

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	22	9/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Buchanan RE: using Romney's speech to defend RN and attack Democratic candidates. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
1	22	9/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Khachigian document entitled "Running with Muskie," which points out why Muskie has lost support in recent months. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 11 pgs.
1	22	8/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Khachigian document entitled "The Lindsay Shift," which examines John Lindsay's recent political readjustments. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
1	22	10/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Buchanan RE: a recent speech given by Muskie. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

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1	22	10/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Buchanan RE: countering claims that RN has used the presidency in a partisan manner. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

9/27/71

FOR: BUCHANAN

FROM: KHACHIGIAN

THOUGHTS FOR ROMNEY'S SPEECH

While he should go on the attack against RN's critics, I think a spirited defense of the Administration would be useful. The defense however, should be selective rather than across the board. I. e. , Romney should defend on our long suits.

Notation
-- Should make the case for RN in foreign policy. The whole idea should be to picture RN as the heavyweight when matched up against any of the potential Dem candidates. Again: good points to make on Vietnam, SALT, etc.

Notation
But the main point is the thematic one of RN as leading America's foreign policy with "a golden hand." The sturdy, thoughtful, precise maker and executor of foreign policy.

-- Domestic policy. There is a case to be made, but not so much a programmatic one as a symbolic one. The RN who didn't overpromise, who didn't bring bombast to his pronouncements, who simply went out to do the job that was needed. Result: a more stable society in the institutional sense, peace in our streets, etc.

-- I would put in a good word for the Nixon approach of calm in place of charisma -- but would not overdo the style thing.

-- Hitting the opponents should be a central rationale for the speech, and if, as you say, names can be used, I suggest some of the following portrayals of the opposition. Henry Jackson: An able supporter of the President on foreign policy and renouncer of extremism in Dem ranks. But it ends there, for Scoop is an ADA liberal, bent on making the Federal government the ultimate decision point in our lives. His attacks on the President's handling of the economy have been just short of Demagogy -- not the best characteristic for a man of decent instincts, but who has been driven by a political party which has as its sworn purpose the destruction of Richard Nixon no matter what the cost.

NOTE

Ed Muskie: Muskie would be one of the worst choices for President. He knows nothing about foreign policy (was swayed by Kosygin in the famous Moscow meeting), would be totally untrustworthy in the important discussions of foreign policy. He just can't swing it. He is temperamental and prone to follow the troops. He is really a non-entity fashioned by the liberal press into some kind of Democratic Moses. Query: What one thing can you point to that Muskie stands for or has accomplished? In short, he is a faceless man, a man utterly without the credentials to be President of the United States. Imagine him meeting with Chou En Lai?

Do this anyone else

Teddy Kennedy: Immature, aloof, doesn't know what hard times are. Quick on the trigger; irrational, incapable of being decisive in a crises. He's like a little kid -- take away his rattle and he'll run crying to momma. The least likely person we would want to entrust affairs of state. Perhaps cite the example of Teddy's insult to Pakistani ambassador as a trait of Teddy the Tot.

duped note

George McGovern: A petulant, crybaby who sees nothing but the worst in his country. He wails and cries, loves the "kids" and will never say a bad word against them. A total joke as a candidate; he signed peoples peace Treaty with North Vietnam. Imagine his credibility were he elected President and then asked to lead negotiations with NVN.

note

Hubert Humphrey: So characteristic of the worst in the Dem party -- the hack who cries when things go bad. He's probably never made an honest decision in his life, and probably never been held responsible for any decision made on his behalf. The Humphrey, New Deal, high-taxes, Vietnam candidate was beaten back in 1968 and deservedly so. He's in the hands of the unions, and if it weren't for George Meany, HHH would just be another homely face.

The Others: A bunch of amateurs playing the game. They are laughable when put up against the sturdy experience of RN. It is characteristic of the Dems today that they can't produce a President -- only a bunch of vice-presidential hopefuls; party hacks who are beholden to every pressure group and interest group which ever infiltrated the Democratic party.

Logans

The essence of the speech should be to show how, in contrast, every Dem is a tenor in a bass choir. Not one of them is capable of making the hard decisions RN has. Yet they run around the country with their "Chicken Littleism" -- a faint-hearted approach to American problems, holding the belief that America has lost its will. A bunch of hogwash which will be exposed in November of 1972 when the American public will realize it has a President to select.

Also suggest a few cracks at Congress dragging its feet -- setting the stage for RN versus Congress.

File

RUNNING WITH MUSKIE -- OR HOW TO SNATCH DEFEAT FROM THE
JAWS ~~OF~~ OF VICTORY ~~---~~ ~~---~~

L If Ed Muskie looks behind ^Nhim, he's going to see the
c pack catching up, for just as sure as ~~_____~~ George McGovern
is a forlorn loser, Ed Muskie has deftly engineered ~~_____~~ away
his lead in the Democratic presidential sweepstakes. MONDAY's
prediction of not ~~_____~~ too long ago is ~~_____~~ coming to pass:
~~_____~~ Muskie looks like he ^{might not} ~~_____~~ make it.

Item: When Muskie pulled into California ^Rlast ~~_____~~ Labor
Day to kick off his campaign, he found the prestigious California
Field poll waiting for him with the ~~_____~~ bad news that Ted
Kennedy led ^{him} ~~_____~~ among Democratic voters in California by
a margin of two to one.

Item: Muskie has frittered away his Gallup poll leads.
He now trails Ted Kennedy as the favorite of the Democratic
voters and is being swamped by President Nixon in the latest
Presidential ~~_____~~ trial heat.

Note

Item: The trusty Christian Science Monitor poll of *local*
Democratic leaders ~~_____~~ shows that Muskie has "dropped
back" over the last few months from his early lead ~~_____~~ in the
eyes of over 30% of those polled. Over half of the Democratic
pols ~~_____~~ questioned ~~_____~~ said there was still a possibility of

a dark horse emerging. Bad news for the guy they said would walk away [redacted] from the field in 1972.

Why the turnaround on Muskie?

Washington [redacted] columnists, Evans and Novak, have reported that Muskie has lost ground [redacted] "through a series of errors and misjudgments." The political miscues have made Democratic governors disenchanted with Big Ed and this is precisely the reason such big state governors as Ohio's John Gilligan are going [redacted] to run as favorite sons to pre-empt Muskie's bumbling participation in their primaries.

Muskie's position on the central issues are causing him trouble. His down-the-line support of forced busing to achieve racial [redacted] balance is [redacted] simply bad policy. While he has tried to cover himself on this issue, Muskie nevertheless has maintained that busing is a "useful tool" to achieve integration -- forgetting that forced busing

Busing

would rapidly bring the ~~the~~ destruction of the neighborhood school concept. ~~Muskie~~ Being a strong advocate of busing is not going to help Muskie with the millions of parents who prefer their children's education to be peaceful instead of disruptive, and if Muskie continues to abet the ~~the~~ systematic destruction of American education, the fat cats who are bankrolling Muskie better be advised that they have invested in a bear ~~the~~ market.

Muskie fares no better on other issues. His petulant rantings over President Nixon's economic initiatives have left ~~the~~ him out in the ~~the~~ cold during the ~~the~~ freeze, and of touch with union rank and file. ~~It has been generally~~

~~he~~ acknowledged that his substitute suggestion of a consumer tax credit fell on its face -- a fact reported by liberal pundit, Joseph Kraft. Add these troubles to ~~his~~

~~the~~ tardy embrace of ^{Vietnamese} dove feathers, ~~and~~ and you have

a presidential hopeful in deep trouble.

As if to hasten his demise, Ed Muskie made (as Republican Hugh Scott noted) a "voyage from foot to mouth" on the sensitive issue of whether black [redacted] citizens can play a role in Democratic [redacted] political circles. Big Ed, who maintains that he's in favor of civil rights as much [redacted] as anyone, enraged black leaders by telling them that although [redacted] they have broken their backs for the party, they [redacted] might as well forget about joining his ticket. The response of black leaders: Guess who's coming to dinner, Ed?

Jet magazine, a prominent black publication promptly blasted Muskie: "How the party's 1968 vice presidential candidate, a member of the Polish minority, would feel free to 'explode' the political aspirations of millions of Black voters [redacted] at the start of his [redacted] intensive drive for the [redacted] nomination was baffling." [redacted] Jet suggested that Muskie [redacted] had killed "the dream for the Democratic Party's

most faithful Black followers."

Too bad for Muskie, but several Black leaders wouldn't accept his if-your-black-step-back ~~_____~~ attitude. Black Congresswomen ~~_____~~, Shirley Chisholm, has now announced she will declare for the Presidency on New Years Day and enter at least three primaries -- fighting Muskie in North Carolina, Florida and California, ~~_____~~ where he hoped he could again take the ~~_____~~ black ~~_____~~ vote for granted. Jesse Jackson, of Operation Breadbasket and ~~_____~~ another prominent black leader, ~~_____~~ called Muskie a "racist" and opined: "Muskie is out. . . Muskie ~~_____~~ has no domestic plans, ~~_____~~ no economic programs, nor has he outlined programs for bringing people together. . . Muskie smells musty."

To sum up the ~~the insensitiveness~~ insensitive and divisive Muskie position, political columnist John Roche said: "No one wants a barefoot innocent wandering around ~~_____~~ the White House."

MUSKIE

What should really make [redacted] Mr. Ed nervous is that
his rivals smell [redacted] blood and won't leave the nomination
to the amateurish antics of the Downeast hero. [redacted]
~~Kennedy reads the reports on [redacted]~~ Teddy Kennedy has
seen what's happened and is clearly reappraising his
own coy position. Teddy is [redacted] disappointed with [redacted]
Muskie because Ed's [redacted] left-liberalism does not
take in the satin hot [redacted] pants radicals that make up
[redacted] his own constituency. Seeing McGovern fumble around
like a fourth-string fullback [redacted] will soon convince Teddy
that he can't sit back and [redacted] watch the Kennedy torch passed
on to Ed Muskie.

note // Kennedy's stepped up interest was [redacted] confirmed recently
when Teddy and Joan visited [redacted] Israel, the de rigeur pilgrimage
for Democratic presidential candidates on the make. The only
thing that Kennedy is waiting for is to see what John (television
profile) Lindsay is going to do. John, who ^{left} [redacted] his heart

in Manhattan, has got to [redacted] get into the primaries to prove himself, and before he gets too far, Kennedy will enter, scoop up the old Kennedy hands who were wet-nursing George McGovern, and blitz the Democratic National Convention carrying "the burden my brothers dropped." At least, that is

[redacted]

how the Kennddy forces see it, and to get there, only Muskie stands slightly in the way.

As for Muskie, the scenario of the primaries are not hopeful for him. The first [redacted] symbolic test in New Hampshire is not going to be the cotton candy that Muskie had hoped for.

New Hampshire is Muskie country, it is in Maine's back yard, and no one seriously expects Muskie to be [redacted] beaten there. But Muskie ^{must aim} [redacted] at a high goal [redacted]

[redacted] next March: he [redacted] must match Richard

Nixon's 79% margin in the 1968 New Hampshire primary before he can call it a victory. If Muskie can't make 79% in

Little to win, much to lose

Amanet 79%

a state where he has everything going for him, then he is in deep trouble. Other Democrats are virtually conceding New Hampshire to Muskie and will show their faces only because of the tradition of the first [redacted] primary.

If Muskie gets ¹ less than [redacted] 75% of the New Hampshire vote, he is going to be limping into Florida where his refined Georgetown radicalism won't stand him in good stead. All Democrats will be on the Florida primary ballot unless they sign an affidavit saying they won't run for President, and they will be gunning for Muskie [redacted] one way or the other. Add to [redacted] the standard Democrat hopefuls the candidacies of George Wallace and Shirley Chisholm, and Muskie's going to want to swallow hard and cry for his mother. Scoop Jackson, who is aiming all his guns at Florida, will also be in Muskie's way and [redacted] when the [redacted] dust settles, Muskie will no longer be Mr. Clean.

Wisconsin follows Florida, and Muskie will take his

~~bleeding~~ campaign in to face feisty George McGovern whose

sell-out-Vietnam views find ~~favor~~ favor among a great number

of dovish Democrats ^{and "Kids"} in Wisconsin. Not only will McGovern

be sure to give Muskie trouble, but Wisconsin's popular

Senator, William ~~Proxmire~~ ^{AM} Proxmire, is almost ~~sure~~ ^R sure to make the run

to parlay his vast home state support into a bargaining

~~block~~ he can take to Miami to ~~broker~~ ^{broker} the vice-

presidential nomination for himself. In short: Muskie

looks like he will be ~~denied~~ ^d denied the Wisconsin victory that

he ~~needs~~ needs and ~~will~~ must search for other

primaries to ~~get~~ get the victory he needs.

WINNER

But the other primaries include Tennessee and North

Carolina where ~~George~~ George ~~Wallace~~ Wallace will again probably

make the ~~race~~ race in the Democratic primaries. Asking

Southern

~~Democrats~~ Democrats to swallow Ed Muskie over George

Wallace is ~~like~~ like asking the rabbi to deliver the Christmas

sermon. Muskie's pro-busing stance won't help him in Dixie,

and he just might find it a good idea to get out to

NOTE

Oregon and California where Jackson, Lindsay and

Kennedy will be waiting to ambush him. Oregon is in

Henry Jackson's back yard, and his popularity in the

Northwest is going to make Muskie's recovery somewhat difficult.

McGovern will have stuck it out to Oregon, Lindsay will

be on the ballot, and Teddy will be waiting to pick up

the pieces in California.

enough

Having /victories to get to the convnetion,

Muskie will enter Miami Beach having ^(had) his outrageous temper

tested, his lightweight political positions aired, his

amateurish staff overworked, his deficit budget

stretched, and a left wing howling after his marshmallow

positions. Ed Muskie's not out of the race yet; he's

got too much pride to pull out. But one thing is clear,

Muskie's white stallion is now a sway-back mare, and the ride

to Miami will not be an easy one for the guy who just
weeks ago everyone said had it made.

file

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.

Lindsay

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.

Note
Note

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.

note

Channing
style

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

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

note
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, . . ."

note
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?"

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN *Ken*

SUBJECT: MUSKIE

Re the Muskie address before the Liberal party dinner in New York last night. He sure fooled me. I very much expected him to give a "flaming liberal speech," but instead he chastized the liberals, essentially, for being too ideological.

In short, Muskie has probably made a central strategic decision to quit playing footsies with the far left and take a leaf out of Scammon/Wattenberg to cut Scoop off at the pass. This theory can only be based on a Muskie assumption that he has good support going into the primaries, and that he would rather be the nominee without having to kiss up to the party leftists.

If Muskie wins the nomination, and if he keeps up the current line, he cannot be campaigned against as easily as some dewy-eyed radical. A few months from now, we may have to start hitting Muskie harder from the left -- portraying him somewhere to the right of Lyndon Johnson; but it should be done in a way only to reflect the view of far left Dems such as McGovern rather than the view of, say, MONDAY.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN *Ken*

One problem RN will face in 1972 is the accusation of partisan use of the Presidency. This is almost unavoidable, but it may start to hurt when the more strident opposition starts letting fly (I can just see Larry O'Brien now).

One way to avoid this is to do something I don't believe any other President in recent history has done -- that is, go to the people and explain to them how, in America, the President wears two hats and that the American political process sanctions the wearing of the political hat in election years.

In essence, when RN announces his candidacy, he should explain why a President must be able to campaign for himself and for his programs (e. g., "if you believe deeply enough in something, you have to want to fight for it"). The main point is that this is accepted political practice in the United States.

However, RN can go one step further and say that the Presidency will still go where he goes and that he will not ignore anything important that requires his personal attention as President.

I also recommend a solid reference (per the LBJ dedication) to the "partisan of principle" theme. It is a way of saying: even though I will engage in a hard campaign based on matters of high principle and in the best American tradition, I will be above the scrapping and clawing in which the opposition will engage.

A speech like this early in the campaign is important because it will blunt the opposition rhetoric that RN is demeaning the Presidency for partisan purposes. The simple act of explaining to the public why such Presidential activity is necessary and proper will make them much more tolerant. Some people simply may not realize that past Presidents routinely engaged in re-election campaigns.