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ABSTRACT

A LITTLE PEACE OF MIND AN ORIGINAL NINETY MINUTE DRAMA FOR TELEVISION

by Joel B. Sternberg

Television's influence in political campaigns has been of concern to politicians, political scientists and critics of the medium practically since its debut into politics. This writer's thesis, A Little Peace of Mind, explores this criticism in an attempt to demonstrate how political television's problems can best be presented to the mass public and to demonstrate this writer's capabilities in the area of television drama. It is this writer's contention, as indicated in Chapter One of the thesis, that the play is an excellent vehicle for the graduate student writing a thesis in the area of broadcasting in that it affords him a chance to show in actual practice what he has learned. And, by culling information from other areas, using traditional research techniques, to supply material for the play, the broadcasting student closely approximates graduate students in other areas thus becoming a better playwright at least in terms of accuracy.

After indicating the efficacy of the creative thesis as a legitimate device for the graduate student in Chapter One, Chapter Two of the thesis then proceeds to set the problems of political television in perspective. Of particular concern

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are five specific areas of criticism and potential danger.

These are:

1. The cost of campaigning;
2. The doctrine of fairness in campaigns;
3. The danger of advertising and/or public relations;
4. The oversimplification of issues;
5. The overemphasis of candidate personality.

These five areas are each surveyed and examples illustrative of malpractice in each area are provided. In addition, a brief survey of pertinent research probing the effects of the mass media on the election process is included to safeguard against crusading and/or biased empirical observations by the playwright. These studies tend to balance the scales for television by indicating that television is far from the only influence on the electorate in an election. These studies also indicate that a simple stimulus-response situation in televised campaigns is not in evidence but, perhaps as dangerous, reinforcement of pre-determined attitudes is in evidence as is television's effectiveness in swaying the undecided voter thereby affecting close elections.

Chapter Three, A Little Peace of Mind, contains the play's cast of characters and all three acts of the play. Chapter Four, the concluding chapter, deals with the play's development citing problems encountered in translating Chapter Two, the research Chapter, into play form. Briefly, the play's basic setting is that of a Congressional election.

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(With television making possible an increased familiarity with national office holders, the local situation tends to be overlooked by both interested political observers, and by local electorates.) The premise is that someone with little or no actual knowledge of politics can be turned into a winning candidate via skillful use of television and public relations. Thus, a candidate is chosen, on the basis of his good looks and pleasant voice, by two aspiring power seekers intent on removing the incumbent Congressman from office in the upcoming election.

In short, the play, is representational in nature and, again, is based on research compiled in Chapter Two. Based on this research and exercising the playwright's prerogative, this writer has drawn his own conclusions as to the outcome of the election and feels the incumbent will be defeated. Other observers may conclude differently but then that is part of the value of the playwright's work. Alternatives can be presented that afford one initiative to think and the chance to look in depth at problems from angles of view not possible in studies more traditional in nature.

A LITTLE PEACE OF MIND
AN ORIGINAL NINETY MINUTE
DRAMA FOR TELEVISION

By

Joel Barry Sternberg

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Television and Radio

1967

Approved: _____

John Gray

6117323

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

JERRY STERNBERG

PREFACE

A Little Peace of Mind, an original drama for television, represents this writer's feelings about the role of television in politics. It represents an attempt to clarify some of the behind-the-camera maneuverings of the political parties, their public relations staffs, and the broadcasters who operate the medium. It represents the bringing to life of detailed research gathered from sources concerned with the future of political television--research that could be applied to approaches other than the creative. Also, it represents a feeling of personal satisfaction in having created something original.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter One, the Introduction, indicates the efficacy of the creative work as a legitimate graduate exercise. Chapter Two serves the purpose of providing the research necessary for the main chapter--Chapter Three, A Little Peace of Mind. These two chapters thus work together, as they would in a thesis following a more traditional approach; but in the end, the play, Chapter Three, stands on its own and is complete in itself. Of course, this is necessary if the play is to work as a play, which is the prime consideration.

The style and thinking behind A Little Peace of Mind is indicated within, and problems encountered in translating the research material into television play form are found in Chapter Four. For now then, let it suffice to say that to the graduate student in broadcasting embarking upon a thesis, the creative thesis offers a wide variety of challenges. That it will be deemed unworthy by the graduate school is not usually true, at least on the Master's level, for it does have proven value. But, on the other hand, if one is seeking an easy way out, let him seek elsewhere; for, if anything, the creative thesis tends, in many respects, to be more difficult than other more traditional approaches. It is more difficult not only for the writer, but also for those determining its final worth, because standards of judgement are not as easily ascertained as they are in the more traditional approaches. Nevertheless, the writer of the creative thesis has the unique opportunity of educating and entertaining--two qualities that complement each other very well.

This writer would also like, at this time, to express his appreciation to those who were influential in the writing of this thesis. This list includes the Department of Television and Radio at Michigan State University to whom this writer will always be grateful, and, especially, Dr. Gordon L. Gray for being patient, understanding and encouraging over the course of the last three years and Professor Arthur Weld

whose help saw this project through to the finish. Additional kudos to Mrs. Mary Jo Lane and Karen's Secretarial Service of Chicago for aid in putting the thesis into its final form, and to Messrs. Harvey Levy and Lyle Levy for keeping the faith. And, of course, special mention to Mr. Jerry Sternberg who made it all possible but never saw it realized and to Mrs. Charlotte Sternberg whose constant reminders and help brought about the completion of this writer's master's degree program.

Joel Barry Sternberg

June, 1967
Michigan State University

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Creative Thesis

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Creative Thesis

From 1945 to 1967, approximately twenty-six per cent of all completed master's theses in the Department of Television and Radio at Michigan State University were of a creative nature. This creativity assumed the forms of, among others, television adaptations, radio documentaries, experimental films and original dramas.¹ It is this writer's contention that in the culmination of graduate study in television, the creative thesis is a healthy approach, a logical approach and, thus, one that has been pursued in this thesis.

There are several reasons that justify this viewpoint. One is, as Richard Moody of Indiana University points out, that the creative thesis can add substantially to the writer's knowledge of his particular field of study.² Moody asks, in terms of theatre but equally true for television, "What theatrical study requires a more thorough knowledge of

¹Gordon L. Gray, "Graduate Theses and Dissertations in Broadcasting: Michigan State University--1945-1967" (unpublished report, Television and Radio Department, Michigan State University, 1967), pp. 1-7. (Mimeographed.)

²Richard Moody, "The Original Play," An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre, ed. Clyde W. Dow (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 105.

all aspects of theatre and theatrical production than does the writing of a play? Certainly no other project requires more individualized and independent application."³ Even in the sciences, he goes on, imaginative projection to perceive undiscovered relationships and connections has come to be regarded as a prime quality for graduate students.⁴

From another viewpoint, one may ask what contribution could be of greater significance than an addition, however small, to our dramatic literature or than a new playwright added to the diminishing ranks of the playwriting profession.⁵ Writers who possess the skills, who understand the medium of television, such as Paddy Chayefsky, Rod Serling and Reginald Rose, are few and far between. Evidence of this can be seen any night of the week on any channel in any city. The term "boob tube" is becoming, unfortunately, a more and more apt description of the television medium. Perhaps, the encouragement of television playwrights through more specialized formal education may provide hope and quality for the future.

In general, the creative thesis provides a significant service to the public at large in terms of broadening its horizon of knowledge. Corresponding to this are Aristotle's view that only the poet could give meaning and significance to the otherwise dull historian's chronicles⁶ and, more recently, the overlapping of functions by both the dramatist

³Ibid., p. 106.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

and the journalist in the presentation of entertainment and of news.⁷ Or, phrased another way, the writer's exposition of a segment of the contemporary social scene or the vivification of some historical event or character may provide considerably more enlightenment than the most careful uncovering of hidden facts.⁸

Nowhere is this broadening of knowledge more true than in the representational drama which makes the stage a study and picture of real life,⁹ revealing particular scenes and characters in our social landscape, both current and historic.¹⁰ We are compelled to suspend our awareness of the theatrical environment, persuaded that we are eavesdropping through the fourth wall and forced to a relatively life-like emotional identification with the action and characters we observe.¹¹ The playwright, in fact, uses techniques comparable to the historian's, sociologist's, anthropologist's and biographer's by the research he does which provides material that conceivably could be applied to these other disciplines.¹² The end result is a stronger play, a more knowledgeable playwright and an audience that

⁷Erik Barnouw, The Television Writer (New York: Hill and Wang, 1962), p. 7.

⁸Moody, op. cit., p. 106.

⁹Emile Zola, "Naturalism on the Stage," Playwrights on Playwriting, ed. Toby Cole (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), p. 13, reprinted from "Le Naturalisme au theatre," LeRoman experimental (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1902).

¹⁰Moody, op. cit., p. 115.

¹¹Ibid., p. 114.

¹²Ibid., p. 115.

may possibly begin to think of ideas, concepts and problems pertaining to society hitherto not thought of or discarded as inconsequential.

There are two points, however, at which the playwright is able to divorce himself somewhat from the workings of other disciplines and, in so doing, often lets himself open for undue criticism of his work. First of all, the scientist, and one using scientific technique, through continuing observation aims at the realm of prediction and ultimately and finally to control of his material;¹³ however, the playwright finds that the obligation to compose a suitable dramatization must always take precedence over the demands for accuracy in the final product. Research aside, the play must finally stand on its own merits.¹⁴ This does not mean to imply, as is often thought, that the playwright can completely escape his obligations to authenticity.¹⁵ It is granted that he may find his concern for public acceptance and immediate practical use influencing his sense of truth and fairness;¹⁶ but, fortunately, he cannot distort and rearrange with total disregard for fact.¹⁷ As Brecht says,

¹³Thomas L. Dahle and Alan H. Monroe, "The Empirical Approach," ibid., p. 173.

¹⁴Moody, op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁵ibid.

¹⁶John Galsworthy, "Some Platitudes Concerning Drama," Playwrights on Playwriting, op. cit., p. 46, reprinted from The Inn of Tranquility: Studies and Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), pp. 189-202.

¹⁷Moody, op. cit., p. 116.

"It is the inaccurate way in which happenings between human beings are presented that restricts our pleasure in the theatre."¹⁸ Critics and audience alike will eventually react, and both the playwright and the play will suffer accordingly. Thus, as has been suggested, it might be best for the playwright to discard the subject whose authenticity would be painfully violated if properly rendered in dramatic form.¹⁹

Secondly, while a play should definitely have an ethical purpose, it should not be thrust sermonlike upon an audience; for the moment a play assumes an attitude of educational seriousness, then it is obviously conspiring to utilize the stage as a teacher's platform, which oversteps its artistic limitations. Audiences do not go to the theatre to hear a lecture²⁰ nor, as ratings seem to indicate, do they turn to television for educational seriousness. In short, they want to be entertained.

Nevertheless, while primarily appealing as entertainment, every play, even the most trivial, makes some statement -- trite and platitudinous or profound -- about life and about

¹⁸Bertolt Brecht, "A Short Organum for the Theatre," *Playwrights on Playwriting*, *op. cit.*, p. 77, reprinted from "Kleines Organum fur das Theater," *Versuche*, 12 (Frankfurtam Main: Suhrkamp Verlag) Copyright 1953 by Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. Translated by John Willet, and edited by Eric Bentley.

¹⁹Moody, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁰Roger M. Busfield, Jr., *The Playwright's Art* (New York: Harpers and Bros., Publishers, 1958), p. 82.

human nature;²¹ and drama at its best combines an appeal to the emotions with an appeal to the intellect.²² However, the shadow of the author must never fall across the play explicitly but rather be embodied within the action implicitly.²³

In summary, the creative thesis, working within its limitations and practicing its own techniques, is a legitimate exercise for the master's degree; and if in its writing one can demonstrate that he has explored the literature on and extracted the essence of some particular technique or has done comparable research on some specific subject matter, he more clearly approximates the complexion of the graduate student in other disciplines.²⁴ In fact, he may go beyond other graduate students in that his work, couched in the form of entertainment, may prove more appetizing to more people than would otherwise be possible in more traditional approaches.

In this thesis, this writer has chosen a specific subject, namely, the role of television in politics, for study and exposition. Increasing in importance to politicians and their parties and to the mass public every year, television, nevertheless, shows signs that in the hands of the politicians and their associates, it can be potentially

²¹Hubert C. Hefner, Samuel Selden, and Hunton D. Sellman, Modern Theatre Practice (4th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1959), p. 52.

²²Busfield, Jr., op. cit., p. 75.

²³Ibid., p. 82.

²⁴Moody, op. cit., p. 113.

more dangerous than advantageous to society. Via the representational drama, this writer feels that this problem area can be spotlighted much more effectively than it could be in a series of articles or essays; and, at the same time, the play fights fire with fire. Before proceeding to the play, however, let us take a closer look at television's role in politics and the techniques employed in its political use as indicated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

TELEVISION AND POLITICS

Introduction
The Cost of Campaigning
The Doctrine of Fairness in Campaigns
The Danger of Advertising and/or Public Relations
The Oversimplification of Issues
The Overemphasis of Candidate Personality
Summary

CHAPTER II

TELEVISION AND POLITICS

Introduction

Television made its political debut on August 22nd, 1928, when Al Smith's acceptance speech for the upcoming presidential election was picked up and broadcast by General Electric to its Schenectady plant fifteen miles away by a "strange, box-like contraption with a lens on front."¹ By 1940, NBC was televising the Republican Party's National Convention from Philadelphia. This telecast was beamed to New York and reached approximately 40,000 to 100,000 people.² Not very auspicious in terms of audience, 1940 was a year still in the midst of radio's golden era. However, by the 1964 election, television had grown to the point where its audience consisted of millions across the United States; and it had reached a dimension in shaping the American mind that rivaled that of America's schools, churches and homes.³

¹Marvin R. Waisbord, Campaigning for President (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1964), p. 106, n. 7.

²Samuel L. Becker and Elmer W. Lower, "Broadcasting in Presidential Campaigns," The Great Debates, ed. Sidney Kraus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), p. 35.

³Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960 (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1961), p. 336.

This growth of the medium to national prominence and its effect on the American public has also had its effect on American politicians and their respective parties. For not only have the mass media grown, they have multiplied; but each time they have done so, they have called for new methods and skills. Changes in the character of the news have made the politician's selling job a more difficult one.

Where once the statement of a senator could almost automatically expect frontpage coverage, it must now compete for space with formerly unreported international events. It must compete, too, with diversionary stimuli from the expanded world of professional entertainment. With the rapid growth of population, even the requirements for printed materials have doubled and quadrupled, making necessary much greater attention to the problems of efficient distribution.

.....
 Technological advance has made communication a highly technical, if not a professional field.⁴

Even though the methods devised and used by candidates and their parties are efficient, they have led to continuous attacks on the medium of television, the role of advertising and public relations in politics and the subsequent changing patterns and trends in politics. That some of these attacks are undeserved is highly evident; but after a thorough study of the situation, five valid areas of concern are observed. These five, now dangerous and potentially more dangerous are:

⁴Stanley Kelley, Jr., "The Political Role of the Public Relations Man," The American Political Arena, ed. Joseph R. Fiszman (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962), p. 352, reprinted from Professional Public Relations and Political Power by Stanley Kelley, Jr. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1956).

1. The cost of campaigning;
2. The doctrine of fairness in campaigns;
3. The danger of advertising and/or public relations;
4. The oversimplification of issues;
5. The overemphasis of candidate personality.

These five areas are not, of course, separate and distinct categories. They overlap to a considerable extent, working together and influencing each other so that classification becomes somewhat vague and difficult. Nevertheless, for the present purposes, the writer will attempt to consider each individually.

The Cost of Campaigning

Television is an increasingly costly medium and nowhere is this more true than in politics. Candidates, parties and broadcasters alike have felt the economic pressures mount as they vie for votes and for audiences. While rapidly becoming a necessity for the campaigner, it is more and more an expensive luxury.

Political Broadcast Expenditures

In 1964, it took about \$35,000,000 to turn the political broadcasting stiles. Of that sum almost \$25,000,000 went for the general election. That was two and a half times greater than similar expenditures in 1956;⁵ stated another way,

⁵Leo Bogart in his The Age of Television (2d ed. rev.; New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1958), p. 219, indicates that in 1956 broadcasting costs had risen to \$10,000,000 which was a substantial increase over the \$6,000,000 spent in 1952.

between 1956 and 1960, political broadcast expenditures increased by 45 per cent and between 1960 and 1964 they increased by 70 per cent.⁶ Network charges alone for political broadcasts, almost entirely limited to the presidential and vice-presidential campaigns, were \$3,250,000 in 1956 as compared to \$3,000,000 in 1960 and \$3,925,000 in 1964.⁷

The decrease in network charges in 1960 were due for the most part to the Congressional waiver of Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934. While political groups throughout the country spent a total of \$14,650,000 for paid telecasts⁸ (including \$2,600,000, mostly for broadcasting, by the Democrats in the last eighteen days of the campaign⁹ and \$2,000,000 by the Republicans in the last ten days),¹⁰ the networks, not hindered by applications for equal time from minority candidates, lost money when they gave the two major candidates 39 hours and 22 minutes of free national network time¹¹ for what is now called "The Great Debates."

⁶Herbert E. Alexander, Stimson Bullitt, and Hyman H. Goldin, "The High Costs of TV Campaigns," Television Quarterly, V (Winter, 1966), 62.

⁷Ibid., p. 63.

⁸Irvin Horowitz, "The Campaign," The New York Times Election Handbook 1964, ed. Harold Faber (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 115.

⁹White, op. cit., p. 373.

¹⁰Of the \$2,000,000 spent by the Republicans, \$500,000 was spent on the Monday before the election when it was felt urgent measures were necessary to undo some of the previous mistakes made by Nixon in his handling of the TV medium. (Ibid., pp. 374-375).

¹¹Horowitz, op. cit., p. 115.

In 1964 without the waiver, the networks gave only 4 1/2 hours of which 1 1/4 went to the candidates themselves. No time was given to minority party candidates.¹²

Free Time and Section 315

Controversy centering around Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 has certainly brought pressure to bear on the broadcaster. The essence of this controversy centers on television's power. Concentrated decisively in three commercial offices in Manhattan, it has long perplexed the American Congress and its agent, the Federal Communications Commission.

What perplexes Congress, fundamentally, is whether the hallowed doctrine of freedom of the press can responsibly be applied to the modern reality of American broadcasting. If, as Walter Lippman has pointed out, there were only three printing presses available to publish the written word for the entire country, then the concern of the nation with the management of those printing presses would probably transcend 'freedom of the press' too.¹³

Therefore, until 1960 and the Great Debates, Congress and the Federal Communications Commission had time and time again repeated their respect for television's freedom of expression but persistently restricted the power of the broadcasters to express this freedom politically.¹⁴ After the Debates and the reinstatement of Section 315, the broadcasters were once again limited.

¹²Alexander, Bullitt, and Goldin, op. cit., p. 65.

¹³White, op. cit., p. 336.

¹⁴Ibid.

In essence, the regulations over our new communications system have permitted its proprietors any freedom of vulgarity, squalor or commercial profit -- but little or no freedom of political expression.¹⁵

The results of this have been twofold. First, confusion over who has the right to air time once a candidate or his spokesman is allowed on the air has led to a very light handling of important campaign issues and a lack of in-depth coverage as broadcasters shy away through fear of Section 315. Knowing that any crackpot could demand air time by citing 315, the broadcasters take no chances.¹⁶ Secondly, as costs in television rose, the broadcasters decided against giving away their air time in favor of selling it.¹⁷ This was probably due in large part to excessive demands for time by minority candidates and has led to paid broadcasts and commercials by the major parties, determining, in large part, the kinds of information about the issues of the campaign to which the voter could be exposed.¹⁸ Combined with a lack of in-depth coverage, the public and the poor candidate suffer.

Non-Network Sustaining Time

Approximately one-third of 559 television stations report, in a recent survey by Hyman Goldin, that they have a policy of not making free time available to candidates. But, in practice, most of the stations with an anti-sustaining

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Becker and Lower, op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 44.

policy actually carry network sustaining political programs.¹⁹

Over-all, television stations reported giving an average of five hours of free time.²⁰ And, of 559 stations, 521 (94 per cent) reported sustaining time, counting both network and non-network programs; however, only 353 (68 per cent) reported non-network sustaining time. The significance of this is that approximately 200 television stations do not provide any sustaining time for Senatorial, Gubernatorial, Congressional or any other local candidates.²¹

The Networks Lose and the Ad Agencies Gain

It is interesting to note that while politics brought \$50,000 or more to 118 television stations in 1964,²² the networks each spent \$10,000,000.²³ (By comparison, in 1952, it was estimated that all three networks lost a combined sum of \$2,500,000 in their election coverage.)²⁴ This \$30,000,000 represents coverage costs for primaries, specials, conventions and election night. Construction costs for convention coverage alone ran \$750,000 per network per convention,²⁵ with a

¹⁹Alexander, Bullitt, and Goldin, op. cit., p. 64.

²⁰This amounted to 3,944 free hours in 1964 as opposed to 7,176 paid hours. This is quite impressive considering network television's almost complete lack of sustaining time. (Ibid., pp. 63-64).

²¹Ibid., p. 64.

²²Ibid., p. 63.

²³Terry Turner, "Cost of Convention Coverage," Chicago Daily News, July 11, 1964, Panorama Section, p. 19.

²⁴Becker and Lower, op. cit., p. 41, citing Broadcasting-Telecasting, XLIII (Nov. 10, 1952), 27.

²⁵Turner, op. cit., p. 19.

grand total of \$7,000,000 being spent by the networks for coverage at San Francisco.²⁶ In addition, increased manpower and equipment assignments were four times larger than that of 1960.²⁷

On the other hand, as network losses have gone spiraling, advertising agencies have profited. When networks began selling their time, agencies were called in to help develop programs and announcements.²⁸ By 1960 each party paid nearly a quarter of its campaign expenditures to its advertising agency. The Republican National Committee paid out \$2,269,578, while the Democratic National Committee spent \$2,413,227.²⁹ In 1964, while no exact figures are available, it has been estimated that 40 per cent of the \$35,000,000 spent on the campaign went for imagery.³⁰

Conclusion

Television has become the biggest single expense of any major political campaign. Whereas Lincoln spent seventy-

²⁶Terry Turner, "TV Lost Big Money on Convention," Chicago Daily News, July 17, 1964, p. 39.

²⁷Turner, "Cost of Convention Coverage," op. cit., p. 19.

²⁸Becker and Lower, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁹Daniel M. Ogden, Jr. and Arthur L. Peterson, Electing the President: 1964 (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 146, citing Herbert E. Alexander, Financing the 1960 Election (Princeton, N. J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1962), p. 31.

³⁰Transcription of National Educational Television Network program, "What TV Has Done to Politics," a report of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc., conference in Washington, D. C., Broadcast: Nov. 1, 1965.

five cents to campaign in 1846, today one ten second spot on a New York television station can cost as much as \$1,500.³¹

That this emphasis on money influences the running of a campaign is obvious. That this emphasis will continue to grow unless somehow checked is also obvious. In addition, with color television now the rage, time costs are bound to rise, not to mention production costs which may run as high as time costs.³² This means, as Newton Minow points out, that we will soon be limited to either very wealthy candidates or to not-so-wealthy candidates in debt to well-financed elements.³³

Recommendations on how to overcome this problem are many. Some say that each station should allow political parties a certain amount of free political time.³⁴ Others, such as Goldin, say that it might be best to do away with Section 315 at least on the Presidential level,³⁵ and there are also those who recommend subsidizing candidates for their television campaigns.³⁶ But whatever method is chosen, in order for it to be effective, the cooperation of the television industry, the political parties, the FCC, the

³¹Ibid.

³²Alexander, Bullitt, and Goldin, op. cit., p. 49.

³³Newton N. Minow, Equal Time, ed. Lawrence Laurent (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 32.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Alexander, Bullitt, and Goldin, op. cit., p. 65.

³⁶Ibid., p. 58.

national government and the various state governments is needed.

The Doctrine of Fairness in Campaigns

With the advent of television in political campaigns, many new techniques and technicians have come to the fore. Their functions and methods of operation are relatively new. Whereas, many find solace in the axiom, the camera never lies, nevertheless, it may distort successfully.³⁷

The television audience, for all its illusion of being on the spot to judge for itself, sees any political figure through the eye of the camera, and what the camera sees is itself controlled by technicians, directors and commentators. By their presentation of the political scene the broadcasters wield an enormous influence over the public's view of current events.³⁸

Held in check by the Federal Communications Commission, many broadcasters seemingly go out of their way to be fair.³⁹ However, there are trends and occurrences that equally indicate the opposite. One, as we have just seen, involves the prohibitive time and production costs of television, which in turn denies access to the medium for the non-wealthy; another involves coverage of political events.

³⁷Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang have illustrated this in a study centering around the investigation of a public event as viewed over television: see "The Unique Perspective of Television and Its Effect: A Pilot Study," Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm (2d ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), pp. 544-560.

³⁸Bogart, op. cit., p. 225.

³⁹For the ultimate in fairness, read the backstage accounts of the 1964 Presidential debates; see Herbert A. Seltz, and Richard D. Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," The Great Debates, op. cit., pp. 73-126.

Coverage of Campaign Events

President Eisenhower, in a speech to the Radio and Television Broadcasters on May 24, 1955, said that the television industry has a great capacity, when used properly, to sway public opinion. This means, said the President, that the broadcasters have an added responsibility to see that the news is truthfully told "with the integrity of the entire industry behind it."

Of course you want to entertain....Of course you want people to look at it, and I am all for it.... But when we come to something that we call news--and I am certain that I am not speaking of anything that you haven't discussed earnestly among yourselves--let us simply be sure it is news.⁴⁰

The President's concern is, in one respect, directed towards the elimination of news that is purposely created to fill air time and newspaper space and that is aimed at the sensational.⁴¹ It is also for an improvement in the selection and presentation of news and political material because it is felt that broadcasters often have a tendency to be unfair, via selection and presentation, to those not in their favor.⁴²

⁴⁰Douglass Cater, "Every Congressman a Television Star," Politics, U. S. A., eds. Andrew M. Scott and Earle Wallace (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 246, reprinted from The Reporter, June 16, 1955.

⁴¹Daniel J. Boorstin refers to this as the creation of "pseudo-events". They are planned events not as concerned with reality as they are with newsworthiness. See, e.g., his chapter on "From News Gathering to News Making: A Flood of Pseudo-Events," The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1961).

⁴²The slanting of news takes on many forms and approaches. See, Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1957), pp. 217-265.

This uneasiness has been expressed most often over the ability of a television commentator, such as the late Edward R. Murrow, to step into the arena of public debate and exercise a powerful force on the formation of public opinion. For years, radio news analysts have injected a personal note into the interpretation of the political scene. Television, therefore does not raise new questions about the role of broadcast commentary on controversial issues. However, as a more powerful medium, it raises the old question in a more compelling way.

If a good reporter like Murrow can use his prestige, his air time, and his command of television technique to help change the prevailing image of a major political figure, could not the same be achieved by a broadcaster who was not on the side of the angels?⁴³

In 1956 a related incident of this nature did occur. A CBS network producer quietly dropped a hint to a Stevenson staff man that during the presidential convention, Eisenhower and Nixon would get complete television coverage because of their elected positions. Stevenson would get similar treatment, but the Democratic vice-presidential nominee would not --unless it were Kennedy. Why? "Because Kennedy has box office."⁴⁴ Add to this the Democrats' problems in securing

⁴³Bogart, op. cit., p. 225. Some of the thinking behind Section 315 again becomes evident. (Supra., pp. 10-12).

⁴⁴The producer added a personal footnote, "Don't get him wrong," he said. "Personally, he was anti-Kennedy, but politically he wanted Kennedy picked because that would double the Democrats' TV coverage. And he prided himself, first and above all on being a good Democrat who placed Party above Person." Ralph G. Martin, Ballots and Band-wagons (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964), p. 393.

an advertising agency⁴⁵ and you can see the party was not getting off on the right foot.

Even when thoughts of partisanship are discarded, there is still a chance that one party or the other will be dealt with unfairly. For example, in televised presidential press conferences just prior to election time, objections are raised because it is said, and rightly so, that these conferences work to the benefit of the incumbent party. The camera work, the commentary and the general direction are such as to support the dignity of the office and reinforce an impression of the competence of the individual who holds it. Yet that individual and his fitness may be, at the same time, the object of strong attacks by the other political party. The apparently reportorial functions of the television broadcaster may prove, upon close scrutiny, strongly partisan.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Today's politician, if properly financed, has at his disposal a medium guaranteed to reach the people. He can use

⁴⁵In 1952, no large Madison Avenue advertising agency would touch the Democrats; in 1956, an appeal for fair play brought an eventual (and, as it turned out, unhappy) acceptance by the small agency of Norman, Craig and Kummel; and, in 1960, the account was exiled all the way to San Francisco. Implied here is the idea that the Democrats were losers and it is best to stick with a winner. In 1960, the Democrats got back somewhat when they berated "government by hucksters" in their campaign speeches. Anthony Howard, "The Huckster's Lament," Politics 1964, eds. Francis M. Carney and H. Frank Way, Jr. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), p. 161, reprinted from New Statesman, Jan. 27, 1961.

⁴⁶Bogart, op. cit., p. 227.

it honestly or he can misuse it to distort just as the broadcaster can. Redubbing mistakes and editing audio and video tape can provide slick, professional programs, but they can also deceive.⁴⁷ Clouding the audio while the video implies, stacking audiences and rigging interview shows may help to win elections as some suggest;⁴⁸ but they also tread dangerously close to campaign abuses.

The broadcaster cannot change what the politician and his staff of advisers do in their campaigns, but he can alter his behavior. Schramm says,

He has an obligation of his own to see that all pertinent sides of a question get an airing. He has the same obligation that earlier editors had, to seek out truth wherever it is hidden, to unmask falsehood, halftruths, double dealing, and chicanery.⁴⁹

In short, he can be more than a common carrier to transport whatever the expert manipulators give him.⁵⁰

The Danger of Advertising and/or Public Relations

When candidates and parties began to buy broadcast time in earnest, they began to pay more attention to the messages they were sending out. More exact decisions had to be made on what information concerning what issues should be offered

⁴⁷"What TV Has Done to Politics," N.E.T. Transcription, op. cit., Nov. 1, 1965.

⁴⁸Stephen G. Shadegg, How to Win An Election (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), pp. 169-170, 172.

⁴⁹Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 161.

⁵⁰Ibid.

the electorate,⁵¹ and the problem became one of presenting the selected information in ways that would assure the parties of attracting audience attention. It was to professional advertising and public relations that they turned.⁵² Expert in the field of persuasion and competent in the building of "images" for products and/or candidates, the public relations man's services are aptly suited to the political situation. However, in providing such services, the public relations man is, in large part, responsible for the considerable change in the nature of politics we are experiencing today.

Types of Available Services

Basically, there are three main types of political public relations available to the candidate. The largest and most influential type is that of the campaign management firm. This firm specializes in complete management of candidates for public office and of state and local ballot propositions. In effect, the firm substitutes for the functions of political parties, although, in many instances, it operates on a year round basis for non-political clients.⁵³ Secondly, there are the advertising agencies and/or public

⁵¹Becker and Lower, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵²Advertising agencies began to make inroads as of the 1952 presidential campaign. However, they were used prior to 1952 though not openly employed by the parties. (Ibid., p. 35, reprinted from Senate Report No. 47, 77 Cong., 1 sess., Feb. 15, 1941, p. 15.)

⁵³Robert J. Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California," The Western Political Quarterly, XI (June, 1958), 280.

relations agencies whose primary concern and campaign activity is that of serving as publicity arms for the candidates. These agencies serve as experts in the use of the mass media rather than as full campaign management experts.⁵⁴ And, thirdly, there is the form that consists of persons of various professions such as newspapermen, academicians, lawyers, labor unionists, civil servants and political assistants.⁵⁵ These people share a common characteristic in that they all possess specialized or technical knowledge of public opinion formation or mass media use. But while they are quite often highly skilled in these areas, they do not usually practice commercial publicity or advertising between elections.⁵⁶

In choosing between these types, a candidate will notice that they differ significantly in their method of service. If one of the two latter forms is used, the candidate will add expert or professional help to the publicity segment of this campaign. He will not change the method, nature or operation of his campaign. However, if he chooses the first type, the method, nature and operations are

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Also included in this group is a list of Hollywood notables acting as persuader-consultants in areas of showmanship. Robert Montgomery, Alan Jay Lerner, George Murphy and Dore Schary are among a few whose work went beyond that of the run-of-the-mill testimonial. See, Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1957), pp. 164-172; Martin Mayer, Madison Avenue, U.S.A. (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1958, 1959), pp. 302-303.

⁵⁶Pitchell, op. cit., pp. 280-281.

changed.⁵⁷ Everything from raising money, determining issues, writing speeches, handling press releases, preparing advertising copy, programming radio and television shows and developing whatever other publicity techniques are necessary for a given campaign are included in the campaign management firm's functions.⁵⁸ Every gimmick and technique falls under its jurisdiction from the obvious development of slogans such as "I Like Ike"⁵⁹ to the not so obvious improvement or development of the candidate's total public image. This is accomplished while getting the maximum impact out of a message while staying within the confines of a campaign budget.⁶⁰

Objections to Public Relations

Only three of the jobs performed by campaign firms and agencies, etc., can be regarded as advertising work. These are the preparation of actual print ads or broadcast announcements, the selection of media for these commercial messages and for the candidate's speeches, and the measurement by research of how well the candidate's message is coming across.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 281. Evidence of national campaigns seem to indicate that campaign management firms are still subordinate to the candidates' desires and the parties' demands. However, their influence in the running of the campaign is not to be denied.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 278.

⁵⁹William Lee Miller, "Can Government Be 'Merchandised'?" Politics, U.S.A., op. cit., p. 219, reprinted from The Reporter, October 27, 1953.

⁶⁰Kelley, Jr., op. cit., p. 353.

The last two of these are technical contributions to which there is no objection.⁶¹ The first, however, when viewed in combination with the other functions of these firms, such as determining issues, does leave cause for alarm. It does so because the values of the public relations man and the requirements related to the needs of successful public relations often take precedence over substance, over issues and even over the values of the politician himself.⁶² Thus, the public relations man finds himself assuming a role of increased importance and power in the political arena.

Since he tends to view his contribution to politics in terms of a job to be done, he may likely serve opposing candidates and parties, and in this sense he is almost "apolitical." But his possession of the skills so badly needed in modern politics provide him with possibilities of potential political power which he can use for the maximization of his own group values and interests.⁶³

While cognizant of this power, the politician nevertheless adds to it. It is as if there is some magic involved in the demand for public relations services. This, in light of the fact that,

There are few data for evaluating, with anything like scientific accuracy, particular propaganda techniques, and certainly not for the assessment of the effectiveness of "public relations" in general.⁶⁴ Yet the habitual tendency of the

⁶¹Mayer, op. cit., p. 304.

⁶²"Communication and Politics," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 350.

⁶³Ibid., p. 351.

⁶⁴Although the record of the total impact of public relations in politics is not complete as yet, it is nevertheless evident that some firms have been on the winning side in

politician is to "run scared," and he must have knowledge that will help him win. A competitive political situation and frightened politicians are thus a boon to the public relations man. And though there may be magic in his appeal under these conditions, it is no less real for that reason.⁶⁵

If taken to its logical extreme, this reliance on public relations can, and will, restrict the free market place of ideas; for the emphasis is not on being heard but rather on obtaining a differential advantage.⁶⁶ This, according to Edward Bernays, public relations spokesman, is called "the engineering of consent." This means that "the voice of the people expresses the mind of the people, and that mind is made up for it by group leaders in whom it believes and by those persons who understand the manipulation of opinion." Thus, the gifted and sincere politician is able, through propaganda, to mold and form the will of the people.⁶⁷ In short, he is engineering consent. However, Schramm

most of the campaigns they have undertaken. However, their records are not all that impressive. These organizations look for winners and often refuse candidates they do not think can win. (Supra, p. 18, n. 69). But, even with "winners" they have not created pushbutton voting and their techniques are far from foolproof. Their main contribution to date has been to add an expert, efficient and economical contact with the voting population. This increases in importance with the size of the constituency and as the issues confronting the society become obscure and less central in the lives of the voters. The danger lies in their increasing power and the techniques being brought to bear on the election. Pitchell, op. cit., pp. 283-300.

⁶⁵Kelley, Jr., op. cit., p. 353.

⁶⁶Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 160.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 160-161, citing Edward L. Bernays, Propaganda (New York: Liveright, 1928), p. 92.

counteracts, similar to Bogart's concern over broadcast commentators, that consent can be engineered by the insincere⁶⁸ just as easily as by the sincere.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Democratic theory postulates that a free exchange of information is essential in instructing the public about public problems and issues.⁷⁰ Increasing knowledge or levels of information expand the possibilities and potentialities available for realizing a greater public good. It also aids in holding officials accountable and responsible for their performance of public business. An enlightened citizenry and its leaders will thus create new possibilities for action and hopefully more good.⁷¹ However, the trend in public relations moves away from this; for in campaigns where the

⁶⁸Merton indicates that in this situation an interesting moral problem arises. The expert faces the choice between being a less than fully effective technician and a scrupulous human being or an effective technician and a less than scrupulous human being. For in seeking effective mass persuasion, the tendency is to push for whatever works and the techniques used are apt to be governed by a narrowly technical and amoral criterion which expresses a manipulative attitude toward man and society. The technician then must decide whether or not he should devise techniques for exploiting mass anxieties, for using sentimental appeals in place of information, for making private purpose in the guise of common purpose. "He faces the moral problem of choosing not only among social ends but also among propaganda means." See, Robert K. Merton, "Mass Persuasion: A Technical Problem and a Moral Dilemma," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 377.

⁶⁹Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 161.

⁷⁰Vincent Ostrom, "The Politics of Education in a Democracy," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 371.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 371-372.

public relations experts choose the issues, tell the candidates what to do and control the image of the candidate which reaches the people, the spirit of the free market place certainly is violated.⁷²

This violation of the free market place takes on ominous overtones when it is realized that the first act of a dictator is usually the seizure of the mass media.⁷³ While no dictator looms in sight, nevertheless, it is felt by many--especially after noting that those with access to the instruments of communication have greater freedom and opportunities for making their demands heard and values maximized⁷⁴--that it might now be theoretically possible to seize the media by skill and ability to pay and accomplish something of the same thing a dictator does by force.⁷⁵ In fact, it might prove more of a challenge in that manipulation of the people by a tyrant with a controlled society is a fairly simple matter. The real contest, says Vance Packard, comes in dealing effectively with citizens of a free society who can vote you out

⁷²Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 160.

⁷³Ibid., p. 161.

⁷⁴This becomes more ominous when it is realized that there are fewer than 100 controlling over 50 per cent of the total circulation of the daily press and that many communities have access to only one paper and one radio or television station connected to a national monopoly. "Communications and Politics," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 349.

⁷⁵Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 161.

of office or spurn your solicitation for their support, if they are so minded.⁷⁶

It is only to the mass media, paradoxically, that the public can turn for guidance and defense. The media are the outposts against usurpation of our rights.⁷⁷ Thus, having given life and nurture to public relations as an occupation,⁷⁸ they must now watch over it like a motner hen and be aware that here is one of the great forces which may impinge on the free market place.⁷⁹

The Oversimplification of Issues

One of the most common objections to the use of public relations and advertising in political campaigns is that advertising oversimplifies, which is true. A good part of the technique of advertising has the single purpose of simplification, of finding from the variety of causes which make people buy a product the one or two or three causes which can be condensed down to one "reason" and then inflated up to a slogan. Applied to branded products, this technique can do little harm to society. Product purchases are trivial

⁷⁶In line with this, Kenneth Boulding of the University of Michigan says, "A world of unseen dictatorship is conceivable, still using the forms of democratic government." Packard, op. cit., p. 155.

⁷⁷Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 161.

⁷⁸Kelley, Jr., op. cit., p. 352.

⁷⁹Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, op. cit., p. 161.

matters; and if the product does not give satisfaction, then it will not be purchased a second time. Applied to political issues, however, the technique must partially misinform, create undesirable emotions and distort the realities which, in theory, underlie the decision of the electorate.⁸⁰

The Use of "Spots" in Campaigns

The politician on television, it is said, must not only outdo his opponent on the same medium; but he must also be more appealing and more entertaining than the great stars in the world of entertainment, news and sports whose domain he has invaded. However, the conventional time segments of television are against the candidate. It may be possible for an incumbent President to hold the attention of a television audience while he delivers a thirty minute speech, but even this is open to question. "Certainly the lesser candidates cannot hope to capture any substantial audience for such a lengthy period with a program consisting of nothing more than a camera focused upon a speaker at a rostrum."⁸¹

The above concern for reaching and holding an audience is just one of many reasons given for the use of spots in a political campaign. While no less costly, they nevertheless offer the candidate a captive audience if placed at strategic places throughout the broadcast day. Their virtue lies in the fact that they can envelop the voter in a spray of

⁸⁰ Mayer, op. cit., pp. 304-305.

⁸¹ Shadegg, op. cit., p. 166.

stimuli from which there is the possibility that enough messages will break through to the viewer for candidate identification.⁸²

As Rosser Reeves, of the Ted Bates Advertising Agency and adviser to President Eisenhower, has said,

I think of a man in a voting booth who hesitates between two levers as if he were pausing between competing tubes of toothpaste in a drugstore. The brand that has made the highest penetration on his brain will win his choice.⁸³

The use of spots in campaigns can be traced back as far as the 1936 election where they were used on radio. However, they were relegated to a secondary position in campaign strategy in that the political strategists of the day seemed to have preferred the longer campaign speeches.⁸⁴ By 1952 the position of spots and longer speeches in the eyes of the strategists had reversed. The politicians were impressed with the low cost per thousand homes reached, the idea that spots would reach people not already prejudiced in favor of the candidate and the idea that there was an opportunity to concentrate fire in the relatively few critical states which could not correctly be counted in either candidates' column.⁸⁵ Robert Humphreys, the Republican National Committee Public Relations Director, thus stated in his writing of

⁸²William J. Gore and Robert L. Peabody, "The Functions of the Political Campaign: A Case Study," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 286, reprinted from The Western Political Quarterly, XI (March, 1958).

⁸³Packard, op. cit., p. 166.

⁸⁴Mayer, op. cit., p. 298.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 298-299.

the Republicans' 1952 "Campaign Plan,"

The use of radio and TV stationbreak "spots" during the last ten days of the campaign is a must for stimulating the voter to go to the polls and vote for the candidates.⁸⁶

Since 1952 the procedures necessary for the development of spots has been somewhat systematized. Much like consumer product advertising, the public relations experts seek to limit their candidates' main selling points to two or three issues which can be distilled into simple themes and slogans that are memorable and adaptable to repetition. Issues may then go undiscussed not because they are unimportant but because they are not easily reduced to simple positive themes.⁸⁷ All arguments must be capsulized and sloganized, and every alternative presented thus requires comparison and weighing so that the best and simplest this or that situation is found.⁸⁸ Aiming at simplification, it turns out to be quite a job.⁸⁹

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 299.

⁸⁷This dismissal of issues is not a matter of concern to many public relations men and their candidates in that they feel the public does not have the complexity or the knowledge to notice what is missing. What with criticism of public apathy being as it is, one feels their point, unfortunately, may be well taken. Stanley Kelley, Jr., "Afterthoughts on Madison Avenue Politics," Politics 1960, eds. Francis M. Carney and H. Frank Way, Jr. (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1960), pp. 123, 125, reprinted from The Antioch Review, (Summer, 1957), pp. 173-185.

⁸⁸Kelley, Jr., "The Political Role of the Public Relations Man," op. cit., p. 356.

⁸⁹An interesting view of Rosser Reeves' work in the 1952 election for the Republican party in preparing spots, and the end results, is offered in Mayer, op. cit., pp. 298-301.

An Example of Simplification in Another Area

Simplification in political broadcasting is not just relegated to spots. There are examples in practically every type of broadcast material. Even the "Great Debates" in 1960, those four campaign programs, "pompously and self-righteously advertised by the broadcasting networks, were remarkably successful in reducing great national issues to trivial dimension."⁹⁰

In retrospect, it is not too surprising that the debates were not as enlightening as they were hoped to be. Some blame the question and answer format utilized in all four telecasts;⁹¹ but, more likely, the form in combination with the concern for the compulsions of the television medium were responsible or at least, highly contributory. For it is the nature of television to abhor silence and dead time. Thus, all television discussion programs are compelled to snap question and answer back and forth as if the contestants were adversaries in an intellectual tennis match. Although experienced newsmen and inquirers know that the most thoughtful and responsive answers to any difficult question come after long pause "and that the longer the pause the more illuminating the thought that follows it, nonetheless the electronic media cannot bear to suffer a pause of more than

⁹⁰Boorstin, op. cit., p. 41.

⁹¹Boorstin says, "With appropriate vulgarity, they might have been called the \$400,000 Question (prize: a \$100,000-a-year job for four years)." In the context in which they were presented, they are a good example of pseudo-events. (Ibid).

five seconds; a pause of thirty seconds of dead time on air seems interminable."⁹² In the debates, then, snapping their two-and-a-half-minute answers back and forth, both Kennedy and Nixon could only react for the cameras and the people-- they could not think. When seemingly caught out on a limb with a thought too heavy for two minute exploration, they hastily moved back toward center as soon as the thought was enunciated.⁹³

If there was to be a forum for political issues, the television debates should have provided it. Yet they did not. What they did, however, was to provide the voters a living portrait of two men under stress and let the voters decide, by instinct and emotion, which style and pattern of behavior under stress they preferred in a leader.⁹⁴

Conclusion

Issues require rational discussion which entails an explanation of events and the presentation of these explanations in their proper relative importance. The elements of a problem must be analyzed and then presented in a connected chain of reasoning.⁹⁵ However, spots and the typical discussion programs prevent this. As the late Adlai Stevenson

⁹²White, op. cit., p. 350.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 350-351.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 351.

⁹⁵Kelley, Jr., "The Political Role of the Public Relations Man," op. cit., p. 356.

asked (after being told that no television speech should be longer than fifteen minutes, that five minutes was better and that the one minute spot was best), "How can a candidate possibly deal honestly in one, or five, or fifteen minutes with any complex question -- with inflation or disarmament, for example?" His answer was that he could not.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the trend toward simplification in political communication is gathering momentum.⁹⁷ Its justification is that it works to stir up the apathetic citizen who listens to political discussion irregularly and prefers the variety show or murder mystery to the politician.⁹⁸ While possibly a realistic consideration, eventually this can only work against society; for if a candidate has ideas on a complex subject vital to society, he has no time to set them forth. Instead, he must reduce them to a slogan and the audience learns practically nothing -- just the slogan. No hint of the perils, alternatives and secondary issues that lie behind ideas and decisions is given.⁹⁹ If this works to overcome apathy, it presupposes a restrictive and feeble understanding on the part of the public and aids in closing up

⁹⁶Adlai E. Stevenson, "Choice by Hulloabaloo," Politics 1964, op. cit., p. 151, reprinted from THIS WEEK Magazine, (1960).

⁹⁷In 1964, 60 per cent of the dollars spent in the general election went for 10- to 60-second spots and 40 per cent for program time. From all apparent indications, this is bound to increase. Alexander, Bullitt, and Goldin, op. cit., p. 63.

⁹⁸Kelley, Jr., "The Political Role of the Public Relations Man," op. cit., p. 357.

⁹⁹Adlai E. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 151.

the free market place.¹⁰⁰

The Overemphasis of Candidate Personality

Actor James Stewart for President. His running mate on the Republican ticket for Vice-President: actor John Wayne. Opposing them on the Democratic slate: Jack Lemmon for President, Burt Lancaster for Vice-President. Preposterous? Absurd? That's pretty much the reaction people would have had ten years ago had you suggested George Murphy as U. S. Senator from California¹⁰¹ or Ronald Reagan as Governor of that same state. But today it is not inconceivable to think that Stewart and Wayne, or Lemmon and Lancaster, taking advantage of their public images, could have fared much better than Goldwater and Miller in 1964.¹⁰²

Today's trend is for more and more film and television stars to plunge into politics by running for office and speaking out on subjects previously thought too controversial.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰It was Hitler's contention that the masses were not capable of understanding anything complex. Such being the case, he indicated that "all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare necessities and then must be expressed in a few stereotyped formulas." Hitler had nothing but scorn for intellectuals who are always looking for something new. "Only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea on the memory of a crowd." Alan Bullock, "The Talents of Tyranny," The Nazi Revolution, ed. John L. Snell (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1959), p. 2, reprinted from Hitler: A Study in Tyranny, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1952), pp. 61-64, 342-348, and 352-353.

¹⁰¹Lloyd Shearer, "Show Business Personalities Plunge into Politics," Chicago Sun-Times Parade Magazine, Sept. 5, 1965, p.4.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰³Years ago most of the film stars under studio contract feared political involvement. The studios would not

The reason behind this trend lies partly in the fact that there are several actors who, in addition to their successful acting careers, are seriously pursuing studies in other areas.¹⁰⁴ Politics is a fascinating endeavor for them as it is for many non-actors.

The main emphasis behind this trend, however, lies in two demands made by the medium of television if success is to be achieved in television -- personality and showmanship -- and the acquiescence of the parties to these demands. The actor, with his preestablished personality and knowledge of show business, thus becomes a likely choice for candidacy¹⁰⁵ as do those non-actors whose personal attractiveness, generalities of speech and manner of appearance and presentation -- all good television qualities -- are in evidence. Issues become secondary considerations to the point that it is felt by many that in the absence of really strong emotional issues, how the candidates project on the television screen could be

allow it. Today the studios control practically no stars, and the contemporary actor feels strongly about the stifling of his political beliefs. (Ibid).

¹⁰⁴Two cases in point are Dan Blocker of Bonanza and Robert Vaughn of The Man from U.N.C.L.E.. Both hold M.A. degrees, both are studying for Ph.D.'s, and both regard political office as logical and ultimate extensions of their acting careers. (Ibid).

¹⁰⁵Veteran film actor Eddie Albert, star of the TV series Green Acres, has long been urged by Democratic bigwigs to run for congressman from California. "You can't miss," he was told. "You've not only got a great image -- the friendly, average, decent American -- but you've got a wife who was born in Mexico (the actress, Margo) which means you'll get the Mexican vote hands down. But even more important, you know how to play a guitar. Ronnie Reagan doesn't know how to play a guitar." To date, Albert has refused. (Ibid).

decisive.¹⁰⁶ Others feel that a "good" personality may overcome anything -- even strong emotional campaign issues -- and that,

As the situation now stands in mid-century America, former successful candidates who lacked the tooth-paste ad look such as Abraham Lincoln, John Adams, George Washington, John Calhoun, William Howard Taft, and Herbert Hoover would find campaigning a pretty discouraging business.¹⁰⁷

The Search for the Image

The selection of a candidate with a "good" personality and sense of showmanship, movie star or otherwise, does not preclude the work of the party and its associated public relations firm in developing the proper image for that candidate.¹⁰⁸ Every aspect of the campaign, personality of the candidate included, has to be consistent with every other aspect of the campaign and with the total image devised for the campaign. Thus, in many cases, the candidate has to be built from scratch with all the pieces fitted together as in a jig-saw puzzle.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Samuel Lubell, "Personalities vs. Issues," The Great Debates, op. cit., p. 162.

¹⁰⁷Vance Packard, The Status Seekers (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1959), p. 193.

¹⁰⁸The movie star does have the value of being well known, and again, the sense of showmanship necessary for the television campaign. Thus, in this respect, the party's job is made somewhat easier.

¹⁰⁹Even in the case of a movie star this is true. For example, Tom Wicker, Washington Bureau Chief of The New York Times cites the case of Ronald Reagan who he says was taken off into seclusion to be tailored, painted and produced so as to be put in front of the camera. "What TV Has Done To Politics," N.E.T. Transcription, op. cit., November 1, 1965.

There is no one image or personality formula that is utilized consistently; but, nevertheless, there are some pet theories. For example, Whitaker and Baxter, a west coast campaign management firm, says that winning candidates project one of two types of image. The first is that of a fighting contestant. Americans love contests. However, if this type is not available, an entertaining candidate must be found as most Americans like to be entertained. Put on a show and if the show is good, people will listen.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, Dr. Eugene Burdick of the University of California says of the candidate,

He is a man who has great warmth, inspires confidence rather than admiration, and is not so proper that he is unbelievable. He must have "done things" in another field than politics, and he must have a genuine sense of humor. His stand on individual political issues is relatively unimportant.¹¹¹

Apart from these two theories, there are those that say candidates should have sex appeal, should not be so much the fire-eater as the superb technician and definitely should have lean young faces as television tends to fatten and age a face.¹¹² But whatever the theory, one thing is certain and that is that the search for the image is the effort to provide psychological values attractive to the political customer.¹¹³ It is the effort to provide "rational man"

¹¹⁰Pitchell, op. cit., p. 288.

¹¹¹Packard, The Hidden Persuaders, op. cit., p. 159.

¹¹²Packard, The Status Seekers, op. cit., p. 193.

¹¹³Riesman indicates that these are values we like in our friends, namely, cleanliness, up-to-date appearance,

with good and acceptable reasons to dress up the choice he makes.¹¹⁴

The Image in Other Aspects of the Campaign

To be sure, the candidate is not the only consideration of the parties' image makers; for, again, all aspects of the campaign have to work together. In areas such as conventions, televised speeches, etc., etc., more emphasis is being placed upon showmanship and entertainment than ever before. Distant shots of crowds with spotlights sweeping over them aiming at building an aura of excitement prior to a speech,¹¹⁵ Hollywood stars being used to make testimonials, and pre-arranged programs featuring well known personalities and political figures produced as entertainment vehicles are exemplary.¹¹⁶

In the nominating conventions, this trend toward showmanship has been somewhat startling. Usually raucous and spontaneous beyond control in the past, they are now

generosity, courtesy, honesty, patience, sincerity, sympathy and good-naturedness. They appear to transcend all other theories. David Riesman, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (abd. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, 1953, and 1961), p. 191.

¹¹⁴Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, "The People's Choice," (abridged), American Social Patterns, ed. William Petersen (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956), p. 151, reprinted from The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign (2d ed.; Columbia University Press, 1948).

¹¹⁵Mayer, op. cit., p. 303.

¹¹⁶Packard, The Hidden Persuaders, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

controlled as any televised event. Schedules have been streamlined, speechmaking time cut, and demonstrations organized and limited to specific times. Spontaneity has been strait-jacketed¹¹⁷ as the price of pacing the show to maximize Trendex ratings.¹¹⁸ Television has dictated the terms and politicians have responded ardently.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

The effect of personality mixed with television in political campaigns is difficult to assess, but, is nonetheless real. It is known, for example, that television has helped push relatively unknown candidates into national prominence practically overnight. Such was the case with the late President Kennedy and even with the late Adlai

¹¹⁷Martin, op. cit., p. 393.

¹¹⁸Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard C. Hennessey, Politics Without Power (New York: Atherton Press, 1964), p. 114.

¹¹⁹The conventions of 1956 provide excellent examples. The Republicans utilized persuader-consultant George Murphy (Supra., p. 21, n. 79), then MGM public relations director. Wearing dark glasses, he stood a few feet back of the rostrum making professional gestures for fanfares, stretch-outs, and fades from which delegates, whom he regarded as actors in this a superspectacular pageant, and the orchestra took their cues. He kept objectionable delegates off the floor and brought in non-delegates for spontaneous support of the various motions brought to the floor. But, even with this control, he was not content as he wanted a proper theater with proper stage directions and controls and this was not available. The Democrats, using Dore Schary, head of MGM, made kinescope recordings of the keynote speaker to pre-test each gesture and the impact of each point's summation. Also, the old style display of red, white and blue was abandoned, and everything, including the platform chairs were colored a tele-genic blue. Packard, The Hidden Persuaders, op. cit., pp. 167-168, 171-172.

Stevenson.¹²⁰ Given a chance to display their charms in millions of living rooms, they became celebrities.¹²¹ Just as easily, however, television can deflate the political candidate as has been argued was the case with Richard Nixon in 1960.¹²²

¹²⁰In 1952, Stevenson appeared on TV some 27 times and as a comparative unknown made a fine showing in the election. Robert F. Bradford, "Politics and Television: A Fable," Television's Impact on American Culture, ed. Wm. Y. Elliott (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956), p. 190. However, image wise, it's said he suffered somewhat in that he appeared too much the eggheaded wit. In 1956, he became more a man of determination and decisiveness, but Eisenhower mellowed from his 1952 father image into a grandfather image and Stevenson couldn't overcome this. Packard, The Hidden Persuaders, op. cit., p. 160.

¹²¹Bogart, op. cit., p. 219.

¹²²In 1960, Nixon faced the problem of television's harshness and the electronic cruelty of the camera hurting his image. If not careful, his deep eye wells and heavy brows cast shadows across his face forcing a glower, and at times, ferocity. Also, if not careful, he could appear bald and his smile was said to be reminiscent of too many smiling announcers. In addition, Nixon did not heed the advice of his TV advisers, Carroll Newton and Ted Rogers, and spoke directly to the camera in an ad-lib, wide, roving manner on hard political matters trying to cram an all purpose speech into a little talk. Fearful of the tag "Madison Avenue" being placed upon him, he ran his campaign the way he saw fit and this led to discontent at every echelon of the Republican campaign organization. In contrast with Kennedy in the televised debates, it was felt by many that Nixon's defensive position and visual impact left much to be desired (strongly noticeable in the first debate) and while he was generally viewed as being the probable winner of the election prior to the debates, upon their completion Kennedy moved into first place. White, op. cit., pp. 317, 330, 346, 348-349, 375. This was a complete turnabout from 1952 when Nixon made his famous Checkers speech and talked his way "into the hearts of millions...plainly and honestly" and into the vice-presidency. Earl Mazo, "The \$18,000 Question," Politics, U.S.A., op. cit., p. 258, reprinted from Richard Nixon: A Political and Personal Portrait (Harper and Bros., 1959).

There are those, on the other hand, who say that the television personality is not that important¹²³ and that concepts of television affect only the candidates and their campaigning methods.¹²⁴ However, when so much emphasis is placed on "a good television face," a pleasant smile and proper bearing before the cameras, "these considerations must for the sake of expediency replace some of the other elements traditionally associated with politics."¹²⁵ When effort is expended to develop candidates with universal appeal, the lowest common denominator candidates as it were, then certainly there is a resultant effect on the election process.¹²⁶

The day of the arm-waving, silver tongued spellbinder is about done, although there are still a few of them around. Many things contributed to his demise, but television was

¹²³Many espouse the statement directed towards Lincoln in 1860, namely, "If all the ugly men in the United States vote for him, he will surely be elected." "The Process of Persuasion," Politics 1960, op. cit., p. 113.

¹²⁴Lubell, op. cit., p. 162.

¹²⁵"Communication and Politics," The American Political Arena, op. cit., p. 351.

¹²⁶One noticeable effect, as Lippman has indicated, is that the dominant majority not only in each of the parties, but in the country as a whole, is not on the right or on the left but seemingly in the center. Bernard Hyink, S. Brown, and Ernest W. Thacker, Politics and Government in California (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1963), p. 67. Packard indicates the parties have moved to the center because they know victory lies in swaying the political neutrals found there. All other factors being equal, he thus feels the most appealing face has the best chance of winning. The Status Seekers, op. cit., p. 192. This writer feels the political center has grown due to the presentation of the appealing face, or in other words, the lowest common denominator candidate.

undoubtedly the biggest single factor.¹²⁷ Today a candidate cannot sit and wait for the press and party people to come and visit him as Lincoln did.¹²⁸ He cannot expect voters to join a dusty, sweaty crowd at a barbecue or sit in a drafty hall to hear him speak, and most of them won't. He has to do away with broad gestures and windy oratory and in its place develop an informal, face-to-face style applicable to television.¹²⁹

The candidate also faces the task of cultivating sincerity, as the camera eye can spot a windbag a lot more quickly than can a thousand people in a single herd.¹³⁰ But while many feel protected by the camera's ability to sift the genuine from the synthetic, it is only logical to assume that a new type of synthetic or bunkum will be developed.¹³¹ As more emphasis is placed on discriminating the sincere from the insincere, judgement shifts more from the content of the performance to the personality of the performer. He is judged for his attitude toward the audience rather than

¹²⁷David McCarthy, "Free-Lance Job Opportunity: Political Writing," Writer's Digest, XLIII (November, 1963), 84.

¹²⁸"The Process of Persuasion," Politics 1960, op. cit., p. 112.

¹²⁹McCarthy, op. cit., p. 84.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Bradford, op. cit., p. 186. An interesting list of examples on developing a TV style is offered the potential politician in Shadegg, op. cit., pp. 165-173, including types of props to be used, how to emphasize the image, and increasing audience participation by deliberately making mistakes in the production of video-taped programs.

by his relation to his craft, that is, his honesty and skill.¹³²

Political television, if it follows the pattern of the past, can only increase voter apathy. As Adlai Stevenson said, people will consume political broadcasts as they consume television comedies, Westerns and spectacles. They will sit back and enjoy themselves -- or they will switch to something else. "Their attitude will be, let the performers perform."¹³³ In the end, the idea that you can merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal is the ultimate indignity to the democratic process.¹³⁴

Summary

Rising costs, the doctrine of fairness, the demand for public relations, the oversimplification of issues and the emphasis on personality are all significant factors to be considered in the study of political television. All are working to change politics as we understand it.

Political television can be a great contribution to our society if handled properly. For example, as it stands now, the mass media and particularly television do as much as any institution to overcome voter apathy. However, they succeed to the extent they do by the dubious methods of dramatizing

¹³²Riesman, op. cit., p. 194.

¹³³Stevenson, op. cit., p. 151.

¹³⁴Packard, The Hidden Persuaders, op. cit., p. 172.

elections and by making them entertaining.¹³⁵ In addition, it is said that television has also dealt a severe death blow to machine politics and to the power of special interests to deliver whole blocs of votes. Political candidates now have direct access to the voter via television and can convince him in his own living room.¹³⁶ Of course, this presupposes that the candidates have the money to use the medium. If not, it seems natural to assume that the machines will grow in power. It is a fact that television has brought about a wider choice of candidates. High political office is now within reach of a larger segment of qualified persons, thereby making our electoral processes more democratic.¹³⁷ However, it is also true, in this respect, that television may serve to indicate to the public which candidates are to be taken seriously and which are not. The medium thus contributes to a definition of the alternatives in election contests.¹³⁸

¹³⁵Stanley Kelley, Jr., "Elections and the Mass Media," Politics 1964, op. cit., p. 153, reprinted from a symposium, "The Electoral Process," Part I, Vol. 27, Law and Contemporary Problems published by the Duke University School of Law (Spring, 1962).

¹³⁶Sig Mickelson, "The Use of Television," Politics U.S.A., ed. James M. Cannon (Garden City, New York: Double-day and Co., Inc., 1960), p. 295.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Kelley, Jr., "Elections and the Mass Media," op. cit., p. 153. It is important to note also that the medium has thus far placed the preponderance of its emphasis on the national candidates and their offices. Thus, while we are familiar with these candidates, we neglect our local offices and candidates. Needless to say, local government tends to suffer. "What TV Has Done to Politics," N.E.T. Transcription, op. cit., November 1, 1965.

Mass Media's Effect on the Electorate

The effect of the mass media on the electorate is not a simple stimulus-response type of situation. It is a slow process and one that is extremely complicated, knowingly and unknowingly, by the electorate. Thus, while Americans are so highly successful in their use of the mass media, it is not to be taken for granted that they can also change deep convictions held by individuals through the same sort of persuasive techniques.¹³⁹ The process of persuasion is not simply the systematic manipulation of the mass mind as many critics think.¹⁴⁰ This is a naive assumption because voting behavior in America is linked to many factors such as socio-economic status differences¹⁴¹ and is not much affected by sources of persuasion external to the immediate social environment.¹⁴² The possible persuasive effects of the mass media are reduced because the audience tends to give attention and perception selectively. That is, it ignores, forgets or

¹³⁹Sydney Head, Broadcasting in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956), p. 429.

¹⁴⁰"The Process of Persuasion," Politics 1960, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁴¹For detailed discussion on the importance of socio-economic status differences, and the importance of the social group as regards voting habits, see, Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, op. cit., pp. 161-169; Packard, The Status Seekers, op. cit., pp. 182-194; and Alice S. Kitt and David B. Gleicher, "Determinants of Voting Behavior, A Progress Report on the Elmira Election Study," Public Opinion and Propaganda, eds. Daniel Katz, et. al. (New York: The Dryden Press, 1954), pp. 413-425, reprinted from Public Opinion Quarterly, 1950, 14, 393-412.

¹⁴²Head, op. cit., p. 429.

distorts to its own use material which does not happen to fit its views.¹⁴³ The most likely effect, then, of mass communication on public taste is to "maintain the status quo or further existing predispositions."¹⁴⁴

For those who would find solace in the media's maintenance of the status quo, two points should be made clear. First, to say that campaigning via the media does not change voter behavior radically is not to say that it has no significant effect on voting. That it reinforces partisan allegiances is in itself a significant effect;¹⁴⁵ and the parties realize this in that there appears to be a definite tendency on the part of persuasive campaign propaganda to bring about a reinforcement of the voters' original, pre-campaign intentions.¹⁴⁶

Secondly, while the mass media alone is not responsible for the outcome of political campaigns, it nevertheless is necessary to try to increase the enthusiasm of the electorate in an effort to increase somewhat the numbers of them that

¹⁴³Wilbur Schramm, "The Effects of Mass Communication: A review," The Effects of Communication, ed. Erwin P. Bettinghaus (Preliminary Trial Manuscript for Classroom Use; East Lansing: Michigan State University, Fall, 1960), p. 25, citing Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Media, A report to the Public Library Inquiry (New York: Mimeographed by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, 1949), IV, 20-38; I, 37, 61, and reprinted from Journalism Quarterly (Dec., 1949).

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 26, citing Klapper, ibid., I, 15-39; 36, 38, 56.

¹⁴⁵Kelley, Jr., "Elections and the Mass Media," op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁴⁶Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), p. 16.

go to the polls. The candidate tries to give a somewhat wider currency to his name and project a more attractive image among independents, the undecided and the uninterested. He will take stands on issues designed both to increase his appeal to the main body of his supporters and to "swing" groups in the population. The sheer size of the audience he can reach is important to him; for as larger audiences are reached, the more likely they are to include the most malleable elements of the population.¹⁴⁷ With this large audience, even marginal changes in opinions about parties, issues and group interests can be significant.¹⁴⁸

The sum of the evidence suggests that people use television as they use other media, interpreting everything in terms of their existing biases and expectations; but as in the case of other media, the information and impressions left by television are absorbed into the ongoing stream of experience through which opinions are formed and modified. What promises to make television a more potent political force is its relatively close resemblance to face-to-face persuasion and its ability to command vast quantities of the public's time.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Kelley, Jr., "Elections and the Mass Media," op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 153. Its significance is seen in 1960 when a Roper survey indicates that 6 per cent of those who voted ascribed their final decisions to the debates. Of these 6 per cent (4,000,000), 26 per cent (1,000,000) voted for Nixon and 72 per cent (3,000,000) for Kennedy. Two million votes were derived from television and since Kennedy won by only 112,000 votes, he was entirely justified in saying after the election, "It was TV more than anything else that turned the tide." White, op. cit., pp. 352-353.

¹⁴⁹Bogart, op. cit., p. 244.

To be sure, Americans should be more ready to undertake an awakening of their political imaginations and commitments. This means too that the broadcasting industry has an obligation to build up its quality -- to present more realistic and less fantasy-oriented production. In so doing, the medium will insure that the sources in popular art and culture from which eventual political creation may flow are not dammed up, and the medium is not tempted to uphold the prestige of the political when the political is devoid of substantial content.¹⁵⁰ The audience is thus led somewhere in their viewing -- to programs that delve more into the social scene and that offer a more penetrating analysis of the political situation -- rather than being fed the spot announcement and the staged interview. It is this writer's belief that the drama, political or not, is the first logical step in this process.

¹⁵⁰Riesman, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

CHAPTER III

A LITTLE PEACE OF MIND

Cast of Characters

Act One

Act Two

Act Three

CHAPTER III

A LITTLE PEACE OF MIND

Cast of Characters

Major Characters

Sam Ashton - Minor politician, middle-aged, Gordon's partner.

Tyler Gordon - Industrial public relations man, fairly young, ambitious.

Robert Alexander Thurman - The tailored candidate, approximately fifty years old, handsome and distinguished looking, but a weakling.

Phyllis Thurman - Robert's wife, approximately forty-five years old, cheap blonde type, ambitious.

Wendell Hamilton III - Head of Hamilton Associates Public Relations firm, elderly.

Scott - Hamilton's young leg man, approximately twenty-five, collegiate.

Congressman David Sinclair - Congressman of twelfth district, approximately forty-five years old, looks and sounds ineffectual but is in reality a good Congressman.

Sarnow - The party's campaign committee chief, approximately fifty-five years old, strong but fair.

Wilma - Hamilton's secretary, young.

Gloria - Gordon's secretary, young.

Victor - Sinclair's campaign manager, approximately fifty-five.

Minor Characters

Three waitresses	Donna - production assistant
One bartender	Frank - production coordinator
Two television directors	A group of middle aged PTA-type women
Two technical directors	A group of people working election central

One floor director

Edith - Sinclair's wife, pretty,
approximately forty years old

Several members of the
floor crew

Kari - Sinclair's daughter,
pretty, approximately sixteen
years old

Several camera men

One TV M.C.

Two audio men

Cummings - TV newsman

ACT ONE

VIDEO:

OPEN: FADE UP TO STILL PICTURE PAINTED IN SHADES OF GRAY, BLACK AND WHITE (AS ARE THE REST OF THE PICTURES IN THIS SEQUENCE) DEPICTING A TELEVISION STUDIO. WE SEE TELEVISION CAMERAS, LIGHTS ON THE CEILING (NOT TURNED ON), AND PEOPLE ENGAGED IN VARIOUS STUDIO ACTIVITIES. PAN TOWARDS CONTROL ROOM WINDOW. STOP PAN AND CUT TO PICTURE REPRESENTING CONTROL ROOM. IN FOREGROUND PEOPLE ARE SEEN TALKING WITH TV DIRECTOR. IN BACKGROUND THE CAMERA MONITORS ARE A BLUR. DOLLY INTO MCU OF MONITORS AND CUT TO 2-SHOT OF DAVID SINCLAIR LEANING ON LECTERN IN THE STUDIO AND TALKING TO HIS FLOOR DIRECTOR. DOLLY BACK AND STUDIO LIGHTS COME ON. CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR LOOKING NERVOUS AND SURPRISED. DOLLY BACK AND SEE THAT SINCLAIR'S FACE IS BEING VIEWED ON CAMERA VIEWFINDER. CUT TO SHOT OF CONTROL ROOM. DIRECTOR IS SEATED BUT HAS HAND IN AIR AS IF TO CUE START OF PROGRAM. MONITORS ARE ROLLING SLIGHTLY. CUT TO STUDIO AND SEE FLOOR DIRECTOR CUE SINCLAIR. SUPER: A LITTLE PEACE OF MIND. HOLD 2-3 SECONDS AND LOSE SUPER. CUT TO SHOT OF DIRECTOR WATCHING SINCLAIR ON MONITORS. CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR IN STUDIO AND THEN CUT TO CU OF MONITORS IN CONTROL ROOM. SEE SINCLAIR

AUDIO:

MUSIC: FADE UP LIVELY JAZZ MARCH PLAYED ON FIFE, DRUM. MUSIC PLAYS THROUGHOUT SERIES OF STILL PICTURES AND INCREASES IN TEMPO AS CUTTING OF PICTURES BECOMES MORE RAPID.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

BETWEEN MONITOR ROLL.
 SUPER: ACT ONE. HOLD
 2-3 SECONDS AND LOSE
 SUPER. PUSH INTO
 TIGHTER SHOT OF MONITORS
 AND HOLD STEADY. MATCH
 DISS. TO LIVE SHOT OF
 SINCLAIR TALKING. WE
 NOW SEE HE IS DRESSED,
 NOT SLOVENLY, BUT RATHER
 UNSTYLISHLY. HE APPEARS
 VERY NERVOUS AND IN
 GENERAL, WEAK.

THE CAMERA STARTS TO MOVE
 BACK AND WE NOTE THAT
 SINCLAIR IS TALKING
 TO US ON A TELEVISION
 SET. THE CAMERA MOVES
 DOWNWARD AND FURTHER
 BACK AND WE SEE THE SET
 IS SUSPENDED FROM THE
 CEILING IN FRONT OF A
 HUGE MIRROR. THE REFLECTION
 IN THE MIRROR SHOWS US A
 SEMICIRCULAR BAR WITH
 PEOPLE SEATED AROUND IT
 DRINKING AND TALKING. A
 BARTENDER IS SEEN MIXING
 DRINKS AND A WAITRESS
 MOVES OFF TOWARDS THE
 BACK OF THE ROOM WHERE
 WE SEE SEVERAL TABLES

AUDIO:

MUSIC: FADES OUT SOMEWHAT
ABRUPTLY DURING DISS.
AND FADES INTO. . .

SOUND: SOFT BAR SOUNDS AND
PEOPLE MURMURING. ABOVE
THIS WE HEAR SINCLAIR
SPEAKING.

SINC: (SPEAKS IN A DULL MONO-
 TONE. TRIES TO SOUND
 HARSH AND ANGRY BUT IT
 COMES ACROSS IN A MANNER
 THAT MAKES HIM SOUND
 INEFFECTUAL.)

This is a great country.

And, one in which we all
 take pride. . . But,

being great and staying

great are not one and

the same. It takes

continued pride, hard

work by all, and. . .

quality leadership. . . .

Yes, quality leadership,

and this is what I offer

and have been offering

the proud hardworking

American voter. Leader-

(MORE)

THANKS TWO SHIT
SAY TO THE OTHERS
... I LOVE

AND SINCE
AFTER THE
SINCE

-ONCE-

VIDEO:

AND BOOTHS. THE ROOM LOOKS PLUSH BUT IS DIMLY LIT. THE CAMERA MOVES AWAY FROM THE MIRROR AND TOWARD THE BACK OF THE ROOM. SOMEONE WALKS TO THE JUKEBOX NEAR THE BAR AND DROPS IN A COIN. THE CAMERA KEEPS MOVING AND FINALLY SETTLES ON A BOOTH WHERE WE FIND SAM ASHTON AND TYLER GORDON. THEY ARE WATCHING THE TV SET AND ASHTON, SLOVENLY DRESSED, LOOKS DISGUSTED. GORDON, NEATLY DRESSED LOOKS AMUSED. BOTH ARE DRINKING AS THEY WATCH THE SET.

ASHTON TURNS AWAY FROM THE SET, TAKES A DRINK AND LOOKS AT GORDON.

AUDIO:

ship that will get results. . . . That will think of the future. . .

SOUND: MURMURING LOUDER, AND
SINCLAIR SOFTER.

MUSIC: LIVELY INSTRUMENTAL.
HEARD UNDER MURMURING
AND SINCLAIR.

SINC: That will enable progress for mankind to continue on its way unhindered. . . . My record tells the story. I have nothing to hide. . . . My stands on taxes, civil rights, foreign relations, poverty are all open for inspection, and I think you will see upon inspection, that they. . .

SOUND: SINCLAIR FADES OUT UPON
SAYING "OPEN FOR INSPEC-
TION." ASHTON IS HEARD
OVER HIM UNTIL THE FADE
OUT IS COMPLETE.

ASHT: (IMITATING SINCLAIR)
My stand on taxes, civil rights, foreign relations, poverty are all open

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON SMILES.

GORDON PICKS UP GLASS AND
SETS IT BACK DOWN.

ASHTON NODS OKAY AND PICKS
UP HIS GLASS AND DRINKS.
ASHTON NODS TOWARD TV SET.

AUDIO:

for inspection and I
think you will see that I
offer you the American
voter. . . Garbage. Pure
and unadulterated but
nevertheless. . . garbage.

(STOPS IMITATION. HIS
NORMAL VOICE IS HARSH
AND LOUD.) How about
another drink?

GORD: (LAUGHINGLY) Still work-
ing on this one. . . It
hasn't been that hard a
day for me.

ASHT: Tell me. . . Do you
really think anybody
in their right mind is
watching that drivel?
. . . Or has ever watched
that drivel?

GORD: Somebody must. How
long's he been in Con-
gress. . .

ASHT: (EXCITED) That's another
thing I can't figure.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.
HE LOOKS DISGUSTED.

ASHTON DRINKS AGAIN,
AND LOOKS TOWARD SET.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

How in the hell did he
ever get elected? (MORE
EXCITED) How he keeps
his office. . .

GORD: Did you ever stop to
think that he may be a
good Congressman?

ASHT: Yeah a real winner.
(THOUGHTFULLY) He
must have played his
cards right. . . Been in
the right place at the
right time. You
know. . . Make a little
stink about something or
other and the next thing
is he's being shipped to
Washington courtesy of
the twelfth district. . .
That. . . (PAUSES FOR
RIGHT WORD AND CAN'T
FIND IT.). . . That
should be in Washington.

GORD: Aah. . . So he's a little
camera shy. (LAUGHINGLY)
I'd hate to see you up

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON LIGHTS CIGARETTE.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

POINTS TO TV SET.
LOOKS AT GLASS AND MOTIONS
FOR WAITRESS.

WAITRESS WALKS UP.

AUDIO:

there. (CHANCES VOICE)
My friends and you are
my friends. . .

ASHT: (SARCASTICALLY) We ought
to audition you for the
amateur hour.

GORD: Or is it that you're
afraid he'll start up
another little stink and
this time it may affect
you.

ASHT: (IRRITATED) Listen,
everybody knows. . .

GORD: (LAUGHINGLY) I know, I
know. Honest Sam Ashton.
Kisses babies. . . the
whole bit.

ASHT: That's right. The whole
bit. I'm clean. No
one's got a thing on
me. But him. . . . Aah,
where's that waitress?

GORD: What about him?

ASHT: Plenty. Just ask. . .
(TO WAITRESS) Same thing
Ruthie. (TO GORDON)

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON SHAKES HEAD NO.
WAITRESS EXITS.

WAITRESS BRINGS DRINK, SETS
IT DOWN AND TAKES MONEY LY-
ING ON TABLE. PUTS DOWN
CHANGE AND LEAVES.

ASHTON DRINKS.

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

AUDIO:

Tyler? . . . Anyway,
there's a lot of people
unhappy with the Con-
gressman.

GORD: Isn't that always the
case?

ASHT: Yeah, well talk to
Gronkins at the Central
Labor Council. You
think he's happy? Hell
no! The more you talk to
him the more he's thinking
of withdrawing his sup-
port of Sinclair. . .
And what's more, a few of
the party committee's
thinking the same way be-
cause Sinclair hasn't
been able to get govern-
ment money into the dis-
trict. Tell me I'm
sounding off.

GORD: (SOMEWHAT APOLOGETIC)
I'm not arguing with you.
What do I know from

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

GORDON WANTS TO SPEAK
BUT ASHTON WON'T LET
HIM.

AUDIO:

politics? That's your
business.

ASHT: It could be your busi-
ness too. Tell me some-
thing. You happy being
a small fish. . . No,
wait a minute. Right
now you work for Hamil-
ton Associates and you're
the boy wonder of the
industrial set. If some-
one's not making enough
money or has consumer
problems you write up a
little this or that, plan
a press party, or what-
ever it is you do, and
all's right with the
world. Politics works
the same way.

GORD: Like snapping your
fingers.

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

ASHT: That's right. You build
a pretty package and mar-
ket it. What's the
difference?

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

GORD: It doesn't always work that way.

ASHT: So you do what you have to do. But the difference for you is that you're no longer a small fish. You're a big rich fish and I know you, Tyler. You like to live well.

GORD: You want me to work for you?

ASHT: With me. My political contacts and your public relations know-how. . . we can run this district.

GORD: I don't. . .

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

ASHT: Okay. . . There's a couple of problems. Sarnow the Party Committee Chairman for one. He's hard to convince on anything. Money could be a second but there's enough people around willing to back a winner. . . I'll

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

tell you straight. The biggest problem will be in finding a candidate, you know good voice, nice appearance, charm. . . but if we had one now we'd make our name. It's a cinch. Run him against Sinclair. There's enough of a party split and dislike for Sinclair that. . .

CUT TO CU OF GORDON .

GORD: Tell me more about how we get so rich. I'm not interested in helping put someone in office because you're hepped up against Sinclair.

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON .

ASHT: Sinclair or no Sinclair. You put one candidate in office and let the word get around and you'll be swamped with offers. Then you get selective. . . Your services come high. You end up handling just

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT .

ASHTON HOLDS UP GLASS .

GORDON HOLDS UP GLASS .

AUDIO:

the big boys. The senators and. . .

GORD: (INTERESTEDLY) The power behind the throne. . .

ASHT: Uh uh. You'll own the throne.

GORD: (HESITANT) I. . . I don't. . .

ASHT: What's to worry. Look, find me a candidate. . . any candidate. . . a nobody nobody ever heard of. . . I'll teach him all the politics he has to know and you package him for me. Just make sure he has a few smarts and looks good. . . We try it once. If it works well. . . we form a partnership. The Ashton-Gordon Company for potential political candidates and office holders.

GORD: (LAUGHINGLY) I like Gordon-Ashton better.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

POINTS TO HIMSELF.

CUT TO SHOT OVERLOOKING BAR AS THEY CLINK GLASSES AND DRINK. GORDON LOOKS UP AND SEES SCOTT WITH ROBERT THURMAN HEADING THEIR WAY. BOTH ARE WELL DRESSED BUT NOT EXPENSIVELY. CUT BACK TO BOOTH AS THEY APPROACH AND SEE ASHTON TURNED AROUND IN HIS SEAT.

SCOTT AND THURMAN REACH THE TABLE AND SIT. SCOTT MOTIONS TO THE WAITRESS.

SCOTT POINTS TO THURMAN.

ALL SHAKE HANDS.

AUDIO:

ASHT: Whatever. But I'm serious.

GORD: I admit the idea intrigues me. . . Let me look around and see who I can dig up. Maybe Hamilton has some ideas.

ASHT: Forget Hamilton. You won't need him in. . .

GORD: Uh uh. He needs me.

ASHT: Okay. Let's drink a real toast to our future. Something may come of it.

GORD: Yeah, but what? . . .

(PAUSE). . . Hmm. Here comes Scott. Don't say anything.

ASHT: Who's that with him? Mr. tool and die?

GORD: Beats me. . . Scott. It's about time.

SCOTT: Sorry about that. Had to interview some people.

GORD: How did it go?

SCOTT: Fine. Here's the result. Tyler Gordon, Sam Ashton meet Robert Thurman, our

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

ASHTON RAISES HIS GLASS.

CUT TO 4-SHOT.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

PUSH INTO TIGHT CU OF GORDON AND HE TURNS HIS HEAD AND WE DISS. TO SHOT OF HIS HEAD STILL TURNING IN TIGHT CU. PULL BACK TO SEE HIM WALKING AROUND HAMILTON'S OFFICE. HAMILTON IS SEATED BEHIND DESK IN TILT BACK CHAIR. HE'S WELL DRESSED AND APPEARS PROSPEROUS BUT HIS DESK AND OFFICE SHOW SIGNS OF WEAR. IT IS NOT A BIG OFFICE AND APPEARS CLUTTERED. THERE IS A PICTURE WINDOW BEHIND THE DESK, AND BOOK CASES TO EITHER SIDE OF IT. AROUND THE ROOM ARE HUNG PICTURES AND PLAQUES. THERE IS A CAPTAIN'S CHAIR NEXT TO THE DESK AND ONE BY THE DOOR DIRECTLY OPPOSITE THE DESK. THERE IS ALSO A SMALL BAR SET UP TO ONE SIDE OF THE DESK ALONG A WALL. GORDON IS TALKING BUT HAMILTON DOESN'T APPEAR TO BE LISTENING TOO ATTENTIVELY.

AUDIO:

new accountant.

THUR: (DEEP RESONANT VOICE)

Nice to meet you gentlemen.

ASHT: A toast to your new

accountant, (SLOWLY)

Robert Thurman, and to

our future.

SCOTT: (QUESTIONINGLY) To our future?

GORD: (THOUGHTFULLY) Well you

never can tell. Some-

thing may just come of it.

SOUND: OUT.

MUSIC: JAZZ MARCH UP AND OUT
WHEN GORDON SPEAKS.

GORD: It's your future. I'm

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CORDON STOPS AT WINDOW FOR
A MOMENT.

URNS TOWARD HAMILTON.

HAMILTON IS READING SOMETHING ON HIS DESK AS HE SPEAKS. GORDON HEADS TO THE BAR. HE REACHES AND PICKS UP A GLASS. HE WIPES THE GLASS AND PICKS UP A BOTTLE. LOOKS AT THE BOTTLE AND FINALLY POURS A DRINK. HE LEANS ON BAR STIRRING DRINK.

AUDIO:

not going to argue with you. So then he listened to reason and he's going to make adjustments. . . (THOUGHTFULLY) Farber's problem is his image inconsistency. He's got one for the public and one for his employees and they don't match. The effect is loss of production volume. The employees aren't putting out. What we're going to have to do is build a new image for the employees and we're starting in through the house organs. Later we'll have picnics and tours and discussion groups and all that.

HAM: Think it will work?

GORD: It should. It's not a terribly difficult problem. . . Rather routine actually.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HAMILTON LOOKS UP AND GORDON
SITS ON BAR STOOL.

AUDIO:

HAM: Good. That's what I like
to hear. What else?

GORD: Nothing except a couple
of ideas I've got float-
ing around in my head. . .
if you're interested. . .
I think they're money-
makers.

HAM: I'm not against making
money. What's your idea?

GORD: (HESITATINGLY) Well, I
don't really know how to
approach you with
this. . . (PAUSE). . .
It's something we haven't
taken on here and yet it's
something we should have.

HAM: Get to the point.

GORD: (ENTHUSIASTIC) Okay. To
the point. I've got a
way for us to break into
political public relations
and break in big. There's
a fortune to be had and
clients are everywhere.
All we need is a starting

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HAMILTON FROWNS AND GORDON
SEES THIS.

GORDON GETS OFF STOOL AND
HEADS TOWARD DESK.

GORDON HEADS TO WINDOW.
HAMILTON SWIVELS AROUND
TO SEE HIM.

AUDIO:

point, and we're off. . .

What's the matter? You
don't like the idea.

HAM: No. . . it's just that
we're not equipped for
that kind of thing. We're
not large enough and we
don't have the experience.

. . .

GORD: That's what I thought but
then I realized an
account's an account.
They're all the same. . .
And besides, we've got
ourselves a boy. We put
him in. . .

HAM: (MORE ALERT) Have you
taken on a job without
first asking me. . . Have
you?

GORD: No, but. . .

HAM: But nothing. The way you
talk we've got a candi-
date? Now just where did
we get one if we haven't
taken on an account?

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON TURNS TO FACE
HAMILTON.

HAMILTON LOOKS SURPRISED,
AND AMUSED.

AUDIO:

GORD: (STILL ENTHUSIASTIC) Look,
we have got, without a
doubt, the greatest candi-
date for Congress sitting
right out there in the
middle of your accounting
department. . . namely,
Mr. Robert Alexander
Thurman.

HAM: I pay you for this?. . .
Have you gone crazy. . .
The greatest candidate
for Congress. He's a
cheap accountant who was
hired because he is cheap.

GORD: That doesn't make him bad
people. Just look at him.
He's the picture of polit-
ical success.

HAM: He's the picture of a
cheap accountant. Forget
it and tell Thurman to
forget or he'll set the
record at Hamilton Asso-
ciates for least time

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HAMILTON SWIVELS BACK TO
DESK. GORDON STARTS PACING.

AUDIO:

spent in employment.

GORD: Don't bother him. He
hasn't really been asked
to run yet. We've just
hinted around and he seems
agreeable.

HAM: (SUSPICIOUSLY) We? You
drag Scott in on this?

GORD: (A LITTLE IRRITATED) The
fair haired boy. No. . .
I sort of set things up
with Sam Ashton.

HAM: (A LITTLE AMAZED) Ashton?
I can't believe that.
He's a. . .

GORD: Just rumor and that's
besides the point. Ashton
is going to Sarnow with
Thurman and you know what
that could mean.

HAM: They're like night and
day. It would mean. . .

GORD: All it would take to con-
vince anyone is a brief
look and talk with Thurman.
Sarnow will go for it and

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

you should too.

HAM: Who's Thurman going to run
against?

GORD: (MATTER OF FACTLY) David
Sinclair in the primary.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: (SURPRISED) David Sinclair!

GORD: David Sinclair.

HAM: Now I'm convinced you're
crazy. . . David Sinclair.
And Sarnow's going to
back you. . . (EXASPERATED)
I've listened to you
enough today. Get the
hell out of here so I can
get some work done. Come
back when you've recov-
ered your sanity.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

GORD: You'd let this slip by?
Your business is that
good?

HAM: If you had something
legitimate to offer, okay
I'd listen and who knows?
But to come in here with
a pipe dream which will

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

do no good and which will only waste time. . . No, I've got no time for you. . . . I can't believe that you believe that any good would come out of this. Business wise it would hurt us. . . To run and back a nobody.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

GORD: (UNSURELY) Thurman's not a nobody. He's handsome, sophisticated. Talk to him. He speaks beautifully. He has a sense of humor. He dresses well. He's a family man. And he's got no political enemies and no adverse political record, unless you count the way he's voted in the past.

CUT TO 2-SHOT. HAMILTON SWIVELS TOWARD WINDOW.

HAM: If he's even voted. . . Well, let's hope that he also has common sense and uses his sense of humor to laugh at you and your

(MORE)

VIDEO:

SWIVELS BACK TO FACE GORDON
WHO HAS STOPPED AT THE BAR.
HE'S POURING ANOTHER DRINK.

GORDON DRINKS.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

scatter brained idea. I
want no part of it. . .
And I'll tell you some-
thing else. You do what
you want on your time.
That's yours, not mine.
But in here you're mine
and I'll hear no more of
this. . . That goes for
using the company name on
your time too. This is a
business. . . a legiti-
mate business.

GORD: I don't understand you.
I just don't understand
you. Here's a chance to
go to the top. A golden
opportunity being dropped
right in your lap and
you're letting it fall
away. Why?

HAM: I've said all I want to
say. I've got work to do.

GORD: It can wait another min-
ute. Give me an
explanation.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

HAM: Stop being childish.

GORD: What are you afraid of?
Some deep hidden secret
that. . .

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: (GETTING MAD) Okay, you
want a reason. I like
Sinclair. I like him
to the point that if he
loses office I'm going
to feel bad. You want
another reason? Our
business is doing good.
We're getting more and
more accounts every day.
I will not neglect
them. . . And one final
reason for you. I'm a
slightly moral guy and
this rubs me the wrong
way. If a man in office
can't do his job, he has
no business being there
and I don't think Thurman
can do the job. . . or
you for that matter.
Now is that what you

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT. GORDON
NODS YES.

GORDON STARTS TO EXIT.

GORDON REACHES DOOR.

GORDON STOPS. THE DOOR
IS OPEN. A SIGN ON IT
READS - WENDELL HAMILTON
III PRESIDENT.

GORDON LOOKS AT HIS WATCH.
HE EXITS.
CAMERA PUSHES INTO CU OF

AUDIO:

wanted to hear? . . .

Anything else on your mind?

GORD: I guess not.

HAM: Tyler. . . (CALMLY) Don't
play around. You've got a
great career ahead of you.

GORD: That's the first right
thing you've said all day.
And do you want to know
something. It's a lot
closer than you think.
When I get through putting
Thurman in office, I'll be
able to start my own
agency. . . If you want
in, say so right now with-
out taking off on some
tangent about what's right
and wrong.

HAM: (SOFTLY) Don't get in too
deep, Tyler. You'll only
get hurt.

GORD: We could have made a great
team. Too bad. . . I've
got work to do myself. If
you'll excuse me.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HAMILTON. HE SITS STILL FOR A MOMENT AND THEN SWIVELS TOWARD WINDOW. HE SWIVELS BACK AND LOOKS AT HIS DESK. HE HITS A KEY ON HIS INTERCOM.

HAMILTON SITS AND THINKS FOR A MOMENT AND HITS THE KEY ON THE INTERCOM AGAIN.

RELEASES KEY.

CAMERA PUSHES IN PAST HAMILTON AS HE SWIVELS TOWARD WINDOW. DISS. TO INT. SHOT OF RESTAURANT WINDOW. PAN FROM WINDOW AND SEE THURMAN AND HIS WIFE, PHYLLIS, A SCRAGGLY BLONDE. THE RESTAURANT IS SOMEWHAT SHABBY LOOKING WITH TABLES SCATTERED AROUND AND A COUNTER NEAR THE DOOR. BOTH THURMAN AND HIS WIFE ARE SEATED AT A TABLE EATING.

AUDIO:

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME SOFTLY.

HAM: Wilma, get me Robert Thurman's file, please.

WILMA: (FILTERED) Yes, Mr.

Hamilton.

HAM: Forget that file, Wilma.

It's not that important.

. . . (TO HIMSELF) Yet.

MUSIC: UP AND OUT IN DISS.

SOUND: RESTAURANT SOUNDS.
DISHES BEING HANDLED,
PEOPLE MURMURING.
SOUND UNDER AS THURMAN
SPEAKS.

THUR: On the other hand, I could win, and that would mean. . . Well, you know what that would mean. However, if I didn't win, I'd be out a job. . . So. . .

PHYL: So?

THUR: I just thought I'd

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

tell you.

PHYL: This guy Gordon all right upstairs?

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

THUR: From what I can gather, a very talented and up and coming public relations man. Handles Hamilton's best accounts. He's number one. . . or two if you count Hamilton.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

PHYL: What did you tell him?

THUR: (LAUGHINGLY) I said no, of course.

PHYL: (SURPRISED) You said what?

THUR: (NOT LAUGHING NOW)
I said. . .

PHYL: I heard what you said. . .

THUR: (CAUTIOUSLY) I didn't think it was right.

CUT TO CU OF PHYLLIS.

PHYL: (EXASPERATED) You didn't think it was. . . you didn't think. Maybe it's you that's not all right upstairs. Didn't think it was all right. Did you tell me all of this

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

to ruin my otherwise
blah day? . . .

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

THUR: (APOLOGETICALLY) No, of course not. But I just thought that since I'd finally gotten a good job and that since we were starting to do okay, well, I'm no politician. I could very easily lose. A Congressman's job is for someone who knows and understands politics. All I know is that we have two parties and every so often we go out and vote for one of them. On the other hand, I could win but. . .

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

PHYL: (EXASPERATED) You know something. Twenty-five years I been married to you and you still never fail to amaze me.

THUR: (NERVOUS AND LAUGHINGLY)
(MORE)

VIDEO:

THURMAN LOOKS AROUND
EMBARRASEDLY. CUT TO
CU OF PHYLLIS.

CUT TO 2-SHOT. THURMAN'S
PLAYING WITH HIS
SILVERWARE.

AUDIO:

Isn't that considered
good in a marriage?

PHYL: If this guy Gordon only
knew you.

THUR: Now, now.

PHYL: (ANGRY) Don't go nowing
me. For twenty-five
years whenever something's
gone wrong, you laugh
it off with a now, now
next time things will
be better. . . Well, you
just sit and listen to
me. There never was a
next time and there never
will be. There couldn't
possibly be with you. . .

(EXASPERATED) What's the
use? I brought this on
myself when I married
you. . . It could have
been Congressman Robert
Thurman's wife. . . We
could have been at the
top of the world.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THURMAN DOESN'T LOOK AT
HIS WIFE.

AUDIO:

Instead we're at the
bottom and we'll stay
there. . . (SARCASTICALLY)
Oh, but we'll have each
other. Doesn't that
console you. For better
or for worse.

THUR: (SOFTLY) Please, people
are. . . What can I say?

PHYL: (FIRMLY) That you'll do
it.

THUR: (WEAKLY) I. . .I. . .
Would you want me to
lose my job. It's not
right.

PHYL: Since when do you worry
about what's right and
what's not right. Since
when do you worry about
an eighty-five dollar
a week job. You've had
so many now another
won't matter. You drink
it up anyway. . .(CALMER)
Don't you understand?
This is a break.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

These people won't let you lose. They can't afford it. It'll hurt them more than it will hurt you. And if you lose, so what? You'll be a public figure. Everybody will know you. You'll be able to get a job anywhere.

THUR: (WEAKLY) Aah. I'm working now and it's a nice place to work. Why ruin that?

CUT TO CU OF PHYLLIS.

PHYL: (VERY COOL) I'm through listening to you whine. This sounds like the chance of a lifetime. If you throw it away, I'm throwing you away. I mean it. I'm fed up to here. . . I don't want any more. If you don't take this offer don't come home with me.

SHE RAISES HER HAND TO HER NECK.

CUT TO 2-SHOT. THURMAN LOOKS FRIGHTENED.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THURMAN JUST LOOKS
DUMBFOUNDED. PHYLLIS
GLARES AT HIM AND STANDS.

SHE EXITS QUICKLY AND
THURMAN JUST SITS STARING
AFTER HER. FINALLY, HE
MOTIONS TO THE WAITRESS.
SHE COMES OVER.

TILT DOWN TO GLASS IN
FRONT OF THURMAN AND
DISS. TO SHOT OF AN-
OTHER GLASS. PULL
BACK AND WE ARE IN
ASHTON'S OFFICE. ASH-
TON IS SEATED BEHIND A
DESK AND GORDON IS PACING.
THE OFFICE IS SHABBY.
VARIOUS PHOTOGRAPHS AND
NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS ARE
HUNG AROUND THE ROOM.
THE DESK IS LOADED
WITH JUNK.

ASHTON PUSHES A LEDGER

AUDIO:

Now what is it? . . .

Yes or no? . . . (PAUSE)

Stop by for your suit.

You might need it for a
loser's convention.

WAIT: Yes, sir.

THUR: A. . . double bourbon,
please.

SOUND: _ OUT.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP AND OUT ON
COMPLETION OF DISS.

ASHT: Sarnow wouldn't say one
way or the other how he
feels. But like I said,
I didn't expect him to.
If Thurman looks real
good and pressure is
strong, he'll go along.

GORD: Money?

ASHT: No problem. There's
plenty willing to help.
Here. . . a list of some

(MORE)

VIDEO:

AT GORDON. GORDON PICKS
IT UP AND READS IT.

GORDON POINTS TO LEDGER.
HE SITS DOWN IN A CHAIR
NEXT TO THE DESK.

GORDON SHRUGS AND TAKES
OUT A PACKAGE OF CIGARETTES.
HE OFFERS THEM TO ASHTON WHO
REFUSES. GORDON LIGHTS UP
AND PUFFS.

ASHTON POINTS TO ASHTRAY.

GORDON PICKS UP ASHTRAY.

AUDIO:

of our more influentials
. . . Enough to get us go-
ing strong. . . That is,
if we have Thurman.

GORD: What did you have to
promise for this. . .
our souls?

ASHT: (LAUGHS) They were glad
to do it. Sinclair's
too up and up for them.
Don't worry. But what
about. . .

GORD: I made it sound like
paradise but he wouldn't
bite. Finally I con-
vinced him to go home
and talk it over with
his wife. . . (PAUSE)
Where's your ashtray? . . .
Thanks. . .

Let's hope she's got
some influence with him.
As for Wendell Hamilton
the third. . . no. As a
matter of fact, he may
cause trouble. Not only

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON SETS DOWN ASHTRAY
AND REACHES IN HIS COAT
POCKET. HE PULLS OUT A
FEW PAPERS.

ASHTON STANDS AND HEADS TO
THE COAT RACK. GORDON PUTS
OUT HIS CIGARETTE AND
FOLLOWS. ASHTON GOES TO
DESK AND PICKS UP PHONE.

AUDIO:

does he disapprove of
what we're doing, but he
likes Sinclair.

ASHT: (LAUGHINGLY) And every-
thing looked so beautiful
and rosy.

GORD: Nothing ventured, nothing
lost. Except a little
time. Hmm. Here. . .
some notes on a campaign
strategy. You may have
them for the future. . .
no charge.

ASHT: I'll hold them in case
we find another boy. Did
you cancel out the record-
ing studios?

GORD: Hm, hmm.

ASHT: As you people say, that's
show biz. I think I'm
going to go home and
beat my wife.

GORD: Lucky you.

SOUND: PHONE RINGS.

ASHT: Hello. . . Yeah, just a
second. For you.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON LOOKS SURPRISED AND
HEADS TO PHONE.

GORDON CROSSES FINGERS.

ASHTON MOVES CLOSER TO
THE PHONE.

CUT TO SHOT OF THURMAN IN
HIS HOME. HE APPEARS TO
BE A LITTLE DRUNK. FROM
WHAT WE CAN SEE OF THE
APARTMENT, IT HAS SEEN
BETTER DAYS. THURMAN TURNS
SLIGHTLY AND CAMERA PANS TO
SEE PHYLLIS IN DOORWAY.
SHE SMILES TRIUMPHANTLY.

THURMAN HANGS UP PHONE.
PUSH TO CU OF THURMAN AND
HE APPEARS SICKLY. PHYLLIS
CAN STILL BE SEEN. HE
TURNS FROM HIS WIFE AND
CAMERA GOES IN FOR ECU.
MATCH DISS. TO GRAY AND
BLACK PHOTO OF THURMAN.
HOLD FOR 3 SECONDS AND
FADE SLOWLY TO BLACK.

AUDIO:

CORD: (TO ASHTON) No rest
for. . . (TO PHONE)
Hello. . . Oh hello,
Robert. . . I was
wondering if I was going
to hear from you. . .
Fine sir. Have you made
a decision. . . Uh huh. . .

Yeah . . . And . . .

THUR: The answer is yes. I'll
run. . . Thank you. . .
Yes, yes, I'll give it
my all. I want to be
the best candidate
possible. . . Yes, yes
. . . No, that's all
right . . . Good night,
Mr. Gordon. See you in
the morning.

(TO HIMSELF) Congressman
Robert Alexander Thur-
man. . . R.A.T.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP.

MUSIC: FADE OUT.

END OF ACT I

ACT TWO

VIDEO:

OPEN: FADE UP TO STILL
PICTURE IN GRAY, BLACK
AND WHITE OF NIKE ROCKET.
DISS. TO PICTURE OF LINCOLN
MEMORIAL. SUPER: ACT TWO.
HOLD 2-3 SECONDS AND LOSE
SUPER. DISS. TO PICTURE
OF WASHINGTON MONUMENT.
MATCH DISS. TO SHOT OF
WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

DISS. TO SHOT OF MARINES
LANDING ON A BEACH. HOLD
2-3 SECONDS AND DISS. TO
SHOT OF MARINES RAISING
FLAG AT IWO JIMA. HOLD
2-3 SECONDS AND DISS.
TO SHOT OF ARLINGTON
NATIONAL CEMETERY. DISS.
TO SHOT OF FIELD OF WHEAT
BLOWING IN THE WIND.

SUPER THURMAN IN MS OVER
THIS. HOLD THURMAN AND
DISS. FROM WHEAT TO SHOT
OF SCHOOL CHILDREN LEAV-
ING SCHOOL. HOLD 2-3
SECONDS AND DISS. TO SHOT
OF A BOY AND A GIRL WATCH-
ING THE SUN SET. HOLD 2-3
SECONDS AND DISS. TO SHOT
OF FOOTBALL GAME. CAMERA
PULLS BACK AND WE SEE WE
ARE VIEWING THIS ON A
LINE MONITOR IN THE
CONTROL ROOM. IN THE
CONTROL ROOM WE SEE A
DIRECTOR, AUDIO MAN, TECH-
NICAL DIRECTOR, GORDON IN
SHIRT SLEEVES WITH TIE
LOOSE, SARNOW, ASHTON

AUDIO:

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP AND OUT
WHEN ANNOUNCER SPEAKS.

SOUND: SOUND OF SKYROCKETS
UNDER ANNCR.

MUSIC: AMERICA PLAYED UNDER
ANNCR.

ANNCR: (VOICE OVER AFTER MATCH
DISS.) Home of the
brave. . . the coura-
geous. . . the free. . .
America. And it is
every man's responsi-
bility to keep it free.

MUSIC: UP AND UNDER THURMAN.

THUR: Yes, it is every man's
responsibility to keep
America free. One way
to help is through vot-
ing . . . every Ameri-
can's democratic right
. . . every American's
check against the loss
of freedom . . . These
beautiful . . . uh . . .

(MORE)

VIDEO:

AND GORDON'S SECRETARY,
GLORIA.

ALL LOOK AS IF THEY HAVE
PUT IN A ROUGH DAY EXCEPT
SARNOW. AS GORDON SAYS
CUT IT THE DIRECTOR
MOTIONS TO HIS AUDIO
MAN AND TECHNICAL
DIRECTOR AND THE MONITORS
GO DARK. LOOKING THROUGH
THE CONTROL ROOM GLASS
WE SEE THURMAN WIPE HIS
HEAD WITH A HANDKERCHIEF.
CUT TO 2-SHOT OF DIRECTOR
AND GORDON SEATED AT
DIRECTOR'S COUNCIL.

DIRECTOR PRESSES INTERCOM
KEYS.

GORDON NODS OKAY.

AUDIO:

landmarks . . . behind
me . . . represent . . .
I . . . I'm sorry. Can
we do it again.

GORD: Okay, cut it.

SOUND: OUT.

MUSIC: OUT.

GORD: Dammit. This one was
going good too . . . We'll
have to do it over is all.

DIR: (INTO CONTROL ROOM
MICROPHONE) We're going
to take it from the top.
(TO GORDON) It'll take
a couple of minutes to
get the film set and
then we can go. . .
What if we moved the tele-
prompter in closer?

GORD: How? Where you going
to put it?

DIR: It can be hand held.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

DIRECTOR PRESSES INTER-COM KEYS. CUT TO SHOT OF BACK OF CONTROL ROOM WHERE GORDON IS NOW TALKING WITH GLORIA. THE OTHERS ARE SEATED AROUND.

GLORIA'S HOLDING A CLIPBOARD. SHE FLIPS THROUGH THE PAGES.

GLORIA STARTS TO EXIT BUT GORDON STOPS HER.

GLORIA WRITES THIS DOWN.

AUDIO:

It'll be a little difficult but it'll be in closer. That could make the difference.

GORD: Okay, try it.

DIR: (TO CONTROL ROOM MIC.)

Ted. Move the prompter in a little. You'll have to hold it but keep it steady.

GLOR: I checked it out and they recommend number five. They say if you use anything darker, it won't look natural.

GORD: Just bring me the dark stuff. He looks as if he's never spent a day in the sun in his life. . . And bring me a sun lamp.

Maybe we can do something about it ourselves. . . On before you go. Cancel out our appointment at the photographer and make

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON HEADS FOR STUDIO
DOOR AND GLORIA HEADS
TOWARD CONTROL ROOM EXIT.
GORDON SPIES SARNOW AND
STEPS TOWARD HIM.

SARNOW IS WELL DRESSED
AND LOOKS BORED.

GLORIA EXITS.

GORDON EXITS TO STUDIO.

WE CAN SEE THURMAN ON

AUDIO:

it for early next week.
Then check to see if the
stuff at the printer is
anywhere near ready. If
it's not bug him a lit-
tle. He's had enough
time.

GLOR: It's been two weeks now,
right?

GORD: Yeah. They can use a
little pushing. . . Hey,
you want to order some
hamburgers, too, while
you're at it? Enough for
everybody. Mr. Sarnow,
you care for a hamburger?

SARN: No thank you.

GORD: (TO SARNOW) Sorry for the
delay. It'll only be
another minute or two.
Just make yourself com-
fortable. I've got to
talk to Thurman a second.
He's still a little
nervous.

SARN: (TO NO ONE IN PARTICULAR)

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CONTROL ROOM MONITOR AND GORDON JOINS HIM. VARIOUS MEMBERS OF FLOOR CREW MOVE IN AND OUT. ASHTON MOVES OVER TO SARNOW AND SITS DOWN.

DIRECTOR SMILES AND NODS NO.

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON. HE'S NERVOUS.

CUT TO 2-SHOT. SARNOW LOOKS DISGUSTED.

AUDIO:

He was born nervous.

ASHT: He's come a long way. A little more work and. . . well. . .

SARN: (TO DIRECTOR) Can't you change the station on that damn thing? I'm getting sick of watching them.

ASHT: (LAUGHINGLY) What? You want to watch the three stooges?

SARN: I have been all afternoon.

ASHT: (NERVOUSLY) Ya can't rush these things. It takes time. But man, when he's ready there's no stopping him. He'll go on the air and he'll win. Who can resist? (EXASPERATED) You ought to appreciate an easy election for a change . . . Why knock yourself out? Save yourself for something important.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

SARN: Every election's important.

ASHT: I know, I know. I'm not saying any different. It's just that this one will be a little easier. . . or can be if you let it.

SARN: Sinclair just going to lay down and die?

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

ASHT: (CONFIDENTLY) He might as well. This thing is so well planned that he doesn't have a chance. You name it, we got it. Billboards, posters, bumper stickers, direct mail, lecture tours, newspaper stuff, and then television. We've got the best spot campaign possible. . . every station in the district is going to run our stuff. By the time we're through, Robert Thurman will be a household name . . . Sinclair's through. And you're unhappy.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF SARNOW.

AUDIO:

SARN: So he sits in his office for two years and chases his secretary. What else will he do? Someone calls for advice or help and he can't give it. He doesn't know how. He smiles and says don't worry. Everything will be all right. Why don't you call such and such. In two years they'll be voting for such and such. (GETTING ANGRY) Everything we've built up in this district is lost. And go recommend something to the state committee. They smile nice too.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

ASHT: What can I say? Just give him a chance. He's got smarts. . . And I don't see Sinclair doing anything so spectacular.

SARN: Sinclair's a politician and he works at it. If something comes up he

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

knows what to do without asking anyone. He can handle his job. From what I've seen so far, I don't think Thurman can, and I don't like the idea of bucking the boys you got supporting him either.

ASHT: There's no sense arguing with you. You only see and hear what you want to see and hear. You don't realize. . .

SARN: (IMPATIENTLY) If he shapes up a little better and gets rid of that phony smile. . . well. . . I'll go along. Until then, don't look to me for any help.

ASHT: In other words, when he wins you'll jump on the bandwagon.

SARN: Like I said, he's got to shape up first.

ASHT: (COOLY) You're still the

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF ASHTON.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

old time politician.

Afraid of what's new.

SARN: I don't think so.

ASHT: No. . . Look around. A whole new politics is here and you shrug it off. It's not the same anymore. It's more. . . sophisticated. It needs more guys like Gordon and devices like television. There's no more baby kissing and shaking hands. That's gone. It's getting on TV and being personable and looking sincere that counts. . . . You don't believe it. You don't want to take part in it. It's a young man's game and you still like the old.

SARN: I like to win and I take pride in the way I win.

ASHT: This isn't dishonest.

SARN: No? Then what's that strange smell I get every-

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

time I see you briefing
Thurman. . . putting
words in his mouth. . .
telling him he doesn't
have to worry about. . .

ASHT: (ANGRY) All I know is the
people will love him and
that's what counts. That
and making a name for
myself politically. And
you didn't do things much
differently at all. How
many people you give jobs
to because they voted or
brought in votes? How
many you keep under your
thumb because. . .

SARN: At least when I go home
I have a little peace of
mind because those people
working for me as you put
it have built this dis-
trict up. . . Have made
something of it and of
themselves.

ASHT: (SARCASTICALLY) A little

(MORE)

VIDEO:

ASHTON TURNS AND WE CUT
TO SHOT OF CONTROL ROOM
WINDOWS AND MONITORS.
GORDON IS SEEN ON MONI-
TORS AND THROUGH WINDOWS
COMING INTO CONTROL ROOM.
CUT BACK TO 2-SHOT OF
SARNOW AND ASHTON.
SARNOW STANDS AND HEADS
FOR CONTROL ROOM DOOR.
GORDON ENTERS AND CAMERA
PULLS BACK TO SEE HIM AS
HE APPROACHES DIRECTOR.

DIRECTOR NODS.

SARNOW HEADS TO DOOR.

AUDIO:

peace of mind. . . You. . .

SARN: Here comes your boy.

ASHT: He must be ready to go.

SARN: And so am I. I can't take
Watching this anymore.

GORD: (TO DIRECTOR) I think the
prompter got it. He looks
a lot better. Thanks.

DIR: We're ready any time.

GORD: Fine. (TO ASHTON AND SAR-
NOW) Well, things are
looking up. We've got a
good crew here. . . You
leaving, Mr. Sarnow?

SARN: (SARCASTICALLY) Brilliant
deduction. Yes, unfortu-
nately my doctor told me
I can't watch more than
two hours of TV at any
one time.

GORD: I'm sorry. This promises
to be the best take of the

(MORE)

VIDEO:

SARNOW REACHES DOOR AND
 TURNS TO FACE ASHTON. HE
 EXITS. ASHTON WALKS OVER
 TO GORDON WHO'S LOOKING
 AT THE MONITORS. GORDON
 MAKES NOTES ON CLIPBOARD.
 THURMAN IS SEEN IN MS ON
 MONITOR.

WE SEE THURMAN COME INTO
 CU ON MONITOR. GORDON
 NODS OKAY.

GORDON TURNS FROM
 MONITORS.

AUDIO:

afternoon.

SARN: I'm sure it is. . . Re-
 member what I told you,
 Sam. He's got to shape
 up.

GORD: (TO ASHTON) What's that
 all about? (TO DIRECTOR)
 Have camera one push in
 a little tighter. He
 looks good in closeup.
 Might as well make use
 of it.

DIR: Tighten up one. . . That's
 it. . . keep going. Fine.
 Hold it there.

GORD: (TO ASHTON) Sounds as if
 Sarnow's ready to take on
 the world.

ASHT: Just our district if need
 be. He doesn't like Thur-
 man, what we're doing or
 how we're doing it. . .
 No support.

GORD: Did you really expect it?

ASHT: It would have been nice.

GORD: The hell with him. We go

(MORE)

VIDEO:

DIRECTOR PRESSES INTERCOM
KEYS. MONITORS GO TO BLACK.

DIRECTOR NODS OKAY.

ACADEMY LEADER NUMBERS
START ROLLING DOWN ONE
MONITOR.

AUDIO:

alone. We've still got
enough friends and enough
people interested in
Thurman. Let Sarnow cry
later. . . (TO DIRECTOR)
We're set to go.

DIR: Okay, everybody. Stand
by. We're going to try
it again. Projection
ready.

ASHT: You just can't ignore the
man. He's been around too
long.

GORD: Exactly. (TO DIRECTOR)
Try it with the music
from the start this time.
It may make the whole
presentation a little
stronger.

DIR: Ready music.

ASHT: I don't care. I'm still
gonna worry.

DIR: Roll film.

GORD: All you gotta worry about
is that Sinclair doesn't
change his personality

(MORE)

VIDEO:

NIKE MISSILES START
FLYING ON MONITORS.
THE FILM IS THE ONE
WE SAW PREVIOUSLY.

AUDIO:

overnight. Then we got
problems.

DIR: Roll music . . . and sound
. . . Fade up film.

MUSIC: AMERICA.

SOUND: SKYROCKETS.

DIR: Ready announce . . . Music
under . . .

MUSIC: UNDER.

DIR: Announce.

CORD: (OVER ANNCR.
AND MATTER-
OF-FACTLY)

ANNCR: Home of the	Home of the
brave. . .	brave. . .
the coura-	the coura-
geous. . .	geous. . .
the free	the free
.
America.	America.
And it is	And it is
everyone's	everyone's
responsi-	responsi-
bility to	bility to
keep it	keep it
free.	free. . .

DIR: Music up ready to cue
Thurman.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:MUSIC: UP.

ENTER GLORIA.

GORD: Perfect. Now if Thurman
doesn't. . .

GLOR: Hamburgers.

GORDON TURNS TO HER.

GORD: Did you have to wait for
the cow to grow up? Put
them over there.HE POINTS TO A CORNER
OF THE DIRECTOR'S CON-
SOLE AND SHE FOLLOWS.
THURMAN APPEARS ON
MONITOR.DIR: Music under. . . super
Thurman. . . Cue him.MUSIC: UNDER.THUR: Yes it is everyman's
responsibility to keep
America free. One way to
help is through voting
. . . every American's
check against the loss of
freedom. . . GORD: (TOGORDON IS PACING SLIGHTLY.
HE STOPS NEAR ASHTON.

DIRECTOR)

These fam- I think he's
ous land- got it. (TO
marks be- ASHTON) Like
hind me I said, our
represent only worry
the sweat is that Sin-
and blood clair might
of Ameri- change his
ca. . . personality.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON AND ASHTON TURN BACK TO THE MONITORS. PUSH PAST THEM INTO CU OF MONITOR. THE FILM BEHIND THURMAN NOW SHOWS THE AMERICAN FLAG. THURMAN'S SUPER IS LOST AND WE DISS. TO SHOT OF FLAG. CAMERA PULLS BACK AND PANS TO SEE SINCLAIR BEHIND PODIUM ANSWERING QUESTIONS. CAMERA CIRCLES BEHIND SINCLAIR AND WE SEE A GROUP OF WOMEN SEATED IN AN ASSEMBLY HALL IN FRONT OF HIM.

ONE ELDERLY WOMAN STANDS.

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR. HE IS SLOPPILY DRESSED AND LOOKS NERVOUS.

AUDIO:

THUR: The ingenu- GORD: (LAUGHS)
ity of ASHT: (LAUGHS)
America.
Let's make sure that these
things are never threatened.
Vote for leadership that
won't fail. Vote for
Thurman.

MUSIC: OUT IN DISS.

SOUND: OUT IN DISS.

SINC: And by so doing, we all
benefit . . . Any other
questions? . . . Oh come
now. A group of women
and no questions. Amaz-
ing. (LAUGHS)

WOMAN: I think you've answered
all of our questions,
Congressman.

SINC: Well, any questions on
housekeeping then.

SOUND: BRIEF LAUGHTER.

SINC: Okay, then just let me
say that I am pleased and
happy to have been able

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

to speak before you today.
 . . . My record will stand
 for itself and. . . uh
 . . . I'm sure that you
 will take that into con-
 sideration when you. . .
 uh. . . vote. Thank you,
 and continued success on
 your uh many wonderful
 club projects. We can
 always use more progress
 minded people.

CUT TO SHOT OF WOMEN AND
 THEY'RE APPLAUDING.

SOUND: BRIEF APPLAUSE.

CUT TO SHOT OF SINCLAIR
 LEAVING STAGE. HE WALKS
 TO WINGS OF STAGE AND
 MEETS HAMILTON AND VICTOR
 WHO IS DRESSED SIMILARLY
 TO SINCLAIR. SINCLAIR
 AND HAMILTON SHAKE HANDS.

SINC: How was I?

VICT: I don't know but six women
 asked me for your phone
 number. (LAUGHS)

SINC: I hope you gave it to
 them. . . but don't tell
 my wife. (LAUGHS)
 Seriously.

HAM: I think you got to them.
 Good job.

SINC: Thank you, sir. Thank

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

you very much. . . (TO VICTOR) Oh, anything else of importance scheduled today, Victor?

VICT: Not that I can remember.

SINC: Fine. Then I've got time to chat at length with you, Wendell. What do you say to lunch?

HAM: Excellent. I'm famished. Where do you suggest?

SINC: Anyplace will do.

SOUND: RESTAURANT NOISES. UP
AND UNDER.

HAM: There's a booth.

SINC: It feels good to sit down. I've been on my feet all day. Thank goodness that woman's club didn't have too many questions. What are you looking at?

HAM: That's an example of what I was telling you about.

SINC: Hmmm. Too bad we can't hear it. He looks positively wonderful.

THEY START TO WALK AND WE DISS. TO THEM ENTERING A RESTAURANT. THEY SEE AN EMPTY BOOTH AND HEAD FOR IT. THEY SIT. THE RESTAURANT CATERS TO BUSINESSMEN AND IS FAIRLY PLUSH. ON THE WALL OPPOSITE SINCLAIR AND HAMILTON IS A TV SET. IT IS TURNED ON AND WE CAN MAKE OUT THURMAN'S SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT.

HAMILTON POINTS TO TV.

SINCLAIR LOOKS AT TV.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

LOOKS BACK AT HAMILTON.

HAM: Depends on what perspective you use.

SINC: Well, I wouldn't worry. I've been in many a campaign and I think I know my way around. You should know that too.

HAM: Sure I know that. But this is different. Your competition of late hasn't been the greatest. Maybe you once knew how to fight but you've forgotten. . . . Just look at your campaign staff.

SINC: There is nothing wrong with my campaign staff.

HAM: No, Victor does his job . . . but he's not enough.

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

SINC: My dear Wendell. You're still the alarmist. I am not going to let this man run all over me. I am not going to stand still. And if he comes across stronger than I expect,

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

CUT TO 2-SHOT .

WAITRESS WALKS OVER.
SINCLAIR PICKS UP THE
MENU AND STARTS TO READ
IT.
HAMILTON PICKS UP MENU
HALF-HEARTEDLY. WAIT-
RESS REACHES THEM.
SINCLAIR LOOKS UP
OVER MENU.

AUDIO:

well, then I will con-
sider extra help.

HAM: By then it may be too
late. This guy goes on
television and reaches
everyone in the district
and they listen to him.
You go on television. . .
Well, to be perfectly
honest, people don't
listen. Television ruins
you.

SINC: (SLIGHTLY RUFFLED) A
Congressman does not have
to be a TV star.

HAM: I'm not so sure any more.

SINC: Well, I am. I respect
your concern. I appre-
ciate your concern. But
believe me there is no
need for it. . . Ah, here
comes the waitress. What
are you going to have?

HAM: I don't really know.

WAIT: Gentlemen.

SINC: I'll have the roast beef

(MORE)

VIDEO:

SINCLAIR PUTS BACK THE MENU.

WAITRESS WRITES THIS DOWN AND LEAVES.

THE SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT ENDS WITH A BIG SKYROCKET AND FADES TO BLACK. A STATION I. D. IS SEEN AND THEN A SOAP OPERA.

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

. . . French dressing and coffee.

HAM: Make mine the chicken and coffee.

WAIT: Thank you.

HAM: Are you doing anything yet to fight him?

SINC: The usual like this morning.

HAM: You have anything else planned?

SINC: You have a one track mind. You're so obsessed with my defeat you forget that I have been Congressman for ten years. . . And I am planning on ten more years. Granted I don't have much of a staff but if . . .

HAM: Let me work for you.

SINC: (LAUGHS) Wendell, you're making mountains out of molehills.

HAM: I hope you're right, but let me work for you anyway.

(MORE)

VINDO:

AUDIO:

No charge. It would help Victor out. He's swamped with things to do.

SINC: (HESITANT) You know it's all right.

HAM: Good. Now. . .

SINC: (ALERTLY) Now nothing. Don't go getting any ideas. You'll help Victor and that's it. We're not going off on any half-cocked ideas.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: I was just going to say that I wanted to be able to have some sort of free hand in your TV appearance. You don't know how to use the medium or when. With a little coaching that can be straightened out. . . . And no reflection on Victor but he doesn't know either. He hasn't worked with it enough.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SINC: Well, I don't know. I guess. . .

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

HAM: Look. We take your wife and daughter and we make up a couple of spots like the one we just saw, combine them with personal appearances and. . .

SINC: No. . . I will not resort to making my family into a public spectacle. . . If they are seen with me, fine. I am proud of them. But I will not go out of the way to publicize them. They are not being elected, I am.

HAM: They can help you. And besides, when you took your oath of office, you gave up quite a bit of your privacy.

SINC: (FIRMLY) I'm sorry. My family does not get involved.

HAM: You agree to let me work with you for your television appearances though.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

AUDIO:

SINC: Yes, but I am also not happy with the spot announcement. I'd prefer to make speeches. It's my duty as a candidate to let the public know what I am like and what I stand for and what I have accomplished. That is a basic tenet. . .

HAM: Save the lecture, Dave. I took a couple of political science courses myself. And I agree with you. But I also think you have to adapt to. . .

SINC: (CONFUSED) No. I can't see myself standing up there with rockets going off and the Washington monument whizzing by. It's not me.

HAM: We don't have to be as dramatic as that. A five minute speech here and there. You want to reach

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

as many people as possible and this will do it for you. You keep making those thirty minute speeches and you'll end up reaching the people in the control room, your family, and that's about it.

SINC: Well. . .

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: I picture this as an advertising campaign but an honest one. There is nothing wrong with the techniques we'll use as long as the information and object being advertised are honest. If they weren't, I wouldn't be talking with you. I'd be with Thurman.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SINC: The thing is that it takes one bad apple to ruin a barrel and if I start using tricks and devices . . . like. . . like

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

Thurman, I'll be thought of in the same light as Thurman.

HAM: You will not be submitted to the showmanship and dramatics. All I want is for you to reach people and have them listen when you do reach them. . . You have to at least try. . . If people used their heads a little more and didn't always look for the new faces and appeals, then you could campaign like you always have. But they don't. You have to go after them. . . It's your duty to get reelected if you value your job and honor the responsibility placed on you in the job. If not. . .

SINCLAIR LOOKS CONFUSED.

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

SINC: You know I do.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

HAM: Then swallow your pride.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

. . . It's not the easiest thing to do, but then neither is losing. I don't mean to insult you or hurt your feelings.

. . .

SINC: I realize that. . .

HAM: But I do want to see you get reelected. Give me control of TV and radio. Promise that you won't do anything in these areas without first consulting me.

SINC: I said you could work for me and I meant it. However I won't promise you anything. You know I am a man who makes up his own mind and I more likely than not will decide my own courses of action. That's all I can say.

HAM: Just don't do anything rash, please.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THE WAITRESS ENTERS WITH
THE SALADS AND SETS THEM
DOWN. SHE EXITS.

SINCLAIR RAISES HIS WATER
GLASS.

HAMILTON RAISES HIS WATER
GLASS.

THEY DRINK.

THE TV SET SHOWS A SPOT
ANNOUNCEMENT FOR THURMAN.
SINCLAIR TURNS TO SEE IT.

CAMERA PUSHES INTO CU OF
TV WITH THURMAN SMILING.

AUDIO:

SINC: Don't worry. . . You know
I never would have
thought this of you. . .
this concern.

HAM: It's just that I'm in
love with your wife and
I'd hate to see her cry
if you lose the election.

SINC: (LAUGHS) Let's drink a
toast to my thoroughly
whipping Mr. Thurman,
and more important, to
our both being in love
with my wife. . . I hope
my constituency never
hears about it. I un-
derstand a happy home
life is a prerequisite
to being elected.

HAM: (LAUGHS)

SINC: He does have a nice
smile.

HAM: And don't ever forget
it. But we'll see if we
can't get rid of that
smile just a little.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

DISS. TO CU OF THURMAN
AND HE'S STILL SMILING
BUT AS WE PULL BACK HE
LOSES SMILE. WE SEE HE
IS NOW IN AN OFFICE AND
GORDON IS BEHIND A
LITTERED DESK WORKING.
THURMAN IS PACING.

GORDON THROWS THURMAN
A NEWSPAPER.
THURMAN PICKS UP PAPER
AND READS.

AUDIO:

ANNCR: This has been a paid
political announcement.

SOUND: _ OUT DURING DISS.

THUR: (EXASPERATED) I'm begin-
ning to smile in my
sleep.

GORD: Don't let your wife
catch you.

THUR: Very funny.

GORD: Have you seen this?

THUR: Congressman Sinclair
promises more govern-
ment contracts and a
more efficient handling
of labor problems in his
district if reelected.
The Congressman went on
to say. . .

GORD: That he deplores running
against people that lack
the requirements to make
a good Congressman such
as certain of those run-
ning against him. The
idea that anyone thinks
they can fool the public

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THURMAN IS RUBBING HIS JAW. THUR:
GORDON HITS HIS DESK. HE
TURNS TOWARD THE WINDOW
BEHIND HIM AND BACK TOWARD
GORDON.

AUDIO:

is absolutely prepos-
terous.

Did you memorize the
whole paper?

GORD: (AROUSSED) First we call
a press conference to-
day. No more defense.
We take the offense.
Why hasn't there been
a more efficient handling
of labor problems? Why
aren't there more govern-
ment contracts? . . . Then
we step up our TV cov-
erage. I've got you
booked for a couple of
local shows. You'll sit
and answer questions.

THUR: But. . .

GORD: Pre-arranged. You'll
know the questions and
answers too. . . Then a
couple of lectures and a
rally here and there
that are televised.

THURMAN WALKS TO WINDOW.

THUR: We could kidnap him. We

(MORE)

VILLO:AUDIO:

GORDON GLARES AT THURMAN'S
BACK.

THURMAN TURNS AROUND.
HE'S SMILING IN AN
EXAGGERATED MANNER.

THURMAN STARTS PACING
AGAIN. GORDON'S WRITING
SOMETHING AND STOPS.

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON
LISTENING CLOSELY.

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

haven't committed any
federal offenses. . .
yet.

CORD: Did you autograph those
pictures like I told
you?

THUR: Smiled through every
one.

GORD: Good.

THUR: Hey. I've got it. How
about a smile contest?

GORD: What?

THUR: I said how about a smile
contest? I would win in
a walk so to speak.

Hell, I've been smiling
now for the last three
weeks continuously.

That must be some sort
of record. I don't

think Sinclair would

stand a chance. Just

picture it. A big name

emcee would introduce us.

. . . Ladies and Gentle-
men, in this corner at

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HE GRINS EXAGGERATEDLY.

CUT TO 2-SHOT. GORDON IS
LOST IN THOUGHT.

THURMAN SEES GORDON ISN'T
PAYING ANY ATTENTION TO
HIM.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

AUDIO:

one hundred and seventy-
five pounds Robert Thur-
man, the challenger.

Then a bell would ring
and I'd step out to the
center and let them have
it. . . There's no
defense against that.

Well, it was just an
idea. I don't suppose
Sinclair would ever go
for it. . . Do you have
anything to drink in
this place? I'm thirsty.

GORD: (THOUGHTFULLY) Why not?

THUR: That's what I say. . .

GORD: It's a great idea.

THUR: What is?

GORD: If only we can get Sin-
clair to go along with
it.

THUR: With what? Do I have
to be a mind. . . Oh no.
I was joking. You can't
be serious.

GORD: Uh huh. Except not for

(HOPE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

GORDON REACHES IN HIS
POCKET AND PULLS OUT SOME
BILLS. HE HANDS A COUPLE
TO THURMAN WHO TAKES THEM

AUDIO:

a smile contest exactly.
A variation. . . And
I think Sinclair would
jump at the idea.

THUR: I don't like that look
on your face. I won't
be getting involved in
any. . .

GORD: Calm down. There's noth-
ing wrong in what I'm
thinking. As a matter
of fact its about the
most respectable thing
I've thought of in a
long time. The only
problem is in getting
you ready. It'll take a
lot of coaching. Look,
why don't you take the
afternoon off and let me
put some of this on pa-
per. When I've got some-
thing concrete I'll tell
you about it. Here take
the wife and kid out to
dinner. I'll talk to

(MORE)

VIDEO:

BUT HESITATINGLY.

THURMAN HEADS FOR THE DOOR.

THURMAN NODS OKAY AND EXITS. GORDON SITS AT HIS DESK THINKING. HE TURNS TOWARD THE WINDOW AND LOOKS OUT. HE TURNS BACK AND GRABS A CIGARETTE. HE STARTS TO WRITE SOMETHING AND STOPS. HE STARTS AGAIN AND STOPS. HE PRESSES A BUTTON ON HIS INTERCOM.

AUDIO:

you as soon as I get this straightened out.

THUR: What about the press conference?

GORD: I'll say you're on to something big and you prefer to wait until you have all the information. Brings more free publicity. Just keep smiling and get your wife to smile too.

THUR: I don't think my wife knows how to smile. . . Maybe it's contagious. . . . See you later.

GORD: Yeah. Hey. Try using that sun lamp I got you. Okay?

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME SOFTLY.

GLOR: (VOICE FILTERED) Yes sir.

GORD: Gloria, get Congressman

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON STARTS TO WRITE AGAIN AND STOPS. HE PICKS UP THE NEWSPAPER AND READS A LITTLE. HE TURNS TOWARD THE WINDOW. IT IS GETTING DARK OUTSIDE. HE PUFFS ON HIS CIGARETTE. HE REACHES FOR THE INTERCOM.

HE PUTS OUT HIS CIGARETTE AND PICKS UP THE PHONE.

PUSH INTO CU OF GORDON'S HAND ON THE PHONE AND DISS. TO A CU OF SCOTT'S HAND ON THE PHONE. PULL BACK TO SEE SCOTT AND WILMA IN HAMILTON'S OFFICE.

SCOTT TURNS TO WILMA. SHE NODS NO.

HE HANGS UP PHONE AND LOOKS AT WILMA WHO IS STUFFING ENVELOPES.

AUDIO:

Sinclair on the phone will you please. . . And don't take no for an answer. This is very important.

GLOR: Yes sir. Right away.

SOUND: INTERCOM BUZZES.

GORD: Yes Gloria.

GLOR: The Congressman's on the line.

GORD: Thank you. . . Congressman Sinclair?

MUSIC: OUT DURING DISS.

SCOTT: Two with everything and two with just mustard.

Uh huh. . . Two coffees.

(TO WILMA) You want anything else? (TO PHONE)

That's it. . . be about a half an hour. How's it coming?

WILMA: Okay I guess. I never knew there were so many

(MORE)

VIDEO:

HE GRABS SOME ENVELOPES
AND CIRCULARS AND STARTS
STUFFING. HAMILTON WALKS
IN. HE LOOKS TIRED. HE
TAKES OFF HIS COAT AND
HANGS IT UP.

HAMILTON WALKS OVER TO A
CAPTAIN'S CHAIR AND SITS
DOWN.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

AUDIO:

club presidents, doctors,
executives and teachers
in the district. Where
did the old man get the
list?

SCOTT: Friends of his I think.

Here let me help.

WILMA: Gladly.

SCOTT: Hello.

HAM: Hello, Scott, Wilma.

You both look busy.

WILMA: Yes sir. We're A number
one envelope stuffers.

How did your day go?

HAM: Well, I checked on
lights.

SCOTT: Anything?

HAM: Makeup will cover the
wrinkles, but the deep
set eyes and glasses will
still cause miserable
looking shadows. If
we base light him, he'll
look flat. . . blend into
the backdrop. So they're
going to try some low

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

key stuff at different intensities. . . Just don't tell Sinclair. He'll walk right out of the studio because we're trying to make him into a bathing beauty. . . But there's hope. What's new here?

CUT TO 3-SHOT.

SCOTT: Nothing much. We've been doing this most of the day. . . Nice letter.

SOUND: TELEPHONE RINGS.

SCOTT: Must be Harry downstairs checking our order. You want something to eat?

HAMILTON WALKS TO PHONE.
HE PICKS UP PHONE.

HAM: I don't know. (TO PHONE) Hamilton Associates. Hamilton speaking. . . Oh yes, Dave. . . . What's the matter? . . . What did he want? . . . What? . . . Well, what did you say? . . . Yes, I know . . . I know

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT OF SCOTT AND
WILMA. THEY LOOK CURIOUS.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAMILTON HANGS UP PHONE.
CUT TO 3-SHOT.

AUDIO:

that. . . What? Are you
crazy? Dave, you're a
fool. (GETTING ANGRY)
I mean that. A fool.
You just killed yourself.
He'll rip you apart. . .
No, damn it. . . Okay. . .
(CALMER) Can you be in
the office first thing in
the morning. . . Yes.
You're going to need a
lot of work by the time
this thing goes on the
air. . . Two weeks?
Well, just be here and
prepare to work. . .
Yeah . . . Okay . . .
Don't forget tomorrow.
Goodbye. (TO HIMSELF)
I think I need an aspirin.
(TO SCOTT AND WILMA) Our
beloved candidate who
has enough trouble say-
ing hello on television,
let alone talking or
thinking, has just
agreed to debate with

(MORE)

VIDEO:

SCOTT AND WILMA LOOK SICK.
PUSH INTO CU OF HAMILTON
AND MATCH DISS. TO GRAY
AND BLACK PICTURE OF HIM.
HOLD FOR APPROXIMATELY
3 SECONDS AND FADE TO
BLACK.

AUDIO:

Thurman. And you want
to hear something funny?

. . . He thinks he can

win. (LAUGHS SICKLY)

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP.

MUSIC: FADE OUT.

END OF ACT II

* * *

ACT THREE

VIDEO:

OPEN: FADE UP TO BLACK
AND GRAY PICTURE OF
THURMAN AND PHYLLIS SEATED
ON COUCH. SUPER ACT THREE.
HOLD 2-3 SECONDS AND LOSE
SUPER. MATCH DISS. TO
LIVE SHOT OF THIS SCENE.
CAMERA PULLS BACK TO SHOW
WE ARE IN APARTMENT
OBVIOUSLY NOT THE THUR-
MAN'S. IT IS TOO PLUSH.
SEATED NEXT TO COUCH IS
TV INTERVIEWER. AROUND
THE ROOM ARE TV CAMERAS,
CABLE AND LIGHTS.

AUDIO:

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP AND OUT
AS THURMAN SPEAKS.

THUR: I'm certainly glad you
could stop by and visit
us.

M.C.: Well, you have a lovely
home and some interesting
things to see. I'm sure
our home audience had an
enjoyable evening.

PHYL: Too bad they all can't
come in for a cup of
coffee and a piece of
pie.

M.C.: I'm sure they would all
love to, but. . .

THUR: She makes delicious pie.
It's one of her finer
points.

M.C.: (HAPPILY) Well, thank
you again for letting
us come into your home.

PHYL: Our pleasure.

THUR: Our door is always open.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

M.C. TURNS TOWARD CAMERA
AND WE CUT TO SHOT OF
SCOTT, HAMILTON AND
SINCLAIR WATCHING HIM
ON THEIR TV SET.

PICTURE ON SET FADES
TO BLACK. SCOTT
REACHES OVER AND TURNS
IT OFF.

SCOTT EXITS.

AUDIO:

M.C.: And I'm sure we're all
looking forward to seeing
you debate the present
Congressman from this
district next week. We
all wish you good luck.
(TO CAMERA) And thank
you for allowing us to
come into your home. We
have been visiting with
Robert Thurman, candidate
for Congress, and his
family.

MUSIC: MARCH MUSIC. UP AND
UNDER TV ANNOUNCER.

ANNCR: This has been a paid
political broadcast.

MUSIC: OUT.

HAM: Do you see what I mean?
He's so vague it's
impossible. . .

SINC: I'll pin him down.

HAM: (CONDESCENDINGLY) Yeah. . .
Okay, Scott, get the
make-up.

SINC: Is it really necessary?

(MORE)

VIDEO:

SINCLAIR TAKES OFF HIS COAT. SCOTT ENTERS WITH BAG CONTAINING MAKE-UP. HE EMPTIES IT ON THE DESK. HAMILTON PICKS UP A COMPACT CASE AND A SPONGE. ENTER WILMA WITH PAN OF WATER. SINCLAIR SITS DOWN AS HAMILTON PUTS MAKE-UP ON SPONGE.

HAMILTON BEGINS TO APPLY THE MAKE-UP. WILMA AND SCOTT STAND BY AND WATCH. DISS. TO 2-SHOT OF GORDON AND THURMAN REHEARSING LINES IN GORDON'S OFFICE. GORDON IS PACING. THURMAN IS SEATED.

DISS. TO SHOT OF SINCLAIR BEHIND LECTERN AND HAMILTON IS PACING. A CAMERA IS IN FRONT OF SINCLAIR AND HE'S SPEAKING TO IT.

AUDIO:

HAM: Take your coat off.

SCOTT: Here you go.

HAM: We need some water.

SCOTT: Wilma's bringing it.

HAM: (TO SINCLAIR) Just sit down and relax.

SINC: Why did I ever agree to this?

HAM: Believe me, this is nothing compared to what Thurman's going through.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP AND UNDER GORDON.

GORD: Again.

THUR: I'm tired.

GORD: (MATTER-OF-FACTLY) When he cites his stand on increased government spending. . .

THUR: I say. . .

MUSIC: UP AND UNDER SINCLAIR.

SINC: So I am reiterating. . .

HAM: No. . . (EXASPERATED)
Don't talk face front to the camera. Turn and

(MORE)

VIDEO:

DISS. TO SHOT OF THURMAN TAKING INSTRUCTIONS FROM GORDON. PUSH INTO CU OF THURMAN AND HE APPEARS TIRED. CUT TO SHOT OF SCOTT ADJUSTING LIGHTS IN A STUDIO. SINCLAIR IS BEHIND LECTERN WATCHING. HAMILTON MOTIONS FOR HIM TO TURN A CERTAIN WAY. HE DOES. PUSH INTO CU OF SINCLAIR AND HE LOOKS EXASPERATED. CUT TO CU OF THURMAN. HE LOOKS EAGER AND CONFIDENT.

CAMERA PULLS BACK AND WE SEE THURMAN IS BEHIND A LECTERN. THE CAMERA PULLS BACK AGAIN AND PANS AND WE SEE SINCLAIR ALSO BEHIND A LECTERN LISTENING TO THURMAN. CAMERAS AND CABLES AND LIGHTS ARE ALSO SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND.

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

AUDIO:

look toward Thurman.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP.

MUSIC: OUT.

THUR: (AGGRESSIVELY) For example, what has the good Congressman done in the field of tax reduction? The answer again. . . nothing. I ask you, Congressman, just what have you accomplished in your ten years in office? What have you brought into the district in the way of government business. Why is it we lag behind every other district in our state?

SINC: (NERVOUSLY) Well, believe

(MORE)

VIDEO:

AUDIO:

me, when I say these,
uh, matters you've mentioned have been a matter of concern for me. But uh, they are matters that take much perseverance and patience. . . You cannot just rush into or accomplish quickly matters such as these. We uh, have brought business into our district. . . substantial business over the course of the past ten years but as I've said time and time again. . . it does the district no good to uh bring in contracts or projects that are not particularly suitable for the area. . . uh just for the sake of bringing in money.

CUT TO SHOT BEHIND
THURMAN AND SINCLAIR
LOOKING TOWARD CAMERAS.

THUR: (SMUGLY) Patience and perseverance. We have been hearing that for

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

AUDIO:

too long as too many
suitable contracts have
dwindled away. . . Now
you may wonder if I can
do any better and at this
point I feel I should bring
up the subject of my
inexperience. People have
warned me not to say any-
thing, but I believe in
honesty. . . Granted I have
not had the benefit of
ten years of on the job
experience but as an
accountant, I have encoun-
tered situations especially
useful in the handling of
a community's money. As
a businessman, I have dealt
with the problems I am
sure Congressman Sinclair
has brushed aside. I
lack tenure in office.
Not experience. And believe
me when I say something
will be accomplished with

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THE PICTURE FADES TO BLACK AND THE CAMERA PULLS BACK AND WE SEE HAMILTON AND SARNOW IN FRONT OF A TV SET. HAMILTON HAS A REMOTE CONTROL DEVICE FOR THE TV SET. HAMILTON HANDS HIM THE REMOTE CONTROL.

SARNOW PUTS DOWN REMOTE CONTROL.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

AUDIO:

me in office. . .

HAM: A drink?

SARN: No, thanks . . . That's a nice little gadget you got there. Let me take a look . . . I hate to say it out. . .

HAM: (RESIGNABLY) What is it people are saying? Maybe Thurman's not such a bad guy.

SARN: Something like that.

HAM: All these years in the business and I still can't get over how people think. . . They don't think. Because Thurman looks good on a television screen, let's vote for him. . . It's a good thing we didn't have television around in Lincoln's day . . . or Washington's. Could you picture them in close-up. . . But

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SARNOW PICKS UP REMOTE
CONTROL AND CLICKS IT.
THE TV SET LIGHTS UP.
HE TURNS IT OFF.

AUDIO:

you shouldn't worry.

Either way you got your-
self a boy.

SARN: That's true. Whoever
wins the primary we all
fall behind and support. . .
Gordon still work for you?

HAM: I fired him when he quit.
He doesn't need a job here
anymore. He's above it.
I hear he's talking about
governorships, senatorial
campaigns. Who knows
maybe someday. . .

SARN: Yeah, maybe someday.

HAM: So I got rid of him, or
he got rid of me.

SARN: Smart move on both sides.

HAM: You going to let Gordon
run Thurman's campaign
if he beats Sinclair?

SARN: I don't know. I've got
a meeting with Ashton
this afternoon to uh
talk it over. . . The
problem is I've got a

(MORE)

VIDEO:

AUDIO:

whole state to worry about.

They could be helpful. . .

on the other hand. . .

I'm afraid I'd spend more
time watching them than
my other candidates. . .

What I need is someone
to coordinate all campaign
activity. You don't know
anybody do you?

HAM: No one who's free at the
moment.

SARN: I'd be willing to wait.

HAM: Why don't you turn the
set back on?

SARN: You know what's happening.
Besides if you were inter-
ested, you'd be there with
Sinclair.

HAM: Scott's there. If I went,
too, they'd be screaming
Madison Avenue.

CUT TO CU OF SARNOW.

SARN: (LAUGHS) Look. Sinclair
and Thurman aside. Why
don't you come in with
me? You're what I need.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

You know Gordon and Ashton are right. Today's politics is a new politics. Oh, maybe not down deep but on the surface it's evident. And we might as well make it as honest as we can now that we have the chance.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: I'm tempted, but. . .
no. I've got Sinclair to worry about. . .

SARN: I said I could wait.

HAM: And a business to worry about. . .

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SARN: Nothing will happen to your business. If anything. . .

HAM: I know, but I'll tell you what I told Gordon. I like industrial relations. It's been my life.

SARN: So you take us on as a client. Keep your other clients.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

HAM: If they'll stay.

SARN: Partisanship works two ways. . . Sign the committee as a client after the election. The committee reserves the right to make policy decisions, but you'll have freedom in the use of any and all media including TV. Salary we'll talk later.

HAM: Salaries. Don't forget my staff and those I'll have to add to it.

SARN: Of course. Then it's a deal.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: I didn't say that. You talk to me after the election and I'm all ears. Maybe we can work something out. Now I'm just an old friend enjoying a friendly conversation with another old friend.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SARN: You make it sound like

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

we're one foot in the
grave.

HAM: We're no youngsters
anymore.

SARN: You've been sitting
behind that desk too
long signing papers other
people give you. We'll
get your blood running
again.

HAM: (LAUGHS) You sure you
don't want a drink?

SARN: No thanks. Got to watch
my weight. That social
drinking'll get you
every time.

HAM: Why don't you turn the
set back on?

SARNOW CLICKS THE REMOTE
CONTROL AND THE SET LIGHTS
UP. THURMAN'S FACE APPEARS.
PUSH INTO CU AND DISS. TO
CU OF THURMAN SEATED IN
RESTAURANT.

SARN: If you really want me to.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP AND OUT
DURING DISS.

CAMERA PULLS BACK TO
INCLUDE GORDON AND
PHYLLIS SEATED WITH
HIM. PHYLLIS RAISES
HER GLASS. PEOPLE IN
THE RESTAURANT TURN
TO LOOK.

SOUND: RESTAURANT SOUNDS.

PHYL: To our next Congressman.
We showed them tonight.
This clinched it.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

GORDON RAISES HIS GLASS.

THURMAN RAISES HIS GLASS.

THEY ALL DRINK.

THURMAN GOES TO PINCH
HER. SHE SHIES AWAY.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

CUT TO 3-SHOT.

AUDIO:

GORD: I'll drink but only for
the spirit of the
occasion. We haven't
won yet and don't for-
get it.

THUR: Never, sir. But I'm
not one to let a toast go
to waste. To our next
Congressman.

PHYL: You know I still feel
as if this is all a
dream. I feel like I
should be pinched. . .
just a figure of speech
. . . so I can prove I'm
awake. . . And we owe
this all to you, Tyler.
All to you.

THUR: Another toast.

GORD: No. I don't deserve all
the credit. Don't for-
get Sam. He did all the
leg work.

THUR: Yes, where is dear old
Sam?

GORD: (LAUGHS) Still working.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

He'll be along later. . .
Then there's our TV crew,
our girl Friday, Gloria. . .
and then there's Robert
Alexander Thurman. . .
the perfect candidate,
and Congressman Sinclair
the uh unperfect candi-
date who stayed true to
form.

SOUND: GORDON, PHYLLIS AND
THURMAN LAUGH.

CUT TO CU OF PHYLLIS.

PHYL: I'll never forget
tonight. . . He looked
like a chicken without
his head. To think
my husband could do
that to him. That poor
guy is really something.
I feel sorry for him. . .
I really do. And I feel
sorry for his wife and
kid, too. They're both
so nice. And so pretty.

CUT TO 3-SHOT.

THUR: (SARCASTICALLY) I think
I'm going to cry.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

PHYLLIS STANDS UP.

SHE EXITS.

CUT TO 2-SHOT OF GORDON
AND THURMAN WATCHING
PHYLLIS LEAVE. THURMAN
LOOKS DEPRESSED.

THURMAN DRINKS.

THURMAN DRAINS HIS GLASS.

AUDIO:

PHYL: (IGNORES THURMAN) I don't
understand it. But I
won't fight it. To the
strongest goes the spoils.
Right, Robert? Wait
before you answer that.
I have to go to the
little girls' room. You
can tell me when I come
back. It will give you
time to think about an
answer.

GORD: She's quite a girl. . .
Hey, what's the matter?
You don't look too happy
all of a sudden.

THUR: It's nothing.

GORD: No. . . what is it?
Tell me.

THUR: (HESITATINGLY) Aah. It's
just that I've been
thinking about Sinclair
and what you've all said.

GORD: So?

THUR: Like Phyllis said. I
feel sorry for him.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

PHYLLIS IS SEEN APPROACHING

AUDIO:

GORD: (FIRMLY) Well don't. If everything were reversed and he were winning, you don't think he would feel sorry for you? That's a rule of campaigning. Put your opponent on the defensive and make sure he stays there. Feel sorry for him after the election, not during.

THUR: I know, but. . .

GORD: You want this. Your wife wants this. This is no time to be getting weird ideas. This is your big break.

THUR: You sound like my wife.

GORD: You should listen to her.

THUR: When did I ever stop?

GORD: I'm not going to get mixed up in your family affairs, but I'm telling you once and for all to

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THE TABLE. SHE OVERHEARS
A LITTLE OF THE CONVERSATION.
SHE REACHES THE TABLE AND
SITS.

SHE LEANS TOWARD THURMAN.

SHE TURNS TO GORDON.

SHE TURNS BACK TO THURMAN.

CUT TO CU OF THURMAN.

AUDIO:

straighten up. Start
thinking like a big shot
and. . .

THUR: (WEAKLY) And be sincere.

PHYL: (PERTURBED) Oh, he'll be
great at that. You should
have seen him the day he
asked me to marry him. . .

Remember?. . . You
promised to make me rich
and famous. (TO GORDON)
You should have heard
that speech, Mr. Gordon.
He could have won the
Good Housekeeping Seal of
Approval with that one.

But don't worry about him,
Mr. Gordon. . . (FIRMLY)
No, don't worry at all.
He'll be great. As sin-
cere and believable as
they come. And the sin-
cerest speech he'll make
will be his acceptance
speech. A simple eloquent

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

thank you and a beautiful smile. He's real good at that.

THUR: (EMBARRASSED AND MAD)

Why don't you. . .

CUT TO 3-SHOT.

PHYL: Better watch out. A display of power is about to be unleashed. Careful . . . (LAUGHS)

GORD: Okay, okay. Both of you cool it. This is not the time or the place and it's not behavior fitted for. . .

THURMAN STANDS UP TO LEAVE. PHYLLIS TRIES TO PULL HIM DOWN BUT HE BRUSHES HER AWAY.

THUR: The hell with both of you. . . She's yours, Mr. Gordon. And you deserve each other. You make a great pair.

HE LEAVES. GORDON STANDS AS IF TO FOLLOW. THURMAN IGNORES HIM AND STORMS OUT.

GORD: (CONCERNED) Where are you going? Come back here.

PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO STARE AND PHYLLIS PULLS GORDON DOWN INTO HIS SEAT.

PHYL: Come on. Sit down. . . You don't have to worry. He's still your puppet. I'll see to that.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

GORDON SHRUGS NO TO
DRINK OFFER. CUT TO CU
OF PHYLLIS.

CUT TO 2-SHOT.

SHE RESTS HER HAND ON
GORDON'S ARM.

GORD: (ANGRY) You'd better be
right. We've gone too
far to have this blow up
on us because of a family
argument.

PHYL: He's just temperamental.
(LAUGHS) All stars are
. . . Have another drink
. . . He was right,
though. We are two of a
kind and between the two
of us we've got a pretty
good thing going.
I'm with you one hundred
per cent.

GORD: (SARCASTICALLY AND
ANGRILY) Your vote of
confidence relieves me
greatly. You'd better be
able to keep him in line.

PHYL: (LAUGHINGLY) You just
have to know how to
handle him.

GORD: (CALMER) Okay. (LAUGHS
SLIGHTLY) I'll confine my
worries to Sinclair. . .
for now. Let's get out

(MORE)

VIDEO:

THEY STAND AND GORDON DROPS
SOME MONEY ON THE TABLE.
PHYLLIS HEADS TO THE FRONT
OF THE RESTAURANT. GORDON
FOLLOWS HER. PEOPLE STARE
AT THEM AS THEY LEAVE.

AUDIO:

of here. Too many nosy
people.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP.

SOUND: OUT DURING DISS.

DISS. TO LS OF EXTERIOR OF
TV STUDIO AT NIGHT. ALL
WINDOWS IN THE BUILDING
HAVE THEIR LIGHTS ON. A
SIGN ABOVE THE DOORWAY GIVES
THE STATION'S CALL LETTERS.

DISS. TO INTERIOR SHOT IN
HALL OUTSIDE OF STUDIO.

PEOPLE ARE EVERYWHERE.
A SIGN ABOVE THE STUDIO
DOOR SAYS ON THE AIR.
THE CAMERA MOVES DOWN THE
HALL TO THE CONTROL ROOM
DOOR. A YOUNG GIRL WITH
A CLIPBOARD EXITS. SHE
SEES SOMEONE SHE IS LOOK-
ING FOR. SHE WEAVES HER
WAY THROUGH THE PEOPLE TO
REACH HIM.

MUSIC: OUT.

SOUND: PEOPLE MAKING NOISE AS
THEY MOVE ABOUT THE
HALLWAY.

DONNA: (RAISES VOICE) Frank. . .
Frank. . . Excuse me. . .
pardon me. . . Frank . . .
Frank. . .

FRANK STOPS TO WAIT FOR
GIRL. PEOPLE KEEP
MOVING PAST HIM.

FRANK: Yeah. . . Excuse me. . .
Donna? What is it?

TWO GIRLS WALK BY. BOTH
CARRY CLIPBOARDS. ONE
IS WRITING DOWN WHAT THE
OTHER SAYS.

GIRL 1: Eighth district. . .
thirty precincts report-
ing. . . O'Connell appar-
ent winner. . . Forty
thousand, three hundred
and. . .

DONNA PULLS A PIECE OF
PAPER OFF THE CLIPBOARD.
FRANK TAKES IT AND LOOKS
AT IT.

DONNA: Here's a list of con-
firmed winners. . . Those
with the check marks after

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

their names. . . . Those
circled will be here
shortly to make acceptance
speeches. . .

FRANK: What's the underlining
for?

DONNA: Concession speeches. . .
Can we go at ten?

DONNA STARTS TO LEAVE.
FRANK'S COUNTING NAMES.

FRANK: No problem. . . Not many
names here. I count four
. . . five.

SOMEONE BUMPS INTO DONNA.

DONNA: Tomorrow'll be bigger. . .
Everyone's worried about
those last few precincts
still reporting. . . And
don't forget, we've had a
film crew on the street
since seven. . .

SHE STARTS TO LEAVE AGAIN.
CAMERA GOES WITH HER.

FRANK: Okay, send them to me
over in A as soon as they
come in. . . Excuse me.
Man, I'm glad this isn't
everyday.

SOMEONE BUMPS INTO FRANK.

DONNA HEADS INTO ROOM WITH
SIGN ON DOOR THAT SAYS
ELECTION CENTRAL. THE
ROOM IS SMOKEY AND ALL THE
WALLS ARE COVERED WITH
BLACKBOARDS THAT CONTAIN

SOUND: — PEOPLE TALKING AND PHONES
RINGING.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CANDIDATE NAMES AND NUMBER OF VOTES. DONNA STARTS WRITING DOWN INFORMATION. A MAN APPROACHES HER.

MAN NODS OKAY AND WALKS BACK TO SINCLAIR. BEHIND SINCLAIR IS VICTOR, AND EDITH AND KARI - SINCLAIR'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER. BOTH ARE ATTRACTIVE.

SINCLAIR AND HIS GROUP WALK INTO THE HALL TOWARD STUDIO A. VICTOR AND SINCLAIR ARE IN CONVERSATION. DISS TO SHOT OF THEM ENTERING A. TECHNICIANS ARE BUSY ARRANGING LIGHTS AND SETTING CAMERAS UP. THEY STAND FOR A MOMENT AND FRANK WALKS OVER.

AUDIO:

MAN: Donna. . . one of the speechmakers is here. What do I do with him?

DONNA: Depends on whether he won or lost.

MAN: I. . .

DONNA: Just kidding. Send them to A. Any problems ask for Frank.

MAN: Okay, folks. Studio A. That's down the hall here to your right and turn left at the corner. Somebody will be there for you.

SINC: Thank you.

FRANK: Can I help you?

SINC: We were told to report here. The name's

(MOPE)

VIDEO:

FRANK LOOKS AT THE LIST
DONNA GAVE HIM.

VICTOR STAYS BEHIND AS
THEY WALK INTO THE SMALL
ANTE ROOM AND CLOSE THE
DOOR. ALL SIT AROUND
A SMALL TABLE EXCEPT
SINCLAIR WHO IS PACING.

EDITH SMILES.

ENTER HAMILTON.

SINCLAIR MOTIONS TO EACH.

AUDIO:

Sinclair.

FRANK: Sinclair. . . Oh yes,
Congressman. It will be
a few minutes. What I
suggest is having a seat
in the little ante room
next door and I'll send
someone for you when we're
ready.

SOUND: _ ALMOST OUT.

SINC: TV studios are getting
to be just like home. . .
right Edith?. . . Just
like home. . . Wendell?

HAM: Sorry I'm late. . . I. . .

SINC: Forget it. Do you know
my wife and daughter?. . .
Edith and Kari. . . or
is it Kari and Edith. My
wife gets younger looking
every day.

KARI: I'm not too sure I like
that.

SOUND: _ ALL LAUGH SLIGHTLY.

HAM: Of course I know Edith
and Kari.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

EDITH: And we know Wendell. How
are you?

HAM: Fine. . . just fine.

EDITH: I hear congratulations
are in order.

HAM: Congratulations?

EDITH: David tells me you've
signed the party commit-
tee as a client.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.

HAM: Well. . . yes. . .

SINC: Only after quite a bit
of urging.

CUT TO 3-SHOT OF EDITH,
SINCLAIR AND HAMILTON.

EDITH: I'm sure it will work
out for the best. Mr.
Sarnow's always been
fair.

HAM: I know. . . That's why
I've decided to give the
account to Scott. . .
I'll be around at the
start but I'm getting too
old.

SINC: You'll both do a good
job. . . Wish they'd hur-
ry. I'm hungry. . .
Haven't eaten all day.

EVERYONE SEEMS A
LITTLE NERVOUS.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR.

CUT TO GROUP SHOT.
VICTOR ENTERS.

THEY ALL STAND AND FOLLOW VICTOR INTO STUDIO A. THEY STAND IN THE BACK OF THE STUDIO AND THE FLOOR DIRECTOR WALKS UP TO THEM. HE DOESN'T KNOW WHICH ONE IS THE CONGRESSMAN.

SINCLAIR HEADS TO LECTURN.

THEY ALL EXIT TO CONTROL

AUDIO:

HAM: You know. . . You don't have to. . .

SINC: Of course I do. It's the only proper thing to do. . . . Besides, I'm beginning to enjoy my appearances on television. I'm getting fan mail now and. . .

VICT: They're ready, Congressman. Hello Wendell.

HAM: Victor.

SOUND: HALL NOISE UP.

F.D.: Congressman Sinclair?

SINC: That's me.

F.D.: Yes, sir. If you'll step up next to Mr. Cummings who is behind the lectern, he will introduce you.

SINC: Thank you.

F.D.: The rest of you will be more comfortable in the control room, I'm sure.

EDITH: Thank you.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

ROOM. THE FLOOR
DIRECTOR WALKS BACK
TO HIS POSITION NEXT
TO THE CAMERA. HE
PUTS ON HIS HEAD SET.
CUT TO SHOT INSIDE
CONTROL ROOM AND SEE
EDITH, KARI AND
HAMILTON WATCHING
DIRECTOR AND
MONITORS.

PUSH INTO CU OF
MONITORS AND THEN
CUT TO SHOT OF FLOOR
DIRECTOR WATCHING
CLOCK. HIS ARM IS
RAISED IN STAND-
BY POSITION. CUM-
MINGS STRAIGHTENS
HIS TIE.

THE FLOOR DIRECTOR
CUES CUMMINGS AND
WE CUT TO SHOT IN-
SIDE THE CONTROL
ROOM.

AUDIO:

DIR: Okay. . . Quiet in the studio.

We'll go in one minute . . .

Ready music, ready to open

announcer's mike, ready to cue

announce. Camera one, don't

forget that once we get to

Cummings you have to. . .

F.D.: We're in the open. Stand by.

. . . Ten seconds Mr. Cummings.

. . . Five seconds.

CUMM:	We're back at	DIR:	(OVER
	election cen-		(CUMMINGS)
	tral now and		Get ready
	things still		one. . .
	are hectic.		Any second
	Most of the		now.
	racers are		
	final and as		
	is our policy		
	we will bring		

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO SHOT OF
EDITH, KARI AND
HAMILTON SEATED
IN THE BACK OF
THE CONTROL ROOM.

CUT TO CU OF SIN-
CLAIR ON STUDIO
FLOOR.

CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON.
CUT TO SHOT BEHIND SIN-
CLAIR LOOKING TOWARD
THE CAMERAS.
SEE THURMAN BEING
USHERED INTO THE STUDIO
BY FRANK. BEHIND THEM
ARE ASHTON AND PHYLLIS.

AUDIO:

you as many of
the participants
as is possible.

First, from the DIR: Ready
race in the to take
twelfth dis- one.
trict. . .

Congressman

David

Sinclair. Take one.

SINC: My dear friends. This will be
short and simple. I would
first of all like to thank
those of you who voted for me
and the many that worked so
hard and so long to bring out
votes. . . more votes than I
thought possible. I hope they
continue their good work in
the future by supporting our
next party candidate for Con-
gress from this district in
the general election. (PAUSE)
I wish him the best and I'm
sure he will do his best. In
short I just want to say it

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO 3-SHOT OF
PHYLLIS, THURMAN
AND ASHTON.
PHYLLIS IS FIDCETY.

AUDIO:

has been an PHYL: (WHISPERING)
honor and a Oh, here we
privilege go. We'll
to have be here
served you all night.
these past ASHT: Sssh. Ya
ten years just got
and I thank here. No
you for the one's gonna
privilege. take any-
. . . I don't thing away
know. . . I from you.
. . . This THUR: Quiet. I
is diffi- want to
cult for me hear what
to say. . . he has to
but. . . I say.
formally
concede the PHYL: Hallelujah.
election
to Robert
Thurman.

SINCLAIR STEPS AWAY
AND CUT TO CONTROL
ROOM. MONITOR
PICTURE SHOWS MS
OF CUMMINGS.

SINCLAIR ENTERS
THE CONTROL ROOM.
EDITH AND KARI
KISS HIM AND
HAMILTON SHAKES
HIS HAND.

CUMM: Congressman DIR: Take two.
David Sinclair. Stand by
(PAUSE) one. Be
Ladies and ready to
gentlemen. . . pull back.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

THEY TURN TO WATCH
MONITOR.

MONITOR SHOWS US
OF THURMAN. HE
APPEARS HAPPY.

CAMERA PULLS BACK
TO SHOW PHYLLIS
ON MONITOR.

HAMILTON, KARI AND
EDITH START TO LEAVE.
SINCLAIR FOLLOWS
BEHIND STILL WATCH-
ING MONITOR.

PUSH INTO CU OF
THURMAN AND DISS.
TO SHOT OF TV IN
BAR. PULL BACK AND
SEE GORDON AT THE
BAR WATCHING IT.
THE BARTENDER IS
ALSO WATCHING IT
WHILE HE POLISHES
GLASSES.

CUMM: It now gives

me great

pleasure to

introduce

Mr. Robert

Thurman,

candidate for

Congress, and

his lovely

wife, Phyllis.

THUR: (HAPPILY)

Ladies and

gentlemen.

. . . I

can't

tell you

what a

thrill

this is

. . .

SOUND: BAR NOISES.

THUR: I can only

say thank

you. . .

Thank you

DIR: Take one.

That's it.

Okay. . .

pull back.

Let's see

the wife.

Good.

HAM: Let's go get

something to

eat.

EDITH: Splendid

idea.

KARI: Don't for-

get Victor.

HAM: I'll send

someone in-

to the stu-

dio for

him. C'mon

David.

MILT: He's a good

looking guy.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

AUDIO:

MILTON PICKS UP
BOTTLE AND POURS.

THUR:

very much,
and I'll
try my
best to
have your
faith in
me always
justified

Real smooth.
GORD: You ain't
seen nothin'
yet, my
friend.
Nothin'
at all.
(PAUSE)

I want to
commend my
opponent
David Sin-
clair, and
wish him
the best
of luck in

How about
another
drink?
MILT: On the house.
GORD: You make a
great PR
man, Milton.
MILT: Nah. . .

the future,
and I
want to
thank my
staff who

It's all in
the bottle.
No need for
PR . . . just
people.

CUT TO CU OF GORDON.

have worked
so hard.
Most of all
I want to
say. . .

GORD: Yeah. . .
Lovely,
wonderful
and stupid
people. . .

HE DRINKS.

(MORE)

VIDEO:

CUT TO SHOT OF
MILTON AND GORDON
WATCHING TV.

PUSH INTO CU OF
THURMAN.

DISS. TO GREY AND
BLACK PICTURE OF
THURMAN. SUPER
ACTORS NAME.
HOLD 2 SECONDS AND
LOSE.

CUT TO SHOT OF THURMAN
IN FRONT OF CAMERA.
CUT TO SHOT OF GORDON
STANDING BY CAMERA.
SUPER NAME. HOLD 2
SECONDS AND LOSE. CUT
TO SHOT OF ASHTON WATCH-
ING MONITOR AND SUPER
NAME. HOLD 2 SECONDS
AND LOSE. CUT TO 3-
SHOT OF SINCLAIR,
HAMILTON AND SCOTT.
CUT TO CU OF SINCLAIR
AND SUPER NAME. HOLD
2 SECONDS AND LOSE.
CUT TO CU OF HAMILTON
AND SUPER NAME. HOLD
2 SECONDS AND LOSE.
PAN RIGHT FOR CU OF
SCOTT. SUPER NAME AND
LOSE. CUT TO SHOT IN
CONTROL ROOM. SEE
DIRECTOR AND SARNOV
BEHIND HIM. PUSH INTO
CU OF SARNOV AND SUPER
NAME. HOLD 2 SECONDS
AND LOSE. PAN TO CU
OF DIRECTOR AND SUPER
PROGRAM DIRECTOR'S

AUDIO:

you the God love
public. . . 'em.

give your-

self a

hand. For

you made

it all

come true.

MUSIC: JAZZ THEME UP.

(MORE)

VIDEO:AUDIO:

NAME. HOLD 2 SECONDS
AND LOSE. CUT TO
SHOT OF EXTERIOR OF
TV STATION AND SUPER
WRITER'S NAME. HOLD
2 SECONDS AND LOSE.
CUT TO SHOT OF TV
SET IN HOME WITH PEOPLE
GATHERED AROUND. SUPER
PRODUCER'S NAME. HOLD
2 SECONDS AND LOSE.
PUSH INTO TV SET AND
CUT TO SHOT OF THURMAN
SMILING. SUPER: THE
END. HOLD FOR 2
SECONDS AND LOSE. FADE
TO BLACK.

MUSIC: FADE OUT.

END OF ACT THREE

CHAPTER IV

ON WRITING THE PLAY

Introduction
The Play's Premise and Primary Conflict
Plot Structure
Character Development
Conclusion

CHAPTER IV

ON WRITING THE PLAY

Introduction

In devising the play, A Little Peace of Mind, it was this writer's intention to point out the ills inherent in political television. People have to realize that a man's performance on television is not necessarily indicative of his performance as a statesman. Closer observation and analysis of the candidate is necessary, as is a knowledge of the tricks of advertising and the systems that work to promote these tricks. Thus, in the play, various techniques previously indicated, in Chapter Two, are seen at work in a campaign context. (The campaign is congressional in nature in that at this time congressional elections appear to be potentially more dangerous than presidential elections. Again, this represents the effectiveness of television in moving us away from local political considerations.) Through the intermingling of the characters and their actions, television's ability to create personalities overnight and the dependence of the politician on the ever increasing powerful public relations man are placed in perspective.

Problems encountered in the actual writing of the play centered around the translation of the research material,

centered around the translation of the research material, concerning political television, into television play form. Without sounding as if the dialogue were taken straight from textbooks and journals, the play had to develop its theme and present its information in a manner suitable for dramatic structure. In addition, the factor of time had to be considered as ninety minutes does not allow one much room in which to maneuver. (This is best understood when one stops to consider the necessary time spent in exposition of the story line and in character development.) Critical decisions had to be made, therefore, as to which material to include and it was decided, by this writer, to concentrate on the overemphasis of candidate personality and the dangers of public relations. These two areas seemed to be the most adaptable for translation into play form and potentially the most dangerous to society. The remaining areas--the cost of campaigning, the doctrine of fairness and the oversimplification of issues--are explored in terms of techniques where applicable. In this way, the play presents a strong point of view without trying to cram in information that would have undoubtedly weakened it.

The Play's Premise and Primary Conflict

The premise of the play, based upon research presented in Chapter Two, says simply that the mass media in the wrong hands can be politically dangerous to society. All elements within the play revolve around this statement, and thus, a man versus society conflict, i.e., Tyler Gordon versus the

Congressional district, was deemed necessary as the primary conflict from which the action unfolds. Man versus man (Gordon versus Wendell Hamilton, Robert Thurman versus his wife) and man versus himself (Thurman versus himself) seemed too limiting in terms of the premise but help to provide suspense and surprise when used in subplot fashion. Only the relationship between Thurman and Sinclair seemed broad enough in scope for a man versus man conflict, but then both men represent elements to be manipulated in the over-all conflict of man versus society.

Plot Structure

In terms of structure, again, every element has to develop the premise. The plot, then, unfolds in a manner which leads logically to the conclusion. Starting with Act One, the story line is revealed, characters identified and relationships established. The characters are divided into their respective camps and at the end of the Act, a minor climax is reached when Thurman, the soon to be tailored candidate, is forced by his wife to accept the offer from Gordon, the tailor, to run for Congress.

Act Two moves the plot along and we begin to realize that maybe Thurman does have a chance to win the election. We become more cognizant of Sinclair's inadequacies on television and Thurman's talent for the medium. We note also the various behind-the-scenes preparations necessary for a television appearance and how Thurman is being aptly schooled in their use. The dishonesty of the venture is becoming more

and more apparent and is voiced in the words of Sarnow, the party's campaign committee chief, who is rapidly becoming unhappy with the turn of events. It is also voiced by Hamilton who attempts to convince Sinclair to let him handle his campaign. Motivated, in part, by a dislike for Gordon, friendship with Sinclair and a dislike for unfair campaign practices which slander the field of public relations, Hamilton tries to help Sinclair. His efforts are in vain, however, as the main climax is reached when Gordon offers Sinclair a chance to debate Thurman and Sinclair, disregarding Hamilton's warnings, accepts. At this point, we know that the two on camera, at the same time, will decidedly work in favor of Thurman.

Act Three, the denouement, starts with a montage series of events involving television and both camps are seen at work in preparation for the debates. Thurman is being coached and Sinclair glamorized. This montage ends in the debates where it is apparent that Thurman is doing even better than expected. The campaign has now reached the point where Sarnow thinks something needs to be done for the future in order to hold the Gordons and Ashtons and Thurmans in check. These three have surmounted all obstacles and are well on their way to victory.

The play ends in the only logical way possible--Sinclair loses. Thurman has been too well coached to lose, and the premise would be violated with any other conclusion. Nevertheless, by including a scene indicating Thurman's hesitancy to take office, by cutting to the studio shots on election

night where we see the election night crew scurrying about, and by not revealing the winner until Sinclair's final speech, we maintain the element of suspense necessary for the involvement of the audience. A straight line development of the action through to the conclusion would be uninteresting, boring and not good dramatic technique.

Character Development

It was this writer's purpose to show that the wrong man could win an election if properly handled. Thus, the motivation behind the central characters, the antagonists, is that they are trying to build something where nothing previously existed in order to further their own dreams of power. This is true of Gordon and Ashton, and, of course, Thurman's wife, Phyllis; but in Thurman's case this varies somewhat in that he has been a failure and a weakling all his life. He is capable of being manipulated by those around him. This relationship of power versus weakness is expressed several times throughout the play via scenes between Thurman and his wife, and between Thurman and Gordon. There can be no doubt that Thurman is the wrong man and that Gordon, Ashton and Phyllis are power hungry, ambitious and potentially dangerous.

Gordon also represents the frustrated man. He has done well in public relations but has not received the recognition he deserves and desires. Political public relations offers a way out. No longer does he have to take orders. He can

now give them, and he comes to like the idea more and more.

As for Ashton, a character was needed to start the action moving and to fill in various details otherwise not easily handled. For example, someone was needed to obtain the money necessary for campaigning. Without such a character, too much time would have been spent in drawing up plans for volunteer groups, etc., etc.. In addition, a character was needed to represent some of the shadier sides of campaigning. In both cases, Ashton serves the purpose very well, and these matters are now easily handled by implication rather than by detailed account.

In the protagonist camp, we have Congressman Sinclair, the weak and ineffectual television campaigner. He is conservative in his campaign and does not believe that an unheard of candidate can possibly win. He is appalled at some of the techniques to which he is submitted and offers resistance at every turn. This resistance expresses some of the ills of political television and leaves us with little doubt that he won't remain in office. In essence, he reflects any candidate who refuses to buckle under to public relations techniques and yet has to compete with candidates who are well staffed in such areas.

Wendell Hamilton III, a somewhat elderly public relations man, is content to let politics pass him by, but when he sees the directions in which Gordon is traveling, he steps into the picture. He too is old fashioned and conservative and believes strongly in fairness in campaigns. He is also

motivated through friendship to Sinclair and to prove that he is not as old as everybody thinks. However, upon Sarnow's offer of a job, he hesitates as he realizes that he is an old man; but, then, thinking of the future and his relatively inactive past, he accepts.

Hamilton also provides us with a character who balances the shadier side of public relations and, in addition, provides us with a more credible character in terms of presenting information to the audience. Sarnow too serves this same purpose in showing that not all politicians are bad. However, when faced with maintaining party solidarity he is forced to compromise. A tough politician, he realizes the importance of public relations and goes out of his way to hire those who will work for the party good, the district's good and not just for their own good.

Conclusion

In short, the medium of television pervades the whole play and shows the viewer what can happen if he neglects his political obligations and falls for "a pretty face." And, while not a point by point description of the research found in Chapter Two, Television and Politics, the play nevertheless cites the research information in a graphic manner that allows the viewer to observe first-hand the results of malpractice as regards television, public relations and politics. That another observer may envision the translation of the research material into a totally different

play and may conclude in a totally different manner is not to be argued. Drama thrives on varying viewpoints and is not so rigid that only one viewpoint per topic can be developed. Thus, from this writer's viewpoint, A Little Peace of Mind says what this author wants to say, in a manner suitable to the research topic and seems totally capable of standing on its own merits and working as a play.

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