

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>
46	10	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan for "The Record" RE: Haldeman's meeting with Dailey, Joanou, and Taylor on June 2 on campaign advertising. List of campaign slogans with Strachan's notes attached. 6 pgs.
46	10	6/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes chronicling the major points of a meeting involving Dailey, Joanou, and Taylor revolving around campaign advertising. 8 pgs.
46	10	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan for "The Record" RE: Haldeman's meeting with Dailey, Joanou, and Taylor on June 2 on campaign advertising. Handwritten notes added by Higby. 5 pgs.
46	10	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Document titled "Position Paper: The 1972 Campaign." 9 pgs.
46	10	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Document titled "Advertising Strategy." 6 pgs.
46	10	1/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan for "The Record" RE: Dailey's meeting with Strachan on campaign advertising. 3 pgs.

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46	10	10/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan for "The Record" laying out the important points of a campaign advertising meeting involving Haldeman, Cliff Miller, and Dailey. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Duplicate attached. 8 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: Haldeman Meeting with
Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou,
Bob Taylor on June 2

At 11:30 on June 2 Bob met with the three top men from the November Group (Dailey, Joanou and Taylor) for a two hour discussion of the status of the campaign advertising and the documentary.

Dailey opened the meeting by informing Bob that the November Group now consisted of 25 advertising people based in New York with 5 here in the District. Dailey mentioned that the November Group had established its advertising and organizational credibility within the campaign and that in his opinion his relationship was smooth and amicable.

Dailey mentioned that he planned to control finances on a week by week basis as well as to challenge the developing interpretation of the law that requires the candidate's image and voice in the advertising. Dailey said this was their only hang-up with the law at the moment.

Phil Joanou turned the meeting over to Taylor to begin discussion of the creative strategy. Bob had read the creative strategy statement and had been through the large black book outlining their approach. Taylor made the following points:

- 1) The President is a man of action;
- 2) He has long-range vision and a master plan;
- 3) The President is a man who inherited a mess in 1968;
- 4) He has courage, decisiveness and dedication;

5) Issues -- Taylor posed the issue of whether the campaign should be run as a "man campaign" or whether as an "issue campaign". Bob indicated that he inclines toward the "man campaign" but believes that the issues should be used to sell a man. He does not believe you can get points only on the merits of the issues.

Most ads will not usually involve the President, rather people will be used to tell the President's story.

Bob also emphasized that the advertising men should not worry much about selling the President as a warm, lovable human being as this has been tried before, generally unsuccessfully. Rather use China trip pictures and don't become obsessed with personal profiles.

Bob also likes the use of video tape rather than film to give an appearance of immediacy. Dailey agreed.

The discussion shifted to the basic theme line for the campaign. Nine alternatives were offered. They are:

- 1) Re-elect the President. Bob mentioned that all the news referrals are to President Nixon which prompted Dailey to mention the second slogan,
- 2) Re-elect President Nixon. The third is,
- 3) It's Got to be Nixon. The fourth is,
- 4) President Nixon - He's Turned It Around. Bob was somewhat positive on this one.
- 5) Keep It Going, Re-Elect the President. Bob opposed this one because the opposition would use inflation, the War, etc., because "it" is too easily used against us. The sixth suggestion was,
- 6) President Nixon - Help Him Finish the Job
- 7) For America's Future Re-Elect the President, while the eighth was
- 8) America Needs Nixon or America Needs President Nixon. Bob believes these are too standard as campaign themes. The ninth suggestion was

9) President Nixon - Now More Than Ever which can be abbreviated to Nixon Now. Bob thought these slogans were good and should be considered the top candidate.

Taylor next reviewed the research on the campaign theme which was somewhat indecisive.

Taylor then shifted to the 60-second TV ads which he showed on boards. The first concerned China and Bob's comments were that:

- 1) These should be no toast to Mao picture;
- 2) There should be no picture of drink or toasting with Chou;
- 3) And there should be no troop review. Rather, the President's handshake with Chou should be emphasized along with the great differences between the countries. Also, footage of the President hard at work.

The second ad concerned 1968 problems which Haldeman thought was good.

The discussion shifted to the advantage of 60-seconds, and Dailey mentioned that both networks are pushing the candidates toward 5-minute spots because there is an outstanding rate that the networks are preparing for this type of spot. Dailey is not too happy about the 5-minute spots because the issues become rather boring. In any event, Dailey will have both 30-seconds and ID spots in reserve for use should the negotiations with the networks over the 60s and 5-minute spots change. Bob agreed with Dailey that for the 5-minute spots it would be better to use existing footage and edit it rather than try to create footage. For example, on the environment a 5-minute spot could open with Ruckelshaus, cut to existing Nixon footage with Ruckelshaus' voice over, and then Ruckelshaus close.

The next ad concerned bureaucracy. Bob suggested that they might want to use the community disaster like the L.A. earthquake as well as the West Virginia mine disaster as an example of how the President has streamlined Government. Bob also suggested that on the bureaucracy subject, there would be

pretty good chance that Connally would be available after the Democratic Convention to do commercials and discuss his role on the Ash Commission.

On the Older American ad, Bob suggested that they drop the language on "take off fixed incomes" as this would scare older Americans.

On the Vietnam ad using the chart of troops in Vietnam, Bob thought that the President's Inauguration should be made more obvious and that the years should be added at the bottom to emphasize the increase in troops pre-RN.

The negative ads on McGovern were considered very effective by Bob. The back and forth routine on amnesty, abortion and pot were particularly effective. Bob suggested that other negative ads might want to include McGovern's voice as well as other Democratic comments on McGovern. He thought an especially effective spokesman would be a non-candidate's voice like Mansfield.

Generally, Bob thought the types of ads presented were fine and that they make the points necessary. Bob directed Dailey to develop a program to utilize the "Nixon Now" chant for possible use in rallies.

Bob also suggested that Dailey obtain some footage of the Polish reception for advertisements in the Chicago area.

Although Bob was aware that Chapin did not want to discuss the documentary, Bob asked Chapin to join the group as he wanted to cover the notes that he had made on the documentary materials submitted by Chapin. It was Bob's view that the documentary on Pat Nixon was good, but suggested that there be more footage of the President and Mrs. Nixon together to emphasize the partnership point. He also questioned whether the suggested interview with Mrs. Nixon would be as effective as with a third party who could say better things about her.

Concerning The Presidential Years documentary, Bob thought that the theme of a man of thought and planning was too passive and suggested instead the use of courage and leadership, etc., to stimulate interest.

Concerning the Keogh script, the discussion of the war should make the point that the number of troops was escalating until Richard Nixon became President. The emphasis must be that Vietnam could have been much worse and that they may want to pick up the line that he would be a great President but couldn't get elected, so as to drop the "loser" language.

As to the roadblocks, Bob told him that he didn't think they should use the President alone in frustration because it makes him look ineffective. Instead, use the signing ceremony for the eighteen year old vote. There is some excellent footage of a Mexican girl crying that should be used. He also thought that footage of the phone call to the Moon was better than the footage of the President greeting the astronauts. More emphasis should be placed on the vision aspect, that is, so much remains to be done and the continuing challenges, instead of failure, frustration and disappointment. SALT should be used not as a solution but as a start.

Concerning the documentary, Portrait of a Man, Bob originally thought that it was a bad idea to use anecdotes, insights or reminiscences, but as he read the script he was coming around more to accept that theory. Dwight made the argument that we should at least try a long-term, Paul Keyes-type interview with the President on film as it would be worth the risk and was part of Wolper's suggestion. Bob indicated that it might be possible to do this with the President before the trip to California or out in California.

The meeting concluded at 1:30, and after they had left Bob mentioned to me that he did not want to show all the advertising to the Ehrlichman political group now but rather wait until further down the line. At that point he would plan on telling them what the campaign advertising is to be and just as a final check against any giant negatives that had not been thought of.

Polling May 26-28

	<u>Top</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Bottom</u>
President Nixon. Help Him Finish the Job	49%	29%	21%
✓ President Nixon. Now More Than Ever	29	48	23
<i>same</i> For Americas Future. Re-elect the President	28	50	22
✓ Keep it Going. Re-elect the President	27	46	27
America Needs President Nixon.	24	51	24
President Nixon. He's Turned it Around	21	18	61
<i>loser</i> Its Gotta Be Nixon	14	44	42

6/2
11:30

Railey, Joanne, Taylor

30 in N.Y. + all on board; 5 in DC, 25 in NY
Muller - financial, Treas of Young & Rubicam
Advertising + Organ credibility in Pd

① Prob w/ bottom line price requires
Cand's image + voice - prob -
- Prob w/ interp of law; only
Aangup

② Can control finances w/ w/ll
Phil Joanne:

Begin w/ creative strategy + leave
w/ H written book on th.

1) P - man of action

2) Long range vision - master plan

3) P - as man inherited mess of 68

4) Courage, decisiveness + deeds

- 5) Issues -

Creative
Strategy
memo w/
H's comments

- H inclines to man camp not
issue camp, but use issues
as selling man. Can't get
pts only on merits of the
issues.

- Basically ads not use involve P.

H - so probal don't buy exposure
time for P; rather use people to tell story.

H:3) Don't worry much on selling P as warm-lovable human being ← can't do it.
- Use China trip pic's;
- can't be obsessed w/ pers profiles

H 4) Use tape - not film for immediacy

Basic Theme Line Problem:

Prob of defining a "camp theme"

① Re-Elect the P

H comment all nearest referral to P Nixon

② Re-Elect P Nixon

③ It's gotta be Nixon

H-positive → ④ P Nixon

He's turned it around.

H-oppos could really earn us } ⑤ Keep it going.
Re-Elect the P.

⑥ P N

Help him finish the job

Too standard of camp themes

⑦ For America's Future
Re-Elect the P.

⑧ Am Needs Nixon

or
Am needs P. Nixon

H-it's good to candid

⑨ P Nixon
Now more than ever

Nixon Now

Research on Camp theme:

200 in Cal, 200 in Ill

Each resp asked ranked 1-8

Seeking addit works for Help him
finish the job + don't change horses

Rationalization for people who didn't
vote for R N before to admit
errors

Class's

AQs

- H
- ① no toast to Mao
 - ② no drinks, toast w/ Chen
- China
- ③ No troop review -
rather use P. mty
- Great differences bet.
countries but must
talk about the difference
 - Portage of P hard at work

68 P. mty's

H- Good, sound bel answer
film etc.

Don't want to use ~~60's~~ 30's +
10's but in reserve

60's + (5-min) = a great rate

Big Fight → Bailey - not too happy bec/
love issues

5 mins - must use footage so edit to it rather than create it,
Environ:

Open w/ Ruell, cut to
RN footage, Ruell voice
over then, Ruell close

Cand's image + voice must appear
visibly but not during full commercial.

ad

Bureau Ad -

- P Nixon streamlined Gov, OK

H - maybe use community
debaster like LA Earthquake

5 min of Conn on Bureau
w/ Ash Comm - good spots
Conn - best sun by wide
margin

- after Dem Convent
avail + maybe commercial

ad Older Am + Rising Prices

H Don't use Tale of fixed
incomes - scare deler

VN Ad -

Cause of peace among nations
Troops in VN down

H - More obnoxious - RN inaugural

H - pop on year to emphasize pre-RN.

Negative Ads

- ① picture of McG - flipping
Very bail + forth
effective amnesty, abortion, Pot
- ② We have people taping everything
H - use McG's own voice.
 - anti Dem comments on McG
 - get non-cards (mons, etc.

Type of Ads - OIK

H - straight + make point

Daikey - react to slogan + J Manuvers

H - more possible
Nixon now

for H's
comments,

H - how you program

Don't when he enters, etc.

Footage of Polish Routine
for ads + Chi.

Documentaries - Chapin joins, G, H, Taylor, ^{6/2} Young, Bailey
H wants to cover notes directly
tho understands OC review.

H - Pat Nixon one - in good
shape on

- Should be more footage
of RN + PN together as
a partnership.

- Who interview w/ PN as
effec as w/ 3P who could
say better things about her

H - P test Years:

Minor? - Theme: - man of
Thought, etc, planning

Too Passive →
H - Must use courage,
leadership, etc - to
stimulate.

H - Keoga strip

talks of war, must
make point of troops
increase + escalating
until RN beef P.

- must emphasise VA worse

- say he would be a
great P but can't get elected
drop loser.

Roadblocks? - don't show
RN alone in frustration
wee/ make him look
ineffice

- use roadblocks ag/
the oppos,

Issue Point

- Drop Hunger + Poverty

- Bureau visuals - reduced
| pers taxes + increased
| corp taxes + we haven't
won this

Signing ceremony - Mex
girl crying - Spectacular
Phone call to moon better
than P greeting Astron

Vision:

So much remains to be done
Continuing challenges,
not failure, frustr +
disapp

SALT - not solution but
a start.

Portrait of A Man

H thinks a bad idea by ~~accidental~~
reminies (insights)

- So show P as P not history

H + Galore

- need it show E qip the ad now
rather wait until further down
line; then tell them what
we're doing just before locked
so if any giant negatives not
thought of, we can stop
- World on chant of Nixon Now

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1972

AS
Denny
mtg
2
(F)
good Dailey
mtg
File

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE RECORD

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Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou,
Bob Taylor on June 2

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*else this
being
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U.S. 11-3

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POSITION PAPER
THE 1972 CAMPAIGN
April 18, 1972

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this document is to set forth, for discussion purposes, an analysis of the current situation in terms of voter attitudes and perceptions, and from this to hypothesize on the climate of the post-convention campaign.

It is important to put a point of view in writing at this stage, in order to obtain agreement or disagreement on the tone and style of the campaign.

We all recognize the risk inherent in basing political decisions effecting tomorrow on research done yesterday. It is necessary to construct what we think the opposition will do, in order to determine what we should do. We should attempt to agree now on a strategic thrust for the campaign, one that will be embodied in speeches, administrative action, and paid communications. Then we must subject this to constant review and constructive criticisms in that it is eight months away from election as this is written.

April 18, 1972

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BACKGROUND

This evening we will present campaign and advertising strategy statements for discussion. Prior to this, we will briefly examine:

1. Who will vote.
2. What they think:
 - a) About issues.
 - b) About ability of candidates to handle issues.
 - c) About personal attributes, strengths, and weaknesses.

From this, a strategy has been developed to shore up our areas of weakness, and to capitalize on our strengths.

Who Will Vote

In 1972, an estimated 139.6 million Americans will be eligible to vote. In 1968, 60.7% of those eligible voted. If this percentage holds for 1972; 84.7 million people will vote, an increase of 11.7 million.

Using the reported voting behavior of the 1964 and 1968 elections, voters will break down as follows: (see attached chart).

The Issues

Research indicates Americans believe the following is "most important in deciding a Presidential vote":

1. Vietnam
2. Inflation/Economy
3. General Unrest
4. Unemployment
5. Environment/Taxes
6. Drugs
7. Race Relations/Crime

In ranking the candidates abilities to handle the issues, the following was reported:

Vietnam	1) RN	2) M	3) K
Inflation	1) RN	2) M	3) K
General Unrest	1) K	2) M	3) RN
Unemployment	1) M	2) K	3) RN
Drugs	1) M	2) K	3) RN
Crime	1) M	2) K	3) RN
Taxes	1) M	2) K	3) RN
Racial Problems	1) K	2) M	3) RN
Environment	1) K	2) M	3) RN

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Personal Attributes

Voters perception of the President in certain personality areas is reported as follows:

They view him as...

Experienced
Trained
Informed
Competent
Safe
Conservative

He is not perceived as...

Frank
Warm
Extroverted
Relaxed
Sense of Humor

In the following strategy discussion and presentation of materials, use of this data is evident in recommendations to trade on our strength, and shore up to wreck perceptions we have in certain important issue areas where the record is good, but the message doesn't seem to have gotten through.

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The Campaign Thrust

In order to define a position for the President, and a direction for the campaign, it is necessary to hypothesize on the direction the campaign will take, the mood of the electorate and future issue areas.

At this writing, we do not know who the Democratic candidate will be. We can, however, outline the probable direction of attack.

Vietnam is still perceived to be a major issue by voters. It could again be a pivotal factor. At this writing it is apparent that the necessity of renewed bombing in the North has provided the opposition with an issue. This may, however, be short term and will depend upon events, and Presidential action over the next few months.

Also, the opposition can attempt to capitalize on the mood of a substantial portion of the electorate. This is a general feeling, more than a specific issue area. It may be defined roughly as:

1. The country is in trouble.
2. Government isn't concerned...or responsive.
3. Politicians don't care.
4. Things are too complicated.
5. The Government is not truthful.
6. "The people are fed up with Government. They think it doesn't work. And they are right."

Specifically, these concerns may focus around and be expressed in certain issue areas.

1. High and unfair taxation.
2. Lack of credibility, trust.
3. Waste, inefficiency in government.
4. Personal safety (related to crime and drugs).
5. Favoritism of "haves" over "have nots".
6. High Prices.
7. Jobs
8. The breakup of neighborhood schools.

From our point of view, there is danger in this sort of attack. The President is perceived as being able to handle problems with international scope far more effectively than problems on the domestic scene. Each of the Democratic candidates is perceived in varying degrees as being able to handle the domestic problems in the United States more effectively than the President. At present, this is our area of weakness. Gallup, last fall, reported "public concern over economic problems is greater today than at any time since the job-lean years of the late 1930's". The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan reported the "trust level" had dropped from 70% in 1964 to 30% now.

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If this is to be the climate of this election, if the opposition directs its attack in the areas described, how should we stand? Must we defend what is? We think not. The campaign objectives should be to:

1. Take the initiative away from the opposition.

The President must not be put in the position of defending the status quo. It was the President who said "The people are fed up with the government. They think it doesn't work. And they are right." While it is important to recognize that many Americans feel alienated, it is also important that they realize that the President is with them on these issues. The President has long asked that taxes be returned to the states, that the welfare mess be straightened out, that a substantial reduction in government waste be made. He has fought harder than any man for a cleaner environment. Against crime and drugs. He is a fighter against high prices and inflation. His programs have created millions of new jobs. We must make the President's position clear. Americans must be reminded of this. And where results are not forthcoming, they must know whom to blame. We must attack Congress, the unions, big business, and the balky bureaucrats who must face up to reform. The people must clearly understand and believe the President is on their side.

2. Inform the electorate of the President's accomplishments... and plans for the future.

In many areas, the President's record and achievements are little understood or forgotten, particularly in the domestic area. A major task of this campaign will be to strengthen voter perception of this record.

The American people must be reminded constantly of three things. How things were. How they are now. How things are going to be. It is the Democrats' job to make people forget this; it is our job to make them remember.

HOW THINGS WERE

People tend to forget 1969. Riots on the campuses. Crime in the cities. Powderkegs in the ghettos. Backlash in the suburbs. Over two hundred American dead each week in Vietnam. No concerted attack on pollution. Overheated economy.

HOW THINGS ARE

The campus is quiet. An unfair draft is all but ended. Most Americans are home from Vietnam. They say we spend too much on defense, not enough at home. For the first time in 20 years we

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are spending more on human resources than for military purposes. We are building toward a strong economy. Without war. Greater integration has occurred. Without riots.

He has attacked the bureaucracy. He has opened opportunities for women. For minorities. Never before has the fight against crime and drug abuse been waged with greater intensity.

HOW THINGS ARE GOING TO BE

We must take the offensive. We must remind the electorate that the President has done things where it was generally believed that little could be done. But we can't stop there. We must answer the question:

What kind of country is America going to become?

We must show vision...and hope. People must feel, and believe, that things are getting better. That we are going to have peace in Vietnam. That they can feel economically secure. That the government is responsive to their cares, and needs, and worries. That our air, rivers and streams will be cleaned and restored. That the fight against crime will continue until all Americans can walk the streets with safety. That every American will be treated fairly and with justice; that we are not rolling back the clock on equality.

Americans must believe Richard Nixon can accomplish this.

People look to the government for direction and solution. "Nations need dreams, goals they seek in common, within which the smaller dreams of individuals can guide thier personal lives."

The people must see the President as the best man to provide America with peace, economic security, a sense of direction. They must see him as a man not satisfied with the status quo, with the way things are done. They must see his solutions as the best solutions. They must understand his vision for America.

3. Concern and attention must be shifted to the domestic scene.

The President is the recognized master of foreign affairs. He must now become perceived as master of the domestic scene. We cannot allow the opposition to be perceived as being better able to handle these problems. The President, over all other candidates, is perceived as being the most experienced, the best trained, the most informed, the most competent. We must

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trade on these strengths, and bring them to bear on the domestic issues. This can be achieved without walking away from the strong foreign policy record.

4. Strongly Counter the Opposition.

During the campaign, the opposition will certainly attempt to out-promise the President, and to attack his record. These promises and attacks must be strongly countered.

The question is how. The President is at his best when he appears in an off-the-cuff question and answer situation.

He is good at outlining actions. He is the master of the bold, imaginative stroke.

The President is not good when he becomes the attacker. The President is quite often not his own best spokesman when countering the opposition candidate.

It is recommended that the opposition candidates' challenges be strongly and immediately repudiated, not by the President, but by key Administration officials. If the opposition attacks the economy, the weakness of his position is pointed out by Connally. If he provides an instant solution to Vietnam, Rogers or Kissinger answer.

The President never gets down to the level of the opposition, nor does the opposition ever get a chance in the ring on the Presidential level.

Does this mean the President is not aggressive? That he does not campaign strongly? NO. It simply keeps the President off the defensive, so that he can campaign vigorously in a positive manner. He is the man of action, of hope, and of vision. Where he is obstructed by an unfriendly Congress denying the will of the people, we must make this known. It is not a question of getting this country moving again. America is moving in the right direction. And it will move faster when obstructionists decide to cooperate.

5. Conduct an Aggressive Campaign.

The merits of "taking the high, Presidential road" versus running an aggressive campaign have been discussed. We take the view that by following the proceeding broad direction, an aggressive campaign can be run without the risk. If the President does

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not become the one who personally counters the opposition candidate. He should be Presidentially aggressive on issues, not on a personal basis.

6. In summary:

- 1) We must remind Americans of the enormous, almost unsolvable problems we faced four years ago.
- 2) We must remind Americans of the great progress that has been made.
- 3) We must provide Americans with a direction, a hope for the future.
- 4) We must convince them that Richard Nixon is a master of the domestic scene...as well as foreign.

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ADVERTISING STRATEGY

April 18, 1972

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What We Should Say

Our campaign for the President should do the following:

1. Present the President as an activist.

As a man who takes bold and decisive steps to get things done. A man to be judged by his accomplishments, not his words.

2. Present the President as a man with long-range vision.

All of the President's accomplishments should be positioned as part of an overall plan being implemented by the President for the betterment of all. Not sudden, expedient or political deeds, but elements of a master plan that must be continued.

3. Present the President as a man who inherited a mess.

Whenever possible, the public should be reminded of the sad state of affairs that existed when the President took office, contrasted with the relatively better situation that now exists.

4. Present the President as a man with courage, decisiveness, and dedication.

The President's personal attributes (not his personality) should be emphasized through his deeds; i.e. the personal commitment needed to take the necessary steps.

5. Present the issues.

Radio, TV, and newspapers ads should be developed on specific issues known to be important to prospective voters. We should be careful not to feature only the issues that rank high in importance, but also to feature issues which allow us to tell a dramatic story of achievement. Some sample issues which could be dramatised in separate commercials:

- a) The economy. To cover unemployment, cost of living, inflation, and taxes.
- b) World Peace. To cover the President's trips to China and Moscow, his nuclear agreements, etc.
- c) Vietnam. To show how the President has withdrawn over 440,000 men from Vietnam, cut casualties and cut spending.
- d) Drugs. To cover the President's agreement with Turkey and France, the increased Custom's activity, the move against the pushers (D.A.L.E.), the programs on rehabilitation and education.

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- e) Crime. To show the President's accomplishments in slowing down the crime rate and ending the riots and disorders in our cities and on our campuses.
- f) Environment. To cover the President's complete program to fight air, water and noise pollution.
- g) Older Americans. To cover the President's actions and proposals aimed at insuring better health care, housing, and increased benefits under Social Security.

These and many other issues not listed here, can be handled separately in a series of commercials and ads. In general, we should concentrate on real accomplishments, not Presidential proposals, which are currently bogged down. However, if proposed legislation is the most impressive part of our story, we should feature that.

How We Should Say It.

Advertising for the President should involve a style, tone and technique that will do the following:

1) Personalize the issues.

It is not always effective to present the issues by publicizing the vast amounts of monies spent, or the dozens of laws enacted, in regard to a particular issue. Often, it is more meaningful to concentrate on a simple personal presentation of one aspect of the President's accomplishments. For instance, here are two facts related to environment:

The President has asked Congress for more money to build municipal waste water treatment facilities and extend the Federal Water Quality Program to cover all navigable waters.

The President has ruled that they are not going to build a giant jetport smack in the middle of the Everglades.

Without judging which fact is, in truth, most important, it is easy to see which fact is more meaningful to the public when presented in a commercial.

2) Limit the use of the President in Advertising.

There are four general types of commercials we could prepare:

- a) Feature the President on-camera, lip-sync. in general, we should not do this for two reasons;

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it runs the risk of over-exposing the President; it positions the President as just another candidate campaigning like mad.

- b) Feature the President voice-over, and show film of him in action. We believe the same two negatives as above relate to this technique.
- c) Use an announcer's voice-over and show film of the President in action. This technique allows us to show the President as an activist, use excerpts from his speeches, and yet have an announcer tell the basic story. We could not be accused of having the President go into "hiding" and yet, the effect is of a commercial that is for the President, not by the President. The difference is important, especially if we are concerned with giving the impression that the President is spending too much time campaigning and not enough time taking care of the country.
- d) Use an announcer voice-over and not show the President. In many cases, it might well be more effective to present the President's accomplishments in a certain area without ever showing him. For instance, a commercial that dealt with the problems of what rising food prices were doing to older Americans on fixed incomes might be better told in story form, featuring older Americans and not the President.

3) Humanize the President.

The President's personal qualities of compassion, humor and informality should never be the subject of a commercial. But by careful selection of footage, and careful wording of a commercial message, we can emphasize these characteristics in a subtle yet effective way.

For instance, in a commercial about aid to minorities, it is much better to show the President in deep and personal conversation with an Indian than to show him in his office signing a bill to aid Indians. With a smile, a nod, or a gesture, he can show personal interest in the cause, which is both believable and important to the viewer.

4) Maintain a Presidential "tone".

Throughout the campaign, the tone of our advertising should be honest, direct, underplayed and believable. The President can only suffer from bombast and exaggeration.

We should admit, in context, that crime and drugs still exist, that inflation is still with us, and that the war is not completely over. The American voting public can accept

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these facts - they know them anyway. They will appreciate the frankness, especially when the great achievements in these areas are pointed out.

A Presidential "tone" also implies a measure of dignity and a quality that is above political rhetoric. Commercials should be tasteful and thoughtful.

Alternate Campaigns

Two other methods of preparing commercials should be considered now for use later in the campaign.

1) The Use of Surrogates.

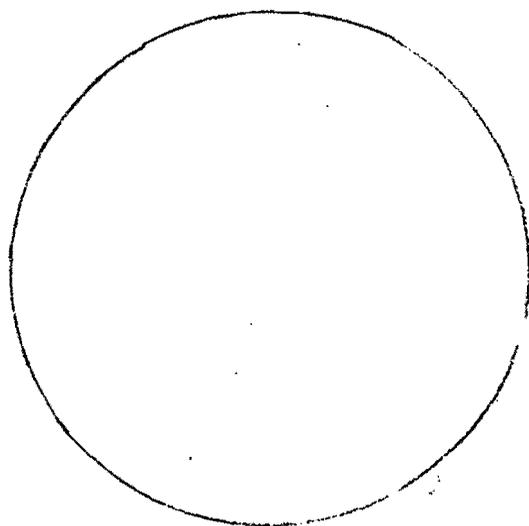
It may be wise for us to plan commercials using the various members of the President's team to speak for him. The President's surrogates certainly have the talent and the knowledge to present certain issues - to discuss in detail the President's record and his proposals for the future. This might be particularly valuable when we are preparing 5-minute TV commercials.

2) Use the President On-camera.

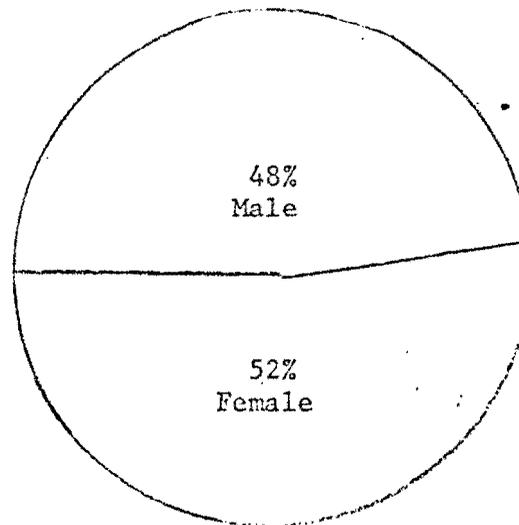
Late in the campaign, it might well be advisable to use the President on-camera, talking directly to the public. This would be especially valuable if it becomes necessary for him to clarify a position or to present a new and positive program. Also, if the situation is not good in the last few weeks of the campaign, some straight talk directly from the President would be very powerful at this stage. Far more powerful, in truth, than if we had used him on-camera throughout the campaign.

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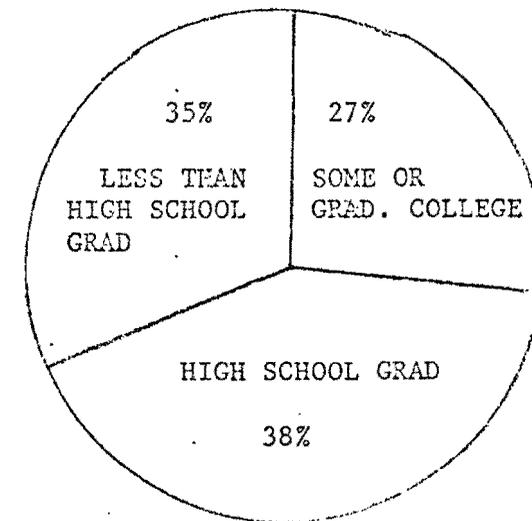
1972 VOTING ESTIMATES - BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUP
PERCENT OF TOTAL "ACTUAL" VOTE ESTIMATED



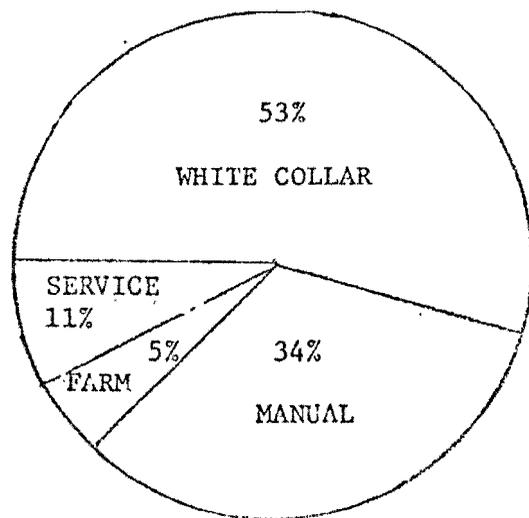
TOTAL ELECTORATE: 85 MILLION



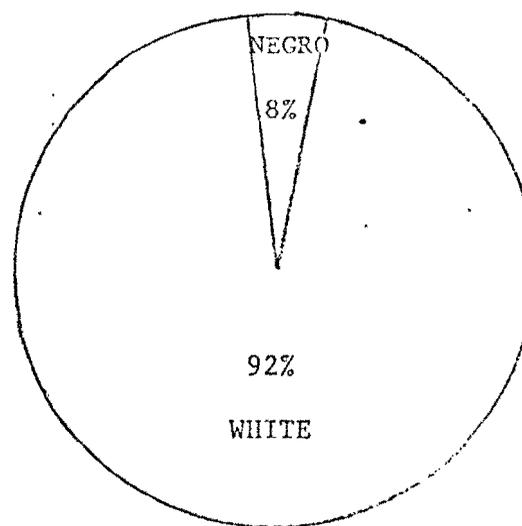
SEX



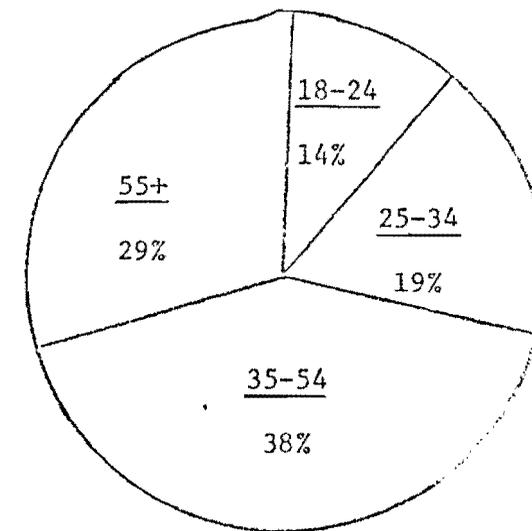
EDUCATION



OCCUPATION



RACE



AGE

[Item No. 4]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

January 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Haldeman, Peter Dailey
Meeting - Campaign
Advertising

On January 12th Peter Dailey met with Mr. Haldeman to bring him up to date on the status of the advertising aspects of the Campaign since their last meeting of October the 26th.

Dailey opened with a discussion of the difficulties he has encountered in recruiting quality people to staff the in-house ad agency. There are few Republicans on Madison Avenue. However, he has identified two people to work as creative directors, one from Ogilvie and another one from J. Walter Thompson. The man from Ogilvie is an older, stable fellow responsible for \$50 to \$60 million billing. Dailey and Haldeman agreed that it would be better to have an older, stable individual rather than a young "silver bullet" because politics is a game of not making mistakes. As to the J. Walter Thompson man, Bill Seibert, Haldeman thought he was sensational. Haldeman discounted possible flak from J. Walter Thompson about another man coming to the Administration. However, Haldeman emphasized that he would not intervene with Schachte should Seibert's departure become a problem. Dailey said he could handle it.

As to people who served on the last Campaign, Dailey asked whether there was any problem concerning Ailes or Scott. Haldeman responded that Ailes was not that good as well as being a problem to deal with. Rather, Haldeman suggested that Dailey use Ailes to work for the RNC and local candidates, but not directly for Dailey. There were two reasons for this. The first concerns the fact that Ailes always wants to have high level political input in addition to making a great deal of money. He can best do this with local candidates. As to Scott, Haldeman thought he was solid and dependable. Both Haldeman and Dailey agreed that Ruth Jones probably should not be fit in because the nature of the Campaign has changed so drastically.

Dailey emphasized his theme as being one of a low level, low profile attempt to stay away from any big issues. Dailey said "we shouldn't shoot any cannons now because we don't know who the candidate will be". Haldeman agreed that the effort should be very low profile and work should be concentrated on direct mail, telephone and precinct organization. However, Haldeman emphasized that Dailey should explain to the locals the reason for this low key strategy. Dailey responded that he planned to use local agencies for placement, giving them a one to two percent share of the commissions for placement.

Dailey raised one specific problem in terms of his staffing. Dailey offered a man at a government agency more money than he was currently making because Dailey had not been informed of the rule. Dailey said he would cover this matter with Magruder and Haldeman nodded acquiescence.

In two weeks Dailey will have all of the advertising materials ready for review.

Dailey emphasized that it turned out to be much tougher to get the type of quality people he wanted than he had expected. However, he did say he had received an excellent financial control man from Bates. This man will prepare a daily accounting as Dailey believes that the Campaign advertising must be able to be shifted quickly to carefully chosen markets.

Haldeman said he had no quarrel with the Dailey outline. He thought the approach was exactly right and mentioned that it would probably be a good idea to not use people from the past Campaign because they have a tendency to push their own ideas, instead of following Dailey's guide. Mr. Haldeman also emphasized that in light of the power of the incumbency, we must make our case carefully. This will require a complex timing and location of media expenditures.

Haldeman asked how Magruder and the entire Campaign operation was doing. Dailey responded that he thought Magruder was doing an excellent job in a very hard spot. Dailey pointed out that he personally was receiving good input. Haldeman also noted that Dailey should not be too concerned about his staffing at this point because it is better to get the good people organized correctly.

Concerning the documentary, Dailey assumed responsibility for putting the project on hold because it was his opinion that our "ducks were not in order". There was no agreement on what we really wanted to do and had Wolper been given a free hand the expenditures and quality control could have gotten beyond our grasp. Haldeman agreed.

The meeting concluded after 20 minutes with personal references.

Dailey apparently informed Cliff Miller of the meeting just prior to coming over to meet with Bob. Dailey asked Miller to attend but Miller declined because of a prior commitment. Miller talked with Dailey about the substance of the meeting and was not concerned that he (Miller) had missed the meeting.

[44-115]

Dailey

LR -
you
should
put this
in the
Dailey
File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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 AAA attitude toward the house agency rebates to clients, but both agreed that after discussion with John Crichton that there would be no AAA 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.

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GS:elr

FU - Dec. 1 - Peter Dailey with cc of this memo.