

## **1970 Campaign**

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: 1976 Campaign Transition File;  
Folder: 1970 Campaign; Container 2

To See Complete Finding Aid:

[http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff\\_Secretary.pdf](http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff_Secretary.pdf)

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Report	<del>"Jimmy Carter vs. Hal Suit," 18 pp.</del> <i>2/11 8/10/75</i>	ca. 1970	C
Letter	Rafshoon to Carter, 2 pp. Re: Campaign for Governor <i>2/11 8/10/75</i>	3/4/70	C

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers, Staff Offices, Office of Staff Secretary, Pre-Presidential Handwriting & Transition File, 1970 Campaign

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

● GERALD RAFSHOON ADVERTISING, inc.

1422 West Peachtree Street, N.W. / Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Area Code 404/892-3581

March 4, 1970

Mr. Jimmy Carter  
1 Woodland Drive  
Plains, Georgia

Dear Jimmy:

Here are some random thoughts that I have been saving up to talk to you about and I feel they can best be expressed on paper.

Let me say that I was upset by Bill Shipp's column today quoting me. He called me to discuss this question as regards to Sanders and I was really trying to put down Sanders. I wasn't trying to get publicity. I don't think it hurt us but I would rather it had not run.

I do think there is validity in accusing Sanders of using pollution as an issue to obscure some more cogent points that can be raised against him. You might try to work in a phrase when discussing Sanders pollution stands about "pollution of the political atmosphere."

I did not like your answer to the question about Maddox not being able to run. Your saying "I expect his followers to vote for me" does not automatically get those people, but it does turn-off a lot of your moderate to liberal support. It is like saying "Hi, look at me I'm a conservative." We have often said that we cannot label you, and your making an overt pitch like this does not ring true. I still think that you have a good chance of picking up a lot of Maddox and a lot of conservative votes without talking about Lester Maddox. Your silence in not criticizing him seems to me to be enough. Let's face it Jimmy, he ain't gonna endorse you and I can't believe that he won't have somebody in the race even Virginia, or Mallon Sharpe or someone of that stripe. **DON'T ALIENATE THE SUBURBAN TYPE WHO IS GOING TO VOTE FOR YOU BECAUSE OF YOUR LOOKS AND IMAGE THAT COMES OVER ON TV.** If you do this you don't need me to spend a lot of your money on television.

Believe me, I'm not being idealistic and I'm not an offended liberal, I just have a feeling that you are obscuring your image at times when you talk about "me and Lester."

I think we must start attacking Carl Sanders soon and from the beginning of your campaign. The feeling I get from people is "sure I don't like Carl Sanders, sure he's a phony, etc., but who is the alternative? Jimmy Carter. Can he beat Carl Sanders, Can he tear down Carl Sanders"? Let's start doing it and let's talk about something like - you don't solve conservation problems by junkets to Cumberland Island.

March 4, 1970  
Page Two

Jimmy Carter

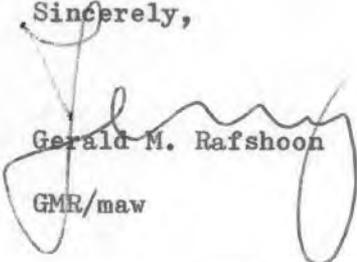
I wasn't happy with the underground Atlanta party. No need to discuss the fact that the room was wrong and you should be in places where they can see you. However, some of your answers were too long and too unglamorous. We need short, succinct answers. Especially on something like busing or on Carl Sanders. Call it demagogic if you will but it works. For example, when asked about Lynch and the Kennedy's, something like this would have worked. "That's right, I have supporters who worked for John Kennedy. I also have supporters who worked for George Wallace, Herman Talmadge, Ellis Arnold, Lester Maddox, Rodney Cook, Sam Massell, and isn't that what Georgia is all about." This is the kind of response that gets applause and really shuts up the questioner. Of course, you and I can wince at the corniness but look at the most popular television shows, (I know you don't but I do and so do the rest of us average Georgians).

I few weeks ago we agreed to delay production of things like the brochure, buttons, etc., in order to have money for the television show. For reasons of visibility, I think we should get cracking on these things now before others get ahead of us.

If you want to get together and discuss some of this, we can do it any time this week. I might suggest Saturday when you are in Atlanta.

Regards.

Sincerely,



Gerald M. Rafshoon

GMR/maw

c c: Mr. Bill Lynch  
Mr. Charles Kirbo

Archives  
J

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR  
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

**GERALD RAFSHOON ADVERTISING, inc.**

*1422 West Peachtree Street, N.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30309/Area Code 404/892-3581*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JIMMY CARTER

VS.

HAL SUIT

The "Politician" vs. the "Amateur"

OR

The "Amateur" vs. the "Politician"

Which is which?

OR

Jimmy Carter vs. "Son of Sanders"

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE  
MARKING BY MIE DATE 1/6/88

GENERAL

Hooray! Hallelujah! Cheers! Wediditwediditwedidit!

O.K., we beat Carl Sanders... now let's get back to work. We have exactly 41 days to finish the job and beat Hal Suit and the Republican Party. We can do it... we will do it... but it's not going to be the piece of cake we might think. We have wounds to salve... positions to make... liabilities to nullify... and advantages to take. And furthermore, we do not want to just beat Suit... we want to beat him big. It's important to Jimmy Carter's legislative program... his future... and the future of the Democratic Party.

Let's not forget we have been at this for a long time. Some people at it for over four years. We are a little tired... and when you are tired you make mistakes. I think we ran a brilliant campaign... the best one in modern Georgia politics. And even then, we made some mistakes. We must be very careful not to make mistakes in the next 41 days. The time period is too short. Suit is very new and not so tired and he can capitalize on our errors. In some respects, we are in the same position as Sanders was in against us... or at least, Suit can try to put us in that position. However, we plan to pre-empt him immediately.

In my opinion, several things should be of great concern to us. First, the Jimmy Carter, poor peanut farmer approach is beginning to wear thin -- especially after the bruising run-off. It will not hold up through the General Election. This part of Jimmy's image is now well established and with a little care and feeding it will sustain itself. If we continue the heavy handed theme overtly, I think the public will get a quick belly full.

The humble poor man approach was our grab toward establishing a populist appeal.

for Jimmy. It worked because we were provided with the right opponent. It seems that it will not work in the General Election. Hal Suit is a poor man. We also worked the ins-vs-the-outs very well. This also will not work against Suit: he is more "out" than we are.

In retrospect, I do not believe the conservatism of Jimmy Carter was a vital issue. We did manage to emerge as a non-liberal, but the main issue of the campaign was personality. Again, we were provided with the right opponent.

On a personality basis, Jimmy is worn a little thin from exposure, Suit isn't.

However, give a little exposure to Suit and he will wear out quickly. He is not too bright.

Suit is a good TV performer... Jimmy Carter is a better one. Yes, gentlemen, with all his professionalism, Suit is a second-rater on TV...if he were any good he'd have gone to NBC years ago. Jimmy, on the other hand, is the brightest face to come along on TV this year. He has the charisma that today's audience empathises with. So let's not worry about TV and Suit's TV image. On TV we beat the hell out of Carl... we can do the same to Hal.

To sum up, the poor farmer bit has been milked; the conservatism bit will hold up, but we can't move Jimmy any further to the right and we are running against a Republican; we cannot wage an anti-campaign against a one-legged war veteran who has probably never done anything wrong.

So, what do we do?

As I see it, we have four choices:

1. Continue our present campaign, changing only the names.
2. Run a Democrat vs. Republican campaign; (this should only be done by the party.)

3. Run a high road, image, Carl Sanders Campaign.
4. Run an up-dated version of the first campaign, capitalizing on the good things we established and building momentum by adding new dimensions and more depth.

It is pretty obvious that #4 is the only way to go. Our first campaign went a little astray from the original plans. We started out to capture the tempo of the times through a rebirth of populism. Now the issues of poor vs. rich, in vs. out, honest vs. dishonest are parts of the populist dogma. But they are just surface issues - they are symptomatic of much deeper concerns on the part of the people. They began to work for us early in the campaign and we wisely continued to drive them home again. And they worked. There was very little need for anything else. Now we need to build on top of them through a deeper use of populist doctrine and appeal.

Populism, I think, can best be described as "unperverted" liberalism. When FDR originally came to power, he was a populist ..... not a liberal. He was for a better share of the good life for all ..... two chickens in every pot - ..... government by the people ..... social security ..... welfare ..... economic prosperity ..... tax reform and relief. Only when we add in big government, interventionism and integration do we create the dogma known as liberalism.

There are a few more important points about populism when viewed at the state level..... in addition to all the above. Chief among these are home rule and full participation in government and political parties.

In order to fully explore the concerns of the people through a deeper involvement in the "populist" approach, Jimmy must do the following things and we must capitalize on them in our advertising and campaign execution:

1. He must get (as he himself has suggested) even "closer to the people". He must, of course, continue his present style of campaigning. Ours must not become a centralized, organized power structure oriented approach..... it must continue (or at least appear to continue) as a campaign of and by the people. In order to compliment Jimmy's style and deepen his ties, we must never be caught in deceit, collusion, evasion, or overt "political" actions. I suggest that there are certain people in this state that Jimmy never meet with or talk to even in groups. I am talking about recognized politicians on every level, extremists of any ilk, fat cats and elite types. In short, he should be insulated from everyone but the people, the inner circle of managers and true volunteer workers. Let other people make the deals, hear the pork-barrel begging, put together the packages and whip the party into shape.
2. In order to carry out the above theme even further, Jimmy must tone down his cuteness and get a little more sincere. His grin is going to wear thin and when he is too cute he is - to a certain extent - being a little dishonest. Flippancy is not very attractive. I suggest that he start the campaign off on the most honest basis possible: a meeting with Hal Suit and some responsible third parties to reach agreements on the arrangement of one or two major debates on statewide hook-up, via TV and radio.

The debates should not be face to face appearances between just the two candidates. There will be very little differences on most issues and there will be very few (or should be very few) clashes on personality. This means that the emphasis should be on the substances of stances - the "how" of the situations - rather than just on the positions themselves. I suggest an hour long affair each time utilizing a moderator and a team of reporters. The first half hour could be devoted to statements, rebuttals and closing statements by the candidates on a broad range of pre-determined issues. The second half should be devoted to quizzing by the newsmen

on the issues covered with freedom of exchange by the candidates. Subject matter for each debate should be limited to a pre-determined number of subjects, all major issues to be covered sometime in the debates. Jimmy must be prepared for these debates under guidance. This means a supervised briefing the night before the debate, a late sleep followed by a day of light private exercise, rest and contemplation, followed by a final briefing before the appearance. Sometime the week before each debate, we should definitely spend a session with Dr. Taylor.

I am absolutely convinced that we must debate, that we must suggest it first (the morning after the run-off will not be too soon) and that we must prepare and execute, in a professional manner. Hal Suit is an experienced TV man but we can equal him as a performer. Hal, on the other hand, will absolutely wilt before Jimmy's expertise, knowledge of problems and practical solutions.

Now I know that issues are not supposed to be important. And I know that our stances on issues will probably not vary much as far as who's for what and who's against what. But a thorough examination of the issues before the public will deepen Jimmy's image and charisma. He will no longer be a country boy fighting the rich and powerful, but a poor country boy fighting the rich and powerful who is also one helluva smart man.

Hal Suit is a lightweight. We can't call him one, but we can sure as hell make him one by direct comparison.

3. Jimmy needs to expand his thoughts on basic populist appeal issues into solid proposals. He has refused to do this to date, witness the platform. Now he has a mandate from 400,000 Georgians and he should begin to formulate his legislative package NOW. He needs to begin issuing position and implementation papers on vital populist issues like TAX REFORM to relieve the burden on ad valorem taxpayers; educational

programs and reforms to insure the ability of every Georgian to have his independence; welfare reform to insure that every able bodied man is required and prepared to earn a living; state aid to cities to launch an all out war on crime, drug abuse, slums and pollution; streamlining state government so as to minimize waste in operation and reduce taxes overall; reforms to insure honesty and integrity on the part of the elected and appointed officials (this is critical to the extension of Jimmy's populist philosophy); measures to bring state government closer to the people; reforms in jurisdiction to return as much home rule to cities and counties as possible.

All these things home-in directly on the biggest concerns of all Georgians and they are waiting for their messiah to tell them HOW he is going to do it. The question is - who will do this for Jimmy?

4. We can utilize Democrat vs. Republican in a very real way. It is time for Jimmy to put out a position paper on his plan for re-vitalizing, re-organizing and opening up the Democratic party of Georgia. This means he must NOW enter proposals for the presidential primary concept, announce his conventions, suggest methods of grievance for average Georgians through conventional party machinery, call for registration by party, announcing his intentions of working for change in the national party by working aggressively within the system.
5. Just as we paid "minimum dues" to the seg vote in the primary, Jimmy must now begin to pay at least minimum dues to the black community. We have 400,000 registered black voters and we need at least a 50% turnout and solid support in order to get the mandate he needs. And I don't mean we need to keep fooling around with worthless black leaders that want to hang on Jimmy's coattails and do no work. We need a George Booker and we need him fast. And Jimmy needs to take his populist campaign technique into the streets.

6. We must begin now to get both the top echelons and the rank-and-file union people behind us ..... with money and professionals. Now I know we got the rank and file for the most part ..... but these people have been drifting to the Republican for some time. I look for big trouble in South Atlanta, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, and more from politicians like Fletcher Thompson and Ben Blackburn. Let's not fool ourselves into thinking we are solid with LABOR. We are not.
  
7. We must not dismiss advertising as maybe a necessary adjunct to the campaign. We will need a good coordinated advertising campaign ... well timed ... well executed. Our advertising campaign was o.k. in the primary, but we had a distinct advantage because Sanders' campaign was so bad. His creative platform was awful ... his media plan was atrocious ... his execution was ill-fated.

On the other hand, I look for Suit and the Republicans to run a fairly good advertising campaign. They should be able to spend around \$200,000 and get some good professional help from Republicans in Washington. And they will have advertising people who are almost as good as ours. In addition, they will have the benefit of studying both the Sanders and Carter media buys and will be able to discern what we did, will do, and what they must do. SO, it is vitally important that the fund raising be ten times better than last time, and that the advertising recommended in the following pages be executed. Again, as I said two years ago in our primary proposal, the fat has been cut and it is a lean campaign aimed at doing the job ... the difference here is WE MUST DO THIS MUCH to make the impression we need to make.

## ADVERTISING PLAN

There is strong reason to believe that Hal Suit and the Republicans will absolutely ape the techniques that we used in the primary. It worked. They will be able to get the professional help they'll need. They should be able to get some good money. Some of the Atlanta power structure will be with them. . . after all, those guys are basically Republican types and they are probably scared to death of Jimmy Carter. So, we must have a better advertising campaign than Suit. We have a better product.

Our advertising MUST stand out. It will be hard for several reasons.

1. The Fall season is the BIG advertising season. TV will be saturated with both commercial advertisers AND politicians.
2. Our general technique of voice over and film, coupled with the heavy announcer is worn-out. It has been the vogue in political advertising for several years now, and too many other candidates in the current campaign are using it. On Atlanta TV alone, I look for a heavy campaign from Andy Young, Fletcher Thompson, and Ben Blackburn. . . plus Hal Suit.
3. Our totally unsubtle copy and pictures (which were RIGHT for the primary campaign) are also worn out. In my judgment, we are approaching a point of diminishing return in believability. When the other candidates (Sanders, George T., Tommy Irwin, Mike Padgett, Johnny Caldwell) heard and saw our pitch, they

all picked up on it and used it-- poorly-- but they saturated the market. Everybody emerged for the little man, everybody grew up working for a living, everybody had roots in Georgia.

As far as pure technique goes, here are our changes.

1. We definitely need a fresh voice, not one that is soft, but one that is more persuasive and more confidence-inspiring.
2. I think there is definitely room for more Jimmy Carter directly on camera with him talking. . . shot extremely close and with good camera movement. Jimmy is a great performer, talks better now and exudes all the qualities we are trying to sell. It will mean that Jimmy must be more available to the agency and not allowed to get worn out before going on camera.
3. There is no reason we cannot use a combination of film - VO - in studio - Jimmy talking for relief. . . especially in sixty second spots. There are so many possibilities: flashbacks, stop dissolves of film over Jimmy's talking countenance to illustrate his commitments to certain things, chroma key of film with Jimmy talking and reflecting and so many more.
4. We made little use of music and special sound effects in our primary spots. We can add a new dimension here.
5. I definitely think everything should be done on videotape. The effects available are so vast and being able to see the finished product and make changes is fantastic. Also, both the picture and audio quality are so lifelike.

Our major goal in advertising should be to show that Jimmy Carter is the candidate of substance. . . and that he and he alone has the qualities needed to guide Georgia into the future. We should never forget to feed and nourish the image he has established (man of the people, populist, poor farmer, man from the outside, special friend of the working man). But in so many instances this image can be maintained by simply showing Jimmy in the right atmosphere with the right people with the right smile and the right responses. It need not continue to be driven home in a heavy handed manner.

Phase One - Oct. 11 - 20

In order to begin to establish Jimmy as a candidate of substance, I believe we should do a five minute show on his platform. While he has a platform, it has never been widely disseminated. With effective use of props, visual aids, chroma key, etc.-- Jimmy can carry a stand-up 5 minute show outlining his platform in unforgettable color. These should be shown several times on every TV station in the state in prime time starting three weeks prior to the election. The TV commercials to be used in phase one should be unveiled in the show, similar to the way we did it in the 30 minute show. They can be used to illustrate what he is talking about at that juncture of the show (maybe three twenties in and around the show, the balance unveiled on the same week).

The commercials for phase one will be a combination of film in some spots (especially the three to be used in the show) and separate spots

with Jimmy talking on camera. Every spot should be used to state a platform position, a vital proposal for reform, or a solid campaign promise. The sixties should be used for lengthy issues or those that particularly appeal to women (for daytime consumption), the shorter spots for less complicated issues. I see two sixties and three twenties for this phase. This first 1½ weeks should establish Jimmy as a man of solid substance as well as image.

#### Phase Two - Oct. 2 - Nov. 2

I think we should do 60s, 20s and 10s here (to establish momentum through frequency) and that the spots should be past-present-future in nature. Using film of the campaign-- picking the most memorable stuff from the TV-- we can work in the thread of "Four years ago, this man began fighting to shape the future of Georgia. . . . through the valley of death he travelled, slaying all the dragons along the way, until one day (enter rays of sunlight and springtime music) all the dragons were gone. Now this man stands ready to lead the state of Georgia to unparalleled heights of greatness and you hold the key, etc., etc. We close out on an image note. . . . reweaving the thread of the populist beginnings into the populist future.

At the present time, there is absolutely no place in our campaign for an anti-appeal (except anti-establishment). However, the nasty minds of the agency are always standing by if needed. Only the names need to be changed to protect the innocent.

The above advertising platform talked mostly about TV. The other media follow the same general thread.

## MEDIA PLAN AND BUDGET

### 1. Television

We plan to run the same type of television schedules we had in the primary. 60, 20, and 10-second spots. Some of these will be in prime time, naturally, but we will also buy the fringe shows, late night movies, daytime soap operas, and quiz shows. This was the same programming that reached the Carter voter - middle to lower socio-economic level. There is also a possibility of five-minute shows. To be discussed later.

There will be NO 15 or 30 minute programs. The fall season (with new shows) is the worst time to pre-empt programming.

Television rates are more expensive in the Fall because of competition and programming. We will have to buy fixed position spots rather than pre-emptible spots.

TV campaign to start Sunday, October 11th, and run through November 2nd - 23 days.

COST: \$125,000

To be supplemented by Democratic Party advertising.

### 2. Billboards

A 100% showing statewide, 800 billboards. These will go up October 1st.

COST: \$ 39,245

3. Radio

Radio will be handled by local headquarters with the following exceptions:

Atlanta and Ethnic radio.

- a. Atlanta: We recommend a two week schedule starting October 21st.

This will be aimed at reinforcing our TV sell and at getting out a large vote. We feel that this will be needed in Atlanta where we may have to play catch-up politics. In addition, radio here will be used to give Jimmy more urban acceptance without impairing his rural image.

COST: \$ 20,250

- b. Ethnic: Two weeks, October 21 - November 3rd, statewide, including Atlanta.

COST: \$ 8,500

Radio advertising will be supplemented by Democratic Party radio advertising.

4. Newspaper

In keeping with the tradition of the Carter Campaign, good media principles, and the Rafshoon theory of newspaper ineffectiveness, our recommended newspaper budget is zero. However, newspaper mats and slicks will be provided to local organizations.

5. Ethnic Newspaper

Special ads to be designed and placed by the agency.

COST: \$ 2,500

To be supplemented by Democratic Party advertising.

6. Television, Radio, and Newspaper Production

EST. COST: \$ 16,000

7. Collateral Material

a. 20,000 Buttons	\$ 800
b. 30,000 Posters	2,785
c. 300,000 Brochures	5,645
d. 50,000 Bumper Stickers	1,753
e. 1,000 Billboards	6,985
f. Production of above	<u>1,500</u>

TOTAL COLLATERAL COST: \$ 19,468

8. Survey

To be paid by Democratic Party.

TOTAL = \$230,963

## MISCELLANEOUS

A few miscellaneous thoughts came to mind after finishing the above. I think they should be implemented in the general elections.

### 1. Direct Mail:

Our direct mail campaign was not very effective. In fact, no direct mail campaign in the primary was good. Sanders had the biggest -- it failed. Bentley had a very professional one -- it failed. The point is that direct mail -- except when you have an unusual situation-- is not a very potent medium in politics as compared with media advertising. The point I want to make is that until we can afford the aforementioned advertising budget, direct mail should be held in abeyance. Had we had the money spent in direct mail supplies for additional radio and TV in Atlanta, perhaps a run-off would not have occurred. In the primary we wasted so much valuable money on direct mail supplies and the content of our direct mail campaign was mediocre at best. The final letter we sent out (some 7 or 8 paragraphs) had to have a .00002 percent readership.

I suggest that in any direct mail activities we do this time, that the agency supervise the creative part of it. Or even better, we use the services of Grizzard Advertising to handle what we have. Of course, we need to utilize our own people for direct mail so they have something to do. BUT LET'S MAKE SURE THESE PEOPLE ARE VOLUNTEERS.

2. Press Relations:

We need to insulate Jimmy from the press more. Not the people, but the press. Somebody needs to travel with the press that covers Jimmy on the road. Jimmy should not have an entourage. The scene of him and Jody trodding the lonely roads (or with Captain Midnight Rabhan in the air) is rather appealing. Add a retinue of newsmen and you have Richard Nixon. But the care and feeding of the press is necessary. Let's have Bill Pope travel with the press to take care of their needs and allow Jimmy to move on when necessary and Pope work with newsmen to get their stories filed. This would mean hiring another press man or woman to stay in Atlanta. Maybe Parks Rusk can do it. Or perhaps we can get somebody like Remer Tyson or Bob Coram for a month; they'll be available.

3. We need more speech texts

This suggestion is a carry-over from the past. It will probably be suggested again in 4 years.