

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
1	30	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan and Khachigian to Haldeman and MacGregor RE: an analysis of the Democratic Party after its National Convention in 1972. 4 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1972

THOUGHTS ON THE POST-CONVENTION  
(Democratic)

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
KEN KHACHIGIAN

This memo deals with strategy thoughts strictly for the period between the conventions.

DISENCHANTED DEMOCRATS

This is the first priority. No sooner should the dust have settled from the Democratic Convention (a few days following, perhaps) than a National Democrats for Nixon should be formed publicly to serve as an "umbrella" for all of the less bold fence-straddlers to join. We should move fast on the Democrats, post Miami Beach, as they will be most vulnerable immediately following the convention. If we have a number of Democrats already locked in, to either abandon their ticket, or bolt the party -- we should trickle these out, state-by-state -- not drop them all at once.

In our judgment, if we have a choice it is far better for Democrats to stay in their party, and denounce McGovern -- than to switch parties now.

Elitism and extremism in the Democratic Party should form the basis of the abandonment of McGovern -- followed by support and endorsement of RN. But, in my view, the former is the more important news story.

Also, if a figure is immensely prominent, his departure should be for national television. But someone like Mills Godwin should have done it from a platform in Richmond.

In addition, we should focus upon and publish not simply the major names, but the minor ones -- state legislators and the like -- and publish those names in ads in the "swing states" especially. The purpose is to leave the impression of massive defections, not just major ones, from the Democratic Ticket. We should be working on these people right now -- all over the various swing states.

Sometime during the campaign, this fall, we need a national press conference, and a national mailing to all political writers etc. listing the hundreds of Democratic party officials who have publicly abandoned the McGovern ticket. The idea, of course, is to create a stampede so that the fence-straddlers and others who might want to hang in there will at the least be publicly embarrassing themselves from McGovern.

Also, in this time, GOPers running for State Legislature, Governor, Senator, Congressmen, should be instructed to force their constituents to take a stand for or against McGovern and his Administration. (This might well involve mailing a copy of the McGovern Assault Book to every GOP candidate, with instructions on how to use it).

#### THE SHAFTING OF WALLACE

If this is a credible argument, it should be made intensively by our people. That Wallace who had more votes than any other candidate, before California, was stripped of delegates and dignity by the radicals at Miami. That the convention which was supposed to be "democratic" ended up stealing his delegates, and denying him the rightful claim to a voice in the platform. The Party is highly unlikely to buy the Wallace positions as announced today on national TV; we should go directly to these voters -- and the GOP Platform should mirror some of the Governor's concerns. On matters of defense, bussing, welfare, responsiveness of government, etc. this should not be difficult.

1701 (RNC) should be collecting assiduously all of the negative statements by Wallace people about their treatment at Miami and about the Democratic Platform; we already have some excellent ones that will go into the Briefing Book.

## CONVENTION

The theme is: If they can't unite their party, how can they unite the country; if they can't even run an orderly convention, how can they run the United States, "the same one used in 1968 is a natural.

## THE MC GOVERN SMEAR

Again, clearly the McGovern answer to any and all attacks will be to charge the "Old Nixon" with his "smear" tactics. The response to Stein demonstrated this. We will have five or six of the most egregious McGovern attacks listed -- and out to all speakers, with a short memo by convention's end -- if McGovern is nominated. At that point we ought to elevate all of these horrible statements, and demand to know if McGovern intends to campaign on the issues -- or to continue in this vein of comparing RN with Hitler, calling his Administration "racist" etc. McGovern is still being allowed to get away with being "the most decent man in the Senate" and his rhetoric has been the wildest of any man in recent political history.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT THEME

We ought to set this early that McGovern is not the candidate of the people, but of a small elite, of New Leftists, the elitist children, etc. Again, this impression should be made early in the campaign, before many voters have made their minds up. McGovern theme is certain to be to make himself the "candidate of the people" against the "candidate of the politicians," i. e. us. We have to get in early with this elitist idea; we have to capture the anti-Establishment theme early.

Again, my great concern is that McGovern may successfully establish himself as underdog, anti-Establishment, "out" candidate. Our speaking resources, early, should be directed to thrusting us into the position of the candidate of the common man, in the titanic struggle with the power of the Eastern Establishment.

THE WAFFLER

Again, another strength of McGovern's which will necessarily be weakened post-convention is his reputation for "candor, honesty," "you know where he stands," nonsense. He will start moving, he already is moving on the issues right now -- and there is no contradiction between nailing him with his \$1000 giveaway program one day, and denouncing him for "trimming" by abandoning it the next. For McGovern, movement in and of itself can be damaging -- because his whole campaign program is "Right from the Start." We should nail every shift, every movement -- and nail that "Right from the Start," right from the start.

Buchanan

Note: Have read the McGovern Book in part and analyzed his ads to a degree, and will have some followup thoughts on the "character" of McGovern -- and where he is investing his resources, what issues, what personality traits.