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47	26	8/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Lyn Nofzinger and John Lofton. From: Pat Buchanan. RE: RNC. 1pg.
47	26	8/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Draft article. RE: The Lindsay shift. 4pgs.
47	26	8/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Draft article. RE: Lindsay Shift. 5pgs.
47	26		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Article notes. 3pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Lyn Nofzinger
John Lofton

FROM: Pat Buchanan

The attached I would think should get some coverage, because of a) it represents the first RNC-MONDAY response to the departure of John Lindsay b) it makes a somewhat dramatic assertion about Kennedy which is not altogether implausible, and c) it puts the RNC on record that McGovern is a dead man.

All of these are fairly good wire stories. In addition, the piece has within it some good lines I think, on Lindsay, Kennedy, McGovern and O'Brien, which tend to drive home points which we have made before, lines which are not unlikely to get picked up and repeated.

Suggestion is that if we go with this, we send it out with a cover memo before this weekend, indicating that we are breaking silence on why John Lindsay's departed, and giving Monday's interpretation of the conundrum this has created for the Democratic Party. If we make it sound a little "official league", some of these lines might be repeated.

Regards.

Patrick J. Buchanan

THE LINDSAY SHIFT

John Lindsay's abrupt political about-face -- a sure declaration for the presidency -- was the death-dealing blow to George McGovern who is currently wet-nursing the Democratic Presidential nomination for Teddy Kennedy. The TKO of McGovern does nothing to bolster the stock of Edward M. Kennedy Enterprises, Inc. which is sure to go on the skids.

The set-back for McGovern and Kennedy, combined with the chaos created in the ranks of the Democratic party, makes apparent the coolness that Larry O'Brien showed when apprised of Lindsay's switch. O'Brien's actions to date -- chronicled in detail by MONDAY -- have indicated a sweetheart relationship with Ed Muskie, and the entrance of John Lindsay will turn O'Brien's job into a nightmare.

The threat to the Kennedy faction has been thoroughly documented in the past few days.

Item: Lindsay rivals the style of Camelot. Syndicated columnist Marianne Means declared: "In the sense that Lindsay provides the Democrats with a new and glamorous celebrity over which to get excited, he may hurt the Presidential prospects of Kennedy." Kennedy, whose forte is style and charisma, will no longer be able to depend on the holding action of his front man, the politically inept George McGovern.

Item: Kennedy fears Lindsay. Savvy Massachusetts political reporter, Martin Nolan, points out that Kennedy has long regarded John Lindsay "ruefully." Lindsay qualifies as "Kennedy's least favorite Democrat, and the Massachusetts Senator . . . would probably . . . endorse Muskie rather than see Lindsay somehow run off with the nomination." Obviously, it is to Teddy's benefit that Muskie and Lindsay fight one another to set the stage for Teddy to pick up all the marbles in a brokered convention at Miami.

Item: Kennedy is nervous about Lindsay's cozy relationship with New York Democratic boss, John Burns. Burns, Bobby Kennedy's New York mentor, helped the late Senator build a Kennedy machine in New York, and Teddy can't help but be skeptical about Burns' ecstatic reception of Lindsay. (Note: Burns and Ed Muskie's chief political operator, Jack English, are "old and dear" friends according to Maine political analyst Donald Larrabee. English has kept the lines open with Lindsay's people and was advised of the Lindsay turnaround in advance. Look for continued evidence of Muskie's teaming up with Lindsay in the days ahead -- with a desperate Muskie eventually offering the Vice-Presidential bid to Lindsay to protect his left flank and fight off the Kennedy juggernaut.)

As of today, the McGovern candidacy is dead, and the incipient Kennedy boom is limping. McGovern's bitterness was detected when he whimpered that Lindsay was a "Midnight convert" and told reporters that he did "not welcome further competition for the nomination." Columnist Harriet Van Horne chided McGovern for his

petulance and observed: "Interestingly, the qualities McGovern lacks are the qualities Lindsay has in super-endowment . . . Lindsay's charisma runneth over."

McGovern still won't count himself out and already has young lawyers doing negative research on the Lindsay Administration -- a not too difficult assignment, but one which will further sunder the Democrat ranks. Matters aren't helped by style comparisons which rankle McGovern, such as the observation by Ernest Ferguson of the Baltimore Sun that Lindsay replaces "the patient and decent but less telegenic McGovern, . . ."

All this adds up to some very real concern by Larry O'Brien and the Eastern Democratic establishment that Chicago of 1968 will be matched by Miami of 1972. O'Brien, whose unity meetings have only helped frontrunner, Ed Muskie, cannot be happy with Lindsay's entrance into his party's ranks -- a point which was manifested by O'Brien's terse one-sentence welcoming statement when Lindsay took the plunge. Moreover, the warm welcome given Lindsay by New York leader Burns and Massachusetts state chairman, Robert Crane, is not likely to endear these men to O'Brien. The New York Times, which has already punched holes in the Kennedy campaign, further indicated its desire for a passive Democratic convention when it warned that Lindsay's candidacy would only "further divide the ranks of liberal Democrats already fragmented around a half-dozen aspirants."

But his inability to maintain party loyalties will not bind John Lindsay to the Democrats any more than it did with the Republicans. He will depend on his uppity Manhattan chic to ferry his political fashion show around the country -- giving little concern to pols and more concern to the polls. This effort will be aided by the national media and by what the New York Times called Lindsay's "public relations apparatus" which has tripled in cost since Lindsay took office as Mayor. Certainly, it was the Mayor's public relations flaks who advised Lindsay to move his announcement date up one day in order to blast McGovern and Fred Harris off the front pages of New York's papers -- McGovern and Harris having previously scheduled press appearances in New York on the day Lindsay finally decided to declare his conversion.

As of now, John Lindsay must yet prove himself to clubhouse Democrats. His Administration has made New York -- once a great city -- the dirtiest and most violent-prone metropolis in the Nation -- burdened by enormous budgets and absurdly large welfare rolls. All of this has caused Robert Wagner, former Democratic mayor of New York, to observe: "I begin to wonder if he should run for President until he can demonstrate some administrative ability here in New York City."

MONDAY tends to agree with the crusty observation of union chief, George Meany: "It's a good break for the Republican party, and it's a bad break for the Democratic party. Who needs him?"

draft - Khachigian
8/18/71THE LINDSAY SHIFT

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Kennedy's [redacted] while New York [redacted] mentor, helped the late Senator build up a Kennedy machine [redacted] the Democratic party in New York, and Teddy

can't help but be skeptical about [redacted] Burns' ecstatic reception of Lindsay. (Note: Burns and Jack English, [redacted] Ed Muskie's chief political operator, are "old and dear" friends according to Maine political analyst Donald [redacted] Larrabee.

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Lindsay took the plunge. The warm welcome given Lindsay by New York leader Burns and Massachusetts state chairman Robert Crane, [REDACTED] is not likely to endear these men to O'Brien. The New York Times, which has already punched [REDACTED] holes in ~~the~~ Kennedy campaign, further indicated its desire for a passive Democratic convention when it warned that Lindsay's candidacy would only "further divide the ranks of liberal Democrats already [REDACTED] fragmented [REDACTED] around a half-dozen aspirants."

But ^{his} ~~very independent~~ ~~inability to maintain party loyalties~~ ~~binds him to the Democrats~~ ~~with the Republicans~~ ~~upset his~~ ~~ferry~~ ~~Manhattan chic to~~ ~~his political fashion show around~~ ~~the country -- giving little concern to pols and more concern~~ ~~to the polls. This effort will be aided by the national~~ ~~media and by~~ ~~what the New York Times called~~ ~~Lindsay's "public relations apparatus" which has tripled in~~ ~~cost since Lindsay took office as Mayor. Certainly, it~~ ~~was the Mayor's public relations flaks who advised Lindsay~~ ~~to move his announcement date up one [REDACTED] day in order to~~ ~~blast McGovern and Fred Harris off~~ ~~the front pages of~~ ~~New York's papers -- McGovern and Harris having previously~~ ~~[REDACTED] scheduled press appearances in New York on the day~~ ~~Lindsay finally [REDACTED] decided to [REDACTED] declare his conversion.~~

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-- Robert Wagner: "I begin to wonder if he ~~should~~ run for President until he can demonstrate some administrative ability here in New York City."

✓ -- Marianne Means: "In the sense that Lindsay provides the Democrats with a new and glamorous celebrity over which to get excited, he may hurt the Presidential prospects of Kennedy."

✓ -- ~~xx~~ Stanley J. Hinden, Newsday, "The most unhappy Democrat, although his staff tried hard to hide it, was Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), whose liberal positions on the Vietnam war, the problems with the cities and minority groups are paralleled almost exactly by Lindsay."

✓ -- Harriet Van Horne: "Interestingly, the qualities McGovern lacks are the qualities Lindsay has in super-endowment. . . . Lindsay's charisma runneth over."

✓ -- McGovern: "I certainly do not welcome further competition for the nomination." Called Lindsay a "midnight convert."

-- Larry O'Brien issued a terse one-line statement.

✓ -- Ernest Ferguson (Sun): ". . . he becomes the heaviest contender on the left-liberal side of the Democratic spectrum, replacing the patient and decent but less telegenic McGovern, . . ."

✓ -- Richard Reeves (N.Y. Times) - "...McGovern already has young lawyers doing negative research on the Lindsay Administration" "The Mayor is the very model of a new politician in the same ~~same~~ sense that Robert F. Kennedy was."

-- Muskie should be happy. -- takes the left heat off of him. -- but could cause problems by driving him to the left.

✓ -- Martin F. Nolan (Boston Globe): "Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. . . has long regarded the prospect of John Lindsay's conversion ~~as~~ ruefully. Lindsay qualifies as Kennedy's least favorite Democrat, and the Massachusetts Senator. . . would probably. . . endorse Muskie rather than see Lindsay somehow off run ~~as~~ with the nomination."

✓ -- Donald R. Larrabee: "Jack English, the Muskie political director, . . . has kept the lines open with Lindsay's people for some time and was advised of the decision in advance."

"English. . . thinks Lindsay could cancel out Sen. ~~as~~ George McGovern and several other potential candidates if he ~~as~~ decided to go the primary route." (*James & English are old*, "Dear" friends (*McGovern*)

-- William S. White: "It is bad news particularly to such far-out senators as George McGovern. . ."

-- Richard Stone (Wall St. Journal): Mankiewicz ~~says~~ holds ~~his~~ view that "Lindsay would drain both votes and, perhaps even more importantly, financial contributions from the ~~as~~ Senator." (former Kennedy flak, Frank Mankiewicz)

New York Times editorial: Cautioned that JVL's entry "would be to further divide the ranks of liberal Democrats, already fragmented around a half-dozen aspirants."

-- Very warm reception given Lindsay by John Burns and Robert Crane (state chairman of Mass.) both Kennedy men.

-- Victor Riesel: Lindsay had actually planned to announce his candidacy on Thursday, but chose Wed., Aug. 11th, in order to upstage George McGovern and Fred Harris -- both who were in New York and had scheduled press conferences for Wednesday.

-- ~~BXHHS~~ George Meany: "It's a good break for the Republican party, and it's a bad break for the Democratic party. Who needs him?"

-- Martin Tolchin: ~~Max~~ "The Lindsay Administration's public-relations apparatus has trebled in cost since Mr. Lindsay took office as Mayor. . ."