PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS AND POLITICAL POWER IN TEXAS

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

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Denton, Texas
December, 1970

Mansfield, Michael W., Professional Public Relations and Political Power in Texas. Master of Arts (Political Science), December, 1970, 154 pp., 3 tables, bibliography, 170 titles.

The problem with which this investigation is concerned is the determination of the role played by public relations professionals in Texas politics. This exploration of modern campaign technology relies on a survey of related literature, published and unpublished, and on personal interviews conducted in 1968-69 with candidates for public office, party workers, public relations experts, campaign managers and consultants, and media specialists involved in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968.

This thesis, although not a summary of all the recorded evidence on the use of professional public relations in political campaigns, endeavors to organize a substantial number of studies and to present insights particularly pertinent to individual campaigns and campaigning techniques in Texas. Another equally important purpose is the attempt to describe and assess the impact of significant changes taking place in political campaigns in Texas and American elections. These changes portend, among other things, attempts to manipulate an electorate; the demise of political parties as decisive instruments of campaigning; the development of a high-risk, high-cost, high-reward profit industry; and an increasing demand for a "new politics."

The organization of the thesis moves from a general discussion of the use of public relations professionals in political campaigns to a specific case study of their use in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968. Chapter I contains a discussion of the public relations profession and its early use by individuals in the fields of business, government and politics. This is followed by a detailed account in Chapter II of the rise of the public relations man as a professional political manager and a report of the state of the profession, which focuses on the role, identity and clientele of the consultants. Chapter III marks the beginning of the case study of the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968. It includes a profile of the candidates and the public relations professionals they employed as well as discussion of the strategy, organization and expenditures of each of the campaigns of the major candidates. By examining the various media of campaign communication employed by the public relations specialists, Chapter IV describes the techniques of mass persuasion utilized in the primary of 1968. The final chapter attempts to estimate and explain the effects of professionally-mediated campaigns on Texas politics and speculates about the consequences of modern campaign technology for democratic elections in Texas.

The findings show that the public relations professionals are playing an ever increasing role in Texas politics and that their expertise and skills play a particularly important role

in political campaigning. The Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary campaign of 1968 illustrates the widespread use of professional campaign consultants by Texas politicians and indicates that their use has had recognizable consequences for the distribution of power and influence.

Several conclusions may be drawn from this study. First, in the primary of 1968 few public relations specialists drew from any tested body of knowledge or consciously analyzed their clients' problems in theoretical ways. Second, while lacking theoretical underpinnings the professional campaigners in Texas recognized the immediate attitudinal and perceptual consequences and the symbolic aspects of campaigns, enabling them to develop a sophisticated technology for tapping short and long-term responses. Third, the political public relations practitioners lack common guidelines or a set of standards which is accepted throughout the profession. Finally, the use of the professional in campaigning has resulted in the following consequences: rising campaign costs; the likelihood of deception in political campaigning; increased candidate dependence on the public relations professional and less on the party; and ethical dilemmas for the candidate and the professional.

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CHAPTER I

PUBLIC RELATIONS: AN OCCUPATION

Authors of works on political life are giving longer and more elaborate treatments to propaganda, the mass media of communications, and the strategies and techniques of campaigners and pressure groups. With techniques have come the technicians. The propaganda function in politics has, more and more, moved out of the hands of the lay politician and political boss into those of the propaganda specialist.

The public relations man, more successfully than others, has studied the complex modern communication system and the resources it offers for organizing and directing public opinion. Patrick J. Sullivan, public relations director for General Dynamics Corporation, defines his occupation as "the business of representing to the public in the best possible light the firms, corporations or associations which employ us."[1] Business was first to use the public relations man, but he is today a permanent staff employee of many state party organizations and of national party committees.

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[1]Patrick J. Sullivan, "Madison Avenue Mafia?" America, CII (March, 1960), 704.

His skills, services and advice are increasingly sought by candidates for public office. In some places the public relations firms devoted to selling candidates and issues have become a standard feature of political life.

The public relations man has inserted himself between politician and electorate by seeking to guide the action of the politician toward the people and the people toward the politician. Through recent developments and activities, the public relations man has become a significant influence in the processes crucial to democratic government, a system that owes its life to some kind of support in public opinion.

Political campaigns are perhaps the principal institution in which the public relations man plays his most striking role. This thesis is chiefly concerned with the public relations man as a professional campaigner engaged in an interaction between politician and electorate. In campaigning, public discussion is related to the selection of government officials and to the settlement of controversial issues of public policy. However, it does not always influence the determination of these matters. Any assessment of the quality of such discussion, and of the degree to which it is achieving the purposes which our political system demands that it achieve, today calls for a consideration of the role of the public relations man in our political life.

The public relations man comes to campaigns and public discussion as a member of a skill group. He is employed by those who desire to profit from his specialized knowledge of, and experience with, the methods and instruments of mass communication. A study of political public relations men is comparable to studies of political bosses and lobbyists who are also forces of political action and political skills. With them, it rests on the assumption that skill, like wealth or position or prestige, is a basis for power in society and that changes in political skills will have recognizable consequences and results for the distribution of power and influence.[2]

To assume that skill is politically important does not imply that it is the only factor that counts. Politics has been aptly described as the "game of politics," because it is a mixture of skill and chance. Many times one is successful in politics partly because of the rationality of the various participants and partly because of factors over which the participants can have no control. The public relations man is a specialist in communication to broad publics, but campaigning calls for this talent and several more.

If the public relations man contributes only a part of that skill required in campaigning, there is considerable

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[2]Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven, 1950), p. 158.

evidence that it is an increasingly important part. In order to study the role of the public relations man in campaigning and what it means to American politics, this thesis examines specific cases. It begins with a brief summary of the trends and events that have shaped current practices in public relations and political propaganda on the national level. This summary is followed by the main body of the thesis, which describes and analyzes the actions of particular public relations men at work in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary campaign of 1968. Since Stanley Kelley, Jr., in his book Professional Public Relations and Political Power[3] discusses case studies through the 1952 campaign for the presidency, this study places more emphasis on the role of the public relations man in campaigning during the years following 1952, and deals more specifically with the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968.

This thesis will attempt to prove the following:

HYPOTHESIS

> Professional public relations firms are playing an ever increasing role in Texas politics. The public relations man's expertise and his skills constitute an important part of Texas politics, particularly in the area of political campaigning.

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[3]Stanley Kelley, Jr., Professional Public Relations and Political Power (Baltimore, 1956).

His position and influence are not generally understood by the public. His importance is known, however, within the campaigning circles by candidates and state party organizations.

The Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968 in Texas illustrate the widespread use, by Texas politicians, of the professional campaign firms' resources for organizing and directing public opinion. Like other modes of political action, political public relations has had recognizable consequences and results for the distribution of power and influence.

Evidence of these consequences and results are seen in the examination of specific cases in the Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968 in Texas. They attempt to give an accurate picture of the professional political public relations man as a political actor and to show the nature of his skills, the conditions within which he works, his relationship to other political actors and agencies, the techniques he uses and the calculations which guide his use of them.

Public Relations Defined

The change of attitudes of political rulers from "the public be damned" to "the public be wooed" has been slow, painful, and marked by frequent setbacks. It could be argued that the American businessman was no slower than the politician in hearkening to the voice of the people. The development of the media of mass communication, the growth of formal education, the shorter work week, the increase in leisure living, the improved living standards, the principle of free association, the acceptance of collective bargaining and the rapid growth of population have transformed the citizen, the consumer, and the employee into potent forces in the modern world.

Attempts to define public relations in terms of ends and means is difficult. An author of a textbook on public relations reports that "one student of public opinion has collected more than fifty definitions from fifty experts in the field."[4] In trade literature "public relations" becomes "PR." The reported father of public relations, Edward L. Bernays, describes his brainchild as "the engineering of the consent,"[5] while Robert Heilbroner calls it the "Invisible Sell."[6] The public relationist is variously referred to as an "image merchant,"[7] a "middleman,"[8] and "a combination trouble-shooter, adviser, and good-will ambassador."[9] All of these labels suggest that the public relations man is both a public opinion analyst and a propagandist. In the former capacity he interprets the moods, desires and probable reactions of the various publics important to his client. His client or employer may be a corporation, a trade association, a candidate for public

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[4]Charles S. Steinberg, The Mass Communicators (New York, 1958), p. 198.

[5]Edward L. Bernays, Propaganda (New York, 1928), p. 92.

[6]Robert Heilbroner, Great Assent: Struggle for Economic Development in Our Time (New York, 1963), p. 24.

[7]Irwin Ross, The Image Merchants (New York, 1959).

[8]"A Special Report on Public Relations Today," Business Week, (July, 1960), p. 42.

[9]Steinberg, The Mass Communicators, p. 201.

office, a government agency, an entertainer seeking to achieve stardom, a foreign country courting the United States government or American investors, a segment of society interested in reform legislation -- any person or group, in fact, with something to sell: a product, a point of view, a talent, an ideology. The publics are also numerous: customers, stockholders, voters, employees, fans, prospective converts, legislators, bureaucrats, citizens. As propagandist, the public relations expert reverses the flow of information, and utilizing his knowledge of communications media and techniques, he interprets the client in the most favorable terms to his public.

Though the campaign histories discussed here are recent examples of political activity of the public relations man, the trends expressed in them reach back several years.

Business and Government Pioneer in Public Relations

The businessman was first to feel a need for the skill of the public relations man. As previously stated, the businessman's attitude toward the press and the public was, until about 1900, one of aloofness. When Ida Tarbell was writing her History of the Standard Oil Company, in 1902, she 's told by Mark Twain that H. H. Rogers of Standard would it her an interview. When asked why she had not come to t. ompany at the beginning, she told Rogers that she had

thought it useless to try. His answer: "We've changed our policy. We are giving out information."[10] A contemporary writer observed that it had become a "fashion" for large corporations to hire publicity men.[11] Over the years the use of public relations by the business world has been away from essentially defensive and occasional propaganda campaigns, directed by outside counsel, toward continuous programs carried on by departments of public relations within companies which formed their own agencies to deal with public relations.

While business public relations were at times commercial, another evident motive was clearly political. The practices of railroads, the Standard Oil Company as a symbol of monopoly, and the public suspicion directed at Du Pont's production of munitions after the outbreak of the First World War in Europe, caused business to turn to public relations. These early needs led to continued efforts by business to "sell" the public on a social system which sustained the large corporations, to build a favorable public opinion to legislation fostered by business enterprise, and occasionally to intervene directly in political campaigns.[12]

The political needs of business were not the only ones contributing to the rise of public relations. Government

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[10]Ida M. Tarbell, All in the Day's Work (New York, 1939), p. 214.

[11]Editorial, "The 'Publicity Men' of the Corporations," World's Work, (June, 1906).

[12]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, pp. 10-11.

also began to expand its propaganda activities. Publicity men were used by the federal government when a strong public reaction occurred after Congress advertised an announcement by the United States Civil Service Commission in 1913 for a "Publicity Expert" whose ". . . affiliations with newspaper publishers and writers is extensive enough to secure the publication of items prepared by him."[13] In spite of the protests, public relations aides were brought into government for that purpose and were disguised as statisticians, editors and information officers.[14]

George Creel, a newspaperman with a reputation for muckraking, was appointed to head a Committee on Public Information by President Wilson on April 14, 1917. By direction of the committee the government dispensed propaganda both outward, toward foreign nations, and inward, toward the American people. Creel's committee provided a striking example of a large-scale propaganda effort.

The New Deal accelerated the tempo and development of government public relations. The Roosevelt Administration set up new publicity divisions and enlarged old ones, hired more newspaper men than were working for the newspapers,

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[13] Preliminary Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Executive Agencies of the Government, United States Senate, 75th. Congress, 1st Session, pp. 531-532.

[14] T. Swann Harding, "Genesis of One Government Propaganda Mill," Public Opinion Quarterly, II (1947-1948), 227-235.

employed commercial advertising agencies to promote its programs and established procedures for dissemination of official news.[15] Speaking about the propaganda campaign for the National Recovery Act, its administrator, General Hugh Johnson, said: "Do you suppose for one moment any one in Washington believes that the Blue Eagle could have been popularized in a few weeks without advertising?"[16] With NRA, propaganda became not just a tool for promotion but a way of governing. Carl B. Swisher has pointed out that litigation to enforce the act was avoided so as not to destroy the atmosphere in which coercion by propaganda was possible.[17]

Since that time, government publicity men have increased at a phenomenal rate. This growth has led many students of public administration to regard public relations as a necessary and desirable tool of positive government.[18]

Just as public relations cannot be treated as a phenomenon of business, neither can it be considered a creation co-sponsored by business and government. If the public relations man plays a role in business and government, he has

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[15]Elisha Hanson, "Official Propaganda and the New Deal." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLXXIX (May, 1935), 178.

[16]Ibid., p. 179.

[17]Carl B. Swisher, American Constitutional Development (Boston, 1943), pp. 898-900.

[18]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, p. 15.

also found a market for his talents with almost every contemporary institution of importance: schools and colleges, state and local government, professional groups, social service organizations and charitable institutions.

That the term "public relations" is a very appropriate description of the activities of public relations men is demonstrated by their smooth movement from one type of institution to another. Charles Michelson, a publicity man, went from the Democratic National Committee to the National Recovery Administration and back to the National Committee. Jon Jonkel, a Chicago public relations counsel, moved from his successful job as manager of then unknown Senator John M. Butler's campaign against four-term Senator Millard E. Tydings to a position as counsel for the Committee for Public Understanding of Epilepsy. Manly Munford, director of the Borden Company's Chicago public relations office, became public relations advisor to the National Volunteers for Stevenson. Robert Mullen went from Economic Cooperation Administration to Citizens for Eisenhower. Herbert M. Baus, who today heads his own public relations firm in Los Angeles, was earlier Public Relations Officer for the Air Technical Service Command of the Army Air Force.[19] These examples show the broad base upon which the professional propagandist in contemporary society has developed. It is important,

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[19]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, p. 16.

therefore, to view the public relations man in a position surrounded by increased demand for propaganda services and a general increase in the volume of propaganda.

Public relations continued to grow in history beyond the examples stated above. It soon became evident that the public relations program not only did something to the public at whom it was directed, but also to the organization which sponsored it.

Companies began to encourage their employees to join professional, fraternal, business women's, scientific, and athletic organizations and associations. Money was deposited in banks in areas where the company had interests. Huge quantities of printed matter were distributed and speakers were trained to appear before all types of clubs. The press was furnished with news releases, canned editorials, and well-placed advertising. Some newspapers and magazines were subsidized. School children were taken on plant tours and college students given summer employment. Professors were paid to write studies of publicly owned utility plants.[20]

The above discussion was aimed at showing something of the history of the public relations man in general. Of special pertinence to the purpose of this thesis is the history of the public relations man in party politics.

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[20] Ibid., p. 22.

The Public Relations Man in Politics

The political publicity man received only sparse mention in early works on American politics. In 1910 Senator Hiram Johnson of California listed money, organization, and "a publicity bureau in charge of a skilled and competent newspaper man" as three things "imperatively and immediately necessary with us."[21] By 1928, Frank Kent found the press agent to be a necessary, although obnoxious, factor in the successful politician's entourage.[22]

In the early political campaigns the closest thing to a political public relations man was the party newspaper editor. There were few tactics that are comparable to the maneuvers of the modern propagandist. One pioneering public relations expert, Herbert M. Baus, described over seventy-five types of modern publicity outlets, each requiring a special technique or techniques. He also discussed the campaign "blueprint," which the public relations man prepares and which symbolizes the factors with which he must deal.[23]

The development in party propaganda moved gradually from the political press agent to the public relations man. The

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[21] Ibid., p. 28.

[22] Frank Kent, Political Behavior (New York, 1928), pp. 261-265.

[23] Herbert M. Baus, Publicity: How to Plan, Produce and Place It (New York, 1942).

first political party to establish a full time, permanent publicity bureau was the Democratic Party after its defeat in the elections of 1928. Al Smith recommended developing "the educational function of the minority party . . ."[24]

Politicians and students of politics soon expressed a fear that the publicity resources available to government would cause an irreparable imbalance between the party in power and the opposition party. "The only way to meet the problem," E. Pendleton Herring wrote, "is to grasp the weapons of the propagandist and to organize systematic counter-publicity."[25] Charles Michelson was hired to head the Democrats' publicity bureau and was quite successful in his attempts to make news that would hurt the Hoover Administration. Because of the Democrats' success, the Republicans soon found it necessary to resort to a similar institution. In the presidential campaign of Alfred M. Landon, in 1936, the office of "Public Relations Director" was introduced for the first time into national party organization.

Professional political propagandists were active in a campaign to defeat Socialist Upton Sinclair's bid for the governorship of California in 1934. The national advertising

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[24]Theodore Milton Black, Democratic Party Publicity in the 1940 Campaign (New York, 1941), p. 24.

[25]E. Pendleton Herring, "Official Publicity Under the New Deal," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLXXIX (May, 1935), 175.

firm of Lord and Thomas and many other professional publicists were retained to produce anti-Sinclair propaganda. The movie industry, which had threatened to leave the state if Sinclair were elected, specially produced anti-Sinclair newsreels that were shown in all California theaters. Sinclair was defeated and bitterly attacked the professions of journalism, advertising and publicity as being responsible for his unsuccessful race.[26]

The preconvention campaign of Wendell L. Willkie in 1940 also impressively illustrates the use of public relations in politics. Willkie, an obscure figure before the convention, brought with him a whole group of enthusiastic professional public relations and advertising men. No less than eight of the most prominent names in the profession were on his staff. Willkie was nominated on the sixth ballot and proved the Dewey-Taft-Joe Pew "professionals" to be the real bunglers, the real amateurs.[27]

Even though current facts are not available to judge with complete accuracy the full extent to which public relations men play a role in contemporary politics and political campaigns, it seems clear that it is a widespread phenomenon and that an irreversible trend has developed. At the national level both parties have had publicity

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[26]Upton Sinclair, I, Candidate for Governor and How I Got Licked (New York, 1934), pp. 140-141.

[27]John Chamberlain, "Candidates and Speeches," Yale Review, XXX (September, 1940), p. 48.

specialists since Charles Michelson in 1929. Today, public relations divisions of the Republican National Committee and the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee are, for all practical purposes, commercial public relations agencies performing political functions. While they offer public relations services, they also encourage each party candidate to retain his own counselor, and many administrative assistants to congressmen are in reality public relations men.[28] The Democratic National Committee also recommends that Democratic candidates hire professional advertising and publicity experts.

There appears to be little doubt that parties and candidates are increasingly looking for the advice and help of the public relations specialist, if one accepts the testimony of party leaders and officials, candidates and the public relations men themselves. It is also a fact that public relations men are currently performing tasks for politicians at all levels of government. They appear, however, to be most prominent as an actor in state-wide and national, rather than local, politics.

In summary, the following observations can be made in light of the material previously discussed concerning the public relations man and the political process. He helps

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[28]Republican Congressional Committee's Public Relations Division, One Hundred Years-A History of the National Republican Congressional Committee, (Washington, 1966), p. 3.

clients adopt policies designed to earn public confidence and insure against government intervention. He conducts propaganda campaigns to make more difficult, or easier, the job of making and passing laws. He attempts to build men into public figures and elect them to offices in the government. He attempts to give political parties a favorable publicity position. He manages campaigns for pressure groups and those who seek to make initiative and referendum measures into codes of public law. He is today an integral part of the political process and it would seem that such will continue to be the case in the future.

CHAPTER II

PROFESSIONAL POLITICAL MANAGERS: FROM CALIFORNIA TO NEW YORK

Now that the existence of a restricted skill group which increasingly monopolizes political discussion has been established, it is necessary to determine what it means to our system of government. Here an examination of contemporary episodes in political public relations is valuable.

Whitaker and Baxter Campaigns, Incorporated

Contemporary political public relations activities can not be successfully explored without first looking at the accomplishments of the firm of Whitaker and Baxter. It was in 1930 that this first embryonic political public relations firm was established in Sacramento, California. By this time radio had reached its full stature as a mass medium.

Several other factors peculiar to California resulted in the development of political public relations firms in that state. Initiative and referendum were extensively used by the parties out of power to combat the corruption that occurred in the legislature in the twenties and thereafter. The large land area and population of the state

made it difficult for candidates to cover the state adequately. Finally, the need for political public relations experts in California was emphasized by the rise of political interest in the thirties among the mass of people. This made interest groups aware of the public's power and the necessity to use public sentiment to their advantage.[1]

It was at this time and in this situation in 1930 that Clem Whitaker appeared on the scene. The son of a Baptist preacher, Whitaker acquired his early experience as a correspondent for the San Francisco Examiner and later owned a state-wide political news service. After suffering a difficult seige in the hospital, he decided that public relations would be an easier way to make a living.[2]

Beginning in 1930, Whitaker managed some small campaigns before he met Leone Baxter in 1933, who at that time was the manager of the Chamber of Commerce of Redding, California. The two were brought together by a referendum on the Central Valley Project Act, which provided for the development of Central Valley water resources. The proposal was favored by

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[1]Robert J. Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California," Western Political Quarterly, XI (June, 1958), 279.

[2]Ross, Irwin, "The Supersalesmen of California Politics: Whitaker and Baxter," Voice of the People: Readings in Public Opinion and Propaganda, edited by Reo M. Christenson and Robert O. McWilliams, (New York, 1962), p. 444.

most politicians but opposed by the private utility companies under the leadership of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.[3]

Whitaker and Baxter formed Campaigns Incorporated and with a budget of only $39,000,[4] a sum that they would later regard as laughable, they faced the well-heeled utility giant. They skillfully directed their propaganda into the small towns and made the first extensive use of radio in a state campaign. They triumphed by a 33,603 vote margin. Pacific Gas and Electric officials were so impressed that they put Whitaker and Baxter on an annual retainer.[5]

Over the years of operation, Whitaker and Baxter have shown considerable disdain for the boss and the lobbyist, because their method is different. Whitaker feels that the starting point of their political thinking is summed up in a statement made by Abraham Lincoln. He is fond of the statement and quotes it often:

> Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes or decisions possible or impossible to execute.[6]

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[3]Stanley, Kelley, Jr., Professional Public Relations and Political Power (Baltimore, 1956), pp. 41-42.

[4]V. O. Key, Jr., and Winston W. Crouch, The Initiative and Referendum in California (Berkley, 1939), p. 514.

[5]Christenson, Voice of the People, p. 444.

[6]Clem Whitaker, "The Public Relations of Election Campaigns," The Public Relations Journal, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 7.

Whitaker and Baxter are systematic in their approaches to political public relations. Their first move after accepting a campaign is to blueprint it. Issues are developed, the time sequence of action is plotted, and the media are selected. The plan of the campaign is written for and directed toward the opposition. This is done by assessing as accurately as they can the strong and weak points of the opposing candidate.

They prepare a minimum and maximum budget, then they ask for full control of disbursements. The client is responsible for seeing that the money is available while Whitaker and Baxter are responsible for staying within the budget. This control over the budget is something on which most political public relations men have not been able to insist.[7]

Their efforts always to be on the attack shows their knowledge of the role that calculation plays in establishing the issues on which a campaign turns. "You can't" says Whitaker, "wage a defensive campaign and win!"[8]

In 1938 Whitaker and Baxter were married, but by that time they were already a formidable team. In 1934 they successfully managed the campaign of George Hatfield as Lieutenant Governor and had a large role in the defeat of Socialist Upton Sinclair, who was running on the Democratic

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[7]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, pp. 46-47.

[8]Clem Whitaker, Address before the Los Angeles Area Chapter of the Public Relations Society of America, July 13, 1948.

ticket with a program to End Poverty in California (EPIC). Sinclair was an old friend of the Whitaker family and it was a campaign they hated to handle. "It's always difficult to fight a campaign against a man you like personally."[9] Some of the Whitakers stopped talking to Clem Whitaker, but he took the job because he and his wife regarded Sinclair's program as a great menace.

The tactic they chose was one of diversion, shifting attention from Sinclair's program to his personal faults. "Upton was beaten," Whitaker said, "because he had written books." The firm hired a cartoonist to draw thirty cartoons on "the blot of Sinclairism," in which one of Sinclair's quotations would be embedded in a cartoon and directed against some typical American scene.[10]

The cartoons included a bride and groom coming out of a church and being assailed by a Sinclair comment that in a capitalist society the institution of marriage has the qualities of "marriage plus prostitution." A picture of a madonna and child was confronted with the Sinclair statement that "of a score of religions in the world . . . each is a mighty fortress of graft." The charge of being a Communist was

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[9]Irwin Ross, "The Supersalesmen of California Politics: Whitaker and Baxter," Harper's Magazine, (July, 1959), p. 56.

[10]Ibid.

frequently hurled at him; however, in that regard he was blameless.[11] Later in their life and career the Whitakers reflected on the Sinclair campaign and said. "We wouldn't operate like that now."[12]

Whitaker and Baxter have always believed in being aggressive. Whitaker once told a public relations audience that

> "The average American doesn't want to be educated. He doesn't want to improve his mind; he doesn't even want to work, consciously, at being a good citizen. But there are two ways you can interest him in a campaign, and only two that we have ever found successful.
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> "Most every American loves a contest. He likes a good hot battle with no punches pulled . . . So you can interest him if you put on a fight! . . . Then, too, most every American likes to be entertained. He likes the movies; he likes mysteries; he likes fireworks and parades . . . So if you can't fight, PUT ON A SHOW!"[13]

Whitaker and Baxter also believe that campaigns are dominated by themes and themes are highlighted by "gimmicks." Themes should be simple and clear and must highlight the major issue of the campaign. An example of one of their themes is that used in the campaign in 1958 to defeat proposition 17, a bill to impose new taxes on real estate, food, and gasoline. They campaigned against it as a bill that would wreck the state's entire financial structure. They called

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[11] Ibid., p. 57.

[12] Ibid., p. 71.

[13] Kelley, Professional Public Relations, p. 50.

it the Monkey Wrench Bill. Another attention getter was the song "I've Been Loafing on the Railroad," when they were campaigning against the full-crew law on trains. It was sung at meetings, on innumerable radio spots, and served as caption for a widely distributed cartoon of a railway employee lying in a bed atop a freight car.[14] They also won this anti-featherbedding drive.

Other campaign accomplishments of Whitaker and Baxter have included persuading California's voters to raise teachers' salaries; electing one Mayor of San Francisco, and keeping another from being recalled; running three successful campaigns for Goodwin Knight, and one for Earl Warren. They also directed a successful campaign in 1948 for the American Medical Association in its battle against the Truman Administration's plan for compulsory health insurance. Interestingly enough, most of their political campaigns have involved Republicans; they were retained by only one Democrat, George Reilly, who was defeated for Mayor of San Francisco.[15]

In 1958 they ran a campaign for Governor Knight for the United States Senate. They dropped Knight after the primary, however, when he insisted on attacking Senator William Knowland, the incumbent whom he opposed, and refused to follow the firm's advice to turn his full fire on the Democrats.

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[14]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, p. 51.

[15]Ibid., pp. 67-106

Not often do political public relations specialists fire a governor. The November results proved their point: Knight was overwhelmingly defeated.

Whitaker and Baxter are highly selective in choosing clients and credit much of their success to the fact they do not accept every campaign offer. They are not interested in candidates who do not have a chance to win nor in candidates who appear already to have won before the campaign begins. They like a good fight.[16]

Today, Whitaker and Baxter's strength as a professional public relations firm lies in the expertise in the use of mass media. They have unusual skill in this area, being much more adept than their competitors. The literature and mass media they use in a gubernatorial campaign include a speaker's manual, a general appeal pamphlet, enclosure leaflets, postal card mailings, "dear friend" cards (with personal message from the candidate to the voter), campaign buttons, bumper and windshield stickers, small posters, billboards, radio and television spots, form resolutions, newspaper advertising and releases, one column mats of the candidate and recordings for use before groups.[17]

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[16]Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management," pp. 288-293.

[17]Ibid., p. 291.

Publicity and public relations is the largest item in the campaign budget.[18] The advent of television has added tremendously to the expense of the campaign[19] while at the same time revolutionizing campaigning and campaign techniques. Whitaker has claimed that it almost priced them out of business. At the same time it has almost made mandatory the need for the public relations man who can produce, in a neat package, a program that takes full advantage of the overwhelming cost of this media. Meticulous production is the only way to make television pay off, according to Whitaker. Governor Knight, in his campaign in 1954, stayed before the cameras an entire day to provide Whitaker and Baxter with four sixty-second spot announcements. Such incidents point up the fact that television has greatly affected political life in the United States.[20] This thesis, however, will not deal with its impact in detail, other than to identify it with the need for political public relations in the television media.

Clem Whitaker died recently but his wife Leone, his son Clem Whitaker, Jr., and Robert M. Smalley continue to operate in a special area of the profession which he helped create.

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[18] V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (New York, 1946), p. 452.

[19] Alexander Heard, The Costs of Democracy (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 388-393.

[20] Bernard Rubin, Political Television (Belmont, 1967), pp. 1-3.

The firm still handles mostly Republican political candidates. Recent political clients of Whitaker and Baxter include Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, who unsuccessfully sought a House seat in a California special election in 1967, and Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, who was elected in 1966.[21]

Because Whitaker and Baxter exemplify the basic principles used in professional political public relations, the remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to a general discussion of the scope and wide use of public relations in political campaigning. Specific candidates, issues and campaigns will be identified with their professional political managers.

The Role of Consultants

Daniel J. Boorstin in his book The Image or What Happened to the American Dream attributes the widespread employment of the public relationist's skill in political campaigning to the pseudo event. The pseudo, counterfeit and manufactured event, he contends, has all but replaced the spontaneous event, and our experience, therefore, has created the need for the image maker. Much in American life, in other words, is phony, illusionary and contrived.

Boorstin claims that Americans are dominated by unreality and the desire for illusions. The demand for such illusions

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[21]"Campaign Management Grows Into National Industry," Congressional Quarterly, XXVI (April, 1968), 711.

is supplied by advertising agencies, public relations men, ghost writers, movie makers, journalists, radio and television commentators, makeup men, speech writers, and campaign managers. They produce the illusion and their clients may be politicians, movie stars or business institutions, but these illusions could not be sold unless the public wanted and expected them.[22] This would be Boorstin's explanation of why the public relations man is sought by the candidate as a molder of a public image.[23]

Matt Reese, former Democratic National Committee official who presently heads a campaign consulting firm which caters to Democratic candidates, described the task of his profession as "making the best use of four limited factors: time, talent, money and organization."[24] Reese explained that the successful consultant recognized the limitations on the time available for campaigning, the talent available, the money which can be expected to be raised, and the degree of organization which can be attained. Having accurately defined what is likely and what is possible, the consultant will try to produce the maximum number of votes using the optimum amount of time, talent, money and organization.[25]

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[22]Daniel J. Boorstin, The Image or What Happened to the American Dream (New York, 1962), p. 11-58.

[23]Murray B. Levin, Kennedy Campaigning: The System and the Style as Practiced by Senator Edward Kennedy (Boston, 1966), p. 300.

[24]"Campaign Management Grows," p. 707.

[25]Ibid.

Reese and most of his consultant colleagues use public opinion polls and data processing techniques to identify their candidate's strengths and weaknesses. They claim that these new campaign management techniques help the expert public relations men make accurate decisions based on rational information. This leads to successful campaigns, the key to which is rational planning, budgeting and the gathering of usable information about the mood of the electorate.

Depending on the candidate's needs and his ability to raise the necessary fees, the professionals can provide all or part of a variety of services. Herbert Baus and William Ross, of the California-based firm of Baus and Ross, call them the "ten functions of campaign management."[26] Another writer has listed these professional services:

> Advertising campaigns for radio, television and newspapers, including layout, timing and actual placing of advertisements.
>
> Public relations and press services, including the organization of public meetings, preparation and distribution of press releases and statements and detailed travel arrangements for the candidate.
>
> Research and presentation of issues, including preparation of position papers, speech writing and arranging for consultations between candidates and outside experts in appropriate areas of public policy.
>
> Fund-raising solicitations, both by mail and through testimonial dinners and other public events.
>
> Public opinion sampling to test voter awareness of the candidate, voter response to the campaign and voter attitudes on major issues.
>
> Technical assistance on radio and television production, including the hiring of cameramen and recording studios for political films and broadcasts.

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[26]Herbert M. Baus and William B. Ross, Politics Battle Plan (New York, 1968), p. 263.

> Campaign budgeting assistance designed to put campaign funds to the best possible use.
>
> Use of data processing techniques to plan campaign strategy based on computer evaluations of thousands of bits of information.
>
> Mobilization of support through traditional precinct-level organization, door-to-door campaigns and telephone solicitations of votes.
>
> Psychological support or a shoulder for the candidate to cry on when things do not look so good.[27]

While no one organization has the resources or talent to offer all these services to the candidate at once, the tendency is to offer prospective clients a "package deal."

The Consultants' Clients

The professional campaign manager sees the ideal candidate as an attractive young Democrat or Republican with no political record of possible liabilities. This type of candidate, if he has a reasonable amount of money at his disposal, can be placed in an office of minor statewide importance. Most of these clients are nonincumbents.

Another client, however, may be an incumbent Senator whose voting record is not in harmony with his constituency. This type of campaign calls for a different set of techniques to ensure the maximum effort to re-elect the candidate.

There is no apparent uniform policy regarding the type of candidate or political affiliations of clients that professional firms will represent. Matt Reese, for example, refuses to work for anyone except "Democrats of whom I

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[27] "Campaign Management Grows," p. 708.

approve."[28] On the other hand, Spencer-Roberts Associates, a prominent California firm, handles only Republican candidates, as do Campaign Consultants Inc. based in Boston, and F. Clifton White Associates of New York.[29] White also refuses to work for more than one candidate at a time. Others conduct several campaigns at the same time, especially during the months leading up to a general election year.

Some professionals work on both sides of the political fence. An example of this is the firm of Baus and Ross. In 1964, they engineered the California Presidential primary victory of Barry Goldwater. In 1966 they were hired by incumbent Democratic Governor Edmund G. Brown, whose bid for a third term as chief executive of California proved unsuccessful.

The statistics surrounding the use of professional firms and campaign managers are far from being precise or readily available; however, most observers believe that the Republicans, more often than the Democrats, employ the use of the professional.[30] One possible explanation for this observation is the fact that Democratic candidates profit from the activities of organized groups such as the AFL-CIO'S Committee on Political Education (COPE). COPE's regional

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[28] Ibid., p. 709.

[29] James M. Perry, The New Politics (New York, 1968), pp. 16-33, 217.

[30] "Campaign Management Grows," p. 709.

directors often assist Democratic candidates in planning strategy and provide polls and other campaign aids which Republicans often must purchase from professional firms and managers. It is also believed that the Republicans generally are in a better position to afford expensive consulting services than the Democratic candidates.[31]

Candidates who use professional help generally view the professionals with favor. Successful candidates seem to be satisfied customers and many attribute professional advice at critical points in the campaign as the factor which made the campaign a success. Sometimes the candidate and the consulting firm do not agree on strategy and the working relationship is dissolved. Out of such situations have come candidates who have been elected without the benefit of outside assistance.

A lack of standards and common practices in the political management field has resulted in the candidates not really knowing how effective the professional managers are. Most firms give prominent advertisement to their successful campaigns and tend to minimize their defeats. This type of evaluation is perhaps most effective when left to a skillful analysis of the candidate's particular campaign and the circumstances surrounding his political venture.

Who the Consultants Are

Campaign management has expanded from a small scale business, begun in California, to a nationwide industry.

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[31] Ibid.

In 1967, when only a small number of elections were being held, consulting firms and professional managers were conducting a variety of contests, ranging from legislative races in New Jersey, to mayoralty races in Cleveland and in Jacksonville, Florida, to the gubernatorial contest in Kentucky, to a special election for a seat in the United States House of Representatives in California. In the election of 1968 hundreds of Republicans and Democrats relied on campaign professionals for strategy and advice, as well as for specialized services.

The organizations and people involved in campaign management are as varied as the services they sell. There are large firms that handle several dozen campaigns simultaneously, and there are one-man operations. In the middle of these two extremes are the medium-size firms and partnerships which serve political clients in elections. The personnel for these professional consultants come from many backgrounds and occupations. Among those active in 1968 were former public relations men, journalists, lobbyists, advertising specialists, radio and television men, data processing technicians, public opinion pollsters, lawyers, college teachers and ministers.

No list currently is available of the nation's campaign consultants, nor has a professional association been formed to bring together the individuals and firms which are active in political campaigns. There are, however, important

managers and management firms known to be active in elections. The list below is a region-by-region breakdown of major firms and individuals known to be engaged in professional campaign management or consulting. The listing is not exhaustive, and because of the vast differences in the scope and size of these operations, there is no attempt made to judge the relative merits of the firms' various approaches to campaigning. The major purpose of the listing is to point out the wide range of political assistance which is available.

West

In California, the campaign professional and his business got started and there the largest national firms are still located. The Whitaker and Baxter firm has already been identified as the forerunner of the management business. Its activities were covered in detail in the first part of this chapter; of additional interest, however, is the fact that Robert M. Smalley, a partner in the San Francisco firm of Whitaker and Baxter, was on leave during the Presidential campaign of 1968 and served as the assistant press secretary for Governor Spiro T. Agnew, the Republican candidate for Vice President.[32]

Another major California firm is Spencer-Roberts and Associates of Los Angeles. Founded in 1960, the firm was reported to be involved in as many as thirty or more campaigns

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[32]"Massive Staff Runs Nixon-Agnew Presidential Campaign," Congressional Quarterly, XXVI (October, 1968), 2872.

in 1968.[33] The firm's most celebrated campaign is the one conducted for California Governor Ronald Reagan, which saw Reagan defeat incumbent Governor Edmund G. Brown. If the client has adequate financing, Spencer-Roberts will direct the campaign of any "reasonable, responsible Republican." Among the campaigns conducted by the firm have been those of Governor Nelson Rockefeller (1964 California Presidential primary); Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (California) in 1962 and 1968; former Representative John H. Rousselot (California), who became a John Birch Society field representative after his defeat in 1962; and Senator Clifford P. Hansen (Wyoming). As a subsidiary of the firm, Spencer-Roberts has set up Datamatics Incorporated to handle the computerized aspects of campaign management.[34]

Another important California management firm is Baus and Ross, based in Los Angeles and under the direction of Herbert M. Baus and William B. Ross. Founded in 1946, the firm has handled Republicans and Democrats alike. Among former clients are Richard M. Nixon (1960 Presidential primary and general election), Barry Goldwater (1964 California primary) and former Governor Edmund G. Brown in his unsuccessful 1966 bid for a third four-year term. In 1964 Baus and Ross created considerable publicity by resigning from the

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[33]Perry, The New Politics, pp. 16-32

[34]Ibid.

Goldwater campaign after directing Goldwater's successful victory in the California Presidential primary. Baus and Ross explained that "the money was good in the primary, but it could have been better in the final had we been willing to give obeisance to gung-ho Goldwaterism gone rampant."[35]

Publicist Hal Evry, of Los Angeles, operates a firm known as the Public Relations Center. He boasts that he will "elect you to office if you have $60,000, an I. Q. of at least 120, and can keep your mouth shut." Following the hypothesis that the average voter is apathetic about serious political issues, Evry relies entirely on attention-getting promotional techniques. Although Evry's approach is ridiculed by most professional managers, he has enjoyed some degree of success. He has helped elect clients to statewide offices, such as Frank Jordan, the Republican secretary of state in California, and Ivy Baker Priest, one time Treasurer of the United States, in her campaign for state treasurer for California.[36]

San Diego public relations expert Robert C. Walker worked for Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, but left that campaign three weeks before the preliminary election because he reportedly disagreed with Mrs. Black's husband on campaign

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[35]Baus and Ross, Politics Battle Plan, pp. 267-268.

[36]"The Perfect Candidate," Life, (June, 1966), pp. 41-44.

strategy. Walker was later hired by the Harris County (Houston), Texas, GOP organization to plan and recommend structural improvements in the party machinery. In 1967 he spent some time working for the Nixon for President organization, but apparently switched allegiance and accepted a position with the California Republican National Convention delegation which was pledged to favorite son Ronald Reagan.[37]

Midwest

The most active professional firm in the Midwest is Civic Service Incorporated of St. Louis. Its president is Roy Pfautch, who in 1968 was active in about a dozen state legislative races in Missouri, Indiana, and some Southern states. Although Civic Service apparently is the largest firm in the Midwest, at least two other major firms have opened branch offices to serve clients of that geographic area. Robert A. Smalley, a partner of the Whitaker and Baxter firm, opened a Chicago branch office in 1968 to handle Midwestern clients, including Robert A. Dwyer, an Illinois businessman who sought GOP endorsement for Lieutenant Governor of Illinois. Matthew A. Reese and Associates, of Washington, D. C., also established a Midwest branch in Kansas City.

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[37]"Campaign Management Grows," p. 711.

Another Chicago firm, Fred A. Niles Communications Centers Incorporated, offers professional campaign services through its political division headed by Mrs. Patricia Hutar. The firm specializes in utilizing mass communications to help candidates win election. A competitor for the political dollar is the Chicago Public Relations Associates Incorporated, headed by Thomas J. Drennan. In 1968 the firm handled the gubernatorial campaign of Richard B. Ogilvie.[38]

A Midwestern firm that for years has served many candidates as a political polling service is Market Opinion Research (MOR) of Detroit. The firm is headed by Frederick Currier, a technician who has a special interest in political opinion polls. Although not a management firm, MOR is moving toward greater involvement in political campaigns.[39]

South

In Texas, Paul W. Eggers, Republican gubernatorial candidate, engaged the Austin firm of Collins-Knaggs and Associates, to manage his campaign in 1968. Much of the credit for the victory of Senator John G. Tower in 1966 has been given to the Houston firm of Rives-Dyke.[40] The Julian Read-Poland agency has long been allied with former Texas Governor John B. Connally and has also handled campaigns for

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Perry, The New Politics, pp. 77-97.

[40] "Campaign Management Grows," p. 713.

Attorney General Crawford Martin, and Congressmen Jim Wright, as well as other statewide campaigns.[41] Veteran GOP campaign manager Hal E. Short managed the North Carolina candidacy of Representative James C. Gardner, and was a key figure in the successful race by Louie Nunn for the Governorship of Kentucky in 1967.[42]

East

The major professional management firms which handle exclusively Democratic candidates are found on the East Coast. Perhaps the best known is Joseph Napolitan Associates with offices in Washington, D. C., Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts. Napolitan has been an advisor to the Democratic National Committee and a campaign aide to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. In 1962, Napolitan managed Endicott Peabody's winning race for the Massachusetts governorship, and he once boasted that he had not lost a general election in ten years.[43] However, his record was broken in 1966 in the gubernatorial campaign in Pennsylvania. Milton Shapp wanted to be governor of Pennsylvania and was willing to pay for it, and Joe Napolitan wanted to test his campaign theories if someone would pay the bill.[44] The result of Napolitan and

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[41]Roy Scudday, Public Relations Counselor with Julian Read-Poland Advertising Agency, interview, Fort Worth, Texas, January 5, 1968.

[42]Ibid., p. 713.

[43]Frank J. Prial, "Politicking for Pay; Professional Managers Play an Expanding Role in Election Campaigns," Wall Street Journal, (September, 1966), p. 1.

[44]Perry, The New Politics, p. 48.

Shapp combining forces was an upset primary win over Robert F. Casey, the official candidate for governor of Pennsylvania's Democratic organization, and a loss, in the general election, to Republican Raymond P. Shafer, William W. Scranton's self-appointed successor. According to Napolitan's figures, Shapp spent $2,500,000 of his own money. Or more correctly Napolitan spent it for him.[45]

A second major Democratic management firm is Matthew A. Reese Associates, which is based in Washington, D. C. with a branch office in Kansas City, Missouri. Reese has managed mayoralty and city council races in several states and conducted the successful Kansas Gubernatorial race of 1966 for Governor Robert Docking.[46] In 1968, Reese assisted in the Democratic gubernatorial primary campaign of Dolph Briscoe in Texas.[47]

The New York firm of Doyle Dane Bernbach, Incorporated, made political news with its campaign for Lyndon Johnson for President in 1964. The commercial depicting a little girl plucking petals from a daisy with a voice in the background giving a nuclear countdown became a major point of discussion. The public's reaction was a controversial one, with many Republicans and Democrats alike objecting to the commercial's

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[45] Ibid., p. 68.

[46] "Campaign Management Grows," p. 713.

[47] Dave Allred, State Representative, District 85-2, interview, Austin, Texas, June 25, 1969. Allred was a member of Dolph Briscoe's campaign staff.

obvious implication that if Goldwater were elected he would lead America toward nuclear war.[48] Hubert Humphrey retained the services of Doyle Dane Bernbach for his Presidential campaign in 1968, but midway through the campaign he disagreed with some of the commercials prepared by the firm and released them.

Limited amounts of campaign management work is accepted by F. Clifton White and Associates. White planned the successful Republican nomination for Barry Goldwater in 1964.[49] White, a Republican manager, has since formed a partnership with a Democratic manager, Joseph Napolitan. In addition to their separate management firms, the two operate Computer Campaign Services, to offer technical advice on a nonpartisan basis on the use of computers in election campaigns.[50]

New York is also the base of the U. S. Research and Development Corporation. Under the direction of William F. Haddad, the firm has worked in the Senate campaigns of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh of Detroit.[51]

Another New York professional firm is R/S Campaigns, founded by Gill Robinson and William Safire, which specializes

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[48]Pete Hamill, "When the Client Is a Candidate," New York Times Magazine, (October, 1964), p. 30.

[49]"Campaign Management Grows," p. 714.

[50]Perry, The New Politics, p. 217.

[51]Ibid., p. 33.

in Republican campaigns and in 1968 worked for Governor Claude R. Kirk of Florida. Safire, now an aide to President Richard M. Nixon, served as one of Nixon's principal speech writers and traveled with him during the Presidential campaign of 1968.[52] Nixon's advertising campaign was managed by Fuller and Smith and Ross, Incorporated, of New York, which supervised a staff of sixty men and women including personnel from other advertising agencies. Feeley and Wheeler, a smaller firm, worked on promotional materials which included posters, bumper stickers, and numerous other promotions.[53]

A final professional consultant firm is Campaign Consultants, Incorporated, of Boston. Of special interest was its management of the brief GOP Presidential nomination campaign of Governor George Romney. The Firm's president, David Goldberg, has put together an organization which includes Douglas Bailey, former advisor to Nelson Rockefeller; Murray Levin, political scientist and author of several books on campaigning; Thomas Covey, vice-president of Balten, Barton, Durstin and Olwin, an advertising agency. Goldberg's firm claims to be a group which collectively possesses all the talents for a successful campaign.[54]

California, where the business of campaign management

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[52] Ibid., "Massive Staff," p. 2873.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Prial, "Politicking for Pay," p. 34.

began a generation ago, remains the center of professional managers and consulting firms. However, this state and the West in general is being challenged by the large firms from New York and the East. These two regions, although dominant, are not exclusive as has been evidenced by the growing use of professionals in campaigns in the Midwest and South. In recent years the business of professional campaign management has truly become a nationwide industry.

As this chapter indicates, the future has never looked brighter for a number of professional managers and firms who specialize in running political campaigns. In contrast to the national scene is Texas and the politics of this, one of the nation's largest states. Within the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968 are many elements that may help students of government discover to what extent members of a restricted skill group (the professional political consultants, firms and managers) are increasingly monopolizing political discussion.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXAS DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY OF 1968

> A primary fight, at any level, is America's most original contribution to the "art of Democracy" -- and, at any level, it is that form of the art most profanely reviled and intensely hated by every professional who practices politics as a trade.[1]

Texas gubernatorial politics changed significantly in 1905 when the Texas Legislature joined a nationwide trend by enacting the Terrell Election Law, which instituted the primary as the method of nomination for the majority of the elected officials in the state.[2] The original Terrell Election Law has since been revised; a runoff primary was adopted for state and district offices in 1918 after experimenting with a one-primary system from 1906 to 1918.[3] A second primary was to be conducted when no candidate received a clear majority of the votes cast in the first primary. The importance of the primary in the South, particularly the Democratic primary, has been emphasized by

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[1]Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960 (New York, 1961), p. 78.

[2]Fred Gantt, Jr., The Chief Executive in Texas: A Study in Gubernatorial Leadership (Austin, 1964), pp. 268-269. "General Laws of Texas," Twenty-ninth Legislature, first called session, Chapter 11.

[3]Ibid., pp. 269-271. "General Laws of Texas," Thirtieth Legislature, regular session, Chapter 177.

Cortez A. M. Ewing in his book, Primary Elections in the South.[4] He explains the phenomenon which he calls "Southern Unipartyism," a result of which has been the dominance of the Democratic Party in the South.[5] This dominance, along with adoption of the primary, brought a change in party politics in Texas. A most important result of the change was the shifting of public attention from the general election to the primary, since nomination in the Democratic primary was tantamount to election.[6]

Since political campaigns are the principal institution in which interaction between politician and electorate occurs, they present an opportunity to study the most striking role of the public relations man in politics, that of a campaigner. The Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968 offer an excellent setting in which to examine the role of the public relations man in Texas politics. The significance of such a case study in Texas is further enhanced by the dominance of the Democratic party and the fact that in statewide elections most voters center their interest on the governor's race.[7]

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[4]Cortez A. M. Ewing, Primary Elections in the South: A Study in Uniparty Politics (Norman, 1953).

[5]Ibid., pp. 3-5

[6]Gantt, The Chief Executive in Texas, p. 269.

[7]Stuart A. MacCorkle and Dick Smith, Texas Government (New York, 1960), pp. 48-49.

This study is based on interviews with candidates, with professional public relations men and with other principal participants who were active in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968. Although candidates and public relations men were quite frank with this writer, some of the information disclosed was confidential. Some confidential material necessary to this thesis will be included, but the source will remain anonymous in order to respect the confidences, kindness and helpfulness which this writer found in the worlds of politics and public relations. The anonymous material will be documented such as similarly confidential material is footnoted by Stanley Kelley, Jr. in his book Professional Public Relations and Political Power[8] which is probably the most definitive work on the subject. The source in cases such as these will be identified as coming from "an interview with the writer." The reader is further alerted to the fact that assertions based upon these interviews are not cited in the footnotes in order to guarantee the informant's anonymity.

The Public Relations Professionals

There are three types of public relations professionals in politics; the campaign management firm, advertising firms and individuals with specialized skills.[9] As an industry,

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[8]Stanley Kelley, Jr., Professional Public Relations and Political Power (Baltimore, 1956), p. 150.

[9]Robert J. Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California," Western Political Quarterly, XI (June, 1958), p. 280.

professional campaign management offers a variety of services.[10] Some management firms provide a full range of services that the candidate needs while other candidates find it necessary to obtain the needed skills through the fragmented contracting of services from individual professionals. Examples of this fact will be evidenced in the Texas Democratic primary.

It would be impossible to include a list of all professionals employed by candidates in the primary of 1968: however, Table I lists the major public relations and advertising specialists whose expertise was used in those campaigns. There are two major divisions of the professional campaign management industry, -- management personnel and consultant personnel.

Management Personnel

Management personnel are individuals or firms involved in all aspects of coordinating, guiding and planning the campaign. There are two divisions within this category, campaign managers and campaign firms. The campaign manager is an individual who for a fee plans and guides the overall campaign. He works closely with the candidate and participates in policy as well as technical decisions. He was present in the Democratic primary as indicated by Table I. Management firms are public relations firms who accept

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[10] Supra, pp. 29-30

TABLE I

TYPES OF CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL, SERVICES, AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE TEXAS DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY OF 1968

Type	Name	Services	Campaign Involvement
Campaign Managers:	Otice Green Associates (Lubbock, Texas)	Campaign direction	Preston Smith campaign
Campaign Management Firms:	VanCronkhite and Maloy (Dallas, Texas)	Campaign management advertising	Edward L. Whittenburg campaign
	Matthew A. Reese (Washington, D. C.)	Management specialization in voter turnout	Dolph Briscoe campaign
Campaign Consultants:	Bernard M. Brooks (San Antonio, Texas)	Advertising	Dolph Briscoe campaign
	Harold Dudley (Austin, Texas)	Public Relations consultant	Preston Smith campaign
	Glenn Advertising (Dallas, Texas)	Advertising, public relations	Eugene Locke campaign
	The Hyde Agency (Austin, Texas)	Public relations, advertising	Dolph Briscoe campaign
	Charles Murphy (Washington, D. C.)	Management consultant	Don Yarborough campaign
	Jerry Rubnick (Houston, Texas)	Advertising, public relations	Don Yarborough campaign
	Roy Scudday (Austin, Texas)	Public relations consultant	John Hill campaign
	Winn-McLane Associates (Austin, Texas)	Advertising, public relations	Waggoner Carr campaign
Campaign Specialists:	Media Communications (Austin, Texas)	Television, radio advertising	John Hill campaign

political candidates for clients. The firm provides planning and guidance for the campaign and, if equipped to do so, handles each service the candidate needs. Those services they can not provide are sub-contracted. The candidate may purchase one or any number of these services. Such firms vary widely in size.

Consultant Personnel

Campaign consultants and technical specialists provide services to the candidate on a narrower scale than managers and management firms. The campaign consultants usually play a limited role in the campaign and give advice on issues, speech writing, or some other specialized service. Technical specialists are firms or individuals whose expertise is combined with the most modern media technology. This involves services such as direct mail, opinion surveys, television production and telephone campaigns to mention just a few.[11]

The Democratic gubernatorial race in 1968 offers many contrasts with respect to the candidates and their varied use of the professional public relations man. Ten candidates entered the race, but most political observers considered only six of the candidates as serious contenders for the nomination. This case study will examine the campaigns of these six candidates: Dolph Briscoe, Waggoner Carr, John Hill,

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[11]Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), pp. 38-41.

Eugene Locke, Preston Smith, and Don Yarborough -- with some reference to a seventh candidate's campaign, Edward L. Whittenburg, and a profile of all those who ran for the office. Special attention will be given to the Locke and Smith campaigns due to the striking contrasts in the style, personality, and political experience of the candidate, as well as to the differences in the techniques used by the public relations professionals, in expenditures reported, and in number of votes received in the election. Emphasis is placed on the first primary with only brief reference to the runoff between Smith and Yarborough, since there was no significant change in strategy or use of professional public relations between the two primaries.

The Candidates in the Democratic Primary of 1968

With ten candidates seeking the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, the outcome of the primary was likely to depend more upon the personalities of the candidates and their ability to reach as many people as possible with their campaigns than upon their programs or the "issues." For this reason profiles of each candidate will follow.

Dolph Briscoe

In the primary, Dolph Briscoe's friends contended that "everyone who knows him will vote for him."[12] The forty-five

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[12]Bob Johnson, Public Relations Officer, Bernard M. Brooks Advertising Agency, interview, San Antonio, Texas, August 27, 1969.

year old Uvalde rancher, banker and former state representative welded together almost overnight a powerful organization. During his four terms in the Legislature, Briscoe was generally considered a liberal,[13] but the ideas he espoused from 1949 until 1956 have since generally been considered conservative. Briscoe considered himself a "conservative with broad-based support."[14] Much of this support was expected to come from voters who profited from the Colson-Briscoe farm-to-market roads which was sponsored by Representative Briscoe and former Senator Neveille Colson of Navasota and is credited with getting rural Texas "out of the mud."

Briscoe partisans also expected support from the cities as well as from farmers and ranchers because of his program that eradicated the screwworm. Its success meant a lowering of beef prices, which appealed to many city dwellers. Briscoe stated that "this problem was costing the economy of Texas about $100 million a year."[15] He believed that the same methods applied to eradicate the screwworm could be applied to eliminate other agricultural insects, thus reducing the cost of agricultural products to the consumer.

Briscoe had served as president of the Texas Chamber of Commerce, the South Texas Chamber of Commerce, the Texas and

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[13]Jimmy Banks, "Briscoe's Volunteer Army Projects Him as Contender," Dallas Morning News, (April 29, 1968).

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, the Mohair Council of America and the National Livestock and Meat Board.[16] He announced his candidacy January 25 and his campaign got off to a slow start. Briscoe supported higher salaries for teachers, a program to attract industry and tourists, stringent law enforcement, better training for policemen and measures to deal with air and water pollution.

Waggoner Carr

Waggoner Carr at age forty-nine, had served for twenty years as a public servant.[17] He was a member of the Texas House of Representatives and was chosen by fellow legislators to be speaker of that body for two consecutive terms, one of three men in the state's history to be so honored. In 1960 Carr ran for attorney general of Texas, but lost to the incumbent Will Wilson; two years later he ran again for the same office and this time was elected, polling the highest total of votes ever cast for any state office in Texas. While in that office he was elected in 1966 the outstanding attorney general of the year by attorneys general of the other forty-nine states. Carr suffered a second election setback in 1966 when he challenged Republican Senator John Tower. His loss was attributed to

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[16]Dolph Briscoe, interview, Uvalde, Texas, August 28, 1969. Cited hereafter as Briscoe, interview.

[17]Fred Pass, "2 Factors Give Carr Good Change," Dallas Morning News, (May 1, 1968).

both divisiveness in his own Democratic party and a Republican comeback nationally.[18] The candidate ran on the belief that his experience in public office had trained him for the job; he emphasized that he was the only candidate who had served the state in both legislative and administrative capacities.[19]

Born in the small East Texas town of Fairlie, Carr moved to Lubbock where he worked his way through Texas Technological College as an usher in a theater that, ironically, was in competition with one owned by an opponent in the 1968 primary, Preston Smith. At Texas Technological College, Carr teamed with his brother and won the debating championship of the Southern United States. Later he studied law at The University of Texas.[20]

Johnnie Mae Hackworthe

Johnnie Mae Hackworthe of Brenham was the only woman among the ten Democratic candidates in the primary. At sixty-three she was running for governor for the third time. In 1966 she polled 31,105 votes and in 1964, 10,995.[21] Mrs. Hackworthe's campaign consisted mainly of hand-written letters. "The pen is

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[18]Waggoner Carr, Austin attorney and guvernatorial candidate in 1968, interview, Austin, Texas, September 15, 1969.

[19]Pass, "2 Factors Give Carr Good Chance."

[20]Ibid.

[21]Stewart Davis, "2 Candidates for Governor Wage Part-time Campaigns," Dallas Morning News, (April 27, 1968).

mightier than the sword, and I am the anointed of the Lord,"[22] she explained.

In her first report of campaign expenditures, she accounted for a twenty-five dollar newspaper advertisement in the Brenham Banner Press and a $1,000 expenditure for her filing fee. In a second letter to the secretary of state's office she explained, "After I mailed my first report, the Lord reminded me I had not indicated to whom I paid the $1,000."[23] Mrs. Hackworthe advocated annual legislative sessions, revision of the State Constitution, a four-year term for governor and a minimum wage which would include mothers and housewives.[24]

John Hill

For some time, John Hill had been establishing himself as one of the state's foremost trial lawyers.[25] Much of his practice involved representing accident victims in damage suits. At the height of this career, Hill decided to try his hand at politics. He became active in Harris County politics and served as campaign manager in the Houston area for John Connally in

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Expenditure records in the office of the secretary of state.

[24] Davis, "2 Candidates for Governor."

[25] Charles Ward, President of Media Communications, interview, Austin, Texas, September 10, 1969. Cited hereafter as Ward, interview.

his race for governor. In 1966 Connally appointed Hill secretary of state, a position he filled until he announced his own candidacy for governor on January 22, 1968. On this date he held a press conference and circulated a detailed platform explaining his position on major issues. It called for a strong junior college system, vocational and technical training for teenagers and adults, strong law enforcement and crackdowns against air and water pollution.[26]

Hill was forty-four years old and a graduate of Kilgore Junior College where he was a member of a debate team which won a national championship. After serving as a Navy officer in World War II, he returned to the University of Texas to earn his law degree. Hill falls in the middle of the elusive political spectrum, more conservative than Don Yarborough, but more liberal than rivals such as Preston Smith.[27]

Eugene Locke

Eugene Locke came into the primary with a variety of impressive credentials. The fifty-year-old Dallas attorney was valedictorian of his high school class, a Phi Beta Kappa at The University of Texas, where he graduated at nineteen with a degree in government, and an honor graduate of the Yale law school. In World War II he served as a Navy officer and after

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[26]Carl Freund, "Hill Leaves Busy Law Practice for Politics," Dallas Morning News, (April 26, 1968).

[27]Ibid.

his discharge practiced law in Dallas.[28]

Although he had never held an elective office, he was no stranger to politics. On several occasions he had worked in campaigns for Lyndon Baines Johnson. In 1962 he was state campaign manager for John Connally for Governor, and from 1962-1964 was Chairman of The State Democratic Executive Committee. President Johnson appointed Locke United States ambassador to Pakistan in 1966. He continued in that capacity until May 1, 1967, when the President appointed him deputy ambassador to South Vietnam, a post he resigned to run for governor.[29] Locke was said to have inherited the Connally organization because of his longtime friendship with the former governor and because his campaign was managed by Merrill Connally, the governor's brother. Locke advocated the sale of liquor by the drink, by local option, and he closely followed Connally's advice to wait for recommendations by the Committee on Public School Education and the Coordinating Board on Higher Education before taking a stand on teachers' salaries and other educational questions.[30]

Pat O'Daniel

Another well-known candidate was Pat O'Daniel, the son of former Governor W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel. For the most part he

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[28]Personal resume of Eugene Locke made available to writer by Jess Hay, President, The Lomas and Nettleton Co., and state chairman of finance for Locke, interview, Dallas, Texas, July 15, 1969. Cited hereafter as Hay, interview.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Richard M. Morehead, "10 Seeking Nomination," Dallas Morning News, (April 28, 1968).

built his campaign around the platform his father used in 1938: "The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule."[31] Also reminiscent of his father's campaign[32] was a two-week, forty-eight city bus tour of the state which O'Daniel made, accompanied by a five-man band. He passed miniature barrels in soliciting campaign contributions just as his father had done[33] thirty years earlier. The forty-nine year old Dallas insurance man favored higher teachers' salaries and called for an investigation of the teachers' retirement fund to assure that it was being maintained.[34]

Preston Smith

Born in Williamson County fifty-five years before, Preston Smith was one of thirteen children. After working his way through Texas Technological College, Smith remained in Lubbock and became a successful motion picture theater owner. Smith entered politics in 1944, when he won a seat in the Texas House of Representatives where he served for three legislative terms. Following his third term as a representative, he ran for lieutenant governor and finished third in a field of twelve. Somewhat paradoxically, sixes played an unusual role in Smith's

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[31]Gantt, The Chief Executive in Texas, p. 290.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Bill Hunter, "Pappy's Platform Good Enough for Pat O'Daniel," Dallas Morning News, (April 30, 1968).

political career: after serving six years in the House of Representatives, he was a private citizen for six years before returning to the political scene to spend another six years as a state senator and six years as lieutenant governor. It is this eighteen years of political experience of which Smith was most proud and which he emphasized as his major qualification in the gubernatorial primary.

Smith told his audiences "You're looking at one candidate who wasn't drafted to run for governor. I didn't receive thousands of letters and calls asking me to run."[35] He decided not to seek a fourth term. He even predicted that Connally and Ralph Yarborough, United States Senator from Texas, would not run, a prophecy that was fulfilled. Smith had been labeled "ultra-conservative" by some writers, while on such issues as teachers' pay his record had been liberal.[36]

Alfonso Veloz

Alfonso Veloz campaigned full-time during his vacation but began weekend and off-duty hours campaigning when he returned to his job as superintendent of the mail room at First City National Bank of Houston. The forty-four year old bachelor called for a two-dollar per hour minimum wage law, higher

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[35]Richard M. Morehead "Preston Smith Counts on Persistence," Dallas Morning News, (April 24, 1968).

[36]Ibid.

teachers' salaries and better schools. A Navy veteran, he attended the University of Houston for three years before taking the bank job. Veloz denied that his campaign was financed by conservatives who hoped his appeal to Mexican-American voters would draw votes from liberal Houston candidate Don Yarborough.[37]

Edward L. Whittenburg

Born in a West Texas dugout, Edward L. Whittenburg had come a long way. A banker, rancher, insurance executive and attorney, at thirty-nine, the Texas Technological College graduate was the youngest candidate in the gubernatorial race. He displayed an unusual air of confidence, a fact that may have been attributable to his political inexperience and his businessman's self-confidence acquired from building considerable wealth from humble beginnings. He challenged all candidates to debates, cut speeches short to allow more time for answering questions from his audiences, and reported his gross income for the last three years inviting his opponents to do the same. The figures he made public were $365,378 in 1967, $249,999 in 1966, and $193,118 in 1965; no other candidate followed his example.[38] He favored a minimum teachers' pay increase of $1,000 and endorsed a state presidential primary.

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[37]Davis, "2 Candidates for Governor."

[38]Fred Pass, "Democrat Whittenburg Aims to Pull Off Another Upheaval," Dallas Morning News, (April 28, 1968).

Don Yarborough

Don Yarborough, at forty-two, was no newcomer to political campaigning. Although he had never held an elective office, he had run for governor in 1962 (coming within 26,250 votes of John Connally[39]) and again in 1964. Before that he had run for lieutenant governor in 1960. Politically Yarborough had been branded a liberal and had been endorsed by organized labor.[40] He saw his support more broad based than the liberal-minority blocs and described himself as "the most pro-business candidate in the race," explaining that his program was built upon cooperation between labor and industry.[41] Yarborough's platform contained numerous programs: consumer protection, minimum wage, increased old-age assistance, industrial job development for small towns and increased salaries and sick leave for teachers.

A native of New Orleans, Yarborough moved to Houston at the age of twelve. He served in the Marines and at nineteen became the youngest company commander in Marine history. In addition to duty in China during World War II, he also served in Korea. He graduated from The University of Texas with a law degree in 1950 and has since practiced law in Houston.[42]

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[39] Texas Almanac, 1966-1967 (Dallas, 1965), p. 575.

[40] Stewart Davis, "Yarborough Sees Himself Welding Texans Together," Dallas Morning News, (May 2, 1968).

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

Campaign Strategy and Organization

Every campaign needs planning. Important to each plan is campaign strategy and organization. Initial planning usually begins in the mind of the candidate before he seeks professional help. However, when the candidate contracts for professional assistance, the public relations man must then add his touch to the finalizing of the campaign plan.

The Campaign Strategy

Many questions arise when the client and the professional begin to map out campaign strategy. Where does the authority for campaign policy lie, what are the issues, what theme should be used and what pace should be set for the campaign?[43] The strategy the professional employs depends on the type of candidate for whom he is working. Personality, temperament and experience are a few of the factors crucial to planning strategy. The campaign subjects the candidate to both physical and mental strains. Wrists bruise from repeated handshaking, voices become hoarse and sometimes tempers flare. These human frailties must be considered by the professionals.

Electoral success frequently hinges on the candidate's political experience. Professional advisors of neophytes, therefore, attempt to convince as many voters as possible that their clients possess the requisite experience for public office.[44] In the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of

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[43]Kelley, Professional Public Relations, p. 46.

[44]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, 45-46.

1968 the public relations firms and individuals employed by the candidates found both men of experience and neophytes.

Preston Smith.-- Preston Smith was the most experienced candidate in the primary - a background of which he was proud and which he saw as his chief asset. His campaign was managed by Otice Green of Lubbock, Texas, the only professional public relations man employed during the 1968 primary campaigns as a campaign manager.[45] Green organized and directed the Smith campaign.[46] To capitalize on Smith's record, he invented the slogan "vote for the man with experience in every elective, legislative office, vote for Preston Smith for Governor of Texas."[47] Use of this slogan was extensive in campaign literature and advertising for Smith.

Since there was no incumbent, Smith's experience helped his forces and made even more valid their claim of their candidate's experience. Smith had an asset that many incumbents enjoy, the role of frontrunner. In a primary campaign all candidates are competing for support from the same party members. This phenomenom could come back to haunt a primary winner whose conduct was such that he was not able to call upon the defeated elements of his party for general election support. The frontrunner has the advantage of possibly being

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[45]Table I (see supra, p. 48).

[46]Preston Smith, Governor of Texas, interview, Austin, Texas, July 30, 1969.

[47]Otice Green, Otice Green Associates, campaign manager for Preston Smith, interview, Lubbock, Texas, August 26, 1969. Cited hereafter as Green, interview.

able to conduct a subtle campaign avoiding all-out attacks and confrontation with other candidates since he has little to gain and much to lose. The challenger on the other hand must come from behind and overtake the leader while attempting to become better known himself. This quite often means attack and the chance of alienation of party supporters.[48] In planning the strategy, Green believed that Smith was leading all other candidates. Consequently, he called for avoiding any confrontation with the challengers since Smith had everything to lose and the challengers everything to gain. Green's principle was that "the frontrunner should never debate with a lesser candidate."[49] This principle meant that answering charges made Smith vulnerable, so questions by reporters or interviewers that could place a doubt in the voters' minds were avoided. An extension of this strategy prompted the Smith campaign to plan no statewide speeches or airport interviews.[50]

Both Smith and Green believed their best piece of strategy was to get in the race first by announcing early. Certain trends prompted this strategy. First, they thought John Connally would have trouble seeking a fourth term, a feat yet

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[48]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 48-49.

[49]Green, interview.

[50]Ibid.

to be accomplished in Texas gubernatorial politics. Second, there was no successor waiting in the wings since Speaker Barnes, generally considered Connally's understudy, was yet too young. Third, Smith was fifty-five years old, and the older he got the harder it would be to be elected. This meant 1968 was the year if Smith was going to see his ambition fulfilled. He began to make plans for the election of 1968 in 1966. Following their master plan, Smith and Green wanted to announce Smith's candidacy for governor at the end of the 1967 legislative session while people were still interested in politics. This move was delayed for several weeks, however, because Governor Connally was on safari in Africa with American Broadcasting Company's The American Sportsman television program. Smith wanted to inform Connally of his decision to run before making it public, so he waited for Connally's return. Smith greeted Connally at the airport and announced to Connally his intention to enter the governor's race.[51]

This strategy of announcing early was used to best advantage: Smith contacted many of the governor's supporters and obtained promises of support if Connally decided not to run. As it turned out, Connally decided not to seek a fourth term. When several of his political friends then announced their candidacy and sought support from some of Connally's loyal supporters, they found these supporters pledged to the

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[51] Ibid.

Smith campaign. The move was later described by many of Smith's opponents as a "real political coup."[52]

Eugene Locke.-- Campaign strategy was planned by Merrill Connally the governor's brother and campaign manager, Lanier Temerlan, account executive for Glenn Advertising, and Jess Hay, state chairman of finance, along with Eugene Locke. At the time this writer was gathering research data on the primary of 1968, Eugene Locke was in Africa on a combined business and pleasure trip that began soon after the primary. Nevertheless, the other principal participants in the Locke campaign supplied information needed in this study.

Merrill Connally identified public recognition as a prime factor in relation to the governor's race. He felt that "vox pop" (the voter at the polls) ultimately determined campaigns for governor and senator. Connally felt that in many matters and in many lesser races the people are uninterested in politics and see it as a necessary evil. In voting for lesser offices, they are willing to take the advice of people they trust, but when it comes to governor and senator the people feel this is their area, their prerogative. The strategy for Locke was to get him before the public and build name-recognition for him. Locke himself felt that he was well known because of his government service and leadership roles in the Democratic party in Texas. Connally believed only the

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[52]Interviews with the writer.

interested and knowledgeable could identify Locke from this service.[53]

Temerlan and his associates at Glenn Advertising prepared an extensive radio campaign to obtain for Locke's name some quick identification.[54] They felt Locke was late entering the contest; this tardiness increased the urgency of obtaining voter recognition for his name.[55] A pre-campaign public awareness survey showed less than one per cent recognition for the name of Eugene Locke; by April 19, Locke' name identity had risen to eighty-four per cent.[56]

Dolph Briscoe.-- Dolph Briscoe summarized his strategy as an attempt to establish the "personal touch." He felt his best chance was to meet as many people as possible and cover as much area as possible. He acknowledged that this alone would not be enough, that professional help was an absolute necessity considering the time factor and Texas' large population and physical area.[57]

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[53]Merrill Connally, campaign manager for Eugene Locke, interview, Floresville, Texas, August 28, 1969. Cited hereafter as Merrill Connally, interview.

[54]These will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV (see infra, pp. 104-105).

[55]Lanier Temerlan, account executive for Glenn advertising, in charge of Eugene Locke account, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 8, 1969. Cited hereafter as Temerlan, interview.

[56]Hay, interview, Jess Hay made available copies of the polls conducted by Belden Associates which are the source of the figures cited above. More details concerning the use of these polls will be discussed in Chapter IV.

[57]Dolph Briscoe, interview.

Waggoner Carr.-- The strategy for Carr was to emphasize his experience.[58] Like Smith, he considered this one of his chief assets. His experience included serving both in legislative and executive public office. Bonner McLane, a professional public relations man was involved in strategy planning. He conceived his job as projecting a dual image for Carr; to be portrayed as young, but also as the most mature man in the race; as an experienced politician but also as the candidate with the freshest view. McLane explained that an important part of the strategy was to project Carr as the only candidate who could beat Don Yarborough.[59]

John Hill.-- Hill's professional experts tried to utilize their candidate's strongest points and present those strengths in the most effective manner. Name identity for their candidate was a must; this was to be achieved by using the media to exploit his youthfulness and successful background.[60]

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[58]As indicated earlier, detailed discussion will be confined to the Smith and Locke campaigns with briefer mention of the other candidate's campaigns (see supra. p. 50).

[59]Bonner McLane, Winn-McLane, public relations consultants for Waggoner Carr, interview, Austin, Texas, September 15, 1969. Cited hereafter as McLane, interview.

[60]Ward, interview.

Don Yarborough.-- Yarborough's strategy was to meet as many people as possible and acquaint them with his position on the major issues at stake in the election. He felt he had to utilize all available approaches in order to project an image of new and creative leadership for Texas. His problem of projecting himself as a candidate with leadership qualifications was compounded since he had never held public office. As with other candidates, excluding Smith, time was a factor that shaped Yarborough's strategy.[61]

Strategic decisions.-- There are many fundamental decisions to be made in a campaign, decisions that depend on the candidate, the electorate and the setting. Of major importance is the relationship between the candidate and the professional. There is no uniform pattern for this client-manager relationship. Some professionals merely perform technical duties while others see themselves as the chiefs of staff.[62]

Otice Green believes that as a campaign manager he should have control over all materials that affect his client's image. He uses a total public relations approach with policy statements, advertisements, layouts and all production materials under his direct supervision and control In Smith's campaign, Green was given a budget as well as control over

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[61]Don Yarborough, interview, Houston, Texas, September 10, 1969. Cited hereafter as Yarborough, interview.

[62]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 52-53.

timetables and production. He felt he had the candidate's complete trust and that excellent communications were maintained. According to Green, when the public relations man is not allowed a major role in policy and decision making then his effort ceases to be public relations and degenerates into that of errand boy. He described his relationship with Smith as unique: he was hired to get the job done and this was all Smith required.[63]

In Locke's campaign, Glenn Advertising did not believe that as the marketing agency they had to have control. This is in contrast to Green's philosophy, although both agreed the professional must use his public relations expertise to persuade his client that the firm's ideas ought to be accepted and implemented. Temerlan, account executive for Glenn Advertising in the Locke campaign, pointed out that the 1968 election established the principle that agency advice is crucial to Texas politics owing to media-oriented campaigns attempting to reach the masses.[64] Merrill Connally explained that Glenn was involved in policy meetings but did not make policy. Their job was to put policy into action and use their knowledge of media mechanics to project the right image for Locke. Their judgment was valuable in helping to decide what media to use and when and where to use them.

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[63]Green, interview.

[64]Temerlan, interview.

Charles Ward, of Media Communications and the Hill campaign, thinks that the candidate needs to allow the professionals the freedom to handle campaign details thus allowing the candidate to concentrate on the campaign trail.[65] Roy Scudday works on the philosophy that the public relations firm should be the right arm of the candidate. There needs to be an understanding of what authority the firm has in the campaign but in the final analysis the candidate retains the final word. He knows the professional is not always right, but when he feels he is right he sees it as his responsibility to tell the candidate what should be done and why.[66]

Candidates' views.-- John Hill sees the candidate as having confidence in what the professional is doing for him and following his advice, even risking mistakes in order to keep himself whole. "The most important thing a candidate can do is be a good candidate, be fresh, look like a leader, something he can not do if he is whipped physically and mentally."[67] Don Yarborough believes the more professional assistance the better, if it is good and fits the political scene. He thinks that the candidate should devote his time to the campaign trail and leave the rest of the campaign to his staff of professionals, who are aware of his goals and

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[65]Ward, interview.

[66]Roy Scudday, public relations consultant for John Hill, interview, Austin, Texas, September 11, 1969.

[67]John Hill, interview, Austin, Texas, September 11, 1969.

concerned with the mechanics of how to reach those goals. This is precisely the strategy he adopted.[68]

Bonner McLane, public relations consultant for Carr, sees the ideal role of the public relations professional as that of image maker and not as campaign manager. This means handling advertising, publicity and speech writing but does not include planning and attending teas, itinerary planning sessions and the like. While the firm ought to be involved in major strategy and planning meetings, they should be spared the tactical meetings.[69] In contrast to McLane is John VanCronkhite, of VanCronkhite and Maloy and the Whittenburg campaign, whose firm manages all aspects of the campaign and provides all the services necessary.[70]

Themes.-- Another strategic decision is the choice of a campaign theme and related slogans. The theme's purpose is to simplify complex issues into brief, clear statements that are to the advantage of the candidate. The theme runs through all aspects of the campaign and, with the use of modern techniques, shifts the election from a battle of issues to a battle of themes.[71]

The Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary exhibits several examples of professionally contrived themes designed

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[68]Yarborough, interview.

[69]McLane, interview.

[70]John VanCronkhite, VanCronkhite and Maloy, campaign management firm for Edward Whittenburg, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 17, 1969.

[71]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 54-55.

to reach the electorate. Eugene Locke was attending an early strategy planning meeting in the offices of Glenn advertising; when he emerged from the meeting one of the participants was so impressed with Locke that he turned to a colleague and said, "Eugene Locke should be governor of Texas!"[72] This became the theme for Eugene Locke and was used in all rallies, television presentations, brochures, billboard advertisements, press releases and other communications with the public.

Dolph Briscoe's theme was similarly a product of personal impressions of the candidate. The official theme was "This Is The Man," which had a very important attendant slogan, "Everyone Who Knows Dolph Briscoe Will Vote For Him For Governor . . . Everyone." Edward L. Whittenburg's professionals came up with "Whittenburg Understands." In a tongue in cheek takeoff on Locke's theme, John Hill came up with "John Hill Will Be Governor of Texas." Themes are important; failure to have a campaign theme can be frustrating.

The Campaign Organization

There is no accurate data available to assess the value of organization in a campaign, but certainly it is logical to allege that organization makes a difference. It is directed at coordinating the efforts of three kinds of campaign workers: the professional, the party worker and politician, and the volunteer worker.[73] This study will be

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[72]Interview with writer.

[73]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 56-57.

concerned with the organization of the professional public relations men employed in the primary of 1968. There will be some reference to other aspects of the campaign organization of the candidates, but they are secondary to this study.

Eugene Locke.-- At first glance the Locke organization looked like a headless conglomerate, but excellent communications had welded together a team effort. This team offered an interesting dichotomy consisting of political experience and public relations expertise. Merrill Connally, brother of former Governor John Connally and former county judge himself, was Locke's campaign manager. He personified the political experience of the organization, having been active in many political campaigns in Texas. Connally followed the precinct organization set up for John Connally, but some of these organizations also fell to Dolph Briscoe and John Hill, both former workers in the ex-governor's political campaigns. In addition, Locke organized within cities and in local areas surrounding the cities. For example, not only was Dallas organized as a major city but in addition local areas such as Oak Cliff, Garland and Richardson had their own organizations. Groups were also organized within the cities: young people (twenty-one to thirty-five), businessmen and other similar groupings.[74]

Merrill Connally was aided by an equally impressive staff of political workers. Jess Hay, a former law associate

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[74]Merrill Connally, interview.

of Locke's served as state chairman of finance, an apparently wise choice considering that he is president of a large financial corporation. Blake Gillen worked with Connally in forming the organization and was in charge of the Austin headquarters.[75] Kyle Thompson was recruited by Connally from the capital press corps in Austin and served as press secretary for liason with the entourage of newsmen covering the campaign.[76] Ed Davis, a political science instructor at Southwestern University in Texas, was research coordinator for Locke. In addition to those mentioned Locke had a group of men who served as his "brain trust" and came up with ideas such as his blueprint for the state for the year 2000, an idea later incorporated in a television spot.[77]

Of significant importance was Locke's professional public relations organization. Glenn Advertising was hired to handle the number of media aspects of the campaign. At the head of this part of the organization was Lanier Temerlan, who was account executive for the Locke account. At his fingertips were the facilities of an international professional agency with the skills to provide the services the candidate needed.

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[75]Blake Gillen, campaign organizer for Eugene Locke, interview, Austin, Texas, July, 1969.

[76]Kyle Thompson, press secretary for Eugene Locke, interview, Austin, Texas, July 9, 1969.

[77]Ed Davis, research coordinator for Eugene Locke, interview, Austin, Texas, July 9, 1969.

His staff of experts included: Don Summer, who served as copy director and coordinated the writing of themes, billboards, copy for television and radio spots; Olin Terry, who was the specialist in live productions and produced two statewide television programs in conjunction with Locke's two rallies held in Dallas; Bob Johnson produced the television spots for the campaign, his specialty being film production; Don Young was in charge of research and did extensive work with the interpretation of the polls which Belden Associates conducted; Paul P. Miller was the expert in charge of media plans which involved determining what markets were best suited to receive campaign productions and then buying time in those markets.

Preston Smith.-- Otice Green, as mentioned previously, was the campaign manager for Smith and served as his professional public relations specialist. Green was assisted in the campaign organization by Harold Dudley. Dudley, himself a public relations man, was in charge of the Austin headquarters and managed much of the organizational work between the headquarters and party workers. Although Green had control and supervision over all aspects of the campaign he contracted certain media jobs to professional firms in other parts of the state. He explained that the purpose of this contracting was to get expert advice from these firms concerning the special peculiarities of their local areas

and how best to reach those markets. Ben Kaplan of Houston, Fraser and Wiggins of San Antonio and firms in Dallas, Fort Worth, Corpus Christi, El Paso, Beaumont and San Angelo were hired because of their special knowledge of the people in the local areas they served. They placed campaign materials in their areas that matched local audience tastes. Green had the final say over this material and often supplied much of it to these local firms.[78]

Smith had great praise for the organization set up by Green; he saw it as unique when compared with previous campaigns in Texas. Green was helped by the strong internal organization which Smith had built over the past eighteen years of his political career. But, Green did not see his candidate as a party candidate nor the state as a party state. Smith needed every vote he could get, according to Green's analysis, so he scrapped the traditional precinct and senatorial district organizational scheme. The state was divided into major metropolitan areas with headquarters and chairmen in these areas as well as in the suburban cities. Within these metropolitan and suburban centers there were organizations of special interest groups such as bankers, oilmen, lawyers and other industrial and professional groups. All towns also organized and county lines were ignored. Everyone in Smith's organization was kept informed on what was

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[78]Green, interview.

being done for their candidate so they would know what to say and when to say it and still remain within the image being projected for their man. Newsletters, personal letters and telegrams were used by Green as major communicators of his client's image to the campaign organization.[79]

Don Yarborough. -- Yarborough assembled his own public relations organization. This house agency was headed by Charles Murphy, a professional with considerable television background who had taken a leave of absence from the National Broadcasting Company to work with Yarborough. His personal staff was augmented by Jerry Rubnick and Associates of Houston and Mike Isenberg and Associates of Austin.

Dolph Briscoe.-- Early in his campaign Briscoe hired The Hyde Agency of Austin to handle his media work. He later switched to Bernard M. Brooks Advertising Agency of San Antonio. Brooks handled the majority of the advertising campaign with The Hyde Agency continuing to handle Briscoe's billboard account. Matthew A. Reese and Associates, a national campaign management firm that specializes in voter turnout, was contracted to conduct a special telephone campaign. In addition to this professional staff, Briscoe's organization included: Davis Carter (former administrative assistant to Jack Brooks, United States Representative from Texas), who came from Washington to help manage the Briscoe campaign; Vernon McDaniel,

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[79] Ibid.

lawyer, Wichita Falls, who with Davis ran the campaign from Uvalde; Price Lowery, researcher and head of the Austin headquarters; Dave Allred, member of the Texas State House of Representatives and son of former Governor James V. Allred, who worked with Davis; and Jack Mullen who served as advance man for Briscoe, and preceded the candidate on the campaign trail preparing for his arrival.

John Hill.-- Roy Scudday, an Austin public relations man, was in charge of Hill's campaign headquarters and was responsible for much of the written campaign material. He was no newcomer to political public relations, having formerly participated in campaigns conducted by Read-Poland, Incorporated, which provided professional expertise for John Connally in his gubernatorial campaigns. In the latter stage of the campaign Dave McNeilly of the Houston Chronicle Capitol Bureau joined the staff as press secretary. Charles Ward and his firm, Media Communications, were in charge of the media advertising and campaigning. Ward used his expertise in communications not only to advertise his candidate's presence in the governor's race but also to implement several interesting techniques so that Hill might reach a maximum number of people with his campaign.[80]

Waggoner Carr.-- The firm of Winn-McLane, Austin, Texas, would have preferred to handle only Waggoner Carr's image.

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[80]These techniques will be considered in detail in Chapter IV (see infra, pp. 90, 114).

However, because of Carr's lack of campaign funds, their contribution to his campaign went beyond advertising, publicity and speech writing. They did everything except fund-raising and apparently came up with some unusual approaches. In addition to Winn-McLane's professional guidance, Carr had a personal staff of political workers who helped organize his campaign.

The above discussion of the campaign organizations employed by the candidates in the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968 is by no means an exhaustive one. It does, however, contain the principal participants, especially professional public relations participants, of the candidates' organizations. With only a few exceptions, all of the professionals, candidates and political workers mentioned in the organizational discussions were interviewed by this writer; their roles in the campaign will be analyzed in greater detail in Chapters IV and V.

Expenditures

Financing of political campaigns is becoming increasingly important in an age that has seen mounting living costs and the introduction of special techniques, statewide television and professional public relations firms into political campaigns. There is no accurate method of estimating the actual amounts spent in political campaigns; any attempt to do so is mere speculation especially since there is often no way of

totaling the sums spent by interested parties attempting to further the cause of a particular candidate.[81]

Professional firms are involved many times in campaign fund-raising and spending. Often spending is as important as fund raising since there have been campaigns in which too much spending has left the impression that the candidate was trying to "buy" the election, a charge that can hurt a candidate. In 1968, Eugene Locke was branded as one trying to buy the governor's office. His campaign was attacked by his opponents as being too slick, too commercial, too "Madison Avenue."

The public relations professional can aid in campaign fund-raising by designing imaginative appeals for his client. Direct-mail and televised appeals are the most popular and have modified previous patterns of fund raising in American politics.[82] The State of Texas, because of its massive population and enormous physical area, has demanded much of its politicians. In order to travel the expanse of the state and to reach the varied and scattered population, the candidate has had to use the most modern techniques. This has in recent years meant extensive use of the mass media, a form of communications that achieves this purpose but does not come cheap

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[81]Alexander Heard, The Costs of Democracy, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1960), p. 294.

[82]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 64.

and, in fact, has become extremely costly, particularly the medium of television. An example of this rising cost can be seen in the expenditures of candidates for governor of Texas. In 1956, Alexander Heard estimated that between $500,000 and $1,000,000 might have been spent by all the candidates in a statewide primary.[83] In the Democratic gubernatorial campaign of 1968 Eugene Locke alone reported expenses in excess of Heard's estimate for all the candidates in the primary of 1956.

Some evidence of the staggering sums being spent in the Texas gubernatorial races is the reported expenditures for the Democratic gubernatorial primary campaigns of 1968 as filed by the candidates with the secretary of state. Table II lists the major candidates, in order of votes received, funds reported spent in the first primary, May 4, 1968.

It is impossible to estimate what part of the total expenditures of the candidates in the primary of 1968 went to public relations professionals for services rendered. Some of the candidates did not break down their reports into clear categories. For example, some of the aspirants earmarked funds spent for advertising as separate from those for publicity, while others merely listed names of individuals to whom payments were made without identifying them as public relations specialists. However, this writer has made an

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[83]Heard, The Cost of Democracy, pp. 410-411.

attempt to isolate public relations expenditures from the reports of three of the major candidates in an attempt to substantiate the claim that a considerable portion of the campaign moneys is spent with the public relations professional and thus makes even more valid an analysis of his role in and effects on Texas and national politics.

TABLE II

REPORTED EXPENDITURES OF MAJOR CANDIDATES IN THE TEXAS DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY OF 1968*

Candidate	Amount Spent	Estimated Amount Spent With Professional Firms
Smith	$ 845,647.08	Amount Not Available
Yarborough	$ 162,854.61	Amount Not Available
Carr	$ 193,840.51	$ 76,361.01
Briscoe	$ 696,179.80	Amount Not Available
Locke	$1,036,705.31	$ 585,590.00
Hill	$ 313,631.76	$ 193,840.51

*Source: Expenditure reports filed by the candidates with the office of the Texas Secretary of State.

As indicated in Table II, Eugene Locke spent a total of $1,036,705.31. Of this amount $585,590 was earmarked in his expenditure reports as payments to Glenn Advertising of Dallas. John Hill reported spending $313,631.76 in his campaign of which a total of $235,650.77 was spent for advertising. Waggoner Carr reported spending $76,361.01 with

Winn-McLane of Austin, a sizeable portion of the $193,840.51 total expenditures reported. Some of the ways in which the public relations professionals spent these campaign funds will be examined in Chapter IV and should shed some light on the increasing role of the professional in political campaigning.

This chapter has examined the private world of campaign management - those activities aimed at maximizing votes through rational allocations of time, personnel and money. The discussion thus far has been concerned with the strategic considerations which involved professionals as they plan, organize and finance political campaigns. The candidates in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968 turned to public relations professionals. All major candidates made extensive use of public relations experts in the areas of campaign strategy, organization and financing. To some extent all the candidates relied on professional management. The next step is the execution. The effectiveness of the professionals' elaborate preparations can be analyzed by examining the use of various media of campaign communication.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION: MASS PERSUASION POLITICS IN TEXAS

The preceding chapter discussed the involvement of public relations professionals in the strategic planning, organizing and financing of campaigns. The payoff of the professionals' preparations to merchandise candidates is manifest in the campaign setting. Indeed the candidate's increasing belief that the contriving of the setting to his advantage is the essence of a persuasive campaign has enhanced the influence of the professional public relations man. This contrivance of the setting provides an acceptable alternative to direct attempts by the candidate to alter the voters' choices.[1]

The competition of a campaign results in the candidate's preoccupation with his exposure to the public. He assumes that his chance for victory depends on the number of people who hear his message. The campaign for exposure becomes as important as those for money, information and personnel.[2]

The battle for exposure is a difficult one since the candidate's appeal must vie for the voters' attention along

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[1]Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns (Englewood Cliffs, 1960), p. 111.

[2]Ibid.

with sundry other communications, from both political and non-political sources. In Texas, the struggle for exposure is compounded by the large population and geographic expanse of the state. This has meant that personal appearances and community rallies no longer allow the candidate to reach enough of the constituency. The candidates have turned more and more to mass communication. The changes in this highly technical field have led to the employment of professionals who are communication specialists; these include the public relations men, their advertising, media production and marketing skills and contacts.

Mass Media

The media of political campaigners ranges from bumper stickers to "Madison Avenue" television commercials characterized by the soft-sell approach. This chapter will be devoted to discussion and analysis of personal, organizational, display, printed, auditory and television media. The professional plays a prominent role in selecting the medium, or media, used to project the candidate's entreaty. The choice depends on the audience toward whom the message is directed. Selective media are used to appeal to special groups such as farmers, doctors and even to the candidate's own volunteers and supporters. Although the mass media reach more broad based audiences, they have been used in Texas to give the impression of selective communication. One professional firm used the mass media to reach a mass audience,

while appearing to be appealing to a selective segment of the state's population.[3]

Personal Media

In a statewide campaign such as the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968 mass communication is vital. This fact does not, however, imply that the candidate's personal appearances before the voters are of no consequence. Karl Deutsch warns against the mistakes of "overestimating the importance of impersonal media of communication, such as radio broadcasts and newspapers, and the underestimating the incomparably greater significance of fact-to-face contacts."[4]

With the exception of Preston Smith, the serious candidates in the primary of 1968, attempted to coordinate their personal appearances with sophisticated media techniques.

Smith felt that his strongest appeal was his personal presentations and saw his campaign as the most personalized of the primary.[5] Otice Green, Smith's public relations professional, agreed that Smith's advantage was his personal appeal to people. Green planned tours across the state that were designed to expose his candidate to as many people as possible. The face to face contacts were promoted as meetings

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[3]This example of the media specialist's use of mass media technology will be noted in detail later in the chapter.

[4]Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control (New York, 1966), p. 152.

[5]Preston Smith, Governor of Texas, interview, Austin, Texas, July 30, 1969.

between Smith and the state's residents. Green felt that rallies were dead and that the meetings would draw the people whereas rallies would not.[6]

Advertisements announced Smith's forthcoming appearance and invited the local residents to meet with him. One of these advertisements appearing in the Dallas Morning News, was in the form of a formal, personal invitation. In the left hand corner was a picture of Smith and his wife. In the right hand corner, in bold print, were the words "Have Coffee with the Preston Smiths." In the center was the invitation itself. It read: "You are cordially invited to visit with Lieutenant Governor Preston Smith, candidate for Governor of Texas, and Mrs. Smith, Wednesday, May 1, 1968, Mezzanine Lounge, Baker Hotel. Coffee 4 until 6 p.m. Bring your family and friends."[7]

In addition to the coffees, Smith sent out mass mailings of personal letters from the candidate himself. Steering committees were set up in 562 towns and Smith made regularly scheduled stops at most of these small towns. The strategy was that the candidate who visited these towns could win the support of the majority of the voters there, since most of these small communities never had a potential governor come to their town. Green employed as many of the modern techniques

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[6]Otice Green, Otice Green Associates, campaign manager for Preston Smith, interview, Lubbock, Texas, August 26, 1969. Cited hereafter as Green, interview.

[7]Dallas Morning News (April 30, 1968).

as were available to him in an effort to encourage an impressive turnout in these communities. These stops made possible by Smith's three month lead in campaigning, were credited with helping him win the rural vote. Prepared speeches, the most common form of personal appearance, were eliminated as a part of Smith's campaign as were airport interviews. Neither of these appeals were believed to fit the candidate's style or campaign strategy.[8]

Another type of personal medium is the staged rally. While Smith's professionals rejected rallies as a useful campaign technique, Eugene Locke's public relations consultants at Glenn Advertising saw them as valuable. The Rallies served two purposes for Locke. First, it provided a platform for the candidate from which to make a personal appeal to a large audience of potential supporters. Secondly, it presented an opportunity to film a live appearance of the candidate, one that could be viewed later by television audiences across the state. Two rallies were staged; both were in Dallas because of Locke's schedule and because it was felt that his show of strength would be greater in North Texas. The rallies were produced by Olin Terry, whose specialty at Glenn Advertising was the production of live presentations.[9]

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[8]Green, interview.

[9]Olin Terry, media productions specialist, Glenn Advertising, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 9, 1969. Cited hereafter as Terry, interview.

Glenn planned the rallies down to the minute details. In rallies, it is not substance that takes precedence, but rather maximum contrivance of setting to publicize an image, a winning style.

Press conferences have also been used by professionals to expose their candidates. Usually these appearances before the press are conducted under favorable circumstances. Charles Ward, media specialist in the John Hill campaign, combined the newsy appeal of the press conference with the contrived advantages of the taped television program. In mid-January, under the direction of Ward, Hill filmed a television news release announcing his intention to run for the governor's office. These releases were distributed statewide and aired on most of the television stations across the state on January 22, 1968. These filmed press conferences received wide exposure, while the announcements of Hill's competitors' were reported to the voters at scattered times, often by reporters and newscasters rather than by the candidate himself. Ward saw this as unique, as one of many ways in which the media could help add the personal touch to the candidate's campaign.[10]

Personal appearances, especially speeches and rallies, are risky; if the candidate is faced with a hostile audience and loses his composure, shows anger or lack of sympathy, he

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[10]Charles Ward, President of Media Communications, interview, Austin, Texas, September 10, 1969. Cited hereafter as Ward, interview.

causes voter antipathy. This was the case in the 1968 presidential race when Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey was confronted by numerous student militants at several of his public appearances. Many of these confrontations proved embarrassing and frustrating to Humphrey. Some of the public relations professionals in the Texas gubernatorial primary avoided this type of personal exposure of their candidate feeling that the risk was too great. This may help explain why several of the candidates seemingly relied on the professionals' ability to get them mass media exposure in the primary of 1968.

Organizational Media

The term "organizational media" refers to precinct workers, endorsements, speakers' bureaus and other channels of communication within the campaign organization. Each of the major candidates established headquarters around the state and made information available to its volunteers. Some speakers were used in behalf of the candidate and endorsements were sought. Eugene Locke bought several newspaper advertisements in which he listed the endorsement of local and statewide citizens.[11] The names of these supporters were printed as a personal endorsement of Locke. It should be noted here that endorsements from prestigious groups or individuals can be helpful in spreading the candidate's campaign message. Expected endorsements that are

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[11] Dallas Morning News (April 25, 1968).

not received may have the reverse effect. In the Texas primary, Locke was expected to receive the endorsement of Governor John Connally. Although it was apparent that Locke was the governor's choice to succeed him, he never made such a statement publicly. The absence of the personal endorsement was a disappointment to many Locke supporters; some observers believed it hurt the campaign.[12]

Public relations professionals were active in organizational media. Glenn conducted three meetings for workers in the Locke campaign, and prepared a program that displayed the campaign materials and attempted to inspire and motivate the workers. This included the use of stereo music, special lighting effects, preview showings of television spots and introduction of materials which would be available in the worker's area.[13]

The advance man could be placed in several of the media categories, but is discussed under organizational media since a significant amount of his work involves coordinating on-the-road preparations for a candidate's personal appearances. He serves as liason between the major campaign organization and local organizations. Dolph Briscoe hired a public relations man, Jack Mullen, to precede him on his personal tours of the state; several of his opponents followed suit.[14]

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[12]An interview with the writer.

[13]Terry, interview.

[14]Bob Johnson, public relations officer, Bernard M. Brooks Advertising Agency, interview, San Antonio, Texas, August 27, 1969.

Display Media

Display media includes: billboards, bumper stickers, yard signs, buttons and prominently displayed visual aids. These are designed to promote name recognition for the candidate and bolster the spirit of the workers and supporters. Billboards received considerable attention from campaign professionals and are seen by many of them as the most effective of the display media. At a cost of 8-18 cents per 1000 voters reached, they are considered one of the more inexpensive forms of advertising.[15] Outdoor displays in the gubernatorial primary were coordinated with the candidates' themes and television messages. Dolph Briscoe relied heavily on this medium, using the Hyde Agency of Austin, Texas, to place his billboards.[16] Because of the demand for their use and the limited space available at campaign time, the candidates must reserve billboard space long before it is needed.

Glenn Advertising was uniquely qualified in this area. They are one of the few firms who employ a full-time outdoor advertising director. Their director travels the state looking for good locations. The ideal location would be on the right side of the road, entering town, up high and free from obstructions such as utility lines and poles. The director also polices the boards the agency has purchased. Glenn

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[15]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 125.

[16]Dolph Briscoe, interview, Uvalde, Texas, August 28, 1969. Cited hereafter as Briscoe, interview.

placed and policed Locke's outdoor displays. While on one of his trips, the director came upon a double billboard in Childress, Texas. On one side of the board was the advertisement "Eugene Locke Should Be Governor Of Texas"; on the other side was a public service message, "Help Prevent Lock Jaw."[17] Glenn removed the advertisement but not before they had photographed it and distributed copies of the photograph to several news media which in turn gave it national and statewide exposure.

Not all the public relations men felt that billboards were effective enough to be a major part of the campaign. Otice Green states that surveys showed them to have the least appeal to the public of any form of advertisement. He used a few billboards, but only as "gravy" and only after it was determined that the money was not needed elsewhere.[18]

The visual aid can be useful in reaching the involved voter who has not yet made up his mind which candidate to support. Glenn prepared for Locke a visual presentation which consisted of a slide projector with a built in screen and sound system, and placed it in several of the more active campaign headquarters. The potential voter could come to the headquarters window and watch and hear this twelve minute presentation of the life story of Eugene Locke. Fourteen of

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[17]Terry, interview.

[18]Green, interview.

these visual displays were produced and used across the state throughout the campaign.[19]

Printed Media

The printed media most widely used in the Democratic primary was campaign literature, newspaper publicity, and advertising. The skills of the public relations specialists were used extensively, and in some cases exclusively, in the preparation of campaign literature. Some of the literature was directed at mass audiences and was distributed by campaign workers and through direct mailings. Other literature was directed toward specific interest groups and distributed through direct mail and by some of the interest groups themselves. Ethnic groups such as Mexican-Americans received this type of clientele literature from several of the candidates.

Direct mail techniques have become a specialty of several professional campaigners and the results have been startling. John VanCronkhite, whose firm managed Edward Whittenburg's campaign is such a specialist. In behalf of their candidate, his firm employed the latest techniques of computerized direct mailing. Among other things they determined how the material was to go out and, more importantly, who was to receive it. They had access to sundry mailing lists and were able to break these down into selective categories, allowing them to send

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[19]Terry, interview.

literature to those individuals and groups that they felt would be the most receptive.[20]

Don Yarborough thought his public relations staff did an excellent job in designing his campaign literature and identified it as a major contribution of public relations to campaigning. More important to Yarborough, however, was the professional's direct mailing expertise, which he said was the difference in the election. Yarborough believed that mailings were an effective method of getting voters to the poll, especially in the final few weeks of the campaign, since computerized mailings by professionals from lists supplied by influential groups and individuals can reach millions of potential voters. Yarborough attributed his inability to get the voter out as a major weakness of his campaign. He believed his problem was not just selling the people on his candidacy, but getting those who were sold to the polls. He felt that if he had gained access to the mailing lists provided to several of his opponents by firms and groups related to or interested in politics, he would have won. With these lists his professionals could have used their technology to prepare personal mass mailouts that would have helped get voters to the polls and would have also helped in fund raising.[21]

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[20]John VanCronkhite, VanCronkhite and Maloy, campaign management firm for Edward Whittenburg, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 17, 1969. Cited hereafter as VanCronkhite, interview.

[21]Don Yarborough, interview, Houston, Texas, September 10, 1969.

There is evidence that mailed literature promotes voter turnout. In one local election study it was found that of persons not contacted only one-third voted; of those contacted by mail, however, sixty per cent voted; of those contacted, personally, three fourths voted.[22]

Newspapers are a well-known printed medium. The professional campaigners can use them in building an image for their candidate. An image is not the "whole man," but selected characteristics of his personality. The professional emphasizes those traits that are suitable for public exposure and underplays those not suited to the image desired. The candidate assumes a role in life and his image is the impression others have of his character, an impression that the public relations man attempts to construct from his client's physical appearance, conduct, manner, bearing and style of life.[23] All of the mass media are suited to image portrayal, but newspapers, radio and especially television are favorites of the image specialists.[24]

Newspapers provide image-building publicity, editorial endorsements and advertising. Sometimes the candidate's exposure is of the wrong type; in such instances the public relations man's skills make him an asset to the candidate. Even

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[22]Samuel J. Eldersveld and Richard W. Dodge, "Personal Contact or Mail Propaganda?," Public Opinion and Propaganda, edited by Daniel Katz et al., (New York, 1954), pp. 532-42.

[23]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 129.

[24]Gene Wykoff, The Image Candidates (New York, 1968), p. 11.

when the publicity is favorable it is not always enough, and consequently campaign budgets provide major sums for paid advertising. These advertisements include foreign language, ethnic and special interest newspaper appeals, and the oft-used format of personal endorsement which was noted earlier as a part of Eugene Locke's appeal. Personal editorial endorsements are also sought by the candidate and are sometimes shared by candidates. An example of this type of endorsement appeared in an editorial printed the day before the primary of 1968. The Dallas Morning News informed its readers, "For Governor, our personal choice is Eugene Locke of Dallas but we are convinced that the state would be served ably by Waggoner Carr or Preston Smith, both of whom we have supported in the past."[25]

Newspaper advertising has been justified on the basis of studies which show that eighty per cent of pages containing national advertising are scanned by the average reader. These readers are men and women of all ages, races, educational backgrounds, regions and incomes.[26] The professionals have found newspaper advertising useful for appeals to the voters for image-building.

A survey of 30 daily newspapers, representing 70 per cent of the daily newspaper circulation in Texas, showed that they

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[25]Dallas Morning News (May 3, 1968).

[26]The Newspaper Information Committee, A Study of the Opportunity for Exposure to National Newspaper Advertising (New York, 1966).

devoted to the gubernatorial primary campaign, 43,623 column inches of copy in 4,679 stories using 449 pictures, all during the period from the day after the filing deadline, February 6, to election day, May 4. Locke received the most daily newspaper coverage with 3,404 column inches of space in 471 news stories. He was followed by Smith with 2,843 inches in 478 stories; Yarborough, 2,841 inches in 471 stories; Hill, 2,465 inches in 382 stories; Carr, 2,243 inches in 324 stories; and Briscoe, 2,107 inches in 350 stories. The inches of type were figured for a candidate only if he was the main subject of the story. Smith was mentioned in the most stories, 42 per cent, followed by Locke with 40 per cent, Yarborough with 39 per cent, Hill and Carr with 34 per cent, Briscoe with 31 per cent and Whittenburg with 23 per cent. The Houston Post led the metropolitan newspapers in space devoted to the election. Its nearest competitor among the big dailies was the Dallas Morning News, with the Houston Chronicle last among the big daily newspapers.

The marginally interested and uninvolved voters frequently form attitudes, acquire knowledge of issues and vote on the basis of what they read in the newspaper.[28] Thus, newspapers

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[27]The University of Texas Center for Communications Research conducted a survey of newspaper coverage in the primary of 1968, from which the above figures were taken.

[28]James E. Brinton and L. Norman McKown, "Effects of Newspaper Reading on Knowledge and Attitude," Journalism Quarterly, XXXI (Spring, 1961), pp. 187-195.

are given credit for influencing certain kinds of voters. Magazines were also used in the gubernatorial primary in Texas in influencing this same type of voter. VanCronkhite and Maloy placed full page advertisements in the Southwestern edition of both Life and Newsweek magazines for their client Edward Whittenburg.[29]

Auditory Media

So far in the study of mediated campaigns the discussion has focused on the organization of supporters, displays and the printed media, all of which have been used to reach the electorate in place of direct contact. Equally important is the electronic media. Radio brought a new dimension to campaigns and allowed the candidate to speak to mass audiences. Its use was widespread, beginning in the 1920's but declined with the emergence of television. In the Texas gubernatorial primary, its political use was revived and given new meaning by media professionals.

Radio has several advantages over other media. Of major importance to the candidate is its relative low cost as compared with television. This, coupled with the vast and varied audience it reaches, has stimulated its use by politicians. Radios are listened to by commuters in their automobiles, by housewives as they do their chores, by the elderly who matured with them and by teenagers whose transistors are never far from them. Many radio programmers include interview and talk

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[29]VanCronkhite, interview.

shows in their format. The professionals exploit these free, image-building sources of publicity. Radio is particularly suited for candidates who do not present themselves well on television.[30]

Waggoner Carr's campaign was marked with extensive use of the radio, since as Bonner McLane, public relations specialist, explained the lack of money forced him to turn to radio. McLane produced forty programs whose format called for Carr to accept questions by telephone and answer them on the air. The microphone was equipped so that it could be cut off if a caller became abusive. McLane reported that the censorship device was never used, although once they were almost impelled to cut from the air a caller's comments. The use of radio, along with what television they could afford, was considered successful by both Carr and his public relations consultants.[31]

Glenn Advertising used the radio to build name recognition for their candidate, Locke. To accomplish this they engaged the services of Tom Merriman, of T. M. Productions, to write a jingle for them. The jingle paralleled the campaign theme and was built around the repetition of the phrase, "Eugene Locke should be governor of Texas, the governor of Texas should be Eugene Locke."[32] The jingle became extremely popular and

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[30]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 134-135.

[31]Bonner McLane, Winn-McLane, public relations consultants for Waggoner Carr, interview, Austin, Texas, September 15, 1969.

[32]Terry, interview.

was soon being sung or hummed by men, women, and even by school children across the state. One of Locke's opponents even admitted that members of his campaign were caught singing the catchy tune.[33] A prominent member of Locke's organization felt that the effectiveness of the radio productions was the biggest surprise of the whole campaign.[34]

A testimony to the effectiveness of Locke's radio jingle was the subsequent introduction of a similar jingle by John Hill. Hill's jingle involved a play on words which was designed to subtly capitalize on the popularity of the Locke jingle, while at the same time avoiding the appearance of a panicky imitation. It was built around the phrase "John Hill will be governor of Texas." It was introduced by an announcer who explained that John Hill did not believe in contrived images and catchy gimmicks, but if the voters wanted something to hum on the way to the polls then Hill's jingle might satisfy that desire.[35] This statement left the impression that Locke's jingle might be just such a contrived gimmick.

Otice Green was deluged with requests from Smith supporters that he devise a jingle for their candidate. He resisted this pressure because he saw jingles as frivolous and not

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[33]An interview with the writer.

[34]Jess Hay, state chairman of finance for Eugene Locke, interview, Dallas, Texas, July 15, 1969. Cited hereafter as Hay's interview.

[35]Ward, interview.

serious enough to win votes. Green was trying to build an image of leadership for Smith and to suddenly come up with a jingle after Locke's initial success might look as if his candidate was relinquishing his frontrunner position and becoming a follower.[36]

Several of the candidates established Spanish networks to direct radio appeals to the Latin-American population of South Texas. Jerry Rubnick and Associates prepared a series of fifteen minute shows in Spanish for Yarborough. They also arranged for their candidate to appear on several talk shows across the state.[37] Glenn prepared similar shows for Locke; they were particularly benefited by their client's ability to speak Spanish, which enabled Locke to narrate his own radio spots and show some identity with this ethnic group. His jingle was also translated into Spanish.[38]

The telephone is an often overlooked auditory medium. Campaign specialists used it to recruit personnel to raise funds, and to encourage voters to go to the poll. Dolph Briscoe hired Matthew A. Reese and Associates of Washington, D. C. to conduct a telephone campaign that would recruit block captains across the state, who in turn would canvass their neighborhoods and solicit votes for Briscoe. Briscoe

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[36]Green, interview.

[37]Jerry Rubnick, Jerry Rubnick and Associates, public relations for Don Yarborough, interview, Houston, Texas, September 16, 1969.

[38]Terry, interview.

considered the telephone campaign a success.[39] One of his supporters was less enthusiastic, pointing out that the campaign produced a large number of block captains in his metropolitan city, but few votes. In fact Briscoe received fewer votes than he had block captains.[40]

Several of the candidates utilized a special service provided by the telephone companies. Its formal name is Wide Area Telephone Service, but it is usually referred to as the WATS line. The subscriber is allowed to place unlimited numbers of local and long distance calls for a fixed fee. This helps keep the campaign costs down while allowing maximum use of the telephone media.

Television Media

Despite the professional's imaginative use of the media discussed earlier in the chapter, it is television that has given rise to the greatest demand for the public relations man's expertise and the specialist's technological skills. It has caused a revolution in campaigning and has provided the professional with a new approach to image-making. Radio and telephone communications carry the candidate's words; television adds the candidate's appearance.

Television brings the candidate to the voter via the same medium which entertains them. It shatters the apathy

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[39]Briscoe, interview.

[40]An interview with the writer.

of the politicians' desired audience. Primaries are particularly well suited to television campaigning because they often become popularity contests due to the lack of clear-cut issues and party loyalties.[41]

The politician's program must compete with other television programs which means he must appeal to the voter's tastes. The public relations professional is prepared to market the candidate. Glenn Advertising and the Locke campaign offer an appropriate illustration of the role of the professional in television campaigning in the Texas gubernatorial primary. Glenn's television productions were a team effort. The team consisted of Lanier Temerlan, account executive; Don Sumner, copy director; Olin Terry, live productions director; Bob Johnson, creative director; and Paul Miller, marketing director. Collectively they evolved a media package which included the creation, production and marketing of a media plan.

Before Glenn's television productions for Locke are discussed, it should be mentioned that politicians' television appeals have adopted the overall ploy of "contrived spontaneity."[42] The candidate attempts to appear unrehearsed and impromptu. In reality he rehearses his "extemporaneous" performances, edits film versions of live or seemingly live

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[41]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 138.

[42]Ibid., p. 141.

events and employs television specialists to plan the informality he seeks.[43] Richard Nixon, in the presidential campaign of 1968, used the ploy to his advantage. The viewer saw Nixon candidly fielding questions from a panel of citizens and answering them extemporaneously. The situation was far from extemporaneous. Although the panel was free to ask any questions it desired, the possibility that hostile or damaging ones would be asked was diminished by the fact that the participants were carefully chosen and screened. Nixon and his professional staff anticipated what questions would be asked and devised answers for them. Nixon spent hours rehearsing the answers, even going so far as to have several versions of each answer varying in length and precisely timed so that they could be fitted into the on-the-air time schedule.[44]

When the personal media was discussed, reference was made to the video taping of Locke's two Dallas rallies. Olin Terry of Glenn produced these shows that were later shown as half-hour campaign programs. Since the rallies were much longer than the thirty minutes air time purchased, it was necessary to edit and cut parts of the original program. This is where Terry's professional talent was needed in order to retain the spontaneity and continuity of the live event, while

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[43]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Politics and Television (Chicago, 1968), pp. 178-179.

[44]Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President 1968 (New York, 1979), pp. 62-76.

staying within the limits of the time scheduled. He and his associates decided what camera angles projected the image desired for their client. Audience shots were chosen to show the desired responses and narration was interjected where explanation or emphasis was needed. All that was shown the television audience actually took place, but the way in which it was shown was well planned and executed so that the candidate looked his best while under the scrutiny of the camera lens. The candidate must depend upon the media specialist to help him appear poised, articulate and professional when his image appears on the electronic tube.

The Video Tape: A Case Study

A detailed description of one of these rally productions will illustrate the importance of the specialist in television campaigning. The video tape of the rally held April 3, 1968, began with the Texas Symphony and Chorus presenting a two minute rendition of "Born Free." A professional announcer followed the chorus and welcomed the television audience to Market Hall in Dallas where more than 6,000 friends and supporters had gathered to hear gubernatorial candidate Eugene Locke. This was followed by the performance of "This Is My Country" by the symphony and chorus. The master of ceremonies announced that Locke would soon be introduced and the audience responded with a hardy round of applause. Negro baritone

Leroy Hicks followed with the song "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," which was succeeded by an overture of the Locke jingle. The jingle was given full orchestration and the chorus joined with the singing of the theme. While the music was being played the camera would show shots of the symphony, the chorus, the audience, and the large banner with the motto "Eugene Locke Should Be Governor Of Texas." In the audience people were waving placards with slogans favoring Locke and his candidacy.

Locke was then introduced, and he and his wife entered at the rear of the large auditorium made their way through the crowd to the platform amid the cheers of the audience and the music of his campaign theme. After greeting those present Locke spoke on the issues of education, unemployment, law and order and a legislative code of ethics. Portions of his talk were from memory and parts of it were read. The film ended with a personal message by Merrill Connally, Locke's campaign manager, who stated that Locke was the only man whom Governor John Connally felt met the needs of the man to succeed him. This was followed by a thirty second spot urging the people to go to the polls and vote for Locke.[45]

Glenn also produced a series of five minute tapes of Locke that were originally to be shown in the mornings to an

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[45]The video tape of the rally broadcast was made available by Olin Terry of Glenn Advertising and was played and monitored in the studios of KRLD-TV of Dallas.

audience of housewives. They were in imitation of the successful "Coffees with Connally" programs used by Governor Connally in his gubernatorial campaigns. Locke's programs were switched to the night time market for greater exposure. For these programs a special set was constructed which pictured a successful lawyer's den or office with a background of shelves filled with lawbooks and a couch for the candidate to sit on while speaking to his audience.

In these programs Locke spoke personally to his audience on matters of issue. In one of these five minute talks he spoke on education while in another law and order was the topic. In the law and order production this writer noticed that Locke looked to the side, off camera, a minimum of nine times and at the end of the program looked to his left and said "Thank you," rather than looking into the camera and saying it to his audience.[46] It is not known if he was looking to his left, throughout the show, in order to read cue cards, or get time signals, or to receive producer's cues. Whatever his reasons, it is an excellent example of why candidates and professionals believe it is necessary to rehearse and to employ modern media techniques in order to create the image and contrived spontaneity desired.

Bob Johnson, of Glenn, produced a series of thirty and sixty second spots for Locke. They concerned education, the

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[46] Ibid.

need for planning for the future, bureaucratic bottlenecks in state government, unemployment, law and order, air pollution, water pollution and voter apathy. They were extremely well done and followed the flawless sophisticated pattern of "Madison Avenue" advertising. In fact, Glenn had reviewed the television campaign of Jack Tinker and Partners, the New York public relations firm which handled Nelson Rockefeller's successful gubernatorial campaign.

A brief discussion of several of these spots will illustrate what can be done with issues in an effort to attract viewer and voter support. One spot was directed at the need to appoint a task force of experts to advise the governor concerning the future of the state. The scene opened on a long table, surrounded by chairs. In front of every chair was a portfolio with the problem or area of study printed on it in bold letters. The camera panned these portfolios while the announcer commented on the need for future plans concerning inland waterways, exports and imports, public safety and other crucial problems. At the end of each of the spots the campaign theme was then projected on the screen.

In a spot on unemployment a board with a round hole was pictured while a hand tried to fit a square peg into the hole. As the announcer began to explain the need for training programs to prepare people for jobs and help decrease unemployment, the square peg was whittled down until it was round and

at the end of the spot fitted neatly into the hole in the board.

In a very controversial advertisement highlighting the unfortunate consequences of poverty, poor education and inadequate law enforcement a ficticious little girl, Diane Joan Wilson, was created. In the spot Diane was killed by a young boy's zip gun. The effect was hard hitting and provoked discussions, both pro and con, much like the 1964 commercial used by the Democrats in which a little girl was picking petals from a daisy and counting, while in the background a doomsday voice gave a countdown which was followed by a hydrogen bomb explosion.

A final illustration, one of Bob Johnson's favorite productions, dealt with education.[47] The scene opened with a distant shot of a hill. Standing on top of this hill was an extremely long line of school children ranging from kindergarten to the sixth grade. The expressions ranged from pathetic sorrow, to despair, to innocence and joy. The announcer emphasized the need for better education, schools and teachers salaries.[48]

Several observers, including candidates opposing Locke and their public relations specialists, praised the quality and professionalism of these spots. At the same time some

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[47]Bob Johnson, creative director and producer of television spots for Eugene Locke, Glenn Advertising, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 9, 1969. Cited hereafter as Bob Johnson, Glenn Advertising, interview.

[48]These spots were made available by Glenn Advertising.

felt that they might have been too "slick" for the voters of Texas. They believed that many Texans looked with disdain upon political advertisements that present the candidate to the public like a bar of soap and try to manipulate them as voters.[49] Some candidates, while analyzing their on-the-air techniques as diligently as a pro golfer studies his swing, will often assert that there is no place for "public relations gimmicks" and "those show business guys" in political campaigning.[50]

Johnson and several of his colleagues gave this criticism of being too "slick" some thought in their post election analysis of the Locke campaign. Their conclusion was that it was not too "slick" for Texas viewers and that similar appeals were quite successful in marketing products in Texas and a political candidate had to satisfy the same interests and tastes that bought these products. If they were wrong in their assessment of the sophistication of the Texas audiences then they believed that as professionals they would still have to do the best job they could, which is what they thought they had done for Locke.[51]

Nixon received the same criticism of his 1968 campaign. Arie Kopelman, supervisor of the Hubert Humphrey account for

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[49] Interview with the writer.

[50] McGinniss, The Selling of the President, p. 31.

[51] Johnson, Glenn Advertising, interview.

Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, until they were dismissed, said a candidate must avoid being too smooth. "If a communications effort is too smooth it becomes just that -- a communications effort on the candidate's behalf rather than a projection of the candidate himself," Kopelman said. "In the end, communications skills alone can't do it. I don't think it's possible to merchandise a vegetable. I think that eventually the man must show himself. If the advertising is too slick it's not the communication of the man but the communication of the communication."[52] It should be noted, however, that both Nixon and Rockefeller won, either with or in spite of their slick communication.

Glenn's full media service also included marketing research. Paul Miller directed this department, whose responsibility was to determine the best markets for Locke's advertising.[53] Miller and his staff, through research, knew which television and radio stations reached certain audiences. Professional ratings services, such as Pulse, helped in selecting the time slots in which to run advertisements and in determining the number and kinds of audiences being reached. This expertise helped the Locke campaign appeal to maximum audiences at the minumum cost. The expense of television demands the skill of the market researcher and the professional

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[52]McGinniss, The Selling of the President, p. 130.

[53]Paul Miller, director of marketing research for the Locke campaign, Glenn Advertising, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 9, 1969.

public relations specialists provide this service for their candidate clients, as in the case of Glenn's contribution to the Locke campaign.

All of the major candidates relied on professionals to prepare and distribute material for their televised campaigns. Smith's television campaign consisted of filmed shots of the candidate shaking hands with citizens across the state. This emphasized the personalized nature of his campaign. By design he never spoke on one of these spots.[54]

Charles Ward attempted to capitalize on Hill's courtroom experience and ability to speak well for himself. Every night of the last week of the campaign and randomly during the last month, half-hour shows were aired in fifteen to nineteen markets in the state. These shows were called "Candid Candidate" and were based on a live interview format. The listeners would call in questions which were written out by one of several attractive girls who were answering the phones and who were visible as a part of the show's setting. A moderator would then read the name of the caller and the question, to which Hill would respond. There was no attempt to hold back or censor questions. Ward felt that the programs were successful because they capitalized on the candidate's warmth. They were also inexpensive since they not only enabled the candidate to speak, but also provided time for three commercials. Ward explained that three commercials in the same half-hour time

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[54]Green, interview.

slot would have cost about the same even if the candidate had not purchased the entire half hour.[55]

Edward Whittenburg followed the same format and invited his opponents to appear on the program with him. The offers were designed to provide free television exposure for any candidate who would appear and debate Whittenburg. This strategy was unsuccessful in luring opponents into confrontations with Whittenburg, but did give him exposure as a fighter and a serious candidate.[56]

The Image

The mass media, particularly television media, are used by public relations professionals to project their candidate's personality and to create an image for him. It has been suggested that images are perceived qualities that people want for themselves; thus the candidate does not project qualities but becomes a receptacle for "elements of projection that reside in the viewer rather than in the person viewed."[57] To achieve this the specialists place the candidate in settings with materials that highlight the politician's most attractive attributes and exploit the best features of his personality.[58]

On television the candidate's personality must give the impression that he is knowledgeable politically and that he

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[55]Ward, interview.

[56]VanCronkhite, interview.

[57]Lang and Lang, Politics and Television, p. 189

[58]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 144.

possesses the personal human qualities intimately associated with an attractive person.[59] To appear as the type of personality that the voters desire, it is necessary to conduct research that will disclose what voters want. In the Texas primary both the candidates and their public relations consultants conducted research. The most widely used research method are the public opinion polls. Pre-campaign polls help decide the theme for the image campaign, while polls during the campaign provide an estimate of the effectiveness of the image campaign.[60]

Polls also give some indication of the impact of television and other media exposure. In the Locke campaign, Belden Associates were hired to conduct several confidential polls showing the name identification and voter appeal of Locke. Don Young of Glenn was in charge of the agency's research efforts for Locke and worked with these polls.[61] In a pre-campaign poll it was discovered that Locke's name was recognized by less than one per cent of the sample population surveyed. In three subsequent polls taken after the campaign had begun, Locke's identity increased to twenty-four, seventy-three and eighty-four per cent respectively. In the final poll only Yarborough and Carr had greater name recognition

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[59]Lang and Lang, Politics and Television, pp. 186-211.

[60]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 146.

[61]Don Young, Glenn Advertising, researches in Locke campaign, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 9, 1969.

with just nine percentage points separating the leader and Locke.[62]

The overwhelming increase from less than one per cent to eighty-four per cent was evidenced that the radio, television and other media appeals prepared by Glenn were effective in making their candidate known. The Locke campaign also gave some indication of what can happen when media is not used or restricted. In the middle of April, Glenn was forced to cut back on some of their radio and most of their television advertisements. This was necessary because the campaign had run short on money and would have to restrict its spending in order to have any left in the closing days of the campaign. It was at this point that Locke's campaign began to falter. Hay believed that had Glenn been given the funds they needed in the final four weeks of the campaign Locke's popularity and voter appeal would have continued to increase.[63]

The Role of the Professional

As indicated in this chapter, the role of the public relations professional is an important one in image-making. He attempts to reach the maximum audience possible, select formats suited to these audiences, presents material that is dramatic and entertaining and emphasizes those qualities of the candidate that are suited to the image sought. In order

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[62]The polls were conducted by Belden Associates and made available to the writer by Jess Hay, state finance chairman for Eugene Locke.

[63]Hay, interview.

to accomplish this, he employs the latest advertising techniques, film producers and television specialists. He plans strategy, conducts market research, purchases media time, coaches candidates and prepares image material.

These professionals have developed imaginative, innovative and controversial methods of marketing the candidate. These formats allow the candidate to put his resources, both personal and financial, to their best use. In the quest for television exposure, the professionals employed a variety of formats in the gubernatorial primary of 1968.

Ward combined the direct-to-camera approach with the live format and developed the "Candid Candidate" program for Hill; Vancronkhite did the same thing for Whittenburg. Glenn combined the live rally with the filmed appearance format and came up with a filmed rally that gave a pseudo-live effect.

The most widely used format was the spot commercial. These were half-minute to one-minute films designed to persuade through shock or humor. The leading example of a spot created to shock the audience was a pseudo event in which Diane Joan Wilson was killed by a zip gun. It was prepared by Glenn for Eugene Locke and was referred to earlier in the chapter. Glenn also employed humor in their spots. In emphasizing the problem of the existence of excessive red tape in Texas government, the spot opened with a scene in which a government employee was sitting at a desk doing some paper work. In the next scene the work is passed forward to another

employee at a desk directly in front of the first employee. This continues several more times until finally the camera pans to a distant shot and shows that the desks are in a circle and that the paper work has made its way around the desks ending up where it began. At each desk the same routine was performed implying duplication and unneccessary red tape. All the time this was going on the movements were made in syncopation with the rhythm of the "Blue Danube Waltz."

The five-minute trailer was also used by Glenn. A series of five minute, direct-to-camera films were produced for Locke. They were scheduled at the end of regular television program time. These programs were referred to earlier when the television media was examined. In the closing days of the campaign some lengthy, half-hour to one-hour, programs and documentaries were aired.

Paid advertising is only a part of the service the public relations specialist provides for his client. Free publicity is also a much desired method of communication. The professional attempts to get his candidate in the news. This is important since many people believe that anything and anyone important will be in the news.[64] The professional accomplishes this by preparing material (live, filmed and taped) that gives the impression it is news. For example, as pointed out above, Ward prepared filmed releases of Hill's announcement to run for Governor.

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[64]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 155.

The television news medium is particularly receptive to prepared and creative material, since they are not equipped to be newsgatherers and since they are in competition with other stations and media. Thus, stories handed to them on a platter are often aired. Candidates are usually made available to television photographers and events are scheduled by the public relations men so that they can be filmed and processed in time for the evening news telecasts. The professional tries to place his candidate in a setting or situation that will attract the news coverage.

CHAPTER V

PROFESSIONAL CAMPAIGNING IN TEXAS: EFFECTS, CONSEQUENCES AND DIRECTION

Political campaigns are but one form of persuasive communications designed to influence the actions of people; nevertheless they possess certain similarities to other types of persuasive campaigns waged in American life: advertising, merchandising, public relations, public service appeals and propaganda. The campaigner, the setting, and the audience are elements particularly common to all these campaigns. However, each political campaign is unique and can not be duplicated. It is shorter in duration than most other campaigns and the results usually are known immediately on election day. The vote tabulation decides the payoff for the candidates' personal sacrifice and hard work, and for the professional campaigners' elaborate preparations in gathering relevant information about the electorate so as to devise strategies and contrive the setting to the advantage of client-candidates.

On May 4, 1968, the Texas electorate passed judgment on the efforts of candidates and public relations professionals to influence their choice of the Democratic nominee for governor. As indicated in Table I, Don Yarborough received

more votes than anyone else but did not receive a majority. He was forced into a runoff with Preston Smith, who finally emerged as the Democratic nominee for governor.

TABLE III

1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS*

Candidate	First Primary	Runoff Primary
Yarborough	419,003	621,226
Smith	389,564	767,490
Carr	275,535	
Briscoe	225,686	
Locke	218,118	
Hill	154,908	
O'Daniel	47,911	
Whittenburg	22,957	
Veloz	9,562	
Hackworth	5,484	

*Source: Office of the Secretary of State, State of Texas

Important to this study is some estimate and explanation of the effects of professionally-mediated campaigns on voter behavior and speculation about the consequences of modern campaign technology for democratic elections in Texas. Such will be the task of this chapter.

A Field Theory of Campaign Effects

In the preceding chapters discussion has been confined to descriptive accounts of the use of professional campaigning in American politics and its pragmatic application in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968. From this research several important conclusions may be drawn - conclusions that perhaps will contribute to an understanding of the impact that the invasion of professional managers, public relations men, pollsters and image makers have had upon the whole of the democratic process and the consequences for Texas politics in particular. Such judgments and inferences lack validity without some discussion of the theories upon which they are based.

The theory underlying contemporary campaigning is the theory of persuasion. It assumes that society is made up of a mass of individuals who obtain the majority of their information from communications media rather than from each other. In this mass society there are certain shared attitudes, but for the most part peoples' attitudes are diversified. This differentiated mass is conditioned to behave in certain ways and this results in stable personal attitudes. Members of the mass are also selective and pay attention to messages that interest them, reinforce what they believe or are the most agreeable of those competing for their attention.[1]

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[1]Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), pp. 31-33.

In the Texas primary of 1968, several public relations consultants attempted to produce desired votes by manipulating the selective attention barriers constructed by the electorate. One method used by Glenn Advertising was their effort to present attractively Eugene Locke by associating him with the universal slogan, "Eugene Locke should be governor of Texas!" Another public relations specialist attempted to remove and control any elements of a communication setting that competed with his candidate. For example, he prepared a television production in which his candidate was to be introduced by a prominent Texas resident. After reviewing the finished product the public relations professional realized that the appearance and mannerisms of the man making the introduction were overshadowing those of the candidate. To eliminate this competition the visual appearance of the narrator was dropped from the spot and only his voice and prominent name were used.[2] A final method of selective barrier manipulation used in the Texas Democratic primary of 1968 was the technique of repetition. All of the public relations professionals used this technique in an effort to increase the chances that people would pay attention and that their messages would reach the individual in a variety of contexts. Locke and Hill made extensive use of the singing jingle to repeat their themes while the other candidates made similar

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[2]An interview with the writer.

use of the various media to repeat their messages.[3] The professional campaigners have become specialists in the application of the techniques of mass persuasion in election campaigns and presumably see the electorate as a differentiated mass which is conditioned to act in a certain manner and has little interest in politics.

Because of the professionals' use of persuasive communications, two theories evaluating the effect of professionally-mediated campaigns upon voter behavior have emerged. The first, the theory of attitudinal effects, focuses on the attempts of campaigns to change personal attitudes. The second, the theory of perceptual effects, suggests that persuasive campaigns do not change voter attitudes, but shape voting behavior by shaping human perceptions.[4]

The Theory of Attitudinal Effects

Several current studies concerning a theory of attitudinal effects have assumed that a person's attitudes guide his behavior by conditioning him to respond either positively, negatively or indifferently to a stimulus.[5] This implies that to change behavior one must change the attitudes that

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[3] Supra, Chapters III-IV.

[4] Ibid., p. 163.

[5] See, for example, C. I. Hovland, A. A. Lumsdaine, and F. D. Sheffield, Experiments on Mass Communication (Princeton, N. J., 1949); Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelley, Communication and Persuasion (New Haven, 1953); and Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

guide it. Additional studies suggest other categories of attitude change[6] which have been summarized into three types that are generated by persuasive campaign communications: (1) modifying effects which reinforce, crystallize and/or activate, and neutralize; (2) long-term creative effects; and (3) conversion.[7] A fourth possibility is that campaigns do not change attitudes.[8] This theory, if accepted, concludes that campaigns reinforce, crystallize and activate long-term voter loyalties and are thereby relatively ineffective in winning votes from the opposition. It best describes the involved or committed voter who makes up his mind prior to or early in the campaign and is affected very little by the professionally mediated campaign.[9] All this is related to the professional campaigner as long as the campaign he is conducting is directed at winning votes by changing attitudes.

The Theory of Perceptual Effects

The theory of perceptual effects offers an alternative explanation of voting behavior and focuses on the uninvolved

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[6]Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York, 1961), See also Otto N. Larsen, "Social Effects of Mass Communication," in Robert E. L. Faris, Handbook of Sociology (Chicago, 1964), pp. 348-381.

[7]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 167.

[8]Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York, 1960), p. 124.

[9]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 192.

or slightly involved voter. While the highly involved individual contrasts opposing views with his own and resists persuasion to change, the less committed person assimilates alternative views into his own point of view and accepts any one of several options to behavior, without necessarily changing his attitude with which he had a low level of involvement.[10] In this case persuasion is not an attempt to change attitudes, but is an effort to penetrate weak perceptual barriers and acquaint the individual with alternative ways of behaving, all of which conform to his basic predispositions.

If the purpose of persuasion is to shift the perceptions of the uninvolved or slightly involved, then the following qualities which are attributed to communication by mass media are important: (1) form of messages is more important than content;[11] (2) imagery is crucial to the extent that the message or candidate is ambiguous enough so that the member of the audience can read what he wants into what is presented to him; (3) message repetition is an integral part of shifting perceptions. This theory of perceptual effects is useful in discussing political campaigns since many Americans have

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[10]Carolyn W. Sherif, Muzafer Sherif, and Roger E. Nebergall, Attitude and Attitude Change (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1965), pp. 11-17.

[11]Carl I. Hovland, et al., The Order of Presentation in Persuasion (New Haven, 1957), p. 136. See also Sherif et al., Attitude and Attitude Change, p. 16.

low involvement in political affairs, especially below the level of presidential elections.[12]

Basic to this theory is the belief that people receive gratifications from their exposure to the mass media. One such gratification is based on the notion that the lesser involved citizens look to the media as a source of play (entertainment) rather than information.[13] What they derive from the mass media in a political campaign is entertainment not information. Mass media specialists also contend that the individual participates in an interaction between himself and the mass media, a form of "para-social" play.[14] This participation expands his social world and makes him a part of a "global village."[15] Political television particularly contributes to the para-social participation by viewers in election campaigns. Because people participate in political communication via the mass media as play with relatively low involvement, much of what they receive is symbolic. They perceive only an image of the reality of the campaign message.[16] Therefore an image campaign presents

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[12]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 181-183.

[13]William Stephenson, The Play Theory of Mass Communication (Chicago, 1967).

[14]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Politics and Television (Chicago, 1968), p. 20; Donald Horton and R. Richard Wohl, "Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction," Psychiatry, XIX (August 1966), 215-29.

[15]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extension of Man (New York, 1964), pp. vii-xi.

[16]Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana, Illinois, 1964), pp. 122-123.

the candidate to the voter in ways that highlight style and ambiguity of content.

In choosing to employ the theory of perceptual effects the professional campaigner attacks weak perceptual defenses in hopes of shifting perceptions. The shifts may be reinforced by repetition of gratifying entertainment which in turn may activate sympathetic perceptions by providing a creditable voting choice. Attitude change is not the purpose of this theory, but delayed attitude change after perceptual shifts followed by voting choices is a possibility.[17] The guiding of the uninvolved voter by using the theory of perceptual effects involves the voter in the process of role-taking. The candidates assume the roles of leaders and citizens moving towards their role as voters. The professional's job is to see that his candidate's role converges with those played by the highly involved, slightly involved and uninvolved voters.[18]

In recent years political public relations has emerged as an industry in Texas. Its practitioners, however, have generally failed to apply theoretical analysis to their undertakings and do not possess a set of standards which are accepted throughout the profession. In the primary of 1968 few public relations specialists drew from any tested body

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[17]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 193.

[18]J. Milton Yinger, Toward a Field Theory of Behavior (New York, 1965); Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin Thomas, Role Theory (New York, 1966), pp. 3-63.

of knowledge or consciously analyzed their clients' problems in theoretical ways. This absence of theoretical underpinnings and lack of common guidelines does not detract from the importance of the professional campaigner in Texas politics, but rather serves to illustrate how he might be even more effective in political campaigning if he would employ theoretical analysis when dealing with the problems of client-candidates.

Although theory eluded them, the professional campaigners in Texas recognized the immediate attitudinal and perceptual consequences and the symbolic aspects of campaigns. They had developed a sophisticated technology to tap these short- and long-term responses. Their use and manipulation of media techniques to contrive settings to the candidate's advantage and their image-making strategies which were designed to structure the client's image so that the voter could identify with the candidate those qualities he desired for himself were discussed in detail earlier in this study.[19] That discussion illustrates how the public relations professionals in Texas recognized the immediate consequences of their efforts to persuade voters to support their clients. Images for candidates were contrived; however, they were often the result of trial and error due to the public relations specialist's unfamiliarity with the theories discussed previously.

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[19] Supra, pp. 115-120.

The public relations consultant who produced the television spot in which his candidate was introduced by a personality that made his candidate look bad[20] could have saved production costs and time had he been familiar with a theory of perceptual effects. He eventually achieved the desired consequences, but paid a greater price than necessary.

Several of the public relations consultants were less effective due to their half-hearted application of the principles of image theories. They used certain image-building techniques, yet shied away from others because they felt that Texans were not ready for the "slick" image campaigns. An analysis of their candidates' problems from a theoretical framework might have helped them reach a more diversified audience. For example, one consultant never let his client say a word in the advertisements presented through the auditory media. He was therefore seen by some audiences as less than sophisticated and incapable of articulating for himself the principles for which he stood. By careful use of controlled exposures intended for voters in this situation, the candidate could have been presented in a manner in which he became sufficiently flexible to satisfy a wide variety of image predispositions held by members of the Texas electorate.

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[20] *Supra*.

Professional Campaigns and Their Consequences on Democratic Politics in Texas

In addition to the effects of the professionally mediated campaign upon voting behavior, as discussed above, there are several consequences of modern campaign technology. The influence of professionally-conducted campaigns which has received the most public exposure is campaign costs. Waggoner Carr recalls the days when a candidate could "competitively seek the governor's office if he had $40,000 at his disposal. Today it takes nearly that much to purchase time on a statewide television hookup."[21] The reported expenditures of the candidates in the 1968 primary illustrate how costly it is to hire the professional and conduct a serious campaign.[22] The result has been that a declining number of politicians and citizens can afford to run for office. For many less affluent members of society, this has meant a closing off of the opportunity to seek changes through the present system, since they cannot run for office themselves or find candidates to support whom they regard as creditable alternatives. In the gubernatorial primary of 1968, both the candidates and their professional public relations specialists bemoaned the fact that they lacked the necessary funds to conduct the type of campaign that they felt would bring victory.

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[21]Waggoner Carr, Austin attorney and gubernatorial candidate in 1968, interview, Austin, Texas, September 15, 1969. Cited hereafter as Carr, interview.

[22]Supra., p. 86.

The rising costs of the new technology has precipitated demands that full disclosure of spending be required of candidates, that governmental funding of election campaigns be instituted, and that the federally regulated media be forced to lower their charges for services rendered to candidates seeking public office. It is unlikely that such controls and financial reforms that would open the new technology of elections to rich and poor alike will be established. The American public is generally indifferent to the problem, some even believing that unregulated spending provides minimal controls and keeps the "rifraff" out of American politics.[23]

Another consequence of the professionally mediated campaign is the likelihood of deception in political campaigning. Through the magic of electronic editing a candidate could be re-created on film and presented to the public. Few of the public relations practitioners interviewed for this thesis denied this potential for deceiving the electorate, but none would admit to having done so. Although these cases of deception may be few, there is no assurance that superfluous services and questionable gimmicks may not in future be sold the gullible candidate, or that systematic and intentional misleading of the electorate may not occur.

An example of deception can be seen in the Democratic primary of 1968. One public relations professional, when

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[23]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 193-195.

interviewed, displayed a newspaper advertisement which contained an emotional endorsement of his client-candidate. The endorsement was in the form of a letter written by a soldier in Vietnam to his mother who was trying to decide for whom to vote in the upcoming primary. The letter was printed in newspapers across the state as authentic. The professional explained in detail how he had composed this letter himself and how he had purposely made mistakes and strikeovers to make it look more authentic. At no time did he say anything that would lead the interviewer to believe that he was concerned that this was contrived and a deliberate deception of the electorate.[24]

Harold Dudley of the Smith campaign did not believe that deceptions by the professional technologists could re-create a candidate; and he supported his claim with the old adage, "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."[25] Although this thesis is primarily concerned with Texas politics, the consequences discussed above extend beyond its borders to systems in other states and countries. An example from California politics challenges Dudley's assumption. In January, 1964, Senator Clair Engle decided to seek reelection in California despite the fact that he had undergone serious brain surgery

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[24]An interview with the writer.

[25]Harold Dudley, public relations consultant, Preston Smith campaign, interview, Austin, Texas, July 17, 1969. After Smith was elected governor, Dudley was appointed his executive assistant.

the previous August. The operation left him with a paralyzed arm and seriously affected his ability to walk and talk. The announcement of his candidacy came in a forty-two second television film which had been filmed many times and minutely edited to give little indication of any of his disabilities. The appearance of a healthy man overshadowed the actuality of his illness. Engle died before the primary, but the incident hints at the potential that lies in manufacturing false images.[26]

Dilemmas in Professional Campaigning

Earlier in this chapter it was noted that there is a lack of evaluative standards among professional campaigners, a fact which raises questions of ethics. One public relations man has stated that ethically, "the pursuit of public relations is neutral and, as such, can be applied to either good or evil ends."[27] The concept raises dilemmas concerning what are good ends and what are evil ends, and in campaign management there are some problem areas.

First, many firms and public relations consultants work for several clients in an election. This was the case in the gubernatorial campaigns of 1968 in Texas. One professional

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[26]Robert MacNeil, The People Machine (New York, 1968), pp. 136-137.

[27]Patrick J. Sullivan, "Madison Avenue Mafia?" America CII (March 12, 1960), 704.

explained that he worked for one party's candidate in the primary, the opposition party's candidate in the general election and then was hired by the victor of the election, against whom he had campaigned, to provide services for him after he took office.[28] In this particular case the professional was selling his technological skills; in other cases public relations men have collected fees for research performed for one candidate and then sold that same research, for a fee, to another candidate running in the same district, county or state. In some instances professionals have been hired to promote a gubernatorial candidate and then separately employed to publicize and conduct rallies for a presidential candidate and have actually charged two fees when they brought the presidential hopeful into their state to endorse the gubernatorial candidate. There are no guidelines concerning the ethics of such actions, but it has happened.[29] No doubt the implications should be pondered by governmental decision-makers.

Second, the influence that the campaign professionals have in making policy is growing constantly and has resulted

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[28]An interview with the writer.

[29]"Campaign Management Grows Into National Industry," Congressional Quarterly, XXVI (April, 1968), 710. Evidence of this occurring in Texas was revealed in an interview with the writer.

in some ethical problems. The relationship between the candidate and the specialists may become one in which "the tail wags the dog." Parties seeking new images may find themselves abandoning their traditional supporters when they follow the restructuring advice of the professional. Individual candidates may in the end owe their election not to party, but to personal organizations spearheaded by professional management; once elected they may not respond to party programs and dictates, but to the professionals and the interests they represent. This might be the greatest potential impact that the professional public relations specialist will have on the political system. In the Texas Democratic gubernatorial campaign of 1968, the majority of the candidates and professionals expressed doubt that the professional would ever be in a "wagging position," because they felt the final decision was up to the candidates. Ironically, others in the same campaign were policy makers and were using their tools of persuasion to convince the candidate that he really wanted to follow their suggestions and that they were not dictating to him or usurping his prerogative to make the final choice.

One of these public relations experts who used his skills in the primary of 1968 to convince the candidate that following the professionals' advice was what he really wanted to do, went so far as to characterize the politician as an immature individual who can not face the facts of political life. The politician, according to this specialist, must have a

strong ego, be self-centered and not be hampered by modesty. This professional believed that his most important contribution for candidates such as this was his ability to be objective and persuade the client to follow his advice. He believed that he had been successful since the candidate had done everything he asked him to do. A major candidate in the same Democratic primary admitted that he could use all the image-shaping help the professional had to offer, but denied that by doing so he was relinquishing any campaign sovereignty.[30] Attitudes such as these expressed by professional campaigners and candidates in Texas could create an environment in which the candidate becomes dependent on the public relations professional and responds to his interests rather than to the party's.

The dilemmas stimulated by these ethical issues go beyond the belief that candidates aided by professional campaigners can defeat candidates who have no professional advice. The significant point is that in Texas and American politics the time is fast approaching when all campaigns of all candidates in all elections at all levels will be conducted with the aid of professional management. As this occurs, professional campaign management will function with the same institutional characteristics as legislatures,

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[30]Interviews with the writer. The role of the professional in policy making in the primary of 1968 is discussed in more detail in Chapter III. Supra, pp. 72-75.

journalistic estates, bureaucracies, political parties, executives and courts. As a participant in transactions with these traditional centers of democratic government professional campaign management will leave its imprint on them as they have left their mark on this emerging profession.[31]

The ethical issues are to this point dependent upon self-regulation by the professionals themselves. Despite the efforts to organize the American Society of Political Consultants in 1969 designed to consider professional standards, no ethical codes accepted by all technical personnel yet guide the behavior of the professional political campaigner. This fact was supported by the responses from the professional public relations men interviewed for this study. All of them had standards they followed, but there was no general consensus concerning their importance.

At present there is ferment and confrontation between exponents of elections based on conflicts of principle (the "New Politics") and those committed to the preservation of elections as conflicts between parties (the "Old Politics"). This confrontation was evident in the campaign of one of the major candidates seeking the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1968. His campaign leadership and workers were divided into two factions: those who supported the idea of

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[31]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 65-68.

party politics and those who emphasized the need for an election based on conflicts of principle.[32]

The professional technology is thriving in this environment and is ironically congenial to both the old and new politics, while at the same time adversely affecting the interest of each. Party organizations are becoming increasingly dependent upon the public relations professionals. These professionals are independent factors in political elections rather than the servant of the parties and have been employed by the parties to restructure their organizations. For example, Charles Ward, of Media Communications, along with other professional campaigners, was hired by the Republican Party of Texas to help it reorganize and restructure itself. An important part of this reorganization was the extensive use of the technological skills of campaign professionals,[33] who also aided the parties in recruiting members, researching clienteles, and raising funds. As a result, candidates winning nominations in primaries with the help of the public relations specialists are becoming less and less subservient to partisan controls of parties. In such circumstances, the Old Politics and the professionals' new technology are not compatible.

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[32]An interview with the writer.

[33]Charles Ward, President of Media Communications, interview, Austin, Texas, September 10, 1969.

Meanwhile, the professional also threatens the New Politics. Although they produce a candidate who is informed of his constituents' views - an important tenet of participatory democracy - the manner in which they do this is distasteful to followers of the New Politics. The candidate becomes a contrived personality manufactured by the professional. Elections are not confrontations of principles or conflicts of parties as far as the public relations professional is concerned. They are instead contests of personalities offered to the public by the public relations professional. Many candidates and professional campaigners agree with Dudley and argue that no professional campaigner can make an individual anything other than what he is. However, there is evidence that the public relations specialists can make a candidate appear to be what he is not and if the theory of perceptual effects discussed previously has any validity, the appearance may count more than the reality.[34]

Hypothesis Revisited

In the beginning of this study the hypothesis was set forth that professional public relations firms were playing an ever-increasing role in Texas politics,[35] and it appears that this hypothesis is supported by the material gathered

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[34]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, pp. 196-199.

[35]Supra., pp. 4-5.

for this study. Candidates and public relations professionals alike attested to this fact. Bonner McLane described professional campaigning as a "relatively new arrival on the political scene in Texas" and was impressed by its increased use. He noted that the firm Collins-Knaggs and Associates was indicative of the type of professional organization that would be most successful in political campaigning in Texas. He believed they were unique because they had put together a staff that was comprised of individuals with expert public relations skills and practical political experience in Texas politics.[36] Jerry Hall, press secretary for Governor Preston Smith, had spent sixteen years as a journalist covering election campaigns and saw the use of professionals increase with each election. He suggested that their participation in the campaign was the most important aspect in the electoral process.[37] Merrill Connally believed the increase in the use of professional public relations men to be so great that a politician could no longer win a major race without enlisting the aid of a professional.[38] Otice Green, Preston Smith, and John VanCronkhite all concurred that professional management

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[36]Bonner McLane, Winn-McLane, public relations consultants for Waggoner Carr, interview, Austin, Texas, September 15, 1969.

[37]Jerry Hall, press secretary for Governor Preston Smith, interview, Austin, Texas, July 17, 1969.

[38]Merrill Connally, campaign manager for Eugene Locke, interview, Floresville, Texas, August 28, 1969.

was on the increase and that the public relations man's skills constituted an important part of Texas politics. However, they saw public relations in campaigning as nothing new since they all became involved with political public relations beginning in the 1950's.[39]

In the past, the public relations man's position and influence have not been generally understood by the public, although this may be changing as a result of popular works by James Perry[40] and Joe McGinniss,[41] and academic treatments such as Dan Nimmo's The Political Persuaders.[42] His importance is known, however, within campaigning circles by candidates and party organizations. This study of the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1968 showed the widespread use of the professional by Texas politicians. All the serious candidates enlisted the aid of public relations professionals.

The consequences of the professional campaigners' role in Texas politics has shifted the direction of power and influence. Like it or not, Texans as well as their fellow Americans, must move toward a time for a searching understanding and reappraisal of the ways in which their leaders are being elected.

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[39]Otice Green, Otice Green Associates, campaign manager for Preston Smith, interview, Lubbock, Texas, August 26, 1969. Preston Smith, Governor of Texas, interview, Austin, Texas, July 30, 1969. John VanCronkhite, VanCronkhite and Maloy, campaign management firm for Edward Whittenburg, interview, Dallas, Texas, September 17, 1969.

[40]James Perry, The New Politics (New York, 1968).

[41]Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President 1968 (New York, 1969).

[42]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders.

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