyone else.

THE SECOND WEEK. Economics and Welfare. Connally and/or the Veep would be excellent on Economics. Reagan, if he would do one of our speeches, would be ideal on Welfare at the National Press Club.

The economic speech would give the voters a choice between the present prosperity and radical change -- radical change that would mean a busted stock market (capital gains tax), a destroyed aerospace industry and an undeclared economic war in the American middle class. The McGovern previous proposals should be regurgitated; his simplistic and naive approach should be laid out. His \$100 billion increase in budget and thousand in taxes the lead. The language in an economic

speech is vital. We could work on this one as well. The Welfare speech should focus on McGovern, of course, as in favor of pouring millions more in; putting millions more onto the rolls.

These items should serve as the key for surrogate speakers as well. However, the letters operation need not be geared in to this -- in our judgment that should be moving the negative, radical material on McGovern into the key states at full blast. We can be much more direct in letters than in rhetoric.

THE THIRD WEEK. The Social Issue. In this week a major address should be written, again preferably with the Veep in the lead-off contrasting the President and McGovern on social issues. Marijuana and drugs. McGovern's endorsement of the Black Caucus and what it contains. Bussing, bussing, bussing. RN versus McGovern on the use of scatter-site housing; amnesty. While the Vice President can high level this -- laying out the deep differences between the two -- others can really start hitting hard on the issue. Also, law and order, the Hoover quote -- etc. This can all be drawn into this question. This is 1970 politics, but the issues are ours this time, and if we can get McGovern talking on them, they are winners. No name-calling -- just point out here the radical record.

THE FOURTH WEEK. Defense. This is one area McGovern has held fast. We could lay out his defense budget at the top level and portray it as an invitation to disaster in Europe, the Mideast, the world, the future. Again, here we have quotes from Jackson and Humphrey to back us up. And two days after the defense speech -- there is released the "ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE MCGOVERN DEFENSE BUDGET" from Laird to Capitol Hill, giving state by state the number of jobs lost by McGovern Defense Budget and aerospace cuts, also the number of bases shut down and exactly which ones and where. All laid out, special mailing to every newspaper in every state in the country. Something he will never catch up with.

Within this week as well, we ought to have some real tough speeches in the aerospace communities, the "Ghost Town" stuff. Also, the same thing they did to us around the military bases in 1970. Included in the military stuff would be McGovern's attack on the Military Industrial Complex whereas what he is talking about is the workers at GE, McDonnell, etc.

If we go this route, we are at the Middle of October -- there is no need now to decide what we will do those last three weeks. This includes our basic inventory of large, overall issues. Other sub-themes include:

- A) The Ellsberg connection, tying McGovern to him and his crime -- as soon as the indictment come down, if McGovern insists on charging people, uncharged by the Grand Jury. This would be a separate tough attack; and it should be echoes all over the country.
- B) Space, and defense should of course be on-going issues for any speaker in a community near an aerospace plant or military base. Perhaps our Nixon people ought to be doing what they did to us in 1970 -- put out the rumor around every big base in the country that if McGovern is elected this base will shut down, this plant will close.
- C) The McGovern Quotes need to be gotten out. We will do another mailing on the Best Twenty-five -- and maybe the time has come to move them and our Attack Book (truncated) to the National Press, or at least the most friendly of the national columnists.
- D) The Democratic Party and its rescue. This is an ideal Connally Big Speech some time, urging Democrats to take back the party of their fathers, by repudiating the extremists who have seized it in November. In the speech, he could lay out cold all the radical leftism, and extremism of McGovern positions, a real blistering speech on McGovern, the kind that the President and the Vice President cannot make -- but hitting him on the twenty odd issues where he has been so vulnerable. The kind of thing that Human Events would publish -- genuinely hard, which we could then get out into the hands of our entire speakers list from top to bottom to use, as their basic text.
- E) We have to start back to getting the Democratic anti-McGovern quotes into the record again -- The Meany, Humphrey, Jackson quotes. Also, the "elitism" and "extremism" themes need to be renewed to the average voter.
- F) The attack group should continue -- making sure that these themes are moved week-by-week -- still meeting day-by-day to key off something McGovern has said, to fire at targets of opportunity, to program our people on the media to keep moving all these good materials we have back into the public record again and again. The Hoover quotes and the quotes on the Chicago Police are two examples. Our objective should be to either move McGovern off of his Watergate issue, onto our issues or kill him on our issues; secondly, to continually break any momentum he develops by changing the subject in a week.

FINAL NOTE: Again, the critical point is that just as McGovern ought to make "Nixon" the issue -- so the issue this fall is McGovern. Will

he and the hard-core left-winger radicals who took over the party take over America. That's the bottom line. If the country goes to the polls in November, scared to death of McGovern, thinking him vaguely anti-America and radical and pro the left-wingers and militants, then they will vote against him -- which means for us. What we have done thus far, and fairly well, is not put the President thirty-four points ahead -- but McGovern thirty-four points behind.

The best tribute to what we have done, I think, came from McGovern I believe just after the convention when he said -- "They've got fifteen guys shooting at me from all sides while the President's acting like he's not even in a campaign." If we can continue that, we're golden.

Buchanan