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MEMORANDUM.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1972

FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: DICK MOORE

SUBJECT: Democrat Convention - First Night

1. The pre-gavel warm up period is extremely important. Last night the networks were on the air for an hour of interviews inside the hall before the gavel fell. Even if we start on time, they will undoubtedly be there a half hour before. We should not let those interviews happen purely by chance, but should be certain that our first team of hand picked people we would like to have interviewed are there early and well versed in the evening's line. In addition to delegates and political persons we should have celebrities and any attractive spouses who are available.

2. The network showed relatively few shots of non-political celebrities, such as Lorne Green. We should provide them with a list and seat locations of our celebrities including famous people other than entertainers.

3. Control of the house lights is absolutely essential. The O'Brien speech was carried in full, including films, without cutting away once to spectators or delegates. The speech was dull and they would have cut away except that the house lights were out for the full half hour. When we have a speech we want on TV, we should always be in a position to turn the lights down.

4. The speeches from the party were totally devoid of humor, and O'Brien is something of a undertaker to begin with. We must plan some good cracks and laughs at the expense of the Democrats right from the beginning.

5. The gavel has a tinney sound. We should have a solid sound of wood on wood.
6. Last night a couple of delegates were interviewed sitting down. Our people should be told to stand when they are talking to a TV interviewer, so they can be seen.

7. We should note the songs which are carried on TV and not repeat them ourselves. For example, "This Is My Country" sung by the New Dimension Group.

8. The invocation was too long and the Archbishop got too political. We should be tough on both counts.

9. The invocation and the pledge are important because they are among the few things we are assured the camera will cover and the nets will carry.

10. The floor microphones for delegates often didn't work or delegates did not know how to use them. We should check out each microphone just before the session and we should be sure that those who will speak for a delegation know how to talk into this particular mike.

11. Obviously delegates still don't realize that if they read a newspaper or fall asleep they are likely to be put on camera. We should make a renewed effort through the delegate caucuses before the convention to educate them on this point.

12. Lest there be any doubt about it, last night proved again that what we program for the arena audience has nothing to do with what the millions actually see. For about an hour from 8:30 to 9:28 the nets not only did not
carry the podium proceedings at all, but never even told us what was going on in the hall. This full hour of prime time was entirely improvised and subject to the whim of the networks as to what the national audience saw. Thus it becomes increasingly clear that we must anticipate the dull spots where networks will cut away, and try to have something favorable to us which they can cut to. This should include interview possibilities or other happenings outside the hall as well as in. We can also note that in several cases the networks cut to a taped interview which had taken place earlier, and we should provide plenty of such opportunities during the day.

13. We should be sure to get a few minority accents among the delegates who may have an occasion to speak from the floor. We certainly should have at least one foreign accent doing the pledge of allegiance, which can't be cut.

14. I trust that our podium microphones will be less visible and obtrusive.

15. We should note that last night had a strong element of suspense which must have kept people tuned in waiting for the roll calls. We can expect the media to keep the suspense alive through Wednesday even though McGovern undoubtedly has everything in full control. In our case opening session will have no suspense, which is all the more reason for us to keep concentration on pace and variety so that at least we may be entertaining.

16. In closing I would emphasize again that speeches are an archaic form of communication. Almost everything last night was
too long, and therefore, dull. We plan short speeches and short everything, but it is plain that human nature will get in the way unless we monitor this item constantly and ruthlessly.
Several of us from the White House staff and the 1701 group are monitoring the Democratic Convention here at the White House. Our purpose is to examine as closely as we can the Democratic Convention and to try to reach some conclusions as to how we can better produce the Republican Convention for August.

One point which we are emphasizing is to examine in detail the patterns of the networks in terms of how they handle their coverage. For example, the Democrats are programming the Convention from the podium while the networks are programming the Convention from the points they feel should be covered. We are logging in the coverage patterns for all three networks and comparing that against what takes place from the podium. From this we hope to be able to better judge what activities that we will present that the networks, assuming they follow their pattern from this convention, put on the air. We can, therefore, plan when we want to have people on the floor available for interviews, when we want planes to land, etc. The full report on the network coverage and the suggestions that we will make regarding our convention will be to you on Tuesday, the 18th.

You may want to be aware that Timmons has called a convention review meeting for Monday, the 17th where we will work up our final recommendations to be passed on to you and Clark MacGregor.

Random Points:

1. ABC programmed the Olympics against the opening of the Democratic convention. We will try to insure that ABC covers the first evening activities of the Republican convention live. This probably can be handled since our program that night will be
very short in length as compared to the long session which the Democrats are facing on their opening night. Tomorrow morning (Tuesday) we'll have the overnight rating figures and we expect to see ABC with a very high share of audience.

2. We need to figure out a pattern for our key surrogates that we want to have interviewed on television for each convention session. We should also work up the lines which these people are to use. We know that the networks are going to be wanting floor interviews, as well as interviews at hotels and it's up to us if we use our heads to determine who goes on at what particular time.

3. We noticed that McGovern tonight had a new hairstyle. He looked much cleaner cut and slicked down and he looked much better than any of us had ever noticed before. Maybe we can slap this as a slicker TV image?

4. We need to do a thorough analysis of the Republican convention delegates in terms of their annual salaries, what walks of life they come from, etc. to see what we will have in terms of propaganda to put out. The Democrats have been very effective in proving that they are a party of the people. We should not give up fighting back on this some until we examine exactly who all our delegates are and what propaganda possibilities we might have.

5. The Democrats have really blown it on their podium. It looks like a corrugated steel set-up. The microphones are placed poorly. People are walking behind the podium, etc. Our whole podium plan should work much better. It will give us a clean look.

6. The Democrats have obviously picked up on our idea of dimming the house lights in order to direct the attention to the podium. It was done for Larry O'Brien's opening address and worked very effectively for them. It quiets the audience and directs the attention where it belongs which is on the podium. We undoubtedly try this more than the Democrats.

7. When the Democratic convention opened with O'Brien wheeling the gavel, no one in the hall really knew it. We're going to open
it with some fanfare and enthusiasm.

8. You may have noticed, if you watched, the young people bring in the flags at the start of the Democratic convention. We have a very similar thing worked out with the young aides from each of the delegations who will bring the flags in and we should have just as good a youth look as did the Democrats.

9. We have the question of what we put on the front of our podium. We think we're going to go with the United States seal rather than with the mod-looking Republican elephant.

10. In Senator Lawton Chiles' opening remarks he made reference to the fact that there was no prepared script for this convention, nor were there any rigged demonstrations, no yes men, no friends of politicians, etc. We must be careful not to overstage our convention. What we do is going to look slicker and more railroaded than the Democrats, just because of the kind of convention we're going to have. Our extra touches should be applied carefully, not to exemplify our convention being only a party, a multi-million dollar fiesta.

11. If we're lucky they'll keep letting Jerry Reuben and Hoffman on the floor. Hoffman's calling the President a Nazi and that we have to get out of the White House does nothing but help us. They undoubtedly will want to get on the floor of the Republican convention and maybe we ought to let them on the floor, then the delegates could boo them out and we could have them removed.

12. The Democrats had about a 15-minute musical number after Lawton Chiles spoke. The networks went completely off the convention, did floor interviews and never really came back until Larry O'Brien appeared which was thirty minutes to forty-five minutes after Chiles' speech. We've got to keep ours much tighter. However, we've got to program the time for the commercial breaks and some floor time. When we go to long delays, that's when we've got to arrange for something to be happening either at a hotel, at an airport or somewhere.

13. The look of their convention is standard -- very much like one of the '68 conventions. The emphasis is on the party of the people. The delegates for the most part look very neat, attractive, are articulate and obviously intelligent. They are not necessarily the bums that we thought would be there.
MEMORANDUM FOR DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM: DICK MOORE

SUBJECT: Democratic Convention Second Night

The second night re-emphasizes the importance of promptness. We must do everything we can to get delegates to the hall on time, also gallery spectators. The half empty hall gives a miserable effect, and gets the session off to a very unimpressive start.

Whatever it takes to prevent people from standing and walking behind the speaker on the podium should be done.

I have no firm opinion yet, but we should be giving new thought to the look and tone of our convention. So far the Democrats, with their 80% new delegates, have come across as sincere people who are taking the convention seriously. Despite the far out clothes and hair styles of many of them, some of the new types are emerging as very effective people, e.g. Yvonne Brathwaite. In contrast, the old type conventioneer with funny hats, most of whom wore Wallace buttons, looked kind of silly and (pardon the expression) looked old hat. In watching the next two sessions, let's keep in mind whether it makes sense for us to have balloons, noise makers, hats and other props associated with past conventions; or do we want to take on a more deliberative look. I am not against an appearance of liveliness and fun, but I do think we should be thinking about what our crowd will look like in contrast to the new coalition.

The word coalition has a negative flavor, mostly derived from the Communist "coalition" governments. The term is getting a good deal of use in describing McGovern supporters. Isn't this a word which we can turn against them?
5. Shouldn't we allow more than one floor camera? The floor interviews have been less effective because the platform cameras make the interviewees appear to be looking at the floor instead of into the camera.

6. The lighting and camera work on the keynote speech was most effective yet. Moreover, there was no cutaway from the speaker or film. This emphasizes again the importance of controlling the house lights.

7. I think all of us should be giving some creative thought to the matter of floor interviews. If the choice of a vice president is made known before opening day, and if we have no serious platform fight brewing, what in the heck are the network interviewers going to ask about? So far, each network has spent more time covering the floor than the podium, and we can assume, for instance, that CBS will insist that a team like Mudd, Rather, Wallace and Schorr not go to waste. We should also note that they are attracted to celebrities, such as Marlo Thomas and Gloria Steinem last night. I can't cover the subject in full at the moment, but clearly we should develop some topics on which we can encourage questions. For example, by August 21, there may be some McGovern campaign tactics or statements which have become controversial, and perhaps we can get questions directed more toward the campaign than toward the convention itself. In any event, I think this whole subject requires special attention.

8. Will someone pursue the problem of reinforcing the collapsible fence? Apparently a dozen demonstrators were able to push the fence down easily and walk right through.

9. On the matter of promptness, I take it the biggest problem was the buses. I don't know what the nature of the problem was, but certainly this is something we should look into. I assume there are delegation buses which leave a hotel at a scheduled time. This means that people cannot leave earlier and those who miss it are in trouble. Could we not also have a continuous shuttle service on Collins Avenue which could be hailed by people who want to get there earlier and could also pick up people who missed their own scheduled bus.
10. The Democrats were wise in limiting the official podium appearance of their homosexuals to between 4 and 5 in the morning. Someone should be in charge of seeing to it that we do the same with ours. Do you have a candidate for this fulltime assignment?
GRANDSUM

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGNUSON

FROM: E. D. NAILOR

SUBJECT: Democratic National Convention (Thursday Session)

WILLS for President

Thursday evening I talked at length with Patrick T. McGovern, Jr., National Campaign Director for Wills for President. He is a lawyer from Atlantic City, New Jersey. As a Democrat, he cannot support McGovern in '72. I have approached him on getting involved publicly in Democrats for Nixon. It's too soon for him today. He must be contacted next week by a rather high level person.

Gary Shenfeld, Mills Chief of Communications, was also involved in these discussions. He, too, is prepared to support the President. We should follow up on him next week.

Serious consideration should be given to the appointment of Democrats and union members to Administration posts between now and the election. These appointments should be made keeping key states in mind and with appropriate publicity.

Eagleton

While Eagleton is not well known in either the country or the Democratic Party he is not a bad choice. His strength is his appeal to the urban, Roman Catholic and youth voters. Labor has no problem with him. However, he has little appeal to the South and he does not give geographic balance to the ticket.
McGovern's selection of Eagleton make it apparent that this appeal will be to the young in his campaign. He will rely strongly on young people for votes and work.

It is recommended that a complete research job be done on Eagleton immediately.

Generally, delegates had little enthusiasm for this choice. Many had strong objections for various reasons.

The Last Night

The fourth long night of the Convention found the delegates tired, bored and in a unity mood. Alabama and Washington cast all their votes for McGovern's choice for Vice President. Ted Kennedy spoke in the cause of unity. In short, it was a predictable night in terms of the Convention's public face of unity.

Those in charge of the Convention grossly mismanaged the timing. The Acceptance Speech started at 2:50 A.M./E.D.T. --well after prime time. McGovern's introduction by Senator Ted Kennedy was outstanding, but was seen by few television watchers. McGovern's speech, in my opinion, was not well delivered.

Conclusions

The most important things we should learn from this Convention are:

1. McGovern's forces have had iron will, outstanding discipline and a superb organization -- and they will have it during the campaign;

2. McGovern's candidacy will be supported by millions of dedicated volunteers;

3. McGovern will do everything to achieve unity within his party;

4. McGovern will endeavor to maintain a self-righteousness attitude;

5. We must immediately exploit the existing divisions within the Democratic party;
6. The GO must have a colorful convention and not a staid and unexciting one;

7. We must paint McGovern into his leftist corner and keep him from moving to the center; and

8. We must maximize the use of free prime time at our convention.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
SUBJECT: Democratic Convention
Third Session

This morning's Washington Post has a story on page 14 which says, 'To TV viewer, it's been a dull show.' I think this is very true of last night in particular. The only real highlights were McGovern going into the lobby of the hotel and confronting the SDS types (a move that I feel was staged and worked to McGovern's favor in order to separate him from the radicals), the interview with Mrs. McGovern in the box when McGovern went over the top and the demonstration for McGovern after O'Brien announced the numbers.

Walker and Timmons have made the point that it's a very dull convention there on the scene. Evidently, there is very little hooplah and spirit. If we can find the magic combination of having our delegates radiate enthusiasm and dedication to the President without looking staged our convention might seem much more lively than the Democrats.

What we need are one or two lively or very controversial things which cannot damage the President but yet can create enough public suspense and interest to help us generate and maintain some interest on the part of the public in our convention.

How we use the First Family during the prime time hours is extremely important. We have watched how they cover Mrs. McGovern, Mrs. Humphrey, Wallace and other VIPs who have appeared at the hall and we know that we have a golden opportunity to score a lot of points by using the girls and Mrs. Nixon during the prime time hours. All of this is obvious.
I was amazed that McGovern would go on the air to be interviewed immediately after the nomination by Ribicoff and thereby eliminate for awhile coverage of the POW wife seconding him on two of the major networks. It was a stupid mistake.

McGovern obviously feels that any exposure that he can get at this point is good since he is still such an unknown quantity and, therefore, overexposure is not a problem. They also are struggling desperately to pull him more toward the center through the free time vehicle they have in the convention.

Whelihan makes a constructive point that we should give one-liners to the people who will announce the votes for President Nixon from the various delegations. For example, when Michigan comes up, the head of their delegation may say, "Michigan, the State which represents where America stands on busing, casts its 100 votes for President Richard Nixon". We can play off of positive points which we want to emphasize by feeding these one-liners to the various heads of the delegations.

I was intrigued with the fact that they did not have a large demonstration at the conclusion of Ribicoff's speech and prior to the seconding speeches. If we go with Rockefeller doing the nomination and then have a very small demonstration, gavel the convention back to order quickly, move on with the seconding speeches which will probably be done from the floor if it can be staged properly, then on to the vote, and end with the massive demonstration at the end of the evening, it may work more in our favor. This is something we're going to just have to debate and come in with a plan on.

I was surprised that McGovern did not go to the hall. I do not believe it would have been anti-climactic for him to have appeared last night and then again tonight. It would have seemed to me that they would have gone for the picture of him at the hall on the podium for today's papers (assuming they could have still made most of them) and then the picture of McGovern with the Vice Presidential nominee for tomorrow morning's papers. They may have been banking on use of his appearance in the lobby of the hotel. However, that does not appear in the Washington Post.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR

SUBJECT: Democratic National Convention (Thursday Session)

Mills for President

Thursday evening I talked at length with Patrick T. McGahn, Jr., National Campaign Director for Mills for President. He is a lawyer from Atlantic City, New Jersey. As a Democrat, he cannot support McGovern in '72. I have approached him on getting involved publicly in Democrats for Nixon. It's too soon for him today. He must be contacted next week by a rather high level person.

Gary Shenfeld, Mills Chief of Communications, was, also, involved in these discussions. He, too, is prepared to support the President. We should follow up on him next week.

Serious consideration should be given to the appointment of Democrats and union members to Administration posts between now and the election. These appointments should be made keeping key states in mind and with appropriate publicity.

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Generally, delegates had little enthusiasm for this choice. Many had strong objections for various reasons.

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7. We must paint McGovern into his leftist corner and keep him from moving to the center; and

8. We must maximize the use of free prime time at our convention.
Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972
4:00 A.M.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

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for the Honorable CLARK MacGregor

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