

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file*

May 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
SUBJECT: Political Memorandum

Evident from the attached, there is a new strain of bitterness, frustration and alienation among younger conservatives, toward the Administration. Increasingly, it has focused on the White House Staff -- especially in attacks directed at John Ehrlichman and his staff.

Basically, these are the reasons for it:

First, younger conservatives, more True Believer than the older National Review columnists crowd, are distressed at the departure from the White House staff of conservatives Burns, Harlow, Freeman, Anderson, Allen, Nofziger, Huston, Mollenhoff, etc. They do not see anyone replacing the departing conservative voices.

Second, they are convinced that the White House staff has been structured to systematically exclude "conservative" input in domestic policy - thus, the recent attacks on John Ehrlichman from the Right in recent months.

Third, they believe that the President makes his decisions, not on the basis of who he sees, but what he reads; and they contend there is no conservative view presented in the day-to-day paper going in and out of the President's office. They feel that the President's instincts are basically conservative, but he just does not get enough conservative proposals, and conservative views; and they feel this is the reason for what they see as the mistakes (i. e. FAP) of the Administration. As for conservative ideas

*news summary  
is liberal?*

(i. e. special revenue sharing) these seem to them to be dying without any major Administration concern.

Fourth, they believe that the golden opportunity to build a "new Republican majority" of conservative Democrats, and regular Republicans, is being lost -- because of the Administration's domestic policies, which they see as by and large extensions and refinements of the Great Society, only more so.

Fifth, they are all Nixonites -- but they contend that if the President is re-elected with his existing staff structure without conservative representation -- then, they will have totally lost their leverage with the President and Administration -- the dream of the New Republican Majority will be gone forever, "we will be out of the ball game completely."

In short, they are convinced with Richard Goodwin that "structure is policy," and with those Congressmen who believe that the "White House Staff" is responsible for the leftward direction of an Administration whose President has basically conservative instincts.

What they have in mind, if they don't see some changes, is to try to co-ordinate a conservative attack on the White House staff, to persuade some of the older columnists to join it; in the hope that the attacks will bring about some changes in the present staff structure, perhaps force the addition of political conservatives to the President's top staff.

While the number of individuals involved in the effort is not great, they do have at least one columnist among them -- and they are determined to win as many Congressmen and columnists and publications to their effort as possible. Some of the far right anti-Nixon conservatives would probably join the effort.

The whole effort has been building for months. We have managed to stave it off -- arguing that the exercise would be counter-productive, that you cannot attack the President's staff without striking the President; and that any damage done to the

President only enhances the possibility that a Muskie or Kennedy will be sitting in the White House in two years; and if that happens, the Western World can close up shop.

All of those involved, incidentally, were to my knowledge Nixon Conservatives in 1968, not Reagan conservatives.

I have passed this along, as these fellows consider me their "conduit" to the President; and as I think their present spirit, mood and plans could present us with some serious problems in the months ahead.

*ie who are they?*