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<th>Document Type</th>
<th>Document Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7/11/1972</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: Bill Timmons From: Gordon Strachan RE: &quot;Convention Tickets.&quot; 1pg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: B. R. BALDEMAN
THROUGH: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
SUBJECT: "FZ Convention
Key Posts

Attached is my final recommendation for individuals to participate in major roles during the Convention.

Clark MacGregor endorses the list. Bob Dole, the Vice President, and John Connally have not seen it. However, Dole is aware of Reagan and the possibility of Brooke, Lugar and Armstrong. Roy Goodearle believes the Vice President will take Griffin and Smith -- and maybe Heckler and Evans too but won't ask him until he gets our recommendations. You have the action on Connally.

A word about Anne Armstrong: we've searched high and low for a suitable woman that can speak and have stage presence -- but without success. Anne would be appropriate to give the "open door welcome" part of the keynote and she's lobbying for time to make a speech. Also, her participation would be seen as our giving another highly visible role to the Republican National Committee.

Will you please discuss these names with the President and give me guidance? Time is important.
CONVENTION PROGRAM

TO INTRODUCE KEYNOTE FILM & PARTICIPANTS: Ronald Reagan (Calif)

KEYNOTE PARTICIPANTS:

1. Ed Brooke - accomplishments
2. Dick Lagar - attack opponent
3. Anne Armstrong - open door policy

TO NOMINATE THE PRESIDENT: Nelson Rockefeller (NY)

TO SECONlD THE PRESIDENT:

1. Walter Hickel (Alaska) - former Cabinet & Governor
2. Donald Morrison (Wisconsin) - Youngest Delegate (18)
3. Bob Ray (Iowa) - Governor, farm state
4. Ethel Allen (Pa) - Black City Councilman
5. Ralph Perk (Ohio) - Cleveland Mayor, Ethnic
6. Sherrie Shealey (N. C.) - 22 year old State Legislator
7. Frank Borman (Fla) - Former Astronaut
8. Manuel Lujan (N. Mex) - Congressman, Spanish
9. Catherine Kondici (III) - Italian

TO NOMINATE THE VICE PRESIDENT: Gov. Dan Evans (Wash.)

TO SECONlD THE VICE PRESIDENT:

1. Bob Griffin (Mich) - Senator, busing
2. Margaret Heckler (Mass) - Congressman, liberal
3. Jody Smith (Iowa) - Youngest Mayor

TO INTRODUCE THE VICE PRESIDENT: James Buckley (NY)

TO INTRODUCE THE PRESIDENT:

DEMOCRATIC SEGMENT:

1. Barry Goldwater - major 5 minute speech; introduces Connally
2. John Connally - moderates Democratic portion
3. Frank Rizzo - Mayor
4. Frank Delano - CODE; no Teapot
5. John O'Neill - Veteran
6. Charleton Heston - Actor

Mrs. Mair
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.

Overall a pretty good session.
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.  

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.  

[Signatures and notes]
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
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 as 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 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 -- Mamic 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 Mamic, 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.
July 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL TIMMONS
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Convention Tickets

Would there be any problem in obtaining two spectator tickets for the Convention for a pollster who deserves a small reward? Harry O'Neill, of Opinion Research Corporation, would make all other arrangements, but has asked if we could obtain these two guest tickets. Please advise if there are any problems.

GS/jb
FU - 7/23