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FILE GROUP TITLE
KEN KHACHIGIAN

FOLDER TITLE
June 6, 1972

RESTRICTION CODES
A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
B. National security classified information.
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.
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H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.
Presidental Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: Kenneth L. Khachigian
Box Number: 6
Folder: June [1972]

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MEMORANDUM FOR: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN

It was requested that we come up with a plan between now and the Democratic National Convention to nail McGovern to the wall on his welfare scheme. What follows is the outline of that plan -- specifics will come later.

The important point is that McGovern is going to change his plan right after the Democratic National Convention. We know he is planning it, and he has already laid the groundwork. Thus, our immediate strategy is to tar him every conceivable way on his $1000 bonus so that his manner of rehabilitation is not in the least bit comfortable. Moreover, we should also predict that he is going to change his plan and that he will do so after the convention.

These points should be uppermost in the criticism of the McGovern proposal:

-- There is a $1000 cash grant to every man, woman, and child in the country, regardless of need and with no work incentive at all.

-- This plan will expand the budget by $210 billion.

-- This plan will put 210 billion people on "welfare."

-- This plan is an assault on the work ethic and removes from the American culture the idea that people should work for a living, not live on the largesse of the taxpayer.

-- This plan will cost exhorbitant sums, will require a massive increase in taxes (or cause confiscatory taxation), will directly harm middle income people and will harm the families where man and wife are each holding jobs to help make ends meet.
-- Finally, it should be pointed out that McGovern himself does not know what his program would cost, has been totally irresponsible in trying to sell this to the public, and if this is any indication of a McGovern presidency, then God help us all.

Suggest that Javits be asked to be one of those on the warpath regarding the McGovern welfare giveaway. He did a good job during the Joint Economic Committee hearings, and he might be willing to do so again in a public forum. If he does, we should make our P.R. facilities available to him at 1701. Javits is also ranking minority member on Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Rockefeller would also be a good one to attack the plan. He could stick in his speech a classic line: "Ladies and gentlemen, Nelson Rockefeller appreciates the offer, but I don't think I need a $1000 bill from George McGovern."

Richardson would be a credible source as HEW secretary, but it is thought that he would not receive very much press. Nevertheless, he should have our materials and be primed for response at press conferences. A hard-hitting speech insert should be prepared for him.

Governor Reagan, who is known for his opposition to welfare waste, would also be a good source. He should have the information with a Lyn Nofziger speech.

Ehrlichman is supposed to be out on the hustings next week, and he can be briefed to get out the line. All surrogates should have this information with appropriate suggested inserts provided for them.

Finally, the Veep should be asked to focus a major section of one of his speeches on ridiculing the McGovern plan. Emphasis on the wage-earner being taken to the cleaners to give $1000 to every breathing person in the country.

Beginning Monday, the whole week must be orchestrated towards one goal, and that goal is to totally discredit the McGovern welfare plan. We should not have all our wad shot on one day -- it should dribble out each day with each spokesman making some news. If done correctly, by the end of the week, there will have been widespread coverage on the plan.

The following points are the ones we have to target in order to get the press to focus on them:
-- The plan means higher taxes for hard-pressed wage-earners.

-- It is a giveaway which will discourage work and create greater class conflict.

-- McGovern doesn't know how much it will cost and is being irresponsible in presenting it as he has.

-- In one of the greatest acts of political expediency in our history, McGovern is going to make a wholesale revision of his plan to trick the American people into thinking it is some panacea for their ills. He will do it after the Dem convention as a cynical gesture to get him out from under a subject that was over his head to begin with.

Our entire effort next week must be well-coordinated. There has got to be a press release handed out for every spokesman we have speaking on the subject. Efforts should be made to get on network television; radio actualities should be made available; the wire services should get copies of everything; columns should be planted.

Other points which can be made. People on Social Security would get less money than they are getting now because McGovern has not said what he would do with the present system. McGovern is going to do away with tax exemptions -- $3,000 for a family of four -- without proving how this helps the taxpayer. People with higher incomes are going to suffer confiscatory taxation.

A fact sheet which extracts all the various versions of the McGovern welfare giveaway is now being prepared and should be ready by Friday. This will go out as a supplement for this outline, and will become the basis for our charges. The idea will be to show that the McGovern plan is so totally confused and misshapen that it will be the biggest fiscal and social disaster of any program that has ever come down the chutes. The plan, alternately, should be held up to derision and alarm. Without doing it explicitly, McGovern ought to be portrayed as a decent humane, nut.
MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

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It was requested that we come up with a plan between now and the Democratic National Convention to nail McGovern to the wall on welfare. What follows is the outline of that plan -- specifics will come later.

The important point is that McGovern is going to change his plan right after the Democratic National Convention. We know he is planning it, and he has already laid the groundwork for floating stories in the Post and indicating on his Southern states swing his intent to change it. Thus, our immediate strategy is to tar him every conceivable way on his $1000 bonus so that his manner of rehabilitation is not in the least bit comfortable. Moreover, we should also predict that he is going to change his plan and that he will do so after the convention.

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Richardson would be a credible source as HEW secretary, but it is thought that he would not receive a great deal of press coverage largely because he is a somewhat bland figure. Nevertheless, he should have our materials and be primed for a response at a press conference. A hard-hitting speech insert should be prepared for him.

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FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN

You might not have seen this letter in the New York Times from the pre-eminent Socialist Michael Harrington and his fellow traveler Irving Howe. Though they make clear that McGovern is not a socialist, they go on to express great pleasure at "a significant extension of the welfare state." And, "That is where McGovern has taken a series of excellent, if sometimes not sufficiently precise, stands. . . ."

"That is why we, . . . support his candidacy."

Come this fall, it will be nice to send out the headlines -- "Socialist Leaders Endorse McGovern -- Believe his Plans for "Significant Extension" of Welfare State "Excellent." If McGovern is making the socialists happy, he must be doing something wrong.
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If McGovern is making the socialists happy, he must be doing something wrong.

P. Keep original of article for our files. Also check PJB files.
McGovern knows damn good and well that we have enough material on him to sink a battleship. He also knows that we won't be afraid to use this information, and that it will damage him highly. Thus, his strategy will be, among other things, to obfuscate the issues around personality. To wit, he and his people will try to shrug off the attacks by yelling "smear," "hatchet job," "Tricky Dick" -- the works.

This has already been promised by Mankiewicz and the first evidence of it came over the weekend. After Herb Stein's low-keyed assault on the McGovern tax and welfare schemes, McGovern released a statement saying the following about the Stein appraisal:

"He called the attack 'the opening shot of this year's campaign against me,' and said: 'Nixon obviously realizes that this year's Presidential campaign is going to be waged primarily over the rampant unemployment, inflation, economic uncertainty and favoritism which now burden this country.'"

"The attack, he said, 'tipped his (Nixon's) hand that he is going to try to cover up with the kind of political hatchet work which has characterized every campaign he has ever run.'" New York Times 6/19/72

This has been an enormously successful tool of the Democrats, and they will use it with gusto. I have some suggestions to counter it.

-- We have to start, very soon, using the very same tactic. I.e., we need to have our people accuse McGovern of doing hatchet work, accuse him of divisiveness, of polarization -- and we have the quotes to back it up. Our use of this should be relentless in order not to let McGovern get away with using it first. There is no reason why we shouldn't be the "hurt" party. It didn't do RN any damage in 1966.
As soon as things begin in earnest, any time McGovern makes national news with such accusations, we ought to be right on top of it and have Scott, Rockefeller, and others try to get on t.v. immediately refuting it -- backed up with some well-documented examples of McGovern demagogy.

This whole business reinforces the necessity that our attacks be not at all strident, but simply factual. The only thing McGovern will be smeared with is hard fact.

Finally, let's hold in reserve to the very end of the campaign the possibility of a major speech by RN -- only if the election appears to be close and only if the smear argument seems to be catching. That speech would be a point by point refutation (Checkers style) of the McGovern argument -- one which catalogues the whole series of smears against the President (this is being compiled by Research, as you know). Let's not jump the gun on this one, but let's hold the idea in reserve if needed.
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-- We have to start, very soon, the very same tactic. I.e., we need to have our people accuse McGovern of doing hatchet work, accuse him of divisiveness, of polarization -- and we have the quotes to back it up. Our use of this should be relentless in order not to let McGovern get away with using it first. There is no reason why we shouldn't be the "hurt" party. It didn't do RN any damage in 1966.

-- As soon as things begin in earnest, any time McGovern makes national news with such accusations, we ought to be right on top of it and have Scott, Rockefeller, and others try to get on t.v. immediately refuting it -- backed up with some well-documented examples of McGovern demagogy.

-- This whole business reinforces the necessity that our attacks be not at all strident, but simply factual. The only thing McGovern will be smeared with is hard fact.

-- Finally, let's hold in reserve to the very end of the campaigning the possibility of a major speech by RN -- only if the election appears to be close and only if the smear argument seems to be catching. That speech would be a point by point refutation (Checkers style) of the McGovern argument --
one which catalogues the whole series of smears against the President (this is being compiled by Research, as you know). Let's not jump the gun on this one, but let's hold the idea in reserve if needed.
"First you say you do, and then you don't;
Then you say you will, and then you won't. . . ."

From the lyrics of "Undecided"
IS HE OR ISN'T HE?

It is clear by now that many of the major media in America are going to give George McGovern a free ride in his quest for the Presidency of the United States. Not only will George McGovern race as rapidly as he can from the left to the middle, but a sympathetic press is already leading interference for him.

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"... too sudden and drastic a shift to income redistribution might actually intensify other problems such as unemployment and lagging productivity. The link between corporate profits, investments and jobs is vital.

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MEMORANDUM FOR:  PAT BUCHANAN  
FROM:  KEN KHACHIGIAN

Herewith a minor sample of the apprehension over the "McGovern Market." The stock market downturn of the week of the California primary has been attributed directly to McGovern in many quarters. It is likely that, should McGovern be nominated on July 12, the market is going to drop on July 13.

Your idea about getting Pierre Rinfret to allude to this in one of his newsletters is one approach. Also, as you suggested, the Kiplinger letter ought to pick this thing up. We should have 1701 watch for all these kinds of newsletters coming out of Wall Street, and at the appropriate time we should paste them up (with a classic Frank Leonard job) and get them out to the entire financial community in a direct mail operation. I would think that Maurice Stans would love to have this in his hand when he goes out looking for contributors.

The idea of stock market crash should McGovern be elected is something that should be freely talked about. Millions of voters are investors, directly or indirectly, and nothing would scare them more than the thought of a financial community collapse should George get in.

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MEMORANDUM FOR:  CHUCK COLSON

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Here is some of the material on the Wallace Convention. No proceedings were drawn up for the public record, and if they were, the Library of Congress doesn't have them. Other inquiries are now being made by Fred Fielding in order to see if McGovern made a speech at the convention.

The platform is attached plus the speeches given by Wallace and his runningmate. The relevant parts are marked up for those who want to extract the information.

Also attached is an analysis done by the Americans for Democratic Action (!) accusing Wallace of having Communists or Communist sympathizers in his camp. I would use it this way: The organization which endorsed McGovern in 1972 is as left-wing as they come. Yet, in 1948, when McGovern was ardently supporting Henry Wallace, even the ADA could not stomach the source of Wallace's support. There's a great deal of irony here. Maybe the ADA ought to be asked to rescind its support of McGovern inasmuch as he was in bed with the fellow the ADA had so much trouble with in 1948.

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At the risk of being repetitive, let me be a bit more explicit concerning my thinking that the word to tar McGovern is "extremist" and not "radical."

"Radical" seems to be losing its connotation. It didn't help us a whole lot in 1970, and it has become somewhat fashionable to be "radical." Look at it this way; McGovern is asked if he is radical. He responds: "If it's radical to get poor people a fair share of the enormous economic wealth in America, then I plead guilty to being a radical."

McGovern doesn't look like a radical -- with his $200 suits, his modish styling, his Gucci ties, sideburns no longer than most, relatively short hair -- this coupled with the fact that his tone is rarely anarchic but more like the New York Life agent. He looks like a Paul Harvey without the silver tongue.

Finally, the "extremist" label is much better because it can't be turned around to his advantage. "If cutting bloated defense budgets is extremism, I plead guilty." That wouldn't fly at all. Barry tried to reverse the extremism thing, but it got him further into the quicksand. The same will happen to McGovern -- to deny the "extremist" label is to give it credibility. Moreover, one doesn't have to look like an extremist to be one. Goldwater was the most solid-looking guy you could think of -- a square-jawed all-American -- yet it stuck with him; the same for George. And with apologies to Barry, the extremist tag is not cold to the memory of 1964 and giving it to McGovern as good as he gave it to Barry is going to have somewhat the same effect -- though perhaps not as well.

In short, can we eventually get the word to higher ups that "radical is thru in '72" and that "extremism has clout to keep George out?"
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"Radical" seems to be losing its connotation. It didn't help us a whole lot in 1970, and it has become somewhat fashionable to be "radical." Look at it this way: McGovern is asked if he is radical. He responds:

"If it's radical to get poor people a fair share of the enormous economic wealth in America, then I plead guilty to being a radical.

McGovern doesn't look like a radical -- with his $200 suits, his modish styling, his Gucci ties, sideburns no longer than most, relatively short hair -- this coupled with the fact that his tone is rarely anarchic but more like the New York Life agent. He looks like a Paul Harvey without a silver tongue.

Finally, the "extremist" label is much better because it can't be turned around to his advantage. "If cutting bloated defense budget is extremism, I plead guilty." That wouldn't fly at all. Barry tried to reverse the extremism thing, but it got him further into the quicksand. The same will happen to McGovern -- to deny the "extremist" label is to give it credibility. Moreover, one doesn't have
to look like an extremist to be one. Goldwater was the most solid-looking guy you could think of -- a square-jawed all-American -- yet it stuck with him; the same for George. And with apologies to Barry, the extremist tag is not cold to the memory of 1964 and giving it to McGovern as good as he gave it to Barry is going to have somewhat the same effect -- though perhaps not as well.

In short, can we eventually get the word to higher ups that "radical is thru in '72" and that "extremism has clout to keep George out?"