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August 24, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Patrick J. Buchanan

THE VEEP AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1970

Given this Scammon-Wattenburg thesis -- which I believe is right on the mark for Democrats -- we are in serious danger of being driven back to our minority party posture. Our needs seem crystal clear.

1. We cannot allow the Democrats to get back on the right side of the Social Issue. They are attempting to do right now with tough talk, etc. They have to be branded -- as permissivists, as indulgent of students and black rioters, as soft on crime. This can be accomplished with their record in the last Congress I believe. But for us to contest with them primarily on the Economic Issue -- Big Spenders, etc. -- as the major assault seems to me not a prescription for success. Republicans for forty years have been tarring Democratic Congresses with "Big Spender" labels, and Democrats have been winning those Congresses, lo, these same Forty Years.

The focus should be on tarring them with "ultra-liberalism" and "radicalism" -- especially on the Social Issue where we are strong and they are weak.

2. Where are the swing voters in 1970? We must assume left-wing Democrats are going for their Democratic Candidates and Republicans are going for Republicans, come hell or high water. The swing voters are thus Democrats -- law and order Democrats, conservatives on the "Social Issue," but "progressive" on domestic issues. This is the Wattenburg thesis -- and I think it is basically correct. How to conduct ourselves then.
Tar the Democratic Leadership specifically with the "radical" label on social policy; tar them as well with the "obstructionist" label on the President's programs for reforming society, for getting America moving.

Frankly, we should go after the "Daley Democrats." No one can do this better than the Vice President -- but we cannot get these voters by using rehearsed Republican arguments or stale Republican rhetoric.

"Big Spenders" is a theme that might work, will work, with our Republicans -- we are using it in all our GOP literature -- but will it have any real bite with the union guy to whom big spending may mean the medicare for his mom or old man? (Foot-dragging Congress" does not seem charged with much electricity, either.)

3. Scammon contends that a hard-line on riots etc. by Democrats may anger "liberals," but liberals have no place to go anyhow except the Democratic Party. Just so, regular Republicans have no place to go in 1970 (no Wallace) but the GOP. So, let's go straight after the Daley Democrats.

4. The Vice President should win these Democrats to the Presidential banner by contending that RN is a progressive on domestic policy blocked by "obstructionists" in the left-wing leadership of the Democratic Party; that RN is a hard-liner on crime, drugs and pornography, whose legislation is blocked by "ultraliberals" in the Senate who care so much about the rights of the criminal that they forget about the rights of society; that the President is a man trying with veto after veto to hold down the cost of living but is being thwarted by radicals and wild spenders who would, given the chance, create the kind of inflation that would put Indonesia in its heyday in the shade; that the President is a man in foreign policy who is moving toward peace with honor but whose efforts are being attacked and undercut by unilateral disarimmers and isolationists who think peace lies in an abject retreat from the world and the dismantling of the army, navy and air force. This is said strong -- but these I would think would be the ways the Vice President could best appeal to the patriotic, hard-line pro-medicare Democrats who are the missing element in the Grand New Party.
5. There is move afoot to "low-key" the Vice President's campaign in 1970 -- to have him focus specially on the local issue and not seek the national publicity. There is no conflict between garnering national publicity and helping local Senate candidates -- the two are thoroughly complimentary.

The Democrats -- see Scammon's book -- are only now coming around to recognize what we knew in 1966 and 1968 -- that a strong statement in Oregon is more effective in getting to voters in New Jersey than a banal statement in Trenton, Tenafly, Newark and Elizabeth. The way for the Vice President to help the Senatorial Candidate is to praise him to the skies, fine -- but to harness the national Democratic leadership in a manner that will keep our big press corps excited and with us, that will get network time every night if possible with our message; and so help every Republican Senatorial Candidate while we are helping the local one.

Right now the Agnew tour is getting tremendous publicity as the potential best show in town. All we have to do to forfeit that national publicity is run around talking about "cattle and oil" in Casper, as has been suggested already. We ought to remember also, that when we give up the television time -- on the networks -- someone else, namely our Democratic friends, gets it.

Mike Mansfield says the Democrats have no one to compete with the Veep on the hustings. We have a tremendous advantage here -- which we should use, not throw away by talking about local issues that carry no national wallop.

We should have something topical and tough for the national media every day. If the Vice President can raise the Republican Administration a few points in the polls and the President by his decisions and actions raise it several more the effect will be like raising the water level and all the boats in the lake will rise at once.

A hard-hitting tough campaign can help bring home Senators and Congressmen who live or die on a few national percentage points.

6. Clearly, from the Scammon book, we should tax the Democrats as being not only the party of "bugout" but the party of busing, the advocates of "compulsory integration," the party whose last Attorney General banged down the door in Chicago in order to testify on behalf of the Chicago Eight, the leadership that let this
country turn into the purse capital of the world, and is blocking RN's effort to change that. Also, the Democratic leadership has altered its historic foreign policy position to bow-tow to student radicals who bully-rigged those same leaders in the streets of Chicago, etc. The Democratic Leadership should be portrayed as selling out to the eczeries in their own ranks -- and selling out the interests and views of the good patriotic Democrats who number in the millions. We might even say LBJ was destroyed by the "ultra-liberals" in his own party.

7. We should stay on the offensive, taken the "out" (and offensive)position even though we are the "ins" (and defensive) by hammering at the "liberal Eastern Establishment" that is responsible for what has happened to America, the "Establishment" that is frustrating our efforts to right the wrongs in Society, the Establishment whose wards are tearing up the colleges, the Establishment that indulges rioters, etc. (Of course, said in better phraseology, but the need to be on the offensive, to act as "outs" seems to me vital.)

8. The Economic Issue. To get into a debate on whether or not we are in a "recession" seems to me a utterly foolish idea -- since the very discussion of "recession" is surely not going to help us and since anyone who is hurt in the current economic situation is not likely to be convinced he is not being hurt by anybody's rhetoric. Rather than debate whether or not the investors and brokers and unemployed are being hurt, let's go after the Democratic radicals whose wild schemes are frustrating our efforts to stop the rise in prices. This is the Big Spender theme -- but in different rhetoric, tougher rhetoric, equating the Democrats with the same kind of ultraliberalism in spending that they follow on the Social Issue.

9. Finally, to change the Vice President now into the traditional Republican campaigner is to change a winning strategy for a losing one.
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE HONORABLE H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA DWIGHT CHAPIN

SUBJECT: THE VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN CAMPAIGN '70

The Vice President will commence campaigning approximately September 9th or 10th with a motorcade and rally in Springfield, Illinois, culminating with a speech on the courthouse steps.

September - Mostly Fund Raisers with occasional Fat Cat receptions and rallies. The following states are on my schedule, although not all of them are committed:

- Wyoming, Casper
- California, San Diego
- Nevada, Las Vegas
- New Mexico, Albuquerque
- Tennessee, probably Memphis
- Indiana, Indianapolis
- North Dakota, Minot
- Utah, Salt Lake City
- Maryland
- Illinois, mentioned above

As per your memo of July 7th to Dwight, the Vice President has no intention of going into Pennsylvania, New York or Massachusetts, but I do have plans for the Vice President to campaign in the state of Texas. If you have a contrary opinion, I would appreciate knowing in the very near future, before I get involved in further discussions.

October - Some dates committed, holding last three weeks.

Respectfully,

W. ERNST MINOR
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ERNIE MINOR

FROM: Dwight L. Chapin
RE: The Vice President

July 29, 1970

Harry Dent informs me that at a political meeting the other day the President emphasized the fact that he wanted the Vice President to do fund-raisers in Wisconsin and Florida. This parallels the information which we had from Bob Haldeman. The other two States that he had mentioned to Dent are Maryland (where I assume you are already campaigning) and Texas. This should settle once and for all the question on Texas. Obviously, the Vice President is going to be used there. On these fund-raisers, he wants them done for candidates and not for the party.

DLC:ny
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1970

FOR: ERNIE MINOR
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

I am recommending that the Vice President do a fundraiser in Wisconsin on either September 19 or 25. According to the tentative schedule dated July 9, both dates are open. The reason these are the two dates is that Wisconsin people have made a deposit and have a hold on the Milwaukee arena and auditorium.

They anticipate raising $400,000 with 3800 people. The funds will be used for their various campaigns.

An acceptance should not be made on the basis that the Senate race is a target state at this time. It is in the category of "wait and see" as far as the Senate race is concerned.

However, this is the first time that the people of Wisconsin will be voting for a Governor for a four-year term. Our candidate is Lt. Governor Jack Olsen and his opponent will be former Lt. Governor Pat Lucey (D).

Although we should hold our six out of ten Congressional Districts, there may be difficulty in the First District held by Congressman Henry Schadeberg (R), who only won by 50.9% in 1968.

We are going to make an effort to pick up the 7 C.D. which was won by David Obey (D) in a special election when Mel Laird came into the Cabinet. Our candidate in this District is Andre LeTendre, immediate past President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, who has met with the President concerning his running.
Obey won the special election by 51.5%.

Wisconsin has been good to us convention-wise, as well as in elections.

I believe in reciprocity and the insurance of brownie points.

A decision does not have to be made until August 1.

bcc:
Mr. Haldeman
Mr. Rumsfeld
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE HONORABLE H. R. Haldeman

VIA DWIGHT CHAPIN

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W. E. Evett Minor