

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1970

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MEMORANDUM TO THE VICE PRESIDENT
COUNSELLOR HARLOW

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 1.3
By JP NARA, Date 11/15/10

FROM: Patrick J. Buchanan

Spoke this morning with one of our most experienced political advisers for some 45 minutes. He strongly urged the following:

1. That we make far more extensive use of the "Radical Liberal" quotes of various left-wing Senatorial Candidates; that these quotes be repeated until they are driven into the public consciousness; that we have a month left to do it -- and this must be done -- for 1970 and beyond. Especially, the Radical Liberal quotes of Messrs. Humphrey, Kennedy, Muskie and McGovern -- but do not leave out the others.
2. That we must successfully put all the radical liberals in the same package, and keep them there. We musn't let them succeed in getting off the hook on which they have been impaled. This means we should abandon the "Johnny-Come-Lately" approach -- since the average voter does not mind a fellow changing his mind. Just as the President is still being tarred for comments in the Hiss Case, and the Gahagan Douglas race -- so these radical liberals should be forced to live down forever the quotes they have made. No matter what they say, we should constantly call for their repudiation of these statements -- and never let them off the hook.
3. The adviser said the President asked Haldeman to explore the possibility of the Vice President's doing a nationwide television program -- with a fund-raising kicker at the end. Hitting the radicals and the campus commandos. A national pitch against permissiveness. He mentioned statements like, "A vote for these radical liberals is a vote for the kind of permissiveness that has resulted in violence on our campuses, in pornography, etc."

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4. As for the coming months, the adviser said in the next two weeks, we should "jazz it up"; do more color stuff, do surprise visits to campuses. And whomever the Vice President sees either hard hats or police -- he should break the routine, go across the street and talk with them. Tell the Cops, "You fellows have an extremely difficult job; a dangerous job; and I just want you to know how much we appreciate what you are doing." With the hard hats, the Vice President should not miss an opportunity to shake hands with these working guys. The staff should give thought to the kind of spontaneous meetings with workmen that will make good television news.

5. The Vice President has had some tremendous lines -- thus far in the campaign -- lines which should be repeated ad nauseam -- to get his message through to the nation at large. Don't worry about getting something new and different all the time -- let the national press squeal and holler -- we have got to keep hammering the same themes time and again -- till they are sick of hearing it.

6. The themes to keep hitting and developing are the "social issues" crime, pornography, disorder, student violence. Buchanan indicated to the adviser that Jack Germond, among the most able of the political reporters out on the road with the Vice President, had said this was the only issue he ever heard on the campaign trail in Illinois, after three days of talking with people at State Fairs. Also, the adviser said, stay off the economic issue; things are coming along on that. We don't need to focus so much on the economic issue.

7. Again, the adviser noted -- do not give the radical liberals credit for coming around on the social issue -- keeping stuffing those radical quotes down their throats until they choke to death.

8. Force the radical liberals to repudiate the pornography commission -- force them to repudiate the Scranton Commission (???).

9. Keep charging them with permissiveness and indulgence towards crime and violence on the campus -- we can't let them get away with this. Point out that these individuals "sincerely" believe in the permissive attitude, that they "sincerely" believe in coddling student disrupters. Don't focus on violence alone -- use that -- but use the theme of those who disrupt and violate the rights of others.

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10. The adviser indicated that the President was fairly ecstatic about the Vice President's performance on the David Frost Show. The First Lady and Julie had watched the entire thing -- and the adviser indicated that the Vice President was extraordinarily effecting in handling these militants, because the "little bastards have nothing to say." It was at this point that the adviser felt the Vice President would be immensely effective on the national television fund-raising appeal. It is something, he said, we ought to try.

11. The adviser indicated the President had been misled in visiting with all these blacks, and young radicals and the like and the super-liberals -- and now the polls were showing that the Administration was viewed by the public as "soft" on the social issue. We have got to change that he said -- the adviser said he had indicated to HRH that we have got to stop having these kinds of people constantly coming into the White House.

12. We have to nail these people to the cross on these issues. Don't let them off; constantly bring up their statements.

13. Use Cambodia as an issue as often as possible -- the polls show that Cambodia is a move the vast majority of Americans still support. The Humphrey quote "I could lead a good revolt" should be repeated ad nauseam.

14. On the students -- point out that if a gulf exists, it is not our duty, it is the duty of the students to cross it -- we are not going to follow the political policies of a juvenile elite. They are not going to lead this country.

15. The Vice President should hand the quotes around the necks of the individuals making them -- again and again -- also, the "radical liberal" quotes should be sent to all our candidates -- and candidates like MacGregor should be using them against HHH, and McGovern and Muskie and Kennedy especially.

The adviser noted that it should be considered the sending of the Vice President right into Maine and right into Minnesota to go after Humphrey. The adviser was told that we are going after McGovern this coming Tuesday. Note -- the adviser mentioned several times that Symington should be taken care of in the same fashion.

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16. The Vice President should say publicly that "We will not accept the support; we repudiate the support of the radicals. We don't want the support of those people who are tearing America down; who are destroying America.

17. With regard to demonstrators, the Vice President should confront them, wherever they show up; he should march right up to them and talk them down; he should not hesitate to go into a crowd; indeed if an egg is thrown and hits the Vice President -- all the better. That is just what we want. The Vice President should do as he did at Saginaw -- and say, "That's just what we are running against, we don't want your support!"; and then -- say, go back to your friend Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern and Fulbright -- go back to your radical liberal candidates. Get this on television.

18. The Vice President, if the Secret Service tries to prevent him from moving into a crowd, should simply order them out of the way. There is the least possible danger in something spontaneous -- where the danger comes is where something is a set-piece operation known for a long time.

19. If the Vice President sees a sign like F--- Nixon, he should go right up to it -- and talk to the individual holding it and let him have it -- this kind of drama is needed; and can only help our cause. When the Vice President runs into that -- let the individual holding the sign have both barrels -- "you are just the kind of thing we are running against this campaign, young fellow; you are the result of a long era of permissiveness that is going to come to an end this November; go back to your radical liberal friends: Humphrey, Muskie, Teddy and McGovern -- you're their baby not ours. "

20. If the Vice President were slightly roughed up by those thugs, nothing better could happen for our cause.

21. The Vice President should include Ottinger in the radical liberals -- should use his quotations as well as against the other incumbents.

22. The time has come to bite the bullet on the Goodell thing -- the Vice President should let him have it with both barrels; this way -- as the Buckley people indicate -- we can put some life into Goodell -- who will thereby draw some of Ottinger's support off.

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23. In South Dakota -- the Vice President should use all the radical quotes of McGovern we can dig up -- and then call on Fried to publicly repudiate McGovern. "I call on the Democratic Candidate in this state for Governor to publicly repudiate Senator McGovern and each and every one of these radical statements that have helped to provide moral sanctions for the violence and disorders that are tearing our society apart. "

24. "Knock the hell out of Humphrey. "

25. Hang those radical liberal quotes on Ottinger -- any ones we can find.

26. It would be impossible for me to convey on paper the strength with which the adviser impressed upon me these points. He said that the President would take the road in the fall -- after the 15th of October -- prop-stopping along the "high road, " but that we simply cannot allow the liberals to get well on the social issue. We must burn into the public memory forever their past record and their past statements.

27. Several times in the conversation, it should be noted, the adviser made repeated reference to the ability of the Vice President as a campaigner, as a strong effective figure on television, as a tremendous political asset to the Administration -- and as one who has delivered and carried this message across to the entire country.

28. The adviser said, "Buchanan, you should kick them in the groin -- or any other place you can find where it hurts worse. "