

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	70	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Mark Goode to Chapin and Bill Henkel RE: video tape machine for RN's Miami home. 1 pg.
2	70	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: Republican National Convention planning. 10 pgs.
2	70	7/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Planned keynote speeches for the 1972 Republican National Convention. 3 pgs.
2	70	6/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: Republican Convention. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Carbon copies to Dick Moore, Timmons, and Carruthers. 4 pgs.

<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	70		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tex McCrary to Chapin and Moore RE: impact of the 1972 Republican National Convention. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
2	70	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Safire to Haldeman RE: television audience of the Republican National Convention in 1972. Carbon copy for Dick Moore. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1972

Conv. - ga



MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN[✓]
BILL HENKEL

FROM: MARK GOODE

M.G.

Regarding the offer of a Packard Bell Home Video Tape Cartridge Machine for the President's use in Miami, I feel it should be declined. Any manufacturer of such hardware would be more than glad to set up such a deal. However, it hardly seems worth risking even the slightest mention of such an arrangement, when that piece of equipment can be easily rented at a reasonable rate.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1972
2:00 p.m.

Convention Program
✓

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

The following is a status report on the planning for the Republican National Convention. It has been run past Bill Timmons. He is in agreement with the information contained herein unless otherwise indicated.

In a memorandum which I received from Gordon Strachan on June 28, he stated that you would like a report that incorporates a review of where we stand on the celebrities, the selection of nominators/keynoters, advertising materials at the Convention Hall, design and layout of the Hall, as well as information on the TV appearance of the Convention.

While we are a long way down the road in terms of preparing for the Convention there is still quite a lot to be done and many of our plans are tentative. We are concentrating on obtaining celebrities, getting approval on speakers and buttoning up the alternate activities to what will be taking place at the podium during the actual Convention hours.

Attached to this memorandum you will find the following:

- Tab A - Outline of Convention activity.
- Tab B - Podium diagram and renderings.
- Tab C - Floor plan, camera and Presidential box locations.
- Tab D - Art work for the supporting pillars, showing the support columns with a shield and American and State flags drooped around them; Renderings for the rear of the auditorium and also for the podium; Rendering of the State stanchions.
- Tab E - Rough outline for the Keynote Address.
- Tab F - Celebrities/Overall Celebrity List

DECORATIONS IN THE HALL

As contrasted to the Democratic Convention, our podium will not be blue, but rather an off-white. The off-white will be set off against a blue carpet. You will recall that the Democrats had a red carpet. Our chairs will be what is called a rust beige. It is felt that this chair (we have to use these chairs) will look best against the blue carpet. Changing the carpet to a blue will also help give us an entirely different look from that which the Democrats had.

Our decorations are all red, white and blue. We will have a very patriotic look. As you can see from Tab D, we will be using red, white and blue stripes and the patriotic shield. We will not be using the half flag in any of our decorations. (The half flag will appear on our program, on the identification badges and on the Convention tickets.) We will take care in not overdecorating our Hall so as to give too slick of an appearance. As plans presently stand, our Convention should look much livelier than the Democrats, much cleaner, and as stated should have a star spangled feel.

We have not decided on what, if anything, should be mounted on the podium. As you will recall, the Democrats used the United States seal with the words, "Democratic National Convention"; around it. Our plan had been to use the United States seal but in light of the Democratic Convention, we have dropped the thought. We are having suggestions drawn up for the podium and they are to be in by the end of the week. Once they are in we will submit our recommendations to you.

At Tab D you will find a drawing of the State stanchions. These will be three-sided triangular looking stanchions on poles. One side will be red, the other white and the third blue. The printing will be dark blue with a white outline around each letter to set it off.

PROGRAM - GENERAL

1. We want to insure our program is well-timed and moves smoothly. However, we have built in some musical interludes and additional time in key sections, trying to anticipate commercial breaks, to direct the attention of the networks from the Hall to perhaps a hotel in order to witness an arrival or departure of the First Family or a VIP.

2. We want to insure that the delegates do not start complaining because they feel they are only sitting in an audience and are not active participants in a political convention. We also want to stay clear of any criticism of this type from the networks. There is a compromise to be made here and it must be made in favor of television and we all realize this. However, we have been cautioned not to make our operation too slick and so television-oriented that it comes off as the Andy Williams Show vs. having some look of a nominating convention.
3. We have three films. The films on Nixon, the Man and the Nixon Years will each run 14 minutes and 10 seconds. This has been done so they can be used later during the campaign in 15 minute segments. The film on Mrs. Nixon will run 9 minutes and 10 seconds.
4. We want to try and determine some controversial things which can take place on the floor in order to give our Convention some look of legitimacy. It is my understanding that Timmons has forwarded a memo to you on possible floor fights. It is still too early to pinpoint opportunities here.
5. It is our feeling that we should try as hard as possible to keep our delegates looking like people and not clowns. We realize a carnival atmosphere is probably ideal on the night of nomination and that is the night that we will go all out with our demonstrations and biggest show of enthusiasm. (Needless to say, the President's appearance on Wednesday night will top anything that we would build on Tuesday night.)
6. Our alternates are younger than our delegates and, therefore, we are going to try and seat some alternates in the delegate section where there are empty delegate seats. This is going to have to be worked out on a State by State basis, but we're hopeful that we can get some young alternates placed in the various delegations periodically. We will, also, put in our fact sheets the details and statistics on the alternates as well as the delegates. This should help to lower our overall age and help with the other statistics in addition.
7. It has been decided that we should use balloons on one event only, the occasion when the votes are cast which puts the President over the top.

8. The Invocation will always come after the National Anthem. Carruthers, Goode and I had favored having the Invocation at the start to get it out of the way so that the music would start building and we would not have to drop down with a lull for the Invocation. Bob Flanigan overrode us on this so the Invocation will come after the National Anthem. Timmons is in agreement with Flanigan.
9. The present plan is to have Governor Askew introduced by Chairman Dole or by Co-Chairman Armstrong in order to give a welcoming. He has agreed to submit a text for our approval.

SPECIFIC PROGRAM (Tab A)

1. MONDAY

- a. You will note the welcome by the Governor, the welcome by the Mayor, the greetings from the Republican Party of Florida, the address by Gurney and the address by Dole all take place Monday morning. We evidently cannot cut any of these people out of the program, although we have been trying. We have moved many of the people who would normally appear in evening sessions to morning sessions, and we have cut the length of their speeches to practically nothing. Our plan will be to go ahead and do this protocol type stuff, but plan to program the television for outside the Hall.
- b. We have a Salute to Dwight Eisenhower planned to take place at the end of the first session. We hope that Mamie will be present in order to receive a gift from the Convention. (She would like a tree.) If Mamie cannot be there to appear in person, then we hope to have her do a video-tape which we can run on our multi-screen setup.

David and Julie will be present in the Presidential box. We had wanted David to participate but that is impossible due to Pentagon regulations. (We think it would be acceptable for David to escort his grandmother to the podium).

We have talked about two people to speak about Eisenhower. One is Lowell Thomas and the other is Bill Rogers who was a member of Eisenhower's Cabinet. Our thought here is

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

which the networks are not anticipating. The Resolution could then be seconded by two or three States and then passed by a voice roll call. This gives us a chance to use some ethnic types in terms of issuing the invitation to the Democrats. It could take place immediately ahead of the Tribute to Mrs. Nixon or could be the next day.

- c. The Salute to the First Lady will be the color event of the evening. Once the Keynote is finished and there is a musical interlude, we will have Ronald Reagan introducing Jimmy Stewart who will proceed live from the podium and then switch to film with the Tribute to the First Lady.

At the conclusion of the film we hope that Mrs. Nixon will come to the podium and we will have a demonstration for her. Once the demonstration concludes, it is anticipated that she may say a few words and then once again we expect a small demonstration. It is suggested Tricia and Julie join her toward the end of the last demonstration for the Benediction.

3. TUESDAY EVENING

- a. In the Convention Programming Committee there was virtual agreement that we should let Tuesday night be our New Year's Eve. Everyone knows what happens at 12:00 on New Year's Eve and there is no reason why there should not be a celebration for the President when he is nominated, including the use of balloons, noisemakers and everything else. This is a great chance for us to show our enthusiasm. It will be contrasted to the Democratic Convention, but so what? The question becomes when the main demonstration should take place. There are three possible times to have it. The first would be immediately after the President is nominated. The second would be as soon as he goes over the top and gets the necessary votes. The third would be at the end of the balloting when the Chairman announces the tally. Timmons favors doing the demonstration immediately after the President's name is put in nomination by Rockefeller. Several of us prefer to do it as soon as the President goes over the top. One thing that we feel is important is to go

right off the drama of the nomination speech and after having the chair gavel the Convention into order so as to calm down any demonstrations, go to the seconding speeches. These seconding speeches will take place from the various State delegations around the Hall. It should be most effective and should tie in dramatically with the actual nominating speech. There will be many demonstrations as each State which is selected gets a chance to offer a seconding speech. We, therefore, contend that it would be more dramatic to have the place break into absolute bedlam during the roll call when they reach the point that the President goes over the top. On the attached program (Tab A) it would be item #113.

If the President plans to go to the Hall Tuesday evening, then perhaps we should consider having the demonstration take place immediately after the nominating speech so that we can control the length of it and have it out of the way and run a tighter ship. The other alternative is to put it at the very end so that the President could arrive during the time that they are having the major demonstration. In any case, this is an unresolved question.

4. WEDNESDAY EVENING

- a. We have not gotten into detail on Wednesday evening. One thought would be that perhaps we should have Goldwater introduce the Vice President. Goldwater's got to be used at some point in this Convention and has not been so far.
- b. It was my understanding from you that you wanted us to consider using the Vice President as the introducer for the President. On the other hand, I hear rumors that it is now supposed to be Reagan. In any case Bill and I need to get this clarified. We realize it's a decision that the President will want to make himself.

TELEVISION VIEWERS' IMPRESSION OF OUR CONVENTION

Our Convention will differ significantly from the Democrats since basically we are putting on a show while they let television cameras in to cover what they considered to be the democratic process in operation within their Party.

We will have a smart, clean appeal to a traditional event with our Convention.

Our posture from the podium should be to run a well-organized Convention and to get our business done in the briefest amount of time. We should concentrate on exploring the issues and building the President.

Our danger will be to run a slick Convention and railroad it too quickly. We cannot have it 100% Richard Nixon oriented. Our goal must be to orient the Convention to the viewer, playing up both the President and the issues. We must look as though we are fully exploring all the issues. To the viewer, our speakers will be attractive people. We need to realize that we do not have the minority representation which the Democrats had and this will probably be brought home loud and clear to the viewing audience by the commentators. On the other hand we realize that our speakers must project to the television audience a warmth, friendliness, sense of humor and a dedication to the President, what he has accomplished, the issues and lastly, to look to the future. For the most part the people working on the program feel that the Democrats were very persuasive with the spokesmen they used. Our spokesmen are not going to be defensive. They will refrain from being arrogant in the slightest and will show that the President represents the thinking of the majority of this country. Just precisely how we accomplish all of this is still being determined-- and scripted.

A problem that we should be alert to is that the viewer at home is going to be affected by anchormen, floor commentators who will be heated up basically because they will not have the opportunity for exposure and comment which they were privileged to give during the long, drawn-out Democratic Convention. This is a fact of life and we must expect to get some heat from it.

To the TV audience we will be short one basic ingredient. That is drama. Obviously, I do not know what the President has on his mind, if anything, which can help us with this problem. However, we will supply ideas and any unique twists which we can come up with regarding the President's activities as linked to the Convention and on the activities of the First Family. We must be careful of the danger of having our traumatic events ^{appear} be staged and not legitimate. To come up with a phony event may be the most dangerous step we could make.

We still do not have the theme for our Convention. The closest that we have come is to play off of the positive approach of this Administration, offering an accounting to the people. Not only would we offer an accounting, but we would also look to the future. The Presidency is a stewardship and the President, using the vehicle of the Party, is reporting on his stewardship, on the trust that the American people have put in him. Realizing people will say, "What have you done for me lately" or "What will you do tomorrow", the President must speak to the future.

Therefore, our theme must tie to issues and to goals. We must be careful never to subordinate the issues throughout our Convention. Any time that we can hypo an important issue so that we register it with the viewer at home, we should do so.

In addition to the issues, our theme should set a tribute to the President. Testimonials throughout the Convention geared to build the President's credibility and the trust the public should have in him are most important.

RNC CONVENTION -- FORMER SECRETARY JOHN CONNALLY

Connally's name keeps coming up as the discussion on the RNC Convention continues. The following are some of the suggestions which have been made for using Connally which you may wish to consider or perhaps discuss with the President.

1. Monday - August 21 -- If Connally is coming to the Convention this would be a good date for him to arrive. If he arrived at Miami Airport in the afternoon of the first day's proceedings, we could get a good newsclip which could then be suitable for the evening news. Right now we have no hard news except for whatever statement Bob Dole makes that can play during the evening news segments. It is very doubtful that the Tribute to General Eisenhower would play heavily.
2. Tuesday Evening -- After the film, Connally could ask for permission to address the Republican National Convention as a Democrat. He could bring with him two or three other people representing labor, Mexican-Americans, etc., who are all Democrats and who would also like to address the Republican National Convention. As Democrats they address the Convention and explain why they are for the President. Connally would be charged with running this segment of the program. After its conclusion we would then move into the nomination of the President.
3. Wednesday Night -- Immediately after the Vice President has been nominated by the Convention but prior to his arriving at the Hall, Connally could request permission to address the Convention and use the same format that's mentioned above in item #2.
4. A very dramatic move might be to have Connally either address or introduce the Vice President for his speech. The Vice President could go on and introduce the President after his own speech. The other obvious alternative would be to have the Vice President give his acceptance speech and then have Connally introduce the President.

I feel that items #2 and #3 may have the most legitimacy and pulling power as far as our trying to reach Democrats. Obviously, the people that Connally asks to appear with him will be very important and they should be recognized Democrats with substantial constituencies.

PRICE



July 16, 1972

Keynote Presentation: Outline

1. Moderator. There are discontents and dissatisfactions in the land; Americans feel frustrated with the present, and often fed up with government. We share these discontents and dissatisfactions, and we too are fed up with what all too often have been the failures of government. But we don't just complain. For three and a half years we've been doing something about it; we've made progress; the direction is set, the momentum is established, the players are lined up, the openings have been made to Russia, China and others abroad, and to new departures at home. Highlights of what we've achieved. What we've accomplished is a beginning, and a credential; now we're eager to get on with the job, and to finish what we've begun. In the film you're about to see, you will see some of those beginnings.

FILM: THE NIXON YEARS

2. Keynoter A: What we will do for you. Our plans, our goals, for the future, as we look from now to 1976. A new prosperity without war and without inflation; the beginnings of a full generation of peace; a rebirth of pride in America; a fair shake for the farmer, security for the elderly, progress on the environment, etc.

3. Keynoter B: What we will not do to you. (The attack speech.)

All the McGovern nasties -- we won't take money out of the workers' pockets for a \$1,000 dole, we won't bus your kids, we won't let America become a second-rate power whose President has to beg, we won't spawn a new permissiveness that collapses moral values; we'll work with the young, but won't ignore the old; we'll turn America around without turning it upside down. We'll respect the student, the professor, the farmer -- and also the worker who wears a hard hat. Note: the focus of this will be entirely on the sins of the present Democratic nominee, not on the sins of past Democratic administrations.

4. Keynoter C. From the party of the Open Door, an Invitation.

From the podium of this Republican convention, we address this talk to the millions of loyal Democrats left homeless by Hurricane McGovern. Speaking to them directly, we invite them to make their home with us -- try it, you may like it. Think about why you're a Democrat. Is it because the Democratic party is the party of FDR, Truman and Kennedy? If so, then ask yourself whether Roosevelt or Truman or Kennedy would advocate crippling our defenses and abandoning our allies -- Roosevelt, who led the defense

of freedom in World War II; Truman, the architect of NATO and the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, and patron at the founding of Israel; Kennedy, who declared we would "bear any burden," etc. Is it because the Democratic party is the party of labor? -- through a litany of why people in the past have been Democratic, and why those same reasons should now lead them to cast their lot with us in 1972. Its tone is one of respect for the Democratic Party as a great national institution, and sympathy with those members who have seen it seized by a self-appointed elite determined to convert it into a narrow ideological faction -- of warm and open-hearted welcome to those left on the outside at Miami a month ago, and of common cause with them because we share their hopes, their dreams, their concerns about America. In his acceptance speech, George McGovern said, "Come home, America." To millions of Democrats whose ideas no longer have a hearing in the national Democratic Party, I say tonight, "Come home, Americans -- come share our home -- give us not only your votes, but your hands, we will give you ours in welcome." This is the real keynote -- and it should be echoed throughout the rest of the convention proceedings.

#####

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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.

High Priority
see me
Neither as I.
go rewrite to Phil
for Deans?

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.

*Why not just a
note of declamation
instead of a
roll call*

Bed

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.

*Too late -
he must
be on by
10:30*

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.

Pretty thin evening

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.

Too early

Overall a pretty bad ~~idea~~ execution of a pretty good idea

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. *agree*
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. *more*
3. Reagan is *we don't have any* 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. *agree*
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. *Right.*
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. *Dull, but neat.*
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. *agree*

*Pearl Bailey
Youngest Mayor*

News!

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.

Nb

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. *Wrong*

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. *True*

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. *So what*

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 election."

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 blacks".

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 Goodearle. 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 fallback 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.

#

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

yes