Seats Choctaw

By the State Staff HARTSHORNE - Overton James, governor of the Choctaw Indian Nation and an official with the state department of education in Oklaho-

ma City, has been elected g president of the inter-tribal council of the Five Civilized Tribes.

who was elected S during the quarterly meeting of the council at Jones Aca-g demy near Hartshorne, succeeds W. E. <u>Doe</u> McIntosh, strulsa, principal chief of the

Creeks.



Bryce N. Harlow

Ike's Former **Aide Slates** City Address

Bryce N. Harlow, former deputy assistant to President Eisenhower and an Oklahoma City native, Friday will address a forum luncheon sponsored jointly by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and the Better Business Bureau.

The luncheon in the Skirvin Tower Hotel Persian Room will launch "Better Business Bureau Week," proclaimed by Mayor Shirk for January 13 through 19.

Harlow, now director of governmental relations for Procter & Gamble, will discus government - businessconsumer relations.

A member of a prominent city family, Harlow attended universities in Oklahoma and Texas and holds a master's degree in political science from the University of Oklahoma.

He served five years in the office of Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, and is presently a colonel in the army reserve.

'In Oklahoma City, Harlow was successively advertising manager and vice president of the Harlow Publishing Corp.

:He returned to Washington to join the White House staff in 1953. As administrative assistant to the president, he was charged with the preparation of speeches. Later, he was named deputy assistant, responsible for directing all congressional affairs of the president.

NATIONAL OBSERVER

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MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1967

A Weekly Newspaper

Nelson Rockefeller's Last Hurrah

The Almost-Perfect Political Campaign

Nelson A. Rockefeller, the happiest multimillionaire, repeated those magic words last week: "I do solemnly swear that I will . . . faithfully discharge the duties of the office of governor according to the best of my ability."

Sweet words for a man no one ever thought could be elected to a third term. Costly words. To win re-election, some \$260,000 was spent for each lovely little word. Nelson Rockefeller's winning campaign was far and away the most expensive state-wide effort ever put together in this country. Not only the most expensive, but the most imaginative, and perhaps the most ruthless. It was, in fact, the closest thing to a perfect political campaign this democracy has ever seen.

Some supporting evidence:

✓ No state-wide candidate has ever used television so much, so well. A Na-tional Observer survey indicates that 3,027 commercials were shown on New York State's 22 commercial television stations in behalf of Mr. Rockefeller. The actual figures, given the inconsistency of reporting methods, might run as high as 4,000.

✓ No state-wide candidate has ever distributed so much literature and campaign paraphernalia. The Rockefeller forces distributed 27,000,000 buttons, brochures, and broadsides. That's about 4½ items for every person who turned out to vote.

r The candidate himself, traveling by bus, by jet, by helicopter, even by sea-plane—and constantly in radio touch with his 84-room headquarters at the New York Hilton—visited all 62 counties in the state. In August alone, he shook hands at 17 county fairs in upstate New York. Mr. Rockefeller spent his energy with just as much abandon as he and loyal mem-bers of his family spent their cash.

The Last Campaign?

"Never again," says one of his chief visers, "will we see another campaign "Never again," says one of his chief advisers, "will we see another campaign like it." He may be right, for Mr. Rockefeller insists his recovery from Presidential fever is complete, and his advisers take him at his word. Presumably, this campaign was Nelson Rockefeller's last hurrah.

It is, of course, ironic. Here, the picture of rugged good health at the age of 58, is a man who has mastered the mysterious arts of the new politics; or, at least, these arts have finally been masat least, these arts have many been many tered by the men around him. But, just as he and his experts have reached the top of their political form—in a tech-nical sense—the game is up.

nical sense—the game is up.

Mr. Rockefeller may leave many legacies; he has been, after all, an activist as governor of New York. He leaves, too, a political legacy, and it's his winning campaign for a third term as governor. From this day hence, this campaign will be the apotheosis. Already, wise men are traveling to New York to talk and listen; professionals from the British Labor Party have been here and so have Scandinavians. The men who seek to win the Republican nomination for George Romney are wooing the men who worked for Nelson Rockefeller (so far without much Nelson Rockefeller (so far without much

And for the ordinary voter, living anywhere, the Rockefeller campaign is significant. After all, this campaign, like Please Turn to Page 16. Column 1



Imost-Perfect Political 5 hone elson Kockefeller's Last Hurrah entertain mony + milual exchange trong on! 5 3000 wella d Par THE NATIONAL OBSE Competencie, ther to of tribute to tioning 5 ming

TILLA X

throw

Choicelilemoreato

Monday, January 9, 1967

ANNUR (V.O.): You're looking at one day's

Film: Length: Title:

#R-60-24 ht :60 t "2 Packs a Day"

supply of good old New York City air.

>

16

Continued From Page One

able to devote more than peripheral attention to politicians or to political issues. o and petty concerns and hardly willing or or properly used by sincere men or properly used by insincere men—may be dangerous. They at least should be understood. and his support. Some of these techused to win that lone voter's attention any other, was ultimately directed at that this campaign, new techniques were

fect campaign was planned and waged. or the first time—of how the almost-per-Here then is the story—told in detail

heavy-set man named William J. Ronan, onetime dean of the New York University Graduate School of Public Administra-Nelson Rockefeller. A very unpopular Nelson Rockefeller. At his side was a Roman, really—is an issues man, and the politicians held him in contempt. A politicians held him in contempt. The politicians held him in contempt. A with intellectuals. As usual these days, its architect the politicians were wrong. planned the Rockefeller campaign; he was tion and Social Services. Mr. Ronan-Dr. To start at the beginning, there was Dr.

one could beat him. There were so many negatives. He had been in office for alother people just thought they were agcalls. he got full credit for all these new taxes. good. Indications were that almost grieved. most eight years and he had made a the governor in the polls was not very major way. "We had a problem," Dr. Ronan rells. "In January of 1966 the position of decisions that irritated some people; He'd raised taxes twice in One was a sales tax. any-

government. The result was a the Buffalo and Syracuse areas. with the Legislature and Medicald [New York's program for medi-cal care for the elderly]. The compromise was higher than the original bill, and the governor got credit for it. It was only after the bill was passed that newspapers pointed out its cost to state and government. The result was a fu "Then he had this very long session a struggle over was a furor

"Also, there was the so-called personal

problem. Some people alleged it was still there." Dr. Ronan meant, of course, Mr. Rockefeller's celebrated divorce and his remarrlage to a younger woman who was a divorcee herself.

"On the other side, Rockefeller had accomplished more in eight years than any other governor. But these positives

from the usual political approach," Dr. Ronan notes. "We moseyed around the field and we found Jack Tinker & Partners, part of the Interpublic complex. We liked their different approach. It was offered to the control of the liked their different approach. ing some products." One of those restored beat and it had been successful in restorwas Alka-Seltzer; another,

of Dr. Ronan to the swinging offices of Jack Tinker & Partners. The door opens upon a large living room, a well-stocked bar ready to go at one end. The couches are deep and modern. Ministirted girls dash breathlessly from room to room, carrying mugs of coffee. This is the place where the celebrated Mary Wells used to work, until she quit to open her own agency. Not so surprisingly, her first account turned out to be Braniff airways. The scene switches, in wonderful confrom the stark, businesslike office

A Different Kind of Agency

of our commercials tries to talk with the to look at it. Says Jack Conroy, who supervised the Rockefeller account: "Each rapport with the person who is expected to look at it. Savs Tank Commercial is its people who work there is creative. their sets in their own terms. This is almost automatic with the Tinker people." has an air and a style about it almost singular. It's a different agency. The favorite word of the You talk to the people in front of with or without Mary

quit. It won the day. the account was up for grabs, they went after it. The Tinker presentation was made by Mary Wells, shortly before she political client. The Tinker people had never handled But, when they heard

I was held in his purvase in Street," one of them recalls. "He was there and so was Ronan, and his private pollsters too. We were impressed by the governor's own evaluation of his probestill one of the pollsters got up and a control of the pollsters got up and said to him, was due to convene. The Tinker people still remember their first meeting with Governor Rockefeller and his people. "It about the first of April, fully five months before the Republican State Convention Governor Rockefeller and his people. Tinker learned it had won the account

The Time to Work

The creation of good television takes time. Mr. Rockefeller, because he was an incombant and because of his come for

The script reads, in part:

Braniff Airways, Inc. six years. Fish:

Mr. Pfeiffer, "said it was no damn good. They're so used to the staged stuff, to the candidate standing there talking. You had first Tinker commercials with a number of political leaders. "The politicos," says to wait out these Tinker commercials to the politicos thought they were just a waste of time. That's when I knew we o wait out these series all about. But find out what they were all about. But a

A Germ of Truth

a germ or two of truth. subject, directly and imaginatively. nteresting. And each of them contained commercials were amusing and they were Each commercial dealt with n a single vely. The

commercial showed what the camera photographed as the road slipped by. The script reads: "If you took all the roads the roads he's widened and straightened and smoothed out... if you took all these roads, and laid them end to end, they'd stretch all the way to... Hawaii." classic in its utter simplicity. A camera Governor Rockefeller has built, and all was mounted on a hood of a car, and the The second Tinker commercial was

backs up and turns around. The road starts to slip by again. The voice returns:
"All the way to Hawaii . . . and all the way back." and hula music. swells; that point—the Hawaii bit—the it's all crashing Then the car obviously

Then came "Butterfingers" (about state scholarships) and "2 Packs a Day"

microphone to resemble a reporter talk-ing to a fish puppet."

Reporter: You, sir.

Fish: Uh huh.

Governor Rockefeller's Pure Program? Reporter: How do you feel about

Fish: Oh, oh yeah. Reporter: Pure waters. Fish: His pure what?

Reporter: This program, sir, is wip-ing out water pollution in New York within

Well, it was pretty smelly down

Reporter: By the end of summer, the governor will have called in every major

polluter for a hearing. And so on, for an exchange or two

had done the right thing." Bill Pfeiffer remembers looking at the

... to approach them on a clientele basis. We articulate for us and I mean the legis-Bill Pfeiffer puts it in somewhat different terms. "It was out of this world," he says. "We had something for every group except the Times Square prostitutes." prepared eye-getting stuff in each category—a brochure for the people in field of mental retardation, another labor, another for the fine arts." S: afraid we had lost them. They just weren'

if there was a meeting anywhere in the state of people interested in higher educhure dealing entirely with what the governor had done for higher education in election. This time, a paid worker was assigned to each kind of brochure with instructions to make sure the literature Preparing the literature is one thing; distributing it is another. In most cam-New York. cation, there was a Rockefeller staffer got to the people it was written for. Thus lying around headquarters the day after paigns, thousands of brochures are still here to make sure everyone got a bro-

Getting the facts out of the bureaucracy was the tough part of that job; it was accisely what the Rockefeller administrapreparation brochure, complished only herance the Every major region had a Rockefeller ion had done for that part of the state aimed at individual regions in the state Another Ronan and the text in each told preof a

Waters

ature turned out to be as strikingly origi-nal, in concept and design, as the Rockeeller television.

end reaches in again and plucks away all cugarethes from other hand.

and that will help.

incentives to factories that restrict He has signed a new law that gives tax and that will belp. by 1968 models-

MAN EXERCISES OTHER EARD.

and that will belp.

the strongest in the U.S. --Line for line, his air pollution bill is

'Out of This World'

"First," says Dr. Ronan, "we wanted to reach the opinion makers, for we were lators, the newspaper people, the leaders of various special groups. So we decided for

never meant to say that he wanted the in New York City. Moreover Mr. O'Connor should pay for them?" was explained.

be free.

innovation was the series of brochures thinking about subways in all cities. Again, Mr. O'Connor never was able to explain the refinements involved. New York subways free now or even at any time in the next few years. He had been musing about long-term goals when look for the "gut issue," an emotional feller people, months before the campaign hegan, anticinated first such a gut issue. home to almost every voter. The Rockesupercharged issue that can be battered he made his proposal, and he had been In every campaign, smart politicians

An early

MAN EXERCISES HAND FREE OF CIGARETIES. REACHES IN & HAND PLUCKS AWAY
ALL CIGARETIES FROM ONE HAND. MAI REACTS A MAN IS SEATED BEFORE US WITH CIGARETIES PROTECDING FROM HIS LIPS, & FROM HIS FINGERS, HE IS UNCONFORTABLE. FINAL AS PRODUCED N.Y. REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE 9/7/66

The Governor of New York doesn's want you

you'd get from 2 pecks of eigerettes Just breathe for 24 hours and you get what

inhaling that kind of air.

collution devices on all cars and trucks overnor Bockefeller has called for air

commercial for pollution. This dealt with air looked. The script gives Rockefeller video and is how it SETTING INN MAN PROMIS MILL COURSE EARD MEACHES IN AND REMOVES ALL C CIGARETIES.FROM MAN'S MOUTH NO CIGARETIES ARE LEFT.

and who knows?

SHER: GOVERNOR ROCKERGLER FOR GOVERNOR

A paid political amouncement by Friends of The Rockefeller Team.

Four years of somebody else ...

for good.

New York could break the air pollution habit

Four more years for the Governor, and

audio

own party's position—was a toll road. He and the Democrats wanted a free road. That refinement, naturally enough, never O'Connor by almost 10 to 1. when it was all over Rockefeller outspen

was only run in upstate New York; never mercial. The script reads: "Frank O'Congovernor. He says the New York subways nor from New York City is running for It is interesting that this commercial Or take this Rockefeller 20-second com-Guess who he thinks server's sampling of campaign costs would indicate a lower figure, perhaps something over \$6,000,000. The official figure filed by Mr. Rockefeller and his people is \$4,800,000. Hardly anyone doubts, however, that the O'Connor people are reasonably accurate when they say they spent \$600,000. It just couldn't have been hard to say. Democrats and even some Republicans Insist that Rockefeller spent as much as \$10,000,000. The National Ob-What were the actual figures?

talent to wage a brilliant campaign. to be sure, he had luck on his side—in having the Democrats pick the bolling Mr. O'Connor, luck in having Roosevelt and Mr. Adams splintering won because he had the money and O'Connor, Roosevelt, 507,234. Almost surely, Rockefeller could have been beaten. much more. final count was: Rockefeller didn't win by very much. Even with this lopsided spending, 2,298,363; is lopsided spending, Mr.
It win by very much. The
Rockefeller, 2,696,526;
Roc

he got full credit for all these new taxes.

quit. It won the day.

The Callet for U.S. I Open with the Legislature and a struggle over Medicald (New York's program for medical cal care for the elderly). The compromise was higher than the original bill, and the governor got credit for it. It was only after the bill was passed that newspapers after the out its cost to state and local government. The result was a furor in the Buffalo and Syracuse areas. "Then he had this very long session

"Also, there was the so-called personal problem. Some people alleged it was still there." Dr. Ronan meant, of course, Mr. Rockefeller's celebrated divorce and his remarriage to a younger woman who was a divorcee herself. said to him, "

"On the other side, Rockefeller had accomplished more in eight years than any other governor. But these positives weren't apparent He'd done so much it was all kind of a blur—the state university, highways, aid to local governparks, right ocal govern-t across the an incumbent and because of his own sightedness, had the time. His ultim Democratic opponent

wasn't popular. "Adding it all Il up, the governor People didn't like just

'Fortune Favors the Brave'

Rockefeller problem was so serious that some Republican leaders actually were calling for him to step aside in favor of U.S. Sen. Jacob Javits. Even some of the people closest to Rockefeller were privately saying that defeat was inevitable. But things weren't quite as bad as they looked. As Dr. Ronan says, "Fortune favors the brave." That's almost an understatement. start planning a lot sooner. And, in fact, t I don't see why the out-party couldn't start could easily but together a program at a tacking the incumbent and his record, in even without having a candidate of their "town." stressed, the agency people developing these issues into brilliant television commercials. As Bill Pfeiffer puts it: "We

And so the work began, Dr. Ronan and

deciding on

the

issues

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Bill'—William I. Pfeiffer, an old professional who had worked for Mr. Rockefeller before. This time, he actually went to work for Rockefeller on Dec. 1, 1964.

His assignment was to organize the 1966 campaign—to pick the personnel, to open a headquarters, to lay out a schedule. Bill professional the december of the december. was the organization man. Ultimately, Mr. Prelifter put together a paid staff of 307 people, 190 of them working out of head-quarters at the New York Hilton. In a more traditilinal way, his operation was campaign's success was its early First, there was Dr. Ronan, ready just as brilliant as Dr. Ronan's. And most as costly. Ronan was the ideas man; One of the secrets of the Rockefeller mpaign's success was its early start. issues. Then there was Bill Pfeiffer to go other was id althe governor. And it had to us were subtly it crept up on you before you knew subtly it crept had happened to you." tor. Mr. Reit Mary Wells' follow the commercial all the way through the production process, from writing the script to directing the filming to editing the sound. Two of these teams were assigned to the Rockefeller account. Working on the No. 1 team were Eugene Tinker commercials are prepared by teams. Each team is composed of a copywriter and an art director. Unlike most agencies, the two members of the team

the professionals working for him, major assignment was Dr. Ronan's. had to nad to make an unpopular governor iles Laboratories sells Alka-Seltzer. Yet, with all credit to Mr. sell Nelson Rockefeller just as sells Alka-Seltzer. He npopular governor an . Pfeiffer and for him, the Ronan's. He these teams all were 60 seconds in length. Each was done in a process called sound-on-film; it's slower to produce but the

quality is

better. Moreover,

a creative

The Substantive Issues Group

film; that all of the l cials were videotape.

of the Democratic commer-

team can do more with film than with tape. It is not surprising that most of the Rockefeller commercials were sound-on-

And so he formed a small committee, himself at its head, grandiloquently called the Substantive Issues Group. Like Dr. Ronan himself, this elite group—never vely intellectual. more than five—was exclus-The first Tinker commercial set the whole tone of the early phase of the campaign. The title of the commercial is "Fish Interview." Stage directions read: "Open on hand wearing a press hat and

"We undertook a pre-campaign approach," says Dr. Ronan. "We wanted to improve the governor's position before the state convention [the ticket in New

was due to convene. The Tinker people still remember their first meeting with Governor Rockefeller and his people. "It was held in his private offices on 55th Street," one of them recalls. "He was there and so was Ronan, and his private polisters too. We were impressed by the governor's own evaluation of his problems. One of the polisters got up and about the first of April, fully five months before the Republican State Convention Tinker learned it had won the account was mounted on a hood of a car, and the commercial showed what the camera photographed as the road slipped by The script reads: "If you took all the roads Governor Rockefeller has built, and all in its utter simplicity. A camera

backs up and turns around. The road starts to slip by again. The voice returns: "All the way to Hawaii . . . and all the way back." the roads he's widened and straightened and smoothed out. . . if you took all these roads, and laid them end to end, they'd stretch all the way to . . . Hawaii." sound swells; it? Αt that point—the Hawaii bit—the swells; it's all crashing breakers 's all crashing breakers Then the car obviously

governor's own evaluation of his I lems. One of the pollsters got up said to him, 'You couldn't be elected

full scripts, see the accompanying illustrations.] Nelson Rockefeller didn't appear in any of these commercials. His voice Then came "Butterfingers" (about state scholarships) and "2 Packs a Day" (air pollution) and all the rest. [For the to read the scripts. It is this same Ed Binns that millions of Americans hear on Seltzer and Gillette razors. picked a professional—actor television every day—talking about Alkawasn't even used. The Tinker nker agency Ed Binns—

Democratic opponent, Frank D. O'Connor, never did have the time, and the quality of his television showed it.

The creation of good television

sion takes e he was s own far-s ultimate

The Time to Work

portant," says Tinker's Mr. Conroy. "I don't see why a lot of incumbents don't

"Advance planning is

so

damn

mercials began popping up on screens in July. Just as Bill Pfetffer says, they "crept up" on the viewer. Long before the commercials began to appear, the Rockefeller and Tinker people had worked out a schedule based on a detailed mercials began popping up on screens analysis of the voters' market.

per cent of the registered vote lives in 22 of the 62 counties. Conclusion from that: vision stations serving Albany, hamton, Buffalo, Rochester, and stations in New York City and for tele-vision stations serving Albany, Bingcommercials were scheduled for those 22 Saturate the television markets serving They had found, for example, that 86.7 counties. the 60-second the six Bing-Syra-

nad to sell the record,

associate it with

each of the five upstate markets. into three phases. Phase I covered the period July 5 to Sept. 12. In that period, the schedule called for running 37 Rocke-feller 60-second commercials every week in New York City and 18 every week in The result was that the Rockefeller commercials, stressing the administra-The television campaign was divided

Case, writer, and Bob Reitzfeld, art direc-

Reitzfeld has since defected

Quality Commercials

The first commercials produced

bу

before the state convention even began. tion's accomplishments but never the can-didate himself, were shown 700 times That, of course, was only part of the

George Hinman, who had done so much for Mr. Rockefeller in his Presidential efforts—roured the state, talking to "opinion makers." An indication of the success of this effort may be the fact that only two daily newspapers in the state—the pre-convention strategy. The governor himself quietly toured the state all during Herald-Journal—ultimately decided to support a candidate opposed to Mr. Rocke-August, shaking hands and trying to make friends. Personal emissaries—men like Adirondack Enterprise and the Syracuse

News, which City, both the eral Post and feller. In New York City, both the lib-eral Post and the

cation, there was a Rockefeller staffer there to make sure everyone got a bro-chure dealing entirely with what the govstate of people interested assigned to each kind of brochure with instructions to make sure the literature got to the people it was written for. Thus New York. ernor had done for higher education in there was a meeting anywhere in d people interested in high there was a Rockefeller higher eduthe

preparation aimed at in cisely what the Rockefeller administra-tion had done for that part of the sur-Getting the facts out of the bureaucracy was the tough part of that job; it was ac-complished only because the fact-gather-Every major region ing had begun months earlier. Another Ronan on of a series on the state. Individual regions in the state. The state of the state of the state of the state. and the text in each innovation was the series of brochures told pre-

Detailed Data Sheets

awarded to county students; even specific examples showing; how high properity taxes would be it it weren't for horeased state aid. All of the candidates used these Beyond this, the Ronan group prepared immense research reports for each of the 62 counties in the state. These data sheets been built, and where; the number of new bridges; the number of state scholarships data sheets in their personal appearances. showed how many miles of highways had

all of the campaign workers. A version was prepared for the the accomplishments of the Rockefeller administration and it was distributed to Massive Record." It was an account of voter. A bulkier document was called "The A shorter general

of the governor was that he was arrogant. "So," says Dr. Ronan, "we flipped that over to the positive. The positive of arrogance is leadership. So we said, "This is leadership and let's keep it in Albany." It came through again and again in what we did. It was summed up by the phrase, Because they had started so early, the Rockefeller people had the time—and, to be sure, the cash—to anticipate the issues. Polls were taken regularly. They showed that one of the major criticisms 'He Cares.' "

were angry about high taxes. The answer to that was to show where the money and gone. All the Rockfeller material emphasized the amount of money that had been returned to local jurisdictions in the form of state aid. The polls had also shown the voters

Anticipating the Opponent

g The Rockefeller people also tried to e anticipate their opponent. They guessed re right that Frank D. O'Connor, president of the New York City Council, would be the h Democratic State Convention in Buffalo son Sept. 7-8. By then, the Republicans had y a fat file on his career and almost every in the had ever said.

the Rockefeller campaign moved into a new — and tougher — phase. Gradually, radio and TV commercials (radio was used to supplement television) begazero in on Mr. O'Connor. Finally, Rockefeller appeared full-face, using own voice, to attack with extraording Thus, after both conventions were over, began dum on the ballot challenging Mayor

should be free. Guess should pay for them?" governor, the says the new Guess who he thinks

never meant to say that he wanted the New York subways free now or even at any time in the next few years. He had been musing about long-term goals when was only run in *upstate* New York; never in New York City. Moreover Mr. O'Connor Mr. O'Connor never was able to explain the refinements involved. he made his proposal, and he had been thinking about subways in all cities. Again, It is interesting that this commercial

supercharged issue that can be battered home to almost every voter. The Rockefellor receipt feller people, months before the campaign began, anticipated just such a gut issue. In every campaign, smart look for the "gut issue," an When it came time, they were ready. politicians

The Narcotics Issue

of the pushers. It was strong stuff, so strong that it worried many civil libertarians. Yet, for voters generally it was popular enough, for every poil taken in New York State recently rates crime as the governor, had proposed a sweeping nar-cotics program. It involved getting all of leading concern of the citizenry. treatment, in other words—and jailing all of the pushers. It was strong stuff, so the addicts cotics program. more broadly, crime. Mr. Rockefeller, The issue was, specifically, narcotics; off the street-mandatory

The Rockefeller people expected that Mr. O'Connor would take a position against the Rockefeller narcotics program. Mr. Roosevelt). Or perhaps Mr. O'Connor, as his aides suggest, just thought the program, as outlined by Mr. Rockefeller, was to win back dissident liberals to the Democratic line (many of them were flocking to the Liberal Party and its candidate, Mr. O'Connor did take such a position, perhaps the Liberal Party and its candidate,

television commercials were eerie, frightening. A police car, lights flashing,
cruises down a dark street. There's the
tsound of footsteps in the background. A
disembodied voice begins talking: "If
you walk home at night or if there's a
teen-ager in your family, you should be
worried. Governor Rockefeller's worried.
d As much as half the crime in New York
is caused by addicts. That's why the governor has sponsored a tough new law that
on cat addicts of the street for un the Whatever the reason, Mr. O'Connor was vulnerable, and he was clobbered by every can get addicts off the street for up device available to his opposition.

Rockefeller Speaks Out

speaking into a battery of microphones in a television studio—took the fight directly to his opponent. "If you want to keep crime rates high," he concluded, "O'Connor is your man." mention of Mr. O'Connor. Then they noted that, as district attorney of Queens, he had been alone among all prosecutors in the state in opposing a tough narcotics law. Finally, Mr. Rockefeller himself— At first, the commercials mad ention of Mr. O'Connor. Then made no

It was devastating. Its effect was heightened by a local issue in New York City—the police civilian-review board. The Conservative Party and the police a lesson in New York that almost anyone can be elected, given money, television, experts, and time? Perhaps not. Mr. Rockefeller, after all, is a great campaigner, and he has been, many people think, a strong and effective governor. There was, in all the confusion and bitbattered and dusty package. But what about candidates? Is there

something over \$6,000,000. The official figure filed by Mr. Rockefeller and his people is \$4,800,000. Hardly anyone doubts, however, that the O'Connor people are reasonably accurate when they say they spent \$600,000. It just couldn't have been much more.

Even with this lopsided spending, Mr. Rockefeller didn't win by very much. The final count was: Rockefeller, 2,696,526; O'Connor, 2,296,363; Adams, 510,023; O'Connor, 2,298,363; Adams, 510,023; Roosevelt, 507,234. Almost surely, Mr. Rockefeller could have been beaten. He won because he had the money and the talent to wage a brilliant campaign. And, to be sure, he had luck on his side—luck in having the Democrats pick the bumbing Mr. O'Connor, luck in having Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Adams splintering the

A Personal Victory

New York Republicans failed to win back any of those Congressional seats they lost in 1964. They failed to win control of the State Assembly. They just bar their margin in the State Senate. Then, too, it was a personal just barely held

almost everything was directed to the top of the Ticket. That's where the action was, and that's where the money was. In point of fact, there hardly was a state committee operating in New York in 1966. Its function was taken over by the Rockefeller organization. Even now, weeks after the election, there is no real functioning state organization in New York. It remains Rockefeller operation.

The lessons?

wisely, even ruthlessly, spent. A candidate or a party must have it early and spend it often.

vision homes in the city (and 5,600,000 of 6,000,000 New York homes have television). Not seen just once—but seen an average of 9.8 times in each home. ment for political campaigning. It penetrates into almost every home; it sways and angers and converts. Item: During the week of Oct. 18, Rockefeller ran 74 television commercials in New York City. They were seen in 91 per cent of all television commercials in the control of relevision. It's the premier instru-

with amateurs. Good television means people like Dr. Ronan and the copywriters and art directors at Jack Tinker. Good organization requires innovators like Bill

ple as that. a campaign. Mr. Rockefeller had the time, Mr. O'Connor didn't. It was as sim-Time. It takes time to put together campaign. Mr. Rockefeller had the the sim-

had managed to get a referen-ballot challenging Mayor John Yet, a note of doubt remains. These new techniques are so overwhelming, so terribly effective. Some day, maybe they will elect a truly dangerous and erness, a product to be sold, albeit in a These

Film Numbert Title: Langth: P-60-5 BUTTERFINGER 160

N.Y. REPUBLICAN STATE CONCITIES Estimate #R-6-2503 8/4/66

One of the secrets of the Rockefeller campaign's success was its early start. First, there was Dr. Ronan, ready to go on issues. Then there was "the other Ronan was the ideas man; Bill Pfeiffer was the organization man. Ultimately, Mr. Pfeiffer put together a paid staff of 307 people, 190 of them working out of headcampaign—to pick the personnel, to open a headquarters, to lay out a schedule. Bill most as costly. more traditiinal quarters at the New York Hilton. In a teller before. This time, he actually went to work for Rockefeller on Dec. 1, 1964. nore traditinal way, his operation volust as brilliant as Dr. Ronan's. And His assignment was to organize the 1966 3ill"—William sill"—William L. Pfeiffer, an old pro-essional who had worked for Mr. Rockehis operation was al-Mary Wells' agency.

nad to sell Nelson Rockefeller just the professionals nad to make an unpopular governor najor assignment was Miles Laboratories sells Alka-Seltzer. Yet, with all credit to Mr. Pfeiffer and e professionals working for him, the ajor assignment was Dr. Ronan's. He product. an as

The Substantive Issues Group

cials were videotape.

The first Tinker commercial

the Substantive Issues Group. Like Dr. Ronan himself, this elite group—never And so he formed a small committee, himself at its head, grandiloquently called vely intellectual more than five—was excluswhole tone of the early phase of the cam-paign. The title of the commercial is "Fish Interview." Stage directions read: "Open on hand wearing a press hat and

York is chosen by party convention, not by direct primary]. Since people were down on the governor, we decided to sell his accomplishments without using him to improve the governor's position before the state convention [the ticket in New "We undertook a pre-campaign approach," says Dr. Ronan. "We wanted

M.Y. REPUBLICAN STAIR COMMITTEN Estimate \$8-6-2503 8/1/66 FINAL AS PRODUCED

The key decision was the choice of an advertising agency. "We wanted to depart

2. THE CAMERA FROM TIME TO TIME DRAWS THE VIEWERS ATTENTION TO THE IDEAT KID. HE IS THE CHE THE MESSAGE IS ADDRESSED TO.

(MUSIC UNDER) ANNCR: (V.O.) Bey kid.

Want to go to college! Maybe you catch

foot tall to get a scholarship, or a the eye of some coach, get yourself a , OPEN ON PULL SECT OF KID APPROACEING CAME:
DRIBELING DASKETALL., CUTS OF A PICK-UP
DASKETBALL CAME IN A LOWER CLASS RECIEBONBOOD. THERE ARE ABOUT FIVE TALL, PAST, GG
DAILPLATERS AND ONE SEDIET, PAT INET KID.

CAMERA K-UP

AIDEO

PULL

the governor. And it had to be done so subtly it crept up on you before you knew what the hell had happened to you." Saturate the television markets serving those 22 counties. Thus, the 60-second commercials were scheduled for the six vision stations serving stations in New York City and for tele-

Tinker commercials are prepared by teams. Each team is composed of a copy-writer and an art director. Unlike most agencies, the two members of the team the production process, from writing the script to directing the filming to etims the sound. Two of these teams were assigned to the Rockefeller account. Working on the No. I team were Eugene Case, writer, and Bob Reitzfeld, art director. Mr. Reitzfeld has since defected to follow the commercial all the way through each of the five upstate markets. feller 60-second commercials every week in New York City and 18 every week in hamton, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syraperiod July 5 to Sept. 12. In that period, the schedule called for running 37 Rockeinto The three television campaign was divided phases. Phase 1

covered

the

The result was that the Rockefeller were shown 700

before the state convention even began. commercials, stressing the administraion's accomplishments but never the cantimes

Quality Commercials

rine first commercials produced by these teams all were 60 seconds in length. Each was done in a process called sound-on-film; it's slower to produce but the consilty to better quality is better. Moreover, a creative team can do more with film than with tape. It is not surprising that most of the ilm; that all of the Democratic commerwere sound-onset the for Mr. Rockefeller in his Presidential efforts—toured the state, talking to "opinion makers." An indication of the success of this effort may be the fact that only two daily newspapers in the state—the Adirondack Enterprise and the Syracuse pre-convention strategy. The governor himself quietly toured the state all during George Herald-Journal—ultimately decided to support a candidate opposed to Mr. Rockefriends. August, shaking hands and trying to make That, of course, was only part of the Hinman, who had done so much Rockefeller in his Presidential Personal emissaries—men

city, both the News, which rarely conservative agree Rockefeller. hing, endorsed eller. about New York d Mr. the H

Film Numbers Title: Lengths

those new scholarships is Governor Rockefell The man who did it, the man responsible for for you, shorty..., tubby..., butterfingers new chances to make it, every year, even to help you go to college. From Hew York get into college, you can get the money waiting, every year. Two hundred thousand blocming genius either. Why, if you can scholarship. No, you don't have to be nine cholarships and grants are sitting there says. "There's a picture of a guy and it says, 'Vote for Joe most of it is not very valid," Dr. Ronan most visible of peothese projects He was ubiquitous for President twice. in the state and efeller, we had Nelson Rock sues There was no need Dr. Ronan s Substantive He'd run twice with Group one of Now, here One Was the felt Is-

State. Two hundred thousand new state

a recognition factor want people saying was, 'Aha, there's Nelson Rock-Just what we didn' produce

And so the Rock-efeller liter-

a model. Script is final copy. New York. Only the fat boy is film on actual location in

Finker agency produced this

of the governor was that he was arrogant. "So," says Dr. Ronan, "we flipped that over to the positive. The positive of arrogance is leadership. So we said, "This is leadership and let's keep it in Albany." It came through again and again in what we did. It was summed up by the phrase, 'He Cares.' " Because they had started so early, the Rockefeller people had the time—and, to be sure, the cash—to anticipate the isshowed that one of the major criticisms sues. were taken regularly. They

Albany,

gone. were angry about high taxes. The answer to that was to show where the money had gone. All the Rockefeller material phasized the amount of money that form of state aid. been returned to local jurisdictions in the The polls had also shown the voters em-

Anticipating the Opponent

The Rockefeller people also tried to anticipate their opponent. They guest dright that Frank D. O'Connor, president of the New York City Council, would be the Democrats' choice. He was chosen at the on Sept. 7-8. By then, the Republicans had a fat file on his career and almost everything he had ever said Democratic State Convention in Buffalo

own voice, to attack with extraordinary ruthlessness his gentle and bumbling Democratic opponent used to supplement television) began to zero in on Mr. O'Connor. Finally, Mr. new — and tougher — phase. Gradually, radio and TV commercials (radio was the Rockefeller campaign moved Rockefeller appeared full-face, using his Thus, after both conventions were over, into

preparing a campaign. They had no literature, no television, hardly any organization. The entirely predictable result were constantly on the defense. Troubling the waters, too, were the additional can-didacies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., on convention, had done almost nothing about preparing a campaign. They had no the Liberal ticket, and Paul L. Adams, was chaos in their camp. Worse, The Democrats, up to Mr. O'Connor had no meaningful reply. ne Democrats, up to the time of their

the New York State Thruway,

Who was no hob Cousy himself.

JACK TIMEER & PARTHERS INC.

oversimplifications. After all, no one can say very much even in 60 seconds. In the first phase, though, most of the Rocke-feller commercials were reasonably truthful. Now, however, in the second and third phases, they became distortions. Take the thruway commercial. Mr. O'Connor, as a Of necessity, all spot commercials

unworkable. Whatever the reason, Mr. O'Connor was

teen-ager in your family, you should be worried. Governor Rockefelier's worried. As much as half the crime in New York is caused by addicts. That's why the governor has sponsored a tough new law that can get addicts off the street for up to three years. disembodied voice begins talking: "If you walk home at night or if there's a cruises down a dark street. There's t sound of footsteps in the background. vulnerable, and he was clobbered by every device available to his opposition. The television commercials were eerie, ponce car, lights There's the flashing,

mention

on the Conservative. they

mercials attacking Mr. C'Connor and his record. Typical was this script: "Frank O'Connor, the man who led the fight against the New York State Thruway, is The Tinker agency returned to the battle, preparing 10- and 20-second com-Drive down to the polls, and vote."

Distorting the Issues

state legislator, didn't actually oppose a thruway. What he did oppose—taking his

Rockefeller Speaks Out

hree years. . . .

in a television studio—took the fight rectly to his opponent. "If you want noted that, as district attorney of Queens, he had been alone among all prosecutors in the state in opposing a tough narcottes law Finally Mr. Rockefeller himself speaking into a battery of microphones law. Finally, Mr. keep crime rates high," he "O'Connor is your man." of Mr. the commercials made O'Connor. Then

City—the police civilian-review board. The Conservative Party and the police themselves had managed to get a reterendum on the ballot challenging Mayor John Lindsay's review board. It was, by itself, the most emotional issue in the city. And the narcotics issue dovetailed neatly with neightened by a local issue in New devastating. Its effect York

was whelmed the opposition. In the final weeks of the campaign, e Rockefeller people simply overthe battering ram. simply over-And television

Consider these figures.

it. The O'Connor forces ran on this same station 23 commercials. They paid \$41,-000. On WCBS, Rockefeller outspent On television station WNBC, in New York City, the Rockefeller forces ran 208 commercials. They paid \$237,000 to do 000. On WCBS, Rockefeller outspent O'Connor \$231,105 to \$35,920. On WABC, the third network station in the city, it was \$137,000 for Rockefeller and \$25,100 for O'Connor.

The disparity upstate was sometimes even more remarkable. On WBEN in Buffalo, Rockefeller spent \$77,762; O'Connor, \$2,465. Little WWNY in Watertown ran 99 Rockefeller commercials, at \$3,-067.50, against 18 O'Connor commercials, at \$1,307.50.

Rockefeller strategists hasten to point out that they began their television campaign 'way back in July. They're right, of course—but they had to start that early to make a campaign. That early spending was just as crucial as the final spending. It was, in fact, one campaign. And

Our customers find this one quite effective.

-The National Observer

Roosevelt). Or perhaps Mr. O'Connor, as his aides suggest, just thought the program, as outlined by Mr. Rockefeller, was wisely, even ruthlessly, spent. A candidate or a party must have it early and spend it often.

and angers and converts. Item: During the week of Oct. 18, Rockefeller ran 74 television commercials in New York City. They were seen in 91 per cent of all television homes in the city (and 5,600,000 of 6,000,000 New York homes have teleaverage of 9.8 times in each home. 6,000,000 New York homes have television). Not seen just once—but seen an ment for political campaigning. It penetrates into almost every home; it sways ► Television. It's the premier instru-

organization requires innovators like Bill people like Dr. Ronan and the copywriters and art directors at Jack Tinker. Good Pfeiffer. with amateurs. ► Experts. No one wins any more Good television means

✓ Time. It takes time to put together a campaign. Mr. Rockefeller had the time, Mr. O'Connor didn't. It was as simple as that. But what about candidates? Is there

they

experts, and time? Perhaps not. Mr. Rockefeller, after all, is a great campigner, and he has been, many people think, a strong and effective governor. There was, in all the confusion and bitterness, a product to be sold, albeit in a battered and dusty package. Yet, a note of doubt remains. These new techniques are so overwhelming, so terribly effective. Some day, maybe they can be elected, given money, television, a lesson in New York that almost anyone

concluded,

q;

understanding of what it's all about man to high public office. The preventive, perhaps, is a general

will elect a truly dangerous and sinister

-JAMES M. PERRY

