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7	55	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Chapin to Haldeman RE: the Republican National Convention and related memo from Tex McCrary. 8 pgs.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972
12:40 p.m.

C
High Priority
see [unclear]

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

Written as D.
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.

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

Ed

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 -
to 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
but 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 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.
We don't have any
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.
Right, but heat.
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
Never!

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

no

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 as 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. *agree*

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. *Good point*

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 insolated 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~~ *Agnew* 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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