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<td>From Khachigian to Buchanan RE: formulating a campaign theme and proving to the American people that RN has made political progress during his presidency. Handwritten notes added by Buchanan. 1 pg.</td>
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MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN

The two attached columns touch on the same theme, and I think Reston and Bartlett make some interesting points. Even if things are going good, there is a lot of talk about the "mood" of the electorate on election day. This is another way of putting the "what have you done for me lately?" question. Issues may be transcended.

If RN goes on the stump solely on the record, the election of 1972 will possibly be a replay of the election campaign of 1960 -- the Democrats saying they can do better versus RN defending the record. That's o.k. as far as it goes, but I think we can go a little further.

RN should be dissatisfied with his first term -- e.g., sure, we've made a lot of progress in X area, but I plan to do more. Give me four more years to do it. Generally, the theme ought to be one of RN wanting to keep moving ahead, going into new areas, with new thrusts. He cannot go into this campaign as being the sole defender of the status quo.

But just as he says we have not done enough, he should also attack, in general, the people who think America is not capable of doing better, that we are sick, racist, imperialist, immoral, etc. We can make progress without beating ourselves over the head.

Finally, any theme we have should be developed now. I.e., Price and his staff ought to have some general outline of a central thematic proposition which should begin turning up in all of RN's major addresses and messages. If we start now, the theme will have been established and all prepared for the time when RN takes the stump himself. Impressions will have been created and RN need only drive those impressions home. In a sense, RN will be campaigning "for America," while the opposition will be campaigning for the Democratic party.
Concerning Muskie's television announcement for the Presidency last week, a few observations.

From a great many news accounts and by my own measuring sticks, Muskie's announcement was somewhat a digression from the Muskie image so favorably created in November, 1970. The appearance was wooden, mechanical, virtually devoid of expression and generally will pale in comparison to his effective riposte to RN last year.

My friend who rides the bus with me (a Democrat who works as an officer with a national labor union) thought the performance laughable -- "all he needed was a shawl on his shoulders and blanket over his knees."

However, we should learn from the performance as well. It is not new to observe the presence that Muskie will seek in his public announcements -- measured, calming, trust-invoking and all the rest. It is not so much what Muskie will say in the campaign but more how he will say it. I feel that to a great extent, Muskie as an opponent will make issues in the 1972 campaign somewhat peripheral. He will specialize in high-minded rhetoric searching for the contrast that he hopes will have trust triumph over trickery.

And here is where we have Ed. Whether or not they do, my guess is that the American public wants to trust their President. Thus, we must once again make use of -- in the Nixon presence -- the commodity which we monopolize in the campaign -- the Presidency.

Muskie being presidential is no match for the President being Presidential. Virtually every minute of air time we purchase for serious RN statements should be televised in the White House.
the Oval Office, the Lincoln sitting room, the Roosevelt room, the Cabinet room. Every effort must be made to identify the White House with Richard Nixon -- pressing the dignity and even the majesty of a political ambience that Edmund Muskie couldn't match in a million campaigns. What do you want -- Big Ed in Kennebunk, Maine or President Nixon in the room in which he made plans to de-ice Chairman Mao.

Let the stump speech be solely for network news consumption. Where we can control the surroundings, it has got to be the Presidency -- over and over again.

I will add this -- I think we need to take a long look at different rhetorical devices. The campaign will demand a change in the approach, and I suggest that we need to lay before the President a whole raft of ideas on campaign pronouncements. Just as we give him options for making policy, I am quite serious in thinking he needs a great many more options in approaching the campaign. We ought to get the best staff minds putting together some of this stuff and perhaps have RN's direct guidance throughout some of the process.