

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>
2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Chapin to "THE FILE" RE: call with Billy Graham. 2 pgs.
2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to "THE FILE" RE: call with Billy Graham. 2 pgs.
2	43	7/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to the Convention File RE: composition of the Republican Party. 1 pg.
2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Chapin to Colson RE: political ambassadors. Carbon copies to Flanigan, Parker, and Strachan. 1 pg.

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2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Chapin to Haldeman RE: Republican Convention of 1972. 4 pgs.
2	43		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tex McCrary to Chapin and Dick Moore RE: impact of the Republican Convention. 4 pgs.
2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Safire to Haldeman RE: Republican Convention. Carbon copy to Dick Moore. 1 pg.
2	43		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Fifth page of a document regarding the Republican Convention, presumably in 1972. 1 pg.
2	43	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Memo	From Chapin to Bill Timmons RE: Reverend Lyman Parks. Carbon copy to Bob Flaniagn. 1 pg.

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2	43	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Memo	From Chapin to Timmons RE: planning for the Republican Convention. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
2	43	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Timmons RE: new spokespeople for the Republican Party. 1 pg.
2	43	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Timmons RE: African Americans at the Republican Convention. 1 pg.
2	43	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Chapin to Nell Yates RE: Robert Vickers and the Olympic Committee. 1 pg.
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2	43	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Timmons RE: Republican Convention planning. 1 pg.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

4:00 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE FILE

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

SUBJECT: Telephone Call with Billy Graham

Graham did not favor having Johnny Cash handle the Invocation or a prayer at the Convention. He feels that it's subjecting an actor to a religious event for political purposes and that it just wouldn't set right. He felt that if we want a layman we should go to the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the USA or perhaps Graham's father-in-law. Also the President of the Southern Baptist Convention might be good.

Graham and I talked about good black ministers for the program. He talked about Joseph Jackson who is the one who supported the President in '68. He said that Jackson was hurt, had had no attention, was bitter and that although he is the head of the largest black church in the country, he may not do it because of his feelings of being neglected. We also talked about the fact that Jackson is elderly and maybe would not project the best image. We also discussed Dr. Isaac Green of Pittsburgh who evidently is a big Nixon supporter. He's an older man but he's very popular and has the largest black church in Pittsburgh. The other man we discussed is Dr. Lockridge, a black from San Francisco who is evidently one of the best orators among the blacks at this time. Graham is going to check Lockridge to see whether or not he would be agreeable to appear if asked and also to get a reading on his feelings regarding the President.

I talked to Graham about Sammy Davis, Jr. doing the National Anthem. He said that he thought that would be very helpful and very good. He did not feel that Davis would in any way alienate the South. He said he is a symbol to the black community and that that would be a good move for us.

Regarding Graham's personal participation in the Convention, he said he did not feel that he should do it. He said that he would be willing to appear if the President felt it would be helpful. He went to length pointing out that he is appearing as a nonpartisan on a number of talk shows and that by not being tied actively to the Republican Convention or to the President he can appear more nonpartisan. He used the example that it's more like being John Connally. I'm sure we can get Graham if we want to put the heat on. The question is do we want him badly enough to tell him that the President has asked that he appear.

We talked about Anita Bryant and agreed that she would be good at the Convention.

I asked him where the conversation stood in terms of Rabbi Tannenbaum whom I knew Bob was going to talk to him about. He said that Tannenbaum was probably the most influential Jewish rabbi in the country. He is probably a Democrat by registration but very pro the President. He is for the President because of the great things the President has done for Israel. We agreed that the best one to call Tannenbaum would probably be Kissinger. Evidently Tannenbaum owes Kissinger some favors. If Kissinger won't do it, Graham will.

Kelman (?), the other rabbi that we have from New York, is known to Graham and Graham feels he would be okay but that Tannenbaum would be better.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

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July 11, 1972

2:00 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE CONVENTION FILE

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Cliff Miller phoned in the suggestion that we've got to pound home hard on whatever reforms we have made. We've got to keep in mind the tremendous impact the Democrats are having with the idea and the sedling of the fact that they've reformed their convention. It's their overriding theme.

We should consider in our pre-convention activities ways in which we can make the point as to the broad spectrum of the Republican party. We should use our surrogates. We should figure out how to use what blacks, women and youth we have.

In all of our calculations we should never forget the "regulars". We should show that we're faithful to those who have stood by the party, although we have brought about change.

Miller also substantiates the views of most others that the podium looked atrocious.

1300
July 20, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
SUBJECT: Political Ambassadors

Should we bring all our political Ambassadors home for late September and October? They can be placed in key foreign affairs forums around the country. Obviously, the purpose is to build the President - to build credibility. We can place them with editorial boards, fat cat receptions, especially conservative Democrat types, get them on talk shows, use them in ethnic areas.

Perhaps some of the more friendly career Ambassadors could help. Rogers might call them home for a summit meeting or post-election planning session. The President could then call them over to meet with him. Call back - Poland, Italy, Mexico, Yugoslavia, Germany and others who are of interest to our constituents.

(Who is going to Poland? Is it vacant?)

cc: Mr. Flanigan
Mr. Parker
Mr. Strachan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON*High Priority*July 20, 1972
12:40 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN 
SUBJECT: Convention

Attached to this memorandum you will find two memos. One is a critique of our present Convention program by Tex McCrary. It is felt that Tex is overly critical of the Convention plan and, in particular, overreacting to Reagan and Anne Armstrong. It is attached just so you will be aware of his thinking. Undoubtedly he is right in terms of some of the feel of our present program since he has no idea as to what alternate programming is planned.

Also attached is a copy of the memorandum which Safire sent you today. It plays off the conversation he had with Howard K. Smith. The main point here being that the President's and Vice President's acceptance speeches should be on different nights.

Dick Moore and I met with Garment, Scali and Safire this morning in order to discuss Safire's recommendation that the President and Vice President speak on separate nights. After considerable discussion I think we are all in unanimous consent that we should put the Vice President's nomination and acceptance speech on the second evening.

We would recommend the following alterations in the program:

TUESDAY NIGHT

Main Elements:

1. Opening of Convention.
2. Possible series of Democratic speakers urging other Democrats to support the President.

TUESDAY NIGHT (Cont'd):

3. Nomination of the President by Rockefeller.
4. Seconding Speeches.
5. Demonstration as the President goes over the top.
6. Cutaway to President departing White House and brief interview on the South Grounds as he boards helicopter. He would state his pleasure at being renominated, state that he is looking forward to addressing the Convention delegates the next evening.
7. The Vice President's nomination.
8. Acceptance speech by the Vice President.

Note: This will make a long evening. If we roll along and cut back our demonstration times, we should be able to get the Vice President on the air at 11:00 or 11:15 p.m. EDT. The one element which has been moved out of the evening activities is the film on Nixon, the Man which we will put the evening of the acceptance speech.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

Main Elements:

1. The Opening.
2. Film -- Nixon, the Man.
3. Introduction of the President. (It has been suggested that perhaps we use a nonpolitical figure. 'We're trying to determine who that could be.)
4. President's acceptance speech.

Note: We would hope that this session would not begin until around 9:00 p.m. with the President's speech coming around 9:45 p.m.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES FROM MEETING WITH MOORE, SAFIRE
SCALI AND CHAPIN:

1. Anne Armstrong would not be interpreted as a Texas fat cat. It would be good having a woman open the Convention.
more
2. We should find/of our new and more upcoming types to work on the Convention. We need to get a list of the comers.
3. Reagan is still extremely popular even though he may be weak in California. He has not appeared on national television in a long time and can be very powerful at our Convention but he should not be overused. If he's going to be the Temporary Chairman, he should not be the Presidential introducer.
4. Scali informed us that he has intelligence from the network people that he's talked to that they're taking some of their better reporters and putting them on the demonstration activities for the Republican Convention. He says they expect there will be more trouble and want to cover it with their better people.
5. We should have a Democrats for Nixon news conference, maybe on two different days in Miami.
6. There is some concern over using the young girl from South Carolina as one of the three main keynote speakers. It is felt that we should do a survey of State Legislature women around the country to find the most articulate woman spokesmen we can find who is a Republican. Right now we have a Governor, a Senator, a Mayor, and if we can get a State Legislator type it would fit perfectly.
7. There is some concern over Sammy Davis, Jr. Garment and Moore feel that he's wrong and does not represent our constituency. It is felt that he would be misinterpreted by some of our constituency. They feel he should not do the National Anthem but that if he did one song like "This is My Country" or "My Country 'Tis of Thee" that it would be fine. We may try to work him in the program that way. The other suggestion was to use him as a seconder.

8. No one can be found that's for having Kate Smith in the program. We have dropped that idea unless you want to dictate that she should be in the program.

cc: Dick Moore
Bill Timmons
Bill Carruthers

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Dwight Chapin
Dick Moore

FROM: Tex McCrary

SUBJECT: Convention Impact

1. At the discussion of the convention program with both of you during which I voiced the vehement objection to an opening impression from which the President will have to struggle to escape, I have since thoroughly reviewed every aspect and accent and focal point, every headline, picture and caption that might come out of it, and this is my summary judgement:

2. This is not Nixon's convention, it is Goldwater's. This is not the Spirit of '76 or even '72 -- it is '64 and '48. It is the convention that produced the LBJ landslide, and Truman's upset of Tom Dewey.

3. It makes the McGovern convention by comparison look like Oklahoma and South Pacific and My Fair Lady and Funny Girl and Fiddler on the Roof.

4. The McGovern convention made rising stars; the Nixon convention uses faded stars.

5. You vote that you open with a woman -- Ann Armstrong is not a woman, she is fat cat Texas king ranch.

6. The dominate name that hits the eye and ear first is Ronald Reagan, who could not carry his own state even against Pat Brown this year. In the year when George Wallace made tax reform an issue with as much sex appeal as busing, Ronald Reagan comes through still as the millionaire governor who paid no state taxes.

7. Reagan will overshadow the only black face in the opening line-up, Ed Brooke -- who is scarcely a hero to blacks and has been often a maverick as Javits.

8. In the year where there is a chance that the President can crack the critical Jewish vote in the key cities, the only Jew prominent in the line-up of your convention is Sammy Davis, Jr. -- who will be remembered throughout the South as a black who married a white girl and then discarded her. And you have him singing the National Anthem! Why not Sinatra, whom somebody wanted to take to Moscow.

9. In a year when with the help of the Jewish vote and the split in labor, you might crack Chicago and Los Angeles and Miami and New York City, the only voice of the cities is lost behind Reagan and Brooke in the key-note quartet -- Mayor Luger of Indianapolis. And labor is as speechless here as in McGovern's show.

10. When Dwight said that "We have to work Goldwater in somewhere," he needn't worry -- Barry is already everywhere, the spirit of '64.

11. It is true that you have a touch of class in Jimmy Stewart and even Clint Eastwood and Johnny Cash; and nostalgia in John Wayne and even Pat Boone; and both class and nostalgia in Mamie Eisenhower -- but from the opening shot of this monumental bore, I keep expecting to see Bob Doe or Ronald Reagan introduce Jimmy Hoffa and Harold Janine and Carswell and Haynsworth and Martha Mitchell and Hedda Hopper and all the other grinning ghosts working to help McGovern win in the closing week of '72 as Humphrey was winning at the finish in '68.

12. The feel and smell of this Nixon convention of '72 is frighteningly reminiscent of the euphoria that beat Tom Dewey -- I stayed for Dewey's closing Madison Square Garden rally in '48 and watched in horror an audience walk out on his speech and next day on NBC I said, "Last night, Tom Dewey lost the elction."

13. The insensitivity of this spectacle is frighteningly reminiscent of the insulated arrogance of the Taft gang, which we attacked in the Madison Square Garden rally for Eisenhower in the winter of '52. And in Chicago, starting with the young Texans I brought to that rally, Taft was routed the way the McGovern gang took Humphrey and Wallace and Muskie and Jackson and Meany and Daley. The same tide is rising again. But for the Democrats.

14. Now I know why that battle cry for the '72 campaign came from -- "Nixon now more than ever" is "in your heart you know he's right", plus 8 and spelled backwards, but not in Hebrew.

15. Johnny Unitas in this line-up has only three pass receivers -- Mamie and Pat and the President -- and nothing but holes in his pockets to give him protection until he can get rid of the ball.

16. The President acceptance speech better be better than Lincoln's Gettysburg Address -- and it better be full of quotes that will finally get him into Bartlett's and give him a headline for the campaign equal to "I never shoot blá/ks".

17. And you better figure out a way fast to get Kissinger and Connally into the Convention line-up; and get Agnew into black-face to play Jimmy Brown.

18. Also "the only man who can beat Nixon is Nixon" -- now he can add the architects of this convention to that list of one.

19. After the Peking trip, I wrote across the bundle of headlines: "Look Out for Loose Boards". In this convention structure, it is hard to find anything but loose boards.

20. In introducing Agnew at the Heritage Dinner I tried to make two points: "Not since Disraeli has any immigrant Jew been brought to such biblical power by any great power as Richard Nixon has given to Dr. Henry Kissinger. In America no political party can become, or deserves to become a majority party, until minorities feel at home within it." This Nixon convention, as outlined, even to Archie Bunker is pure early California WASP, Right parade.

21. In terms of show biz there isn't a belly laugh or a roar, not even a chuckle or a knuckle in the whole lineup -- no sex, only X. In terms of drama, no suspense, no gut emotion except Mamie, no encore! In terms of news, no headlines. In terms of history, it is as sharply focused and significant and electric as Dave Mahoney's plans for the Bicentennial.

New Subject: Had a good meeting with three key guys on Agnew's staff -- Summers, Damgaard and Goodcarle. Based on working with them by phone on the Zionist and Heritage Dinners, they seemed genuinely hospitable, not at all resentful or suspicious at my office. To sit with them from time to time for suggestions, review, and preview. They accept even though Connally is my friend, I am not his man. As I have suggested to Dick, perhaps the best way I can be helpful to all of you from now on is to be helpful as I can to Agnew -- I think your boss is going to need a very good fullback to score on the ground, the muddy ground, until his instincts and scars tell him it is safe to put the ball in the air.

New subject: Around John Price and Queens, which is Archie Bunker country and the key to the New York State election, we will try to set up a perfect prototype campaign for any strategic urban area. In that territory Agnew will have more candle power than any movie star, second only to the President, if the President comes into the climax. My gut instinct and scars tell me that this weird campaign will be won in Hanoi, Wall Street, and other chancey places like Queens -- not on Pennsylvania Avenue.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
RE: CONVENTION

I was talking to Howard K. Smith last night about what he expects for television coverage, and he said that all the TV people expected a pretty dull convention with the likelihood of violence in the streets. That's not good -- will associate us with violence, inability to reduce dissent, etc.

Howard wondered if we were planning the usual lineup -- President and Vice President acceptance speeches on the same night. He suggested that if, for the first time, they could be on different nights, they would be separate news events, each a must for coverage in full.

Moreover, it occurs to me, a mass audience is less likely to sit through two long speeches practically back to back; in addition, if the VP's speech is really good, it detracts from the President's, and if it is no good, it loses the audience.

Therefore, why do we not do something radical in the way of political conventions and nominate the Vice President on one night, have him accept that night, and do the President the next night?

This would be met with a lot of cluck-clucking as anti-traditional, but the real reason for putting them together in the past was to first determine the Presidential nominee and have him select the running mate; with a sitting President who will make his choice known before the Convention, that reason is obviated.

Thus, we could have two separate and distinct news stories, better ratings, and a more solitaire setting for the President on his night. Worth considering?

cc: Dick Moore

consult with Mrs. Eisenhower through Julie and see whether she prefers Mr. Thomas or Secretary Rogers. Tex McCrary says Billy Graham was a great friend of the Eisenhowers and he would be much better than Rogers or Thomas. We could use Graham via the Eisenhower hook.

We will also have Julie check to see whether or not Mamie might reconsider and come to the Convention.

2. MONDAY EVENING

- a. The main news event for Monday evening is a combination Reagan/keynote. The present idea is to have Reagan, as Temporary Chairman, make his speech. Immediately afterwards there would be a musical interlude so that the networks would have a chance to get in their commercials. Reagan would then introduce the film on the Nixon Years. Immediately after the film, Reagan would introduce Brooke who would list our accomplishments and then introduce Mayor Lugar who would launch an attack against McGovern. This would be issue-oriented.

We would then have our last speaker, a 21-year old woman legislator from South Carolina, introduced by Reagan. (We are checking out her qualifications for this role presently. If she will not work, we will have to consider another woman.) The woman will offer an invitation to Democrats and Independents to join the Republican Party.

Ray Price's rough outline for the Keynote is attached at Tab E. We should note at the present time that ABC will be cutting in with their live programming during the middle of the Keynote. There's just not much we can do about this. Tex feels Mayor Lugar would be a better prime Keynote figure than Reagan. He worries about Reagan paying no taxes and his popularity in California.

- b. We debated the idea of having a State delegation ask for recognition from the floor and have them offer a Resolution to the Convention inviting Democrats to join the Republican Party. This should be a spontaneous thing

July 26, 1972

3:30 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL TIMMONS

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Billy Graham called today to report that Reverend Lyman Parks "checks out alright". He said he's a bit of a social activist but is generally well thought of, comes from an ordinary black church and might be a good choice.

cc: Bob Flanigan

July 18, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

This is a recap of the memorandum Haldeman sent me on July 13th stating some of the desires concerning Convention planning. He said, "The Convention plan should include a segment for speeches - brief speeches - by Democrats and Independents who will appear by invitation of the Convention management. They should include possibly John Connally, some Independents, youth, prominent Governors, Senators, etc. who will make the point that they have decided to support President Nixon's re-election because of the outstanding job he has done, because of his trip to China and to Russia, because they can't take McGovern, etc.

"This should include the maximum number of Democrats, at least one Chicano, and only one Black, some Italians and Polish, one or two youth, but it should not go hog-wild on youth. It should be done as a solid hour in order to get impact.

If we do a telethon, we should include some Democrats on that also.

"We might even want to consider a prominent Democrat for a seconding speech.

Don't let this idea get lost."

We must take a close look at our schedule which we developed yesterday for the Convention program. As you can tell, we are not at all close to what Haldeman has laid down for us to follow. We really have no Democrats speaking from the podium - except for the one plan to use Connally. To my knowledge, we have no Chicanos on the program and perhaps we have too many Blacks. I cannot give a rundown on the Italians and Polish since I am unclear as to what ethnics we really have.

By our meeting next Tuesday, we should have from Stan or whoever is doing the research a list of possible speakers which fit the above criteria and whom we could work into the program. I assume you will cover this with Anderson.

cc: Mr. Carruthers (To be daxed to Los Angeles)

7/19/72
Read to
Carruthers on
phone

July 20, 1972

2:40 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL TIMMONS

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Can we have Stan Anderson pull together a list of the top 15 young comers within the Republican Party. These would be guys like Lugar, Brock, etc. Perhaps we should be working more of this type person into the Convention and formal program. We need to have a list to work from so that we know precisely who the good ones are.

In addition to the above, we need to get a handle on who the best women spokesmen are in the country. Who are the 10 best women spokesmen that the Republican Party has? In particular, can we get a list of 10 or 15 women State Legislators who could be possible backups to the 21-year old gal from South Carolina in case she bombs out.

July 27, 1972
10:00 a. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL TIMMONS
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

In a meeting the other day with Ehrlichman, he mentioned that he was concerned about having some blacks in active working positions at the Convention. He suggested that perhaps we could use Sam Jackson or Pierce from Treasury or someone on the podium. Along the same line we discussed having Stan Scott work the press on the platform or perhaps seeing if Fred Scribner has a black lawyer somewhere on his staff who could work the podium.

I pass these thoughts on so you'll know that John is concerned as to what exposure blacks are going to have at our Convention.

July 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: NELL YATES

FROM: DWIGHT CHAPIN

I want you to call Mr. Robert Vickers in Wichita, Kansas -- the phone number is 316 -- 686-6083 ---and ask for his secretary. Tell him that I am out of town for a couple of days and that I followed through with checking on the arrangements for his brother, Jack Vickers, and the request for me to try to help him get hotel rooms in Munich, Germany. Say that I had no luck -- that the city is completely filled up and that there is nothing we can do through the Embassy.

Tell him that the information that I got -- the best thing to do is to work through the Olympic Committee. And that perhaps Governor Love of Colorado can contact the Olympic officials since Mr. Vickers is a representative of the Governor's.

Thank you.

July 18, 1972

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574
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