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<td>8/12/1971</td>
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<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Nofziger to Frank Leonard RE: effectively serving RN. 1 pg.</td>
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MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK LEONARD

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

I recognize that it is more to your advantage to try to please the President and Bob Haldeman than it is to try to please me, but I firmly believe that it is better to try to serve the President well than to try to please him, and that is what I think you are trying to do—please him with that kind of stuff that you read to me over the phone. I surely don't believe it serves him well.

You cannot write that kind of stuff in a partisan publication and have anybody believe it. It is too obviously puffery. Worse, it destroys the believability of the other things we try to do.

I can't tell you how disappointed I am that you don't seem to be able to discern the difference between effective writing and whatever it is that you're writing now. It sure as hell isn't effective.
RNC - Lyn No.

- nuts & odds making more sense than ever
- Research & PR - excellent
- PR/PP - much better
- servicing party people

1. Evans & Pole - in last 2 mos talking to each other & Evans lives w/ out public role
- approaching nervous breakdown
- too much pressure
- not supposed to be involved in 1/9
denim but a Few

2. Fins - a former case flow problem,
that denim will take care of
as long term pin press

3. Cong Comm + Sen Comm - working
on Sens & Cong - oo
RNC primarily re-elect the P.

Cts Comm

- Cts people think evans cutting
  esp a pin level
- esp hee neen in pin areas
  of RNC

Evans - Cts Comm playing larger role

5. No info on Flaming

6. "Hi regard for Maguire - lack of standing in
Cts Comm considered 2nd choice people
H, CWC, Lyn Nof
Deputy Chan? - Lyn Nof
- Tennis Sun - Bork, G & a place

CWC "Credibility prob" -
- Lyn defending role of Monday &
  other publics
- Going so strong it becomes
  counter-productive
- Who basically helping
- "Hope a prob 4 Bob Dole."

H - Not a case in pt + others have
  swept record in attacks
- Who measured by news people comment rounded county

CWC - "Little resentment when we
  ask for stuff?"
- Ex. Old people & haslow

H - Really convinced more imp
  than FA on P's old folks spe.

DN - "Try to put w/ F 1st"
H - Fists - Quirky agw w/ account
  DNC has no other & other than B/W/TH
RNC is the poli aim of WH.

LN - you guys bit me in to
make a case

CWC + thin file of "no's"

- doesn't want to reprint anything

H - limited readership so reprints value

CWC - no specific issue, but last
3 mos of requests + no.
based on policy of not reprinting
edit's + columns

LN - "We are not a repeated journal"

H - only funeral home used black

Ex cover

1st Mon - repn + Frank Leonard agree ad.

LN - cost of $ - most on mid

15,000 $2,500 produce per wk

- know it has increased sustaining

contrib (15 - 25)

Mon = 50,000 circ up to/15,000

1st Mon = 280,000

H - Wre makeup + content of Mon + 1st Mon
perform 2 goals - build P + attack enemies.

Cost of $; attack in finer + consistent

- the back off Muskie + others
principle value of attack is pick-up in other journals
But now need to push positive stories - our goddamn damn is always complaining about what is wrong

-Must push positive - Excitement!

L N - pushes facts - not adjectives
H - if we don't go out and push goddamn incumbent, we're no one else will push
L N - doesn't like "cold courageou"
H - if Boston Globe says "cold P" why won't RNC? H Wins

- I had to go beef method + content to capture stories

L N - won't push stories that have bad measure play in papers, won't read it
H - not true, couldn't disagree more, must convince themselves that it decision
- Repetition in more exciting ways
- Not same black cover, same color, etc.

- Muriel ephasis info just to 40 columnists
  not to 10,000 RNC
H - LN - not an issue, but what we need 2 publics
LN doesn't want to sacrifice.
Mon.
H - more specials on 1st Mon basis "write an envelope"
- 2 editions arrive together
  1. Positive - Leonard on "Top The Lift of leadership"
  2. Mon. underneath w/LN suggest:
H - on top of Leonard, whom LN resents?
Mon - cut line exciting, etc.
H - A difference in tone or approach
- Not objective journal, good job, attack + poor job on support.
- Need esp. great as new elec
LN - agrees + push support.
- Deep class public + use Leonard's
  inserts
  1. Spectacular esp. cover - not bad copy
  2. Leonard - full time inserts
H - monthly mag - "don't get it too classy"
"LN: you have a bitch on me - I push you to hard."
"you resent my asking her to do things."

"I resent fact that don't understand our policies, we try our best to get things done."

"My batting average is spectacularly bad."

LN + CWC - "an attitudinal problem" =
LN - "will sandbag."

CWC - tries to dik & micro-manage his own ideas
H - "If operates on RN only at half at"
LN - "acts on haste sometimes wrong"

Chairman
LN - Pole: Role today is not role of before
I has too tired, over scheduled

H - when role in booklets his
doubler gets knocked down.
the party talks just bitch.
2) sensitive about criticism,
or "being not agree," I pace
CWC - Pole has lost his self confid
H - 
  1. get off work
  2. Monitor re closedum

H - I'll tell P that new
  phase - Call RG/Here
  Big shot 3-4 times ul
  for next decade of P w/Dole

CWC - Must receive winning paycheck

LH - Dole's arm = pain

Dole is a loner + to wont get
  in + work cel RNC staff
  gets burn hard on any little mistake
  thinks has NCD wool full time +

G -> LH to see Tom Shapkeal +

review -> Malek

LH

Some but not all valid pts
not so immersed in Mon

CWC - If Dole wont start attachig,
  then need a spokasmen - Evans?

LH - no a split let Dole + Evans
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Haldeman, Cliff Miller, Peter Dailey meeting - Campaign Advertising

On October 26, Peter Dailey, who had just been hired by the Attorney General to be the Advertising Director for the Campaign, and Cliff Miller met with Mr. Haldeman for one hour to review difficulties in advertising from the '68 Campaign and Bob Haldeman's views about advertising for the 1972 Campaign.

Cliff Miller opened the meeting by saying that his purpose was to introduce Peter Dailey to all the "players" in the middle level strategy group (Dick Moore, Harry Dent, Len Garment, Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, hopefully Dwight Chapin and definitely Pat Buchanan).

Haldeman reviewed his understanding of the current status - that there will be a "house agency" that it is Peter Dailey's primary responsibility to build a working agency; that the agency will be funded out of Committee funds for the time being but that eventually the Agency will be fully funded from "earned commissions."

Dailey raised the point about the AAAA attitude toward the house agency rebates to clients, but both agreed that after discussion with John Crichton that there would be no AAAA opposition to this arrangement by the Campaign though there would be some minor legal problems. Miller mentioned the Ahmanson/Galaxie-IRS problems but Haldeman discounted that as an obvious ploy and reaffirmed his view that we would not flout the law.

Haldeman discussed Dailey's biggest job, that of staffing the in house agency. He indicated that Dailey must establish rapport with the AAAs and draw on specific talent pools. It is Haldeman's understanding, confirmed by Peter Dailey, that the agencies would "make persons available at the out of pocket cost" from the donating agency. Dailey reviewed the anchor and loan program that 1) establishes a list of agencies that really want to
make people available, and 2) that the AAAAs can send a letter asking for people who are interested.

Haldeman emphasized that it would be Dailey's responsibility to "look for who you want not for who wants to help us." He emphasized that the three top jobs that Dailey should get are 1) a creative director; 2) a media director and 3) a TV director. Each would then begin work on recruiting their own staffs. Haldeman re-emphasized the importance of recruiting quality people, so that even Doyle Dane - though generally against us - may have an individual that we want and will use.

Haldeman went on to say that the two qualifications for the individuals would be a philosophical and political commitment to our cause and then top quality individuals.

Haldeman said that we would have to avoid automatically the turning to the people that have worked in previous Campaigns, such as Ruth Jones to be media buyer and Newton to be a consultant. He did not rule these people out but just urged Dailey to be careful.

Haldeman directed Dailey to contact Len Garment about who should be visited by Dailey at Fuller, Smith as well as all other people involved in advertising in 1968.

Dailey said he is basically pursuing people which will give him group security and good flexibility. Dailey also suggested that he may keep the key spot as our people, but go outside to contract individually for certain creative groups at approximately 2-3%. He suggested going outside for these groups because he is concerned about obtaining operational level people who have worked together before. Dailey would retain creative control at the top but use operational people outside.

Haldeman agreed and suggested that it would probably be best to have very few people in Washington. Only Dailey's immediate group - not most of the advertising staff - would be located here. This would not only be cheaper but would enable Dailey to retain more effective control, by being the man in Washington.

Dailey emphasized his five goals: security, tight control, fiscal responsibility, maximum flexibility, and return of commissions.

Haldeman said the first thing we should get is a number one business man to ride herd on money. This individual would be Washington based and tough.
Miller suggested that "Campaign Associates" be revitalized, but Haldeman and Dailey urged the setting up of a separate corporation independent from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President which would incorporate in Washington or Delaware depending on Dean's advice. It should be an innocuous name such as "Communication Counsellors." The agency should not be closely associated with the President; the association can be done privately by momentos, tours, etc.

Haldeman emphasized that the biggest problem beside financial control would be creative in-put. Other problems that Haldeman emphasized Dailey would face include: the President is the ultimate client who will develop a clear basic strategy, and then as Dailey moves toward implementation he (The President) will change his mind. However, there is a strong feeling in the President's mind that certain themes should be used in the Campaign.

Haldeman made the point that the President feels strongly that he should not use TV spot ads at all. He might do 5 minute mini documentaries, but as opposed to 20, 30 or 60 second spots. He basically thinks that we should do very little advertising.

Haldeman suggested the possibility of a conspicuous non-advertising campaign. Miller emphasized this might correspond with the basic strategy of having a non-campaign.

Haldeman, Dailey and Miller are all agreed that too much "ad work" demeans the Office of the Presidency. Any advertising should be non-Campaign, low key, though informative. What is required is a subtle use of money.

Haldeman emphasized that the worst thing that we can do is to put the President on a par with the other candidates. Miller raised the problem that the thinking at 1701 is falling into the cement of the bumper stickers/button syndrome. Haldeman said that only the RNC should be involved in this classic women - political troops - distribution of political junk aspect of the campaign. The campaign must be kept separate from the Office of the Presidency. Miller said this will take real muscle.

Haldeman said that he would prefer to get people to wear flag lapel pins instead of Nixon buttons so that the emphasis would be upon the Committee for the Re-Election of our President, rather than the President. The emphasis in the campaign will be peace, progress and prosperity and this should be personally associated with our President. We have to stay away from the "Old Dick Nixon" the campaigner.
Dailey emphasized that we can make the President a hero, but Haldeman said that the people around the President can't see him as a hero. These people must be made to realize that millions of Americans have never seen any President of the United States and he can appropriately become a hero.

Haldeman said that there is hero potential in the trips to China and Moscow, because the networks are more interested in these trips than in the moon landing, and now the Chinese have agreed to ground station and satellite coverage so that color events in the morning from 9-11 will be a prime time, 7 o'clock on the West coast and 10 o'clock on the East coast. In the meantime, the Democrats will be sloshing around in New Hampshire which is such an incredibly degrading place to have to campaign.

Haldeman said that most of the campaign money should be put into organizational work in precinct, stuffing mail boxes, dragging voters to the polls rather than buying media time.

Dailey said what we need, however, is an instantaneous controlled response to current events.

Dailey will join the staff full-time on December 1. He will leave his family in Los Angeles, though take an apartment here.

Haldeman said that when you (Peter Dailey) get back here it is "terribly important that you be included in everything – all strategy stuff – and political meetings."

Miller said that advertising, research and PR would all be included in the middle level strategy session.

Haldeman turned to GS and said that Peter Dailey should attend any political meeting regardless of what it is and what it relates to both at the Committee and here at the White House.
Colson initiated this meeting of October the 8th between Haldeman, Nofziger, and Colson. No talking paper was prepared for Mr. Haldeman.

Colson opened with "I detect a 'little resentment' when I ask for staff from you (Lyn Nofziger)." Nofziger's response was that he tries "to put the White House first" but that he must maintain the "credibility" of Monday.

Haldeman said "it frosts me that the RNC charges the White House account for projects. If it weren't for the White House the RNC would have no money.

Nofziger said "you guys brought me in to make a case", as Colson continued through his file of Nofziger "nos" to Dick Howard memos. Nofziger's response was that Monday is not a "reptent journal".

Haldeman said "only a funeral home would use a black cover". He went on to discuss the format of Monday and First Monday. They perform two goals -- to build the President and attack his enemies. The attack is fine and consistent, but we must now push the positive with laudatory adjectives and verbs. Nofziger agreed to make Monday very positive.

Nofziger does not want Monday to push previously written laudatory stories, but Mr. Haldeman couldn't disagree more. Repetition is essential.

Haldeman and Nofziger agree that it might be helpful for there to be two publications. Monday would remain as it is but more positive. The second publication would be more like First Monday with specials similar to "The Lift of Leadership". The second publication will not become too classy because
then the problems of The Republican will emerge again.

Colson and Nofziger reviewed Nofziger's "bitch" with Colson which they agreed was "attitude". Colson agreed to separate the orders he receives to give to Nofziger from his (Colson's) own ideas.

Nofziger reports there is a very serious problem with Chairman Dole -- he is tired, poorly scheduled, demoralized, and ineffective. Colson agrees. Haldeman directed Nofziger to convince the Chairman that he should only accept the big schedule events, get off the road, and make three to four news making items each week.

Colson suggested that we need another partisan spokesman if Dole isn't up to it. He suggested Tom Evans. Nofziger said this would even further exacerbate the deteriorating relationship between Dole and Evans. All agreed that Nofziger should try to turn Dole's attitude around before the approach was made to Evans.

cc: Larry Higby
    Bruce Kehrli