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52	41	n.d.	Memo	Note to set up "Basic Campaign File." 1 pg.
52	41	06/1960	Report	Research File article, The Effects of Professional Campaign Management in California Politics, written by a junior at UC Santa Barbara. 2 pgs. Attached to previous.

Set up

"Basic Campaign
Management File"

I put this in

BOB HALDEMAN

Research File

an exclusive monthly feature
especially prepared for MAC by

FACTS CONSOLIDATED

June, 1960

With campaign fever upon us, in this edition of Research File we present with pleasure a condensation of a term paper written by a junior at the University of California at Santa Barbara. We find the topic timely. The author, Linda Mary Ross, is well qualified as the result of her extensive research on the subject and because she is the daughter of William Ross, of Baus & Ross, one of the largest professional campaign management firms in the state.

THE EFFECTS OF PROFESSIONAL CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT IN CALIFORNIA POLITICS

In the modern world of specialization, the art of politics has become specialized, too. The amateur is quickly fading from the picture.

WHAT IS A CAMPAIGN?

Why is this? What has happened to politics? The answer to these questions lies in the answer to this question, "Just what is a political campaign?" To Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles Times, it is press releases, — "two-thirds of which we throw out." To radio, a campaign is spot announcements; to television, it is a telethon. To the public, it is a candidate's speech, a billboard, or a bumper-sticker.

To Dorothy Corey, President of Facts Consolidated (a market research firm), a political campaign is a matter of dollars and cents, and how well they are spent. "A statewide campaign costs a minimum of \$600,000. And no business of any kind would let an amateur loose with that kind of money!"

How do the professional campaign managers describe a campaign? Whitaker & Baxter of San Francisco and Baus & Ross of Los Angeles are the two biggest campaign management firms in California. They have made a career of handling candidates running for public office and getting ballot issues passed or defeated in local and state elections.

Whitaker & Baxter have written books and magazine articles about it. "Our strategy consists of mapping out the opposition at the same time we plan the offense. My partner works out the opposition's strategy at the same time that I work out our campaign. With this type of work, we know every move that the opposition will make, plus pointing out the loopholes in the offense," says Mr. Whitaker.

Baus & Ross have the answers boiled down to 8 fundamentals of a campaign. They are: (1) plan a winning campaign strategy, (2) set up thorough organization and field work, (3) arrange an effective endorsement drive, (4) conduct an intensive publicity campaign, including press, television and radio, (5) handle direct mail and pamphlet distribution, (6) organize a speakers' bureau, including registration of speakers and scheduling of engagements, (7) conduct hard-hitting advertising promotion, (8) counsel and assist in fund-raising. Few amateurs, if any, would claim to be skilled in more than one of these areas.

VOLUNTEERS VS. PROFESSIONALS

Do most people agree that you need a professional manager if you want to win a campaign? The general consensus is that pros are essential for a successful campaign. Paul Ziffren, Democratic National Committeeman for California, pointed out that "In a campaign, your volunteer workers are looking for recognition — perhaps an appointment to the National Convention. On the other hand, pros concentrate on just doing a good job. They don't think in terms of 'how can we please?' but 'how can we elect?'"

Dorothy Corey refutes the common argument that the volunteer organizations attached to each party are sufficient to handle campaigns. "Those who can see the inside workings of politics heartily disagree with this tenet. Professionals are expensive, but they

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know how to use the money effectively. And the dollar value must be considered." Her firm does much of the research and public opinion polls which campaign managers often use to set their strategy.

When a political group such as Baus & Ross or Whitaker & Baxter wants a survey conducted, their objective is to find out what the current trends are. They want to know what people are thinking, what is unbelievable and what isn't and why people believe the way they do. But it takes more than polls to win an election. Instinct seems to play its part, too.

Mr. Whitaker stated that if you have a good background in economics and in contemporary philosophies, then you know what is in the public mind and you know how to appeal to it. He uses polls as a "check". You find out if the issues you have chosen for your campaign are good or not.

Whitaker emphasized that there is no substitute for knowledge. He says, "Politics is like the natural sciences—there are no surprises if you have an understanding of people and organizations."

CONTINUOUS SURVEYS

Mr. Ross emphasized the importance of conducting continuous surveys. His campaign against the McLain Pension Program (which would raise old-age pensions) illustrates this. The pro-pension people used the effective slogan "Honor thy Father and thy Mother" in contrast to the negative side's slogan "Don't Pay Higher Taxes". "During the middle of the campaign," says Ross, "we conducted another survey which showed that we were losing heavily and showed why we were losing."

The new poll revealed that people thought old folks were entitled to more pensions. It also showed that Baus & Ross were not using their strongest argument which was this: Not only was California's pension already higher than the other states, but the raise in pensions would attract all the old people from the other states who would come West to retire on California's tab.

On the basis of this argument, they changed all the radio and television spot announcements, direct mail contents and billboards just 3 weeks before the election, harping on the new theme, "Don't Pay Taxes for the Other Forty-Eight States". And they won. It seems that those who have a large stake in politics are not willing to leave their interests to chance or put them in an amateur's hands. Vice-president Nixon, Ex-Governor Knight, Senator Clair Engle and Governor Brown all hired professional managers. Senator Knowland didn't, and he suffered a resounding defeat in 1958.

The parties use professional managers, too, the Republicans more so than the Democrats. "But," says Mr. Ziffren, "it is better to use professionals. We are trying to develop professional managers within the party."

Looking at the record, most readers would agree that professional managers are competent. Whitaker & Baxter claim 74 victories out of 80 campaigns over a 26-year period; Baus & Ross, in their 14 years together, have won 44 out of 48 campaigns.

CAMPAIGNS REFUSED

In answer to the charge that pros will take any job if the price is right, Ross said that they have turned down many jobs to avoid hurting their present clients. "You can't work for opposing interests without jeopardizing one of the clients. When working against Proposition 16 (which would tax nonprofit and parochial schools), we turned down 3 public school bond campaigns. Instead, we worked for free on these. It's not that we were against schools; it's just not in your client's interests to work both sides of the street. Because of this, we turn down many more campaigns than we accept."

Dorothy Corey threw her support behind professional tactics when she declared: "The methods of advertising are used because there are so many diversions in the modern world that it takes a catching slogan to divert the average person's attention to political issues or candidates.

"The effects of professional campaign management are good; it makes a great deal more information available. A public relations expert might be compared to a lobbyist: a problem is studied from every point of view and then boiled down to language understandable to the layman."