

The original documents are located in Box 23, folder “Reagan, Ronald - 30 Minute TV Speech” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

RR's
1/2 hr.

Carruthers' office called w/ this information about the Reagan ratings:

New York from 10:30 to 11:00 p.m. - 9 share

L.A. - 12 share

CBS: New York - 30

LA - 41

NBC: New York - 19

LA - 34

The secretary didn't know the interpretations, so if you have questions, you should call Carruthers.



File Reagan

1. Statement:

We gave just enough support to one side in Angola to encourage it to fight and die but too little to give it a chance of winning.

The Facts

The U.S. objective in supporting the FNLA/UNITA forces in Angola was to assist them, and through them all of black Africa, to defend against a minority group armed by the Soviet Union, and Cuban intervention. Despite massive Soviet aid and the presence of Cuban troops, there was every possibility of an acceptable outcome until December 19 when Congress adopted the Tunney Amendment cutting off further U.S. aid to the FNLA and UNITA.

2. Statement:

Mr. Ford's new Ambassador to the United Nations attacks our long time ally Israel.

The Facts

Governor Scranton not only did not attack Israel, his veto blocked ~~the~~ Security Council resolution critical of Israel -- a resolution that every other member of the Security Council voted for. In his March 23 speech in the United Nations Security



Council Gov. Scranton was simply reiterating long-standing U. S. policy -- a policy articulated by every Administration since 1967 -- on Israel's obligations as an occupying power under international law with regard to the territories under its occupation.

3. Statement:

In Asia our new relationship with mainland China can have practical benefits with both sides. But that doesn't mean it should include yielding to demands by them as the Administration has, to reduce our military presence on Taiwan where we have a long-time friend and ally, the Republic of Chian.

The Facts:

We have not in any way reduced our forces on Taiwan as a result of Peking's demands. Our reductions stem from our own assessment of U.S. political and security interests. We have drawn our forces down because the Vietnam conflict has ended and because the lessening of tension in the area brought about by our new relationship with the People's Republic of China has made it possible.

4. Statement:

And, it is also revealed now that we seek to establish friendly relations with Hanoi. To make it more palatable, we are told this might help us learn the fate of the men still listed as Missing in Action.

The Facts:

The Congress has urged the Administration to make a positive gesture toward Hanoi in an effort to obtain further information relating to our Missing in Action, and the return of the bodies of dead servicemen still held by Hanoi. The Administration, in response, has offered to discuss with Hanoi the significant outstanding issues between us. Our policy toward Hanoi was clearly set forth by the President last December in Hawaii and does not include to "seek to establish friendly relations with Hanoi." Such an assertion is totally false.

5. Statement:

In the last few days, Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger have taken us from hinting at invasion of Cuba to laughing it off a ridiculous idea. Except, that it was their ridiculous idea. No one else suggested it. Once again -- what is their policy? During this last year, they carried on a campaign to befriend Castro. They persuaded the Organization of American States to lift its trade embargo,



lifted some U.S. trade restrictions, they engaged in cultural exchanges. And then on the eve of the Florida primary election, Mr. Ford went to Florida, called Castro an outlaw and said he'd never recognize him. But he hasn't asked our Latin American neighbors to reimpose a single sanction, nor has he taken any action himself. Meanwhile, Castro continues to export revolution to Puerto Rico, to Angola, and who knows where else?

The Facts:

We did not persuade the OAS to lift the sanctions against Cuba. At Quito in the fall of 1974 we did not support a motion in the OAS to do so. At San Jose last summer the U.S. voted in favor of an OAS resolution which left to each country freedom of action with regard to the sanctions. We did so because a majority of the OAS members had already unilaterally lifted their sanctions against Cuba, and because the resolution was supported by a majority of the organization members. Since that resolution passed, no additional Latin American country has established relations with Cuba or lifted sanctions.

The U.S. has not lifted its own sanctions against Cuba, has not entered into any agreements with Cuba, and has not traded with Cuba. We have not engaged in cultural exchanges. We validated some passports for U.S. Congressmen and their staffs, for some scholars and for

some religious leaders to visit Cuba. We issued a few select visas to Cubans to visit the United States. These minimal steps were taken to test whether there was a mutual interest in ending the hostile nature of our relations. This policy was consistent with the traditional American interest in supporting the free flow of ideas and people. We have, since the Cuban adventure in Angola, concluded that the Cubans are not interested in changing their ways. We have resumed our highly restrictive policies toward Cuban travel. With regard to Cuban efforts to interfere in Puerto Rican affairs, we have made it emphatically clear in the UN and bilaterally to the Cubans and other nations that the United States will not tolerate any interference in its internal affairs.

We have not hinted at invasion of Cuba. What we have done is to warn Cuba that we would not tolerate further military adventures. We mean it.

6. Statement:

The Canal Zone is not a colonial possession. It is not a long-term lease. It is sovereign U. S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the states that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase. We should end those negotiations (on the Panama Canal) and tell the General: We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it.

The Facts:

Negotiations between the United States and Panama on the Canal have been pursued by three successive American Presidents. The purpose of these negotiations is to protect our national security, not diminish it. The issue is not between us and Torrijos. It is between us and all other Western Hemisphere nations -- without exception. No responsible American can ignore the voices of the Latin American states.

Governor Reagan's view that the Canal Zone is "sovereign U. S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the states that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase is totally wrong. The Canal Zone is not and never has been "sovereign U. S. territory." Legal scholars have been clear on this for three-quarters of a century. Unlike children born in the United States, for example, children born in the Canal Zone are not automatically citizens of the United States.

7. Statement:

Why did the President travel halfway 'round the world to sign the Helsinki Pact, putting our stamp of approval on Russia's enslavement of the captive nations?

We gave away the freedom of millions of people -- freedom that was not ours to give.

The Facts:

The President went to Helsinki along with the Chiefs of State or heads of government of all our Western allies,

and, among others, a Papal Representative, to sign a document which contains Soviet commitments to greater respect for human rights, self determination of peoples, and expanded exchanges and communication throughout Europe. Basket three of the Act calls for a freer flow of people and ideas among all the European nations.

The Helsinki Act, for the first time, specifically provides for the possibility of peaceful change of borders. With regard to the particular case of the Baltic States, President Ford stated clearly on July 25 that "the United States has never recognized that Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and is not doing so now. Our official policy of non-recognition is not affected by the results of the European Security Conference." In fact, the Helsinki document itself states that no occupation or acquisition of territory by force will be recognized as legal.

8. Statement:

Now we must ask if someone is giving away our own freedom. Dr. Kissinger is quoted as saying that he thinks of the U. S. as Athens and the Soviet Union as

Sparta. "The day of the U.S. is past and today is the day of the Soviet Union." And he added, "...My job as Secretary of State is to negotiate the most acceptable second-best position available."

The Facts:

Governor Reagan's so-called quotes from Secretary Kissinger are a total and irresponsible fabrication. The Secretary has never said what the Governor attributes to him, or anything like it. In fact, at a March 23, 1976 press conference in Dallas Secretary Kissinger said: "I do not believe that the United States will be defeated. I do not believe that the United States is on the decline. I do not believe that the United States must get the best deal it can."

I believe that the United States is essential to preserve the security of the free world and for any progress in the world that exists.

In a period of great national difficulty, of the Viet-Nam war, of Watergate, of endless investigations, we have tried to preserve the role of the United States as that major factor. And I believe that to explain to the American people that the policy is complex, that our involvement is permanent, and that our problems are nevertheless soluble, is a sign of optimism and of confidence in the American people, rather than the opposite."

9. Statement:

Now we learn that another high official of the State Department, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, whom Dr. Kissinger refers to as his "Kissinger", has expressed the belief that, in effect, the captive nations should give up any claim of national sovereignty and simply become a part of the Soviet Union. He says, 'Their desire to break out of the Soviet straightjacket' threatens us with World War III. In other words, slaves should accept their fate."

The Facts:

It is wholly inaccurate, and a gross distortion of fact, to ascribe such views to Mr. Sonnenfeldt or to this Administration. Neither he nor anyone else in the Administration has ever expressed any such belief. The Administration view on this issue was expressed by Secretary Kissinger before the House International Relations Committee on March 29 as follows:

"As far as the U.S. is concerned, we do not accept a sphere of influence of any country, anywhere, and emphatically we reject a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

"Two Presidents have visited in Eastern Europe; there have been two visits to Poland and Romania and Yugoslavia, by Presidents. I have made

repeated visits to Eastern Europe, on every trip to symbolize and to make clear to these countries that we are interested in working with them and that we do not accept or act upon the exclusive dominance of any one country in that area.

"At the same time, we do not want to give encouragement to an uprising that might lead to enormous suffering. But in terms of the basic position of the United States, we do not accept the dominance of any one country anywhere.

"Yugoslavia was mentioned, for example. We would emphatically consider it a very grave matter if outside forces were to attempt to intervene in the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia. We welcome Eastern European countries developing more in accordance with their national traditions, and we will cooperate with them. This is the policy of the United States, and there is no Sonnenfeldt doctrine."

Maize
NSC
Q + A

REAGAN REMARKS ON FOREIGN POLICY

Q: What is your reaction to Mr. Reagan's attacks on your foreign policy?

A: Mr. Reagan's remarks on foreign policy reveal an extraordinary ignorance of what this country has been saying and doing over the last few years, perhaps because he has been so far removed from the main stream of America and the public debate on these issues.

Our nation is not "in danger," but it is damaging to the interests of this country when a politician declares to our adversaries and our friends abroad -- completely falsely and ignoring public statements by the President -- that we are in second place. Such statements are both irresponsible and dangerous. They alarm our people and confuse our allies.

-- It is meaningless to say the Soviet Army may now be twice the size of the US Army! Considering that the Soviets have been compelled to deploy close to half of that Army on the Chinese border, that isn't all that surprising. I suppose that if we had to defend our borders and thus had to double our forces, Mr. Reagan would be happier. Simplistic rhetoric such as this reflects a disturbingly shallow grasp of what military balance is all about.

-- For example, Mr. Reagan conveniently neglects to point out that our strategic forces are superior to Soviet forces. Our missiles are far more accurate and survivable. We have over twice as many missile warheads and, after all, it is the warheads which actually reach the target. Our lead in this area has been increasing over the past several years. Mr. Reagan likewise ignores our vast superiority in strategic bombers.

In short, if Mr. Reagan wants to alarm with use of numbers he can; but it only portrays his superficial understanding of these matters and by inflaming opinion -- at home and abroad -- falsely, does not serve the public interest.

-- Let's look at actions as opposed to words. I am the one who reversed the trend of shrinking defense budgets. My last two defense budgets are the highest peacetime budgets in the nation's history. Mr. Reagan should speak to the Democratic Congress about its \$32 billion cuts in defense over the past six years.

Mr. Reagan's misstatements and misjudgments of our foreign policy show equal distortion or ignorance of the facts:

-- He has the facts completely reversed when he claims that Angola was not allowed to interfere with detente. We said and demonstrated exactly the opposite.

It was the Congress, not the Administration, that failed to provide enough support to the Angolan majority in its struggle against Cuban troops and Soviet arms.

-- The Helsinki Conference is clearly recognized as the biggest propaganda setback for the Kremlin in a decade. It is absurd to believe that after two years of hard bargaining, all the leaders of NATO and a representative of His Holiness the Pope went to Helsinki to be tricked into a sell-out of Eastern Europe. My statement in Helsinki, and my visits to Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia on the same trip, demonstrated that I was there to declare what we believed to be the standards of human rights and non-intervention that should govern East-West relations in Europe: Our policy in no sense accepts a Soviet "dominion" over Eastern Europe and I have said this repeatedly.



-- Mr. Reagan attacks our policy toward the Soviet Union and China. Is he opposed to efforts to resist firmly Soviet adventurism, to negotiate an end to the nuclear arms race, and to attempt to relax tensions and build a more constructive relationship. Does he think the American people want a return to the era of cold war confrontation?

-- He would handle the new Panama Canal Treaty by refusing to talk and simply dictating to the Panamanian Government. That is an especially good way to enhance our relations with our Latin American neighbors. We want a satisfactory agreement that permits the Canal to operate efficiently and protects our national security interests, not a guerrilla war over what would be portrayed as US colonialism.

-- Mr. Reagan deliberately repeats totally false so-called quotes by Secretary Kissinger and ignores the Secretary's explicit denials of such quotes.

-- Mr. Reagan apparently hopes to turn the clock back to 1918, to his childhood, to an era of greater freedom. But what he is actually proposing is a return to the Cold War, to saber rattling and cries of alarm. I regret that kind of defeatism. I say Americans do not want a jingoistic policy of rejection of our international obligations, international economic instability and a world, deprived of responsible American leadership, that contained the seeds of the world's greatest war. Instead, Americans want calm, firm thoughtful

leadership which deals with international problems as they are;
keeping America strong, and steering the steady, deliberate
course the world expects of us.



President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

April 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PFC LEADERSHIP

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FMS*
Director of Research

SUBJECT:

Ronald Reagan's National
Television Address

Ronald Reagan presented, via the NBC network, a 30-minute political speech on the evening of March 31.

It is of note that his performance was worthy of his long career in the acting profession; however, it is disconcerting that such factual inaccuracies and simplistic conclusions could have been offered by someone who is seeking the Presidency of the United States.

In order to provide you with a more balanced understanding of the critical national and international issues which were discussed, I attach an analysis of Mr. Reagan's speech which contrasts the fact and fiction of his politically motivated remarks.

I trust that you will find this material to be of interest and use.

Attachment



BUSING

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Nothing has created more bitterness for example than forced busing to achieve racial balance. It was born of a hope that we could increase understanding and reduce prejudice and antagonism. I'm sure we all approved of that goal. But busing has failed to achieve the goal."

Page 11, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

Candidate Reagan's statement implies that neither the President nor his Administration is either aware of this problem or concerned enough to do something about it. On the President's 12th day in office, he signed an education bill with the following provisions:

- Prohibits the use of all Federal funds (except Impact Aid) for busing activities.
- Allows the courts to terminate busing orders on a finding that the school district has and will continue to comply with the fifth and fourteenth amendments.
- Prohibits any new order to bus past the next nearest school.
- Prohibits orders to bus except at the start of an academic year.
- Prohibits busing across district lines or altering district lines unless, as a result of discriminatory actions in both school districts, the lines caused segregation.
- Provides school districts a reasonable time to develop voluntary plans before a court order can be executed.

The President has also directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Attorney General, and members of the White House staff to review the ramifications of busing and to develop better methods to achieve quality education within an integrated environment for all school children.

CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT GROWTHThe Reagan Rhetoric

"When I became Governor, I inherited a state government that was in almost the same situation as New York City. The state payroll had been growing for a dozen years at a rate of from 5 to 7,000 new employees each year. State government was spending from a million to a million and a half dollars more each day than it was taking in."

Page 7, paragraph 2

The Reagan Record

The California state budget under then Governor Reagan more than doubled, increasing from \$4.6 billion in 1967 to \$10.2 billion in 1973.

In addition, the state payroll continued to increase, from a total of 113,779 persons in 1967 to 127,929 persons in 1973.

As for the \$4 billion bonded indebtedness of California, there is little basis for comparison of the state with the current multitude of problems facing the City of New York.



CALIFORNIA STATE TAXESThe Reagan Rhetoric

"California was faced with insolvency and on the verge of bankruptcy. We had to increase taxes. Well, this came very hard for me because I felt taxes were already too great a burden. I told the people the increase, in my mind, was temporary and that, as soon as we could, we'd return their money to them."

Page 7, paragraph 3

The Reagan Record

Under Ronald Reagan, there were three huge state tax increases which totaled more than \$2 billion.

In 1967, there was an increase of \$967 million, the largest state tax hike in the nation's history. Of this, \$280 million went for a one-time deficit payment and state property tax relief. In 1971 the increase was \$488 million, with \$150 million going to property tax relief. In 1972, there was a final increase of \$682 million, with \$650 million going for property tax relief. While much of the property tax relief was short-term, the huge tax increases were permanent.

State personal income tax revenues went from \$500 million to \$2.5 billion, a 500% increase. Taxable bracket levies were increased from 7% to 11%. The range of the brackets was reduced so that taxpayers reached the highest taxable bracket more quickly and personal exemptions were reduced. Finally, after he adamantly denied that he would ever do so, then Governor Reagan agreed to a system of withholding state income taxes.

Bank and corporation taxes went up 100%. The state sales tax rose from 4% to 6%. The tax on cigarettes increased 7 cents a pack and the liquor tax rose 50 cents per gallon. Inheritance tax rates were increased and collections more than doubled.

Under Governor Reagan, the average tax rate for each \$100 of assessed valuation rose from \$8.84 to \$11.15. Under his predecessor, Pat Brown, the increase was much less in dollars and percentage--from \$6.96 to \$8.84. And in the six years of Republican Governor Knight's administration, it was still less--from \$5.94 to \$6.96. One reason for the big increase under Mr. Reagan--from \$3.7 billion to \$8.3 billion--is that the state paid a steadily smaller percentage of the school costs--one of the biggest reasons for local property taxes.

Despite periodic efforts to provide relief, there has been a substantial increase in the burden carried by most property owners. Inflation and high assessments have helped wipe out any savings. Only \$855 million of the record \$10.2 billion budget in Reagan's final year was for tax relief for homeowners and renters.

CALIFORNIA WELFARE REFORMThe Reagan Rhetoric

"After a few years of trying to control this runaway program (welfare)-and being frustrated by bureaucrats here in California and in Washington, we turned again to a citizens' task force. The result was the most comprehensive welfare reform ever attempted.

And in less than three years we reduced the rolls by more than 300,000 people. Saved the taxpayers \$2 billion".

Page 10, paragraph 2-3

"And, increased the grants to the truly deserving needy by an average of 43%. We also carried out a successful experiment which I believe is an answer to much of the welfare problem in the nation. We put able-bodied welfare recipients to work at useful community projects in return for their welfare grants."

Page 11, paragraph 1

The Reagan Record

One reduction of 20,000 persons was due to a correction in accounting procedures in the state's largest county, Los Angeles.

Candidate Reagan also has taken credit for a drop of 110,000 cases which in fact, had occurred before his program had gone into effect. Moreover, a reduction in unemployment in California from 7.4% in April, 1971 to 5.9% in September, 1972 had as large an effect on checking the rise of welfare cases as any other single factor.

In addition, the migratory rate of unemployed persons into California declined from 233,000 in 1967 to 44,000 in 1971, reducing potential welfare roll increases.

Rolls for welfare families increased in the eight years of Mr. Reagan's governorship from 729,357 to 1,384,400, and the cost of the program went from \$32.3 million to \$104.4 million.

With regard to increasing grants to the deserving and putting "Able-bodied welfare recipients" to work, the Reagan program never touched more than 6/10th of 1% of welfare recipients. Although the program was designed to have 59,000 participants in its first year in 35 counties, it managed only 1,100 participants in 10 counties, mostly rural farm areas.



ECONOMIC RECOVERYThe Reagan Rhetoric

"In this election season the White House is telling us a solid economic recovery is taking place. It claims a slight drop in unemployment. It says that prices aren't going up as fast, but they are still going up, and that the stock market has shown some gains. But, in fact, things seem just about as they were back in the 1972 election year. Remember, we were also coming out of a recession then. Inflation has been running at around 6%. Unemployment about 7. Remember, too, the upsurge and the optimism lasted through the election year and into 1973. And then, the roof fell in. Once again we had unemployment. Only this time not 7%, more than 10. And inflation--wasn't 6%, it was 12%."

Page 1, paragraph 3

"Now, in this election year 1976, we're told we're coming out of this recession. Just because inflation and unemployment rates have fallen to what they were at the worst of the previous recession. If history repeats itself we will be talking recovery four years from now merely because we've reduced inflation from 25% to 12%."

Page 2, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

There are now 2.6 million more people at work today than there were just a year ago. Total employment is at its highest point in history.

Unemployment reached its peak in May, 1975 at 8.9%--not "more than 10%". March, 1976 figures show that this rate has been reduced to 7.5%, and that it continues to decline.

Prices are not going up as fast. In 1974, inflation stood at an annualized rate of 12.2%. Inflation today is down to 6.3%--cut nearly in half.

This recovery has taken place on a broad and lasting front. In addition to a decrease in both unemployment and inflation, major gains have been posted in retail sales, GNP, durable goods, housing and personal income. This Administration's statements are based on more than just the unemployment and cost-of-living statistics that candidate Reagan implies.

EDUCATION

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Schools. In America, we created at the local level and administered at the local level for many years the greatest public school system in the world. Now through something called federal aid to education, we have something called federal interference and education has been the loser. Quality has declined as federal intervention has increased."

Page 11, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

The Federal government supports only 7% of the total cost of elementary and secondary education. The bulk of this support is distributed through the states to local governments to meet the specific educational needs of each community.

President Ford has recognized that "since Abraham Lincoln signed the Act creating the land grant colleges, Federal encouragement and assistance to education has been an essential part of the American system. To abandon it now would be to ignore the past and threaten the future."

The very first major piece of legislation the President signed was an omnibus education bill. It improved the distribution of Federal education funds and the administration of Federal programs.

On March 1 of this year, President Ford sent an education message to Congress which combined 24 categorical grant programs into one grant program of \$3.3 billion so that state and local school systems would have far greater flexibility in the use of these funds. This action insured continuing, appropriate Federal support for education, while minimizing the intensive rules and regulations which are unrelated to the development of quality education.

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Only a short time ago we were lined up at the gas station. We turned our thermostats down as Washington announced 'Project Independence.' We were going to become self-sufficient, able to provide for our own energy needs.

At the time we were only importing a small percentage of our oil. Yet, the Arab boycott caused half a million Americans to lose their jobs when plants closed down for lack of fuel. Today, it's almost three years later and 'Project Independence' has become 'Project Dependence.' Congress has adopted an energy bill so bad we were led to believe Mr. Ford would veto it. Instead he signed it. And, almost instantly, drilling rigs all over our land started shutting down. Now, for the first time in our history, we are importing more oil than we produce. How many Americans will be laid off if there is another boycott? The energy bill is a disaster that never should have been signed."

Page 6, paragraphs 1-2

The Ford Record

Candidate Reagan seems to have missed the whole point of having a national energy policy. Two years ago (not the three that he claims), at the time of the March, 1974 announcement of Project Independence, the United States was importing 35% of its oil--not the "insignificant" amount that Mr. Reagan seems to recall. It was for this reason that President Ford called for a comprehensive national energy policy to achieve, by 1985, national energy independence. Oil rigs did not begin shutting down after the passage of the EPCA. There were an average of 1,662 drilling rigs operating last year, the highest number in a decade. Figures for January 1976--just this week released--show that 1,710 rotary rigs were in operation one full month after passage of EPCA.

And, preliminary estimates indicate that 1976 investments by the petroleum industry in production and development activities will exceed those of 1975.

The Energy Policy and Conservation Act passed by the Congress and signed by President Ford in December ended a difficult, year-long debate between the Congress and the Administration on oil pricing policy, opening the way to an orderly phasing out of controls on domestic oil over forty months, thereby stimulating our own oil production.



By removing controls, this legislation should give industry sufficient incentive over a period of time to explore, develop and produce new fields in the outer continental shelf, Alaska, and potential new reserves in the lower forty-eight states. Removal of these controls at the end of forty months should increase domestic production by more than one million barrels per day by 1985 and reduce imports by about three million barrels per day.

More importantly, this bill enables the United States to meet a substantial portion of the mid-term goals for energy independence set forth over a year ago. Incorporated in this are authorities for:

- a strategic storage system
- conversion of oil and gas-fired utility and industrial plants to coal
- energy efficiency labeling
- emergency authorities for use in the event of another embargo
- and the authority we need to fulfill our international agreements with other oil consuming nations.

These provisions will directly reduce the nation's dependence on foreign oil by almost two million barrels per day by 1985. The strategic storage system and the stand-by authority will enable the United States to withstand a future embargo of about four million barrels per day.

The EPCA didn't give President Ford everything that he wanted, but it was a step in the right direction. Most importantly, it recognized the need and provided the means for gradual decontrol of oil.

President Ford has already put these authorities to good use-- his Administration recently announced the decontrol of heavy fuel oil, and will shortly follow suit with decontrol of other products as provided under the law.

Finally, candidate Reagan seems to have conveniently forgotten the President Ford long ago called for the decontrol of natural gas, production from national petroleum reserves, measures to stimulate more effective conservation, the development of new energy sources and the development of more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources.

Perhaps the question which should be asked is, "Does Mr. Reagan even have a policy?"

FEDERAL SPENDING

The Reagan Rhetoric

"The fact is, we'll never build a lasting economic recovery by going deeper into debt at a faster rate than we ever have before. It took this nation 166 years--until the middle of World War II--to finally accumulate a debt of \$95 billion. It took this administration just the last 12 months to add \$95 billion to the debt. And this administration has run up almost one-fourth of our total national debt in just these short nineteen months."

"Inflation is the cause of recession and unemployment. And we're not going to have real prosperity or recovery until we stop fighting the symptoms and start fighting the disease. There's only one cause for inflation--government spending more than government takes in. The cure is a balanced budget. Ah, but they tell us, 80% of the budget is uncontrollable. It's fixed by laws passed by Congress."

Page 2, paragraphs 3-4

"But laws passed by Congress can be repealed by Congress. And, if Congress' is unwilling to do this, then isn't it time we elect a Congress that will?"

"Soon after he took office, Mr. Ford promised he would end inflation. Indeed, he declared war on inflation. And, we all donned those WIN buttons to "Whip Inflation Now." Unfortunately, the war--if it ever really started--was soon over. Mr. Ford, without WIN button, appeared on TV, and promised he absolutely would not allow the Federal deficit to exceed \$60 billion (which incidentally was \$5 billion more than the biggest previous deficit we'd ever had). Later he told us it might be as much as \$70 billion. Now we learn it's \$80 billion or more."

Page 3, paragraphs 1-2

The Ford Record

The national debt reached \$72 billion in 1942. The estimated deficit for FY '76 is \$76.9 billion. The gross Federal debt up through FY '76 is estimated at \$634 billion. Thus, the Administration's share of the national debt is 15.6%, not the 25% declared by candidate Reagan.

President Ford's economic policy has been designed to:

1. Create sustained economic recovery and growth without inflation;
2. Reach a balanced Federal budget by 1979; and,
3. Provide jobs for all who seek work.

President Ford has offered specific plans for achieving a balanced budget; but, a large part of the cause of the current recession is the result of past fiscal policies, especially rapid increases in Federal expenditures. There is no quick remedy for the problems created a decade ago.

A precipitous return to a balanced budget, as candidate Reagan would like, would fuel inflation, halt the recovery, and mean a sustained period of high unemployment.

Some 77.1% of the federal budget for FY '77 is in "uncontrollable" or "open-ended" expenditures. Approximately \$236.8 billion of this is allocated to payments to individuals. In order to achieve candidate Reagan's "balanced" budget as quickly as he suggests, we would have to terminate all of some, or part of several, of the following expenditures:

\$108.0 billion	Social Security and Railroad Retirement
38.4 billion	Medicare and Medicaid
26.0 billion	Public Assistance Programs
22.9 billion	Federal Retirement Funds
16.3 billion	Veterans Benefits

About 26 cents out of every Federal tax dollar in 1977 will go to defense (\$101.2 billion). Revenue sharing and grants to states and localities--funds returned for use at the local level--take up another 15 cents out of every Federal dollar spent. This too, leaves little room for immediate, massive Federal cuts.

In March, 1975, President Ford literally "drew the line" at a deficit of \$60 billion. To meet that goal, the President vetoed some 47 bills sent to him by the Congress--at an attempted cost savings to the American taxpayer of \$26 billion. The Congress overrode only 7 of these vetoes, but at a cost to the taxpayer of another \$13 billion added to the Federal deficit.

Thus, the estimated deficit for FY 76 will be \$76.9 billion. The largest previous yearly deficit occurred in 1943--\$54.8 billion.

Gross national debt for FY 76 is estimated to be \$634 billion--of which \$76.9 billion, or 15.6% occurred during a year in which a Ford budget was in effect.

The President's proposed budget for FY 1977 cuts the rate of growth of Federal spending in half, down to 5.5%. The estimated deficit for FY 77 is \$43 billion or \$33 billion less than the previous year and some \$26 billion less than projected expenditures had government continued to grow at the same pace as it had during the last decade.

President Ford has set a balanced budget as his goal for 1979.

ANGOLAThe Reagan Rhetoric

"We gave just enough support to one side of Angola to encourage it to fight and die but too little to give it a chance of winning."

Page 13, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

The U.S. objective in supporting the FNLA/UNITA forces in Angola was to assist them, and through them all of black Africa, to defend against a minority faction supported by Soviet arms and Cuban intervention. Despite massive Soviet aid and the presence of Cuban troops, we were on the road to success in Angola until December 19 when Congress adopted the Tunney Amendment cutting off further U.S. aid to the FNLA and UNITA. President Ford severely rebuked the Congress for that action.

CHINAThe Reagan Rhetoric

"In Asia our new relationship with mainland China can have practical benefits with both sides. But that doesn't mean it should include yielding to demands by them as the Administration has to reduce our military presence on Taiwan where we have a long-time friend and ally, the Republic of China."

Page 13, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

We have not reduced our forces on Taiwan as a result of Peking's demands. Our reductions stem from our own assessment of U.S. political and security interests. The ending of the Vietnam conflict and the lessening of tension in the area brought about by our new relationship with the People's Republic of China has made this drawdown possible.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ISRAEL

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Mr. Ford's new Ambassador to the United Nations attacks our long time ally Israel."

Page 13, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

Candidate Reagan has grossly distorted the facts. William Scranton did not attack Israel. His veto blocked an unbalanced Security Council Resolution critical of Israel--a resolution that every other member of the Security Council voted for. In a March 23 speech in the United Nations Security Council, Ambassador Scranton reiterated long-standing U.S. policy--a policy articulated by every Administration--and every U.S. Representative to the United Nations since 1967--on Israel's obligations as an occupying power under international law with regard to the territories under its occupation.

Far from attacking our long-time ally, Israel, President Ford's Administration seized an historic opportunity to help the area move towards a secure, just and comprehensive peace settlement. During the Spring of 1975, the President held an extensive series of meetings with important leaders in the area. A second, interim agreement was reached shortly thereafter between Israel and Egypt.

This agreement reaffirmed and strengthened the ceasefire, widened the buffer zone, and committed both sides to settle the Middle East conflict by peaceful means, refraining from use of force. For the first time in years, the Suez Canal was opened to Israel for non-military shipping.

VIETNAM

The Reagan Rhetoric

"And, it is also revealed now that we seek to establish friendly relations with Hanoi. To make it more palatable,

we are told this might help us learn the fate of the men still listed as Missing in Action."

Page 13-14, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

Neither President Ford nor his Administration spokesman have said we "seek to establish friendly relations with Hanoi." Such an assertion is totally false.

The Congress, reflecting the views of the American people and the Ford Administration, has called for an accounting of our Missing in Action and the return of the bodies of dead servicemen still held by Hanoi.

The Ford Administration, in keeping with this Congressional mandate, has offered to discuss with Hanoi the significant outstanding issues between us.

CUBA

The Reagan Rhetoric

"In the last few days, Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger have taken us from hinting at invasion of Cuba to laughing it off as a ridiculous idea. Except, that it was their ridiculous idea. No one else suggested it. Once again -- what is their policy? During this last year, they carried on a campaign to befriend Castro. They persuaded the Organization of American States to lift its trade embargo, lifted some U.S. trade restrictions, they engaged in culture exchanges. And then on the eve of the Florida primary election, Mr. Ford went to Florida, called Castro an outlaw and said he'd never recognize him. But he hasn't asked our Latin American neighbors to reimpose a single sanction, nor has he taken any action himself. Meanwhile, Castro continues to export revolution to Puerto Rico, to Angola, and who knows where else?

Page 14, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

Neither President Ford nor his representative stated -- or hinted-- at an "invasion of Cuba." Nor did the United States persuade the OAS to lift the sanctions against Cuba.

At San Jose last summer, the U.S. voted in favor of an OAS resolution which left to each country freedom of action with regard to the sanctions. The U.S. did so because a majority of the OAS members had already unilaterally lifted their sanctions against Cuba, and because the resolution was supported by a majority of the organization members. Since that resolution passed, no additional Latin American country has established relations with Cuba.

The U.S. has not lifted its own sanctions against Cuba. It did not enter into any agreements with Cuba, and did not trade with Cuba. We did not engage in cultural exchanges.

The U.S. did validate a number of passports for U.S. Congressmen and their staffs, for some scholars and for some religious leaders to visit Cuba. And the U.S. issued a few select visas to Cubans to visit the U.S.

These minimal steps were taken to test whether there was a mutual interest in ending the hostile nature of our relations. This policy was consistent with the traditional American interest in supporting the free flow of ideas and people. Since the Cuban adventure in Angola, the Ford Administration has concluded that the Cubans are not interested in changing their ways. The U.S. has resumed its highly restrictive policies toward Cuban travel.

With regard to Cuban efforts to interfere in Puerto Rican affairs, the U.S. has made it emphatically clear in the UN and bilaterally to the Cubans and other nations that the U.S. will not tolerate any interference in its internal affairs.

Mr. Reagan's criticism is particularly interesting when compared to the following comment he made last August in a release for his weekly editorial column.

"Recent conciliatory gestures by Castro, including the return of \$2 million ransom money he had impounded in connection with a U.S. airliner hijacking, indicates that he is ready to talk turkey with the United States. Since we can accomplish both humanitarian and national objectives in the process, it's time for the Washington establishment to lift its Cuban dialogue above the level of that advertising slogan, 'Since we're neighbors, let's be friends.'"

FOREIGN AFFAIRSEASTERN EUROPEThe Reagan Rhetoric

"Now we learn that another high official of the State Department, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, whom Dr. Kissinger refers to as his "Kissinger", has expressed the belief that, in effect, the captive nations should give up any claim of national sovereignty and simply become a part of the Soviet Union. He says, 'Their desire to break out of the Soviet straightjacket' threatens us with World War III. In other words, slaves should accept their fate."

Page 17, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

The Reagan statement is wholly inaccurate. It is a gross distortion of fact, to ascribe such views to Mr. Sonnenfeldt or to the Ford Administration. Not a single person in the Ford Administration has ever expressed any such belief.

The U.S. does not accept a sphere of influence of any country, anywhere, and emphatically rejects a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

Two Presidents have visited in Eastern Europe; there have been two visits to Poland and Romania and Yugoslavia, by Presidents. Administration officials have made repeated visits to Eastern Europe, on every trip to symbolize and to make clear to these countries that the U.S. is interested in working with them and that it does not accept or act upon the exclusive dominance of any one country in that area.

At the same time, the U.S. does not want to give encouragement to an uprising that might lead to enormous suffering. The United States does not accept the dominance of any one country anywhere.

Yugoslavia was mentioned, for example. The Ford Administration would emphatically consider it a very grave matter if outside forces were to attempt to intervene in the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia. The U.S. welcomes Eastern European countries developing more in accordance with their national traditions, and we will cooperate with them. This is the policy of the United States, and there is no "Sonnenfeldt" doctrine.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
THE HELSINKI PACT

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Why did the President travel halfway 'round the world to sign the Helsinki Pact, putting our stamp of approval on Russia's enslavement of the captive nations?"

We gave away the freedom of millions of people -- freedom that was not ours to give."

Page 16, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

Again, candidate Reagan has distorted the facts for emotional impact. President Ford stated clearly on July 25 that "the United States has never recognized the Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and is not doing so now. Our official policy of non-recognition is not affected by the results of the European Security Conference."

President Ford went to Helsinki along with the Chiefs of State or heads of government of all our Western allies and, among others, a Papal Representative, to sign a document which contains Soviet commitments to greater respect for human rights, self-determination of peoples, and expanded exchanges and communication throughout Europe. Basket three of the Act calls for a freer flow of people and ideas among all the European nations.

The Helsinki Act, for the first time, specifically provides for the possibility of peaceful change of borders when that would correspond to the wishes of the peoples concerned.

And the Helsinki document itself states that no occupation or acquisition of territory by force will be recognized as legal.

(17)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PANAMA CANAL

The Reagan Rhetoric

"The Canal Zone is not a colonial possession. It is not a long-term lease. It is sovereign U.S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the states that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase. We should end those negotiations (on the Panama Canal) and tell the General; We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it."

Page 15, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

It is not certain whether the Reagan rhetoric on the Panama Canal Zone best displays his ignorance--or his frequent distortion of the facts for political gain. What is certain is that Mr. Reagan's view that the Canal Zone is "sovereign U.S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the states that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase" is absolutely incorrect.

The United States did not buy the Canal Zone from Panama for \$10 million in 1903. Instead, this country bought certain rights which Panama then granted--rights to run the Canal Zone as if it were U.S. territory, subjecting Panamanians to U.S. law and police in a strip of land through the middle of their country.

Neither is the Canal Zone sovereign U.S. territory. The original treaty does not give sovereignty to the U.S. but only rights the U.S. would exercise as "if it were sovereign." The 1936 treaty refers to the Canal Zone as Panamanian territory under U.S. jurisdiction. Legal scholars have been clear on this for three-quarters of an century. Unlike children born in the United States, for example, children born in the Canal Zone are not automatically citizens of the United States.

Candidate Reagan's rhetoric aggravates an already difficult situation. In 1964, anti-American riots in the Canal area took 26 lives. Since that time, negotiations between the United States and Panama on the Canal have been pursued by three successive American Presidents. The purpose of these negotiations is to protect our national security, not diminish it.

FOREIGN AFFAIRSTHE U.S. ROLEThe Reagan Rhetoric

"Now we must ask if someone is giving away our own freedom. Dr. Kissinger is quoted as saying that he thinks of the U.S. as Athens and the Soviet Union as Sparta. "The day of the U.S. is past and today is the day of the Soviet Union." And he added, "...My job as Secretary of State is to negotiate the most acceptable second-best position available."

Page 16, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

Candidate Reagan's so-called quotes from Secretary Kissinger are a total and irresponsible fabrication. He has never said what Mr. Reagan attributes to him, or anything like it.

In a March 23, 1976 press conference in Dallas, Secretary Kissinger said: "I do not believe that the United States will be defeated. I do not believe that the United States is on the decline."

"I believe that the United States is essential to preserve the security of the free world and for any progress in the world that exists."

"In a period of great national difficulty, of the Viet-Nam war, of Watergate, of endless investigations, we have tried to preserve the role of the United States as that major actor. And I believe that to explain to the American people that the policy is complex, that our involvement is permanent, and that our problems are nevertheless soluble, is a sign of optimism and of confidence in the American people rather than the opposite."

GOVERNMENT GROWTH & FEDERAL TAXES

The Reagan Rhetoric

"Then came a White House proposal for a \$28 billion tax cut, to be matched by a \$28 billion cut in the proposed spending -- not in the present spending, but in the proposed spending in the new budget. Well, my question then and my question now is, if there was \$28 billion in the new budget that could be cut, what was it doing there in the first place?"

Page 3, paragraph 3

"They could ... correct a great unfairness that now exists in our tax system. Today, when you get a cost-of-living pay raise-- one that just keeps you even with purchasing power-- it often moves you up into a higher tax bracket. This means you pay a higher percentage in tax but you reduce your purchasing power. Last year, because of this inequity, the government took in \$7 billion in undeserved profit in the income tax alone, and this year they'll do even better."

Page 4, paragraph 2

The Ford Record

President Ford has submitted a budget for FY '77 which will curb the growth in Federal expenditures -- proposing a \$28 billion cut in existing programs, not a reduction in the proposed budget as candidate Reagan would have the public believe. The President has called for this spending cut to be tied to a tax cut which would return to a family of four earning \$15,000 a year approximately \$227 more in take-home pay -- and which would give businesses some incentive to create jobs.

The President's tax proposals for individuals have several key features:

- an increase in the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1000.
- substitution of a single standard deduction-- \$2,500 for married couples filing jointly and \$1,800 for single taxpayers -- for the existing low income allowance and percentage standard deduction.
- a reduction in individual income tax rates.

President Ford's proposals to increase the inheritance tax exemption from \$60,000 to \$150,000, and his proposal to stretch out the Federal estate tax payment period for farms and small businesses, will help to keep farms and small business in the family after years of hard work.

And, to help businessmen create jobs, the President has proposed:

- permanent reductions in corporate income taxes;
- a permanent increase in the investment tax credit;
- accelerated depreciation for construction of plants and equipment in high unemployment areas;
- broadened incentives to encourage stock ownership by low and middle income working Americans.

The President's budget and tax measures have already meant more jobs for American workers, the slashing of inflation, and the growth of real take-home pay. His effort to curb the growth of government -- and to return control to the individual -- has already, and will continue to return dollars to the American worker.

NATIONAL DEFENSEThe Reagan Rhetoric

"The Soviet Army outnumberers ours more than two-to-one and in reserves four-to-one. They out-spend us on weapons by 50%. Their Navy outnumberers ours in surface ships and submarines two-to-one. We are outgunned in artillery three-to-one and their tanks outnumber ours four-to-one. Their strategic nuclear missiles are larger, more powerful and more numerous than ours. The evidence mounts that we are Number Two in a world where it is dangerous, if not fatal, to be second best."

Page 16, paragraph 1

The Ford Record

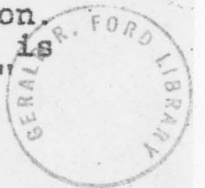
In January of this year, President Ford submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget for the Department of Defense in the history of the United States--\$112 billion, \$700 million. He has assured the American people that "the United States is going to be number one, as it is, in our national security" as long as he is President.

Candidate Reagan conveniently neglects to mention that our strategic forces are superior to the Soviets'. The United States holds numerous advantages over the Soviet Union, including the following:

- Our missile warheads have tripled and we lead the Soviets in missile warheads by more than two-to-one.
- Our missiles are twice as accurate and more survivable.
- We have a three-to-one lead in the number of strategic bombers.
- We are proceeding with the development and production of the world's most modern strategic bomber, the B-1.
- We are developing the world's most modern and lethal missile launching submarine, the Trident.
- We are developing a new large ICBM.

National defense is more than a numbers game, and candidate Reagan's rhetoric indicates a disturbingly shallow grasp of what true balance is all about. It is absolutely meaningless to say the Soviet Army is twice the size of the U.S. Army when one considers that one million of their troops are deployed on the Chinese border.

Candidate Reagan also ignores that we are at the head of a great Alliance system in Europe, and we are firmly tied to the strongest



President Ford is the one responsible for reversing the recent trend of shrinking defense budgets in which a Democratic Congress has made \$37 billion in cuts during the past seven years.

Mr. Reagan's short-sighted, politically motivated statements that proclaim that our nation is "in danger" are both factually irresponsible and potentially damaging to this country. They alarm our people, confuse our allies, and invite our adversaries to seek new foreign adventures.

SOCIAL SECURITYThe Reagan Rhetoric

"Now, let's look at Social Security. Mr. Ford says he wants to 'preserve the integrity of Social Security.' Well, I differ with him on one word. I would like to restore the integrity of Social Security. Those who depend on it see a continual reduction in their standards of living. Inflation strips the increase in their benefits. The maximum benefit today buys 80 fewer loaves of bread than it did when that maximum payment was only \$85 a month. In the meantime, the Social Security payroll tax has become the most unfair tax any worker pays. Women are discriminated against. Particularly, working wives. And, people who reach Social Security age and want to continue working, should be allowed to do so and without losing their benefits. I believe a Presidential commission of experts should be appointed to study and present a plan to strengthen and improve Social Security while there's still time--so that no person who has contributed to Social Security will ever lose a dime."

Page 4, paragraph 3

The Ford Record

The statement that the "maximum benefit today buys 80 fewer loaves than it did when the maximum benefit was only \$85 a month" implies that the purchasing power of Social Security payments has declined substantially. In fact, the average benefit has almost tripled in terms of the amount it can buy from that time in 1940 when the benefit was \$85.

It was President Ford who first recognized inflation as the single greatest threat to the quality of life for older Americans. As a result, his budget request to Congress for fiscal year 1977 included a full cost-of-living increase in Social Security benefits in order to maintain the purchasing power of 32 million older Americans.

Rather than add to government bureaucracy a "Presidential commission of experts" to re-study the complex problem, as candidate Reagan suggests, the President has taken immediate action by requesting legislation to maintain the fiscal integrity of the Social Security Trust Fund. President Ford has proposed an increase in payroll taxes of three tenths of one per cent for both employers and employees so that future Social Security payments will not exceed revenues.

And, beyond merely strengthening the Social Security system, and fighting inflation, President Ford has proposed coverage of catastrophic illness--with a ceiling of \$750 on medical expenditures.

file

~~Report~~

REAGAN 30 min TV Speech

Strong → weaker

1) Economics in speech strongest part /
Govt.

- Bread + butter economics
- cost of living + govt.
- Cong. cost of living may increase
- govt. does nothing for those not in govt
- unnecessary govt. exps
- social security financing
- govt. waste
- reduce govt. + cut taxes

2) + 3)

• miscellaneous (incl gun control,
housing, energy,

• govt. spending / deficit causing
unempl. + inflation.



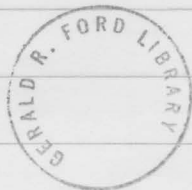
3+4) • Patriotism

• RR solved Calif problems

5) military power + foreign policy
lt AIC

most favorable reaction: tied ciling
economy to govt. in Washington
- govt pre-occupied w/ own
interests rather than protecting
common man.

Military sector most neutral
because of off-set: some
very favorable - some very unfavorable.



PRETEST - POST-TEST RESULTS



Overall Results

Both President Ford and Ronald Reagan were evaluated favorably at the pre- and post-test. Evaluations made by this mixed group of Republicans and Independents rate the two Republican candidates for President as similar on most qualities. Changes in the evaluations of the two men from the pre-viewing situation to the post-viewing situation were modest but significant.

Overall, President Ford received lower evaluations on the post-test than on the pretest for 11 of the 12 qualities measured. While only 3 were statistically significant in and of themselves, lower ratings on 11 of 12 scales is itself a significant loss in voter evaluation. (See Figure 1.) The opposite outcome occurred for Ronald Reagan. All 12 post-test scores were more favorable than were the pretest scores. While only 4 scales were significant by themselves the overall shift in the profile toward the favorable end of the continuum is significant. (See Figure 2.)

The negative change in the evaluations of Ford and the positive change in the evaluations of Reagan has reversed the positions of the two men in the minds of the respondents. (See Figures 3 and 4.) While people could readily evaluate the two candidates, neither man had a strong, stable image perception. Thus the input of political information caused a ready change in the evaluations of

the men. Had President Ford evoked a stronger, more discriminating evaluation from Ronald Reagan, the impact of the Reagan program on the perception of Ford's personal qualities would have been substantially reduced.

Generally, how do you feel about President Ford/Ronald Reagan?

- (1) Strongly approve
- (2) Approve
- (3) Not sure
- (4) Disapprove
- (5) Strongly disapprove

Mean Responses for 62 Respondents

	<u>Pretest</u>	<u>Post-test</u>
Ford	2.74	2.81
Reagan	3.31	2.95 ^a

^a Difference between Pretest and Post-test scores for Reagan is significant at .05. Lower score indicates more favorable response.

President Ford was favorably evaluated in both pre- and post-test, although the evaluation is very weak. He did lose some ground in the post-test rating but the difference is not statistically significant.

Ronald Reagan was unfavorably evaluated in the pretest, although again the strength of the evaluation is weak. After viewing of the program, Reagan improved his evaluation significantly. Although the improvement shifted Reagan into a positive general evaluation, his post-test position is still less favorable than that of President Ford.



RESPONSE SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Dimensions of the Speech

Factor Analysis of the time segments of the program reveals that viewers psychologically divide the speech into six distinct segments. These divisions were not a priori decisions of the investigators, rather they arose from the analysis as respondents reacted in consistent ways within each segment. The divisions mark the perceived themes of the program and so will be discussed as separate segments.

For each segment of the program, a mean evaluation score is assigned to represent the average rating (based on the choice of 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree offered by the response system) given to the 25-second intervals within that program segment. (The range of evaluations within any given segment are available for inspection in Table 2 of the appendix.) The mean scores for the program dimensions range from 3.2 (slightly more favorable than a neutral response) to 3.7 (a response indicating agreement with that segment).

Dimension 5 (bread-and-butter economics) was rated significantly more favorable than the other dimensions described below, although all segments of the program received favorable evaluations. The context of the six dimensions, their time commitment within the program and mean evaluations are described below.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Dimension 1. (Mean = 3.3; approximately 4 minutes) An Appeal to patriotism and love of country. Glorifies the past development of the country (claimed to be) without government controls. Says the country can be great again if government control is ended. Includes an appeal to religious belief that the country is destined by God to be a great nation.

Dimension 2. (Mean = 3.2; approximately 10 minutes) Concerned with military power and foreign affairs. Criticizes policy in Angola, relations with China, Hanoi, Cuba, Panama, criticizes détente and a change of policy toward Israel. Says U.S. should "get tough" and increase military strength. U.S. should not accept No. 2 position in the world as advocated by Kissinger.

Dimension 3. (Mean = 3.3; approximately 5 minutes) Primarily self praise on how Reagan solved the problems of the State of California. Condemns "bureaucracy" and argues that those who are a part of the Washington Establishment cannot solve the nation's problems because they are part of the problem.

Dimension 4. (Mean = 3.4; approximately 3.7 minutes) Contains miscellaneous issues including brief comments on inflation, unemployment, economic recovery, busing, gun control, and oil imports. While these issues form other dimensions, the references here appear to be passing comment in the middle of other, longer statements, and as such they appear to cluster together much as a function of not being integral to anything else.

Dimension 5. (Mean = 3.7; approximately 4.6 minutes) Bread-and-butter economics with a touch of populism. Stresses cost of living and government. Notes Congressional cost of living pay increases, and argues the government does nothing for those not in government. Among problems cited are Social Security financing and cost-benefits, unnecessary government reports, and government waste. Appeal for reduction in government operations, tax cuts for the public.

Dimension 6. (Mean = 3.4; approximately 2.5 minutes) Cites government spending and deficit budgets as the cause of inflation and unemployment. Calls for spending reductions and tax cuts.

While mean evaluations for all six dimensions fall within a rather narrow, slightly favorable range, two dimensions appear worthy of further discussion. Dimension 5, concentrating on bread-and-butter economic issues, received the most favorable evaluations of all segments within the program. Reagan's discussion here touched most viewers in a very strongly favorable light. It is worth noting that while economics is a strong theme throughout various points in the program, most favorable reactions resulted when he tied the ailing economy to the government in Washington, claiming in particular, a pre-occupation of government with its own interests rather than protecting the interests of the common man. This finding reinforces one's suspicions that running against the Washington Establishment has been a highly successful campaign tactic in the primaries thus far. It is through this argument that Reagan was best able to unite the opinion of the viewers behind him.

Dimension 2 deserves some discussion here as national security was touted as one of the major themes of the program. This segment of the broadcast received the most neutral mean evaluation at 3.2. Further examination of this segment within the various response types reveals that the groups were split in their reactions toward this portion of the program with two groups reacting very favorably toward his discussion, two groups reacting very negatively, and one having no noticeable response. Thus while the loss in military superiority argument does gain him ground among some voters, that gain is offset by losses with others resulting in the essentially neutral mean score. Recalling the post-test improvements in Reagan's evaluations, one must conclude that other parts of the speech offered enough positive evaluations of Mr. Reagan's stance to offset any negatively perceived portion

The mean score for each 25-second interval is graphed in Figure 1. These evaluations are the average of all respondents and so quite often hover around the neutral point as strong negative reactions offset the strong positive reaction to the same time interval. However, it is significant to note that the average remains on the agree side of the scale consistently throughout the program. This would indicate the overall acceptability of Reagan's discussion by the aggregate, resulting in the favorable post-viewing evaluations. Individual differences, however, provide significant insight into the program differentiating "true" neutral responses from neutral responses which result from aggregation of polar extreme ratings.

Response Types

The factor analysis isolated five basic response groups among the 62 respondents, people who responded to the program in similar ways. There were no significant differences among types in terms of age, sex, interest in politics, approval of Ford, or a number of other questions. (Tables 2-5) This lack of typical differentiation on the basis of standard criteria is not unusual since the types are created as a function of the respondents' reactions to the speech rather than first making arbitrary classifications and then determining if there are differences among the a priori groups.

The complete response pattern of each of the five groups is given in Figure 6. By comparing the response pattern with the text of the program, which has been marked in the 25-second intervals, one can compare any point in the program with each response type's evaluations. (Scores exceeding a value of +1.0 should be interpreted as strongly favorable, while scores in excess of -1.0 should be translated as strongly unfavorable. As one might well expect, most scores fall between that range.) In outlining the typical evaluations of the broadcast, three sources of information provide the capacity for interpretation of the response patterns: the individual time periods which are rated as strongly favorable or strongly unfavorable, the major response pattern changes for each type and the overall trend of responses throughout the program.

There were only four points during the program when all groups held essentially the same feelings about what was being said. The first of those consensus

periods occurs at Time 1, producing a strong negative reaction from all groups. This time period refers to the opening seconds of the broadcast in which Mr. Reagan requests the attention of the audience. The unanimous negative response at this early point in the show is indicative of the general reaction of many people to any political broadcast, rather than a comment on Mr. Reagan himself. Given the option, as one is when viewing at home, many people would have probably switched the program off. But it is interesting to note that this negative reaction does not persist for any of the groups as differential reactions occur soon afterward.

The second point of consensus for the five groups is encountered at Time 10 when Mr. Reagan begins his discussion of Washington limited economic concern with self rather than the common man. If one examines Figure 6, the neutral rating of Time 10 is revealed as a consequence of the fact that all five groups are in transition to a substantial movement in opinion. Its neutral character is more a reflection of the particular time at which the responses were collected than a true agreement that this interval in the speech evokes no response.

The final two consensus scores came at Times 41 and 42 and approached a strong favorable level at 0.71 and 0.95 respectively. These two time periods refer to a discussion by Reagan of big government in Washington and the fact that it constantly grows contrary to the promises of the officials at work there. The unity of the five groups in their agreement with Mr. Reagan in his plea against big government points again to the wide acceptance of an anti-Washington stance among the electorate.

Type I

Sixteen of the 62 respondents are in Type I. These respondents can be characterized as largely Independents with a strong interest in national politics. They rated 12 time periods as strongly favorable with those portions of the program clustered around the themes of Congress providing for the people rather than self, reform in Social Security taxes, in welfare and through the efforts of the people because they maintain a belief in the greatness of Americans.

Strong negative evaluations were expressed in reference to Reagan's opening comments, his argument that inflation must be controlled as spending is the cause of all other economic woes, and three national security problems: making friends with the Communists who should be our enemies, retention of the Panama Canal and the reference to Kissinger and his analogy of the United States in a second-best position. Type I, though starting with strong negative reactions, expressed consistently strong positive reactions to the economic aspects of the broadcast, consistently negative evaluations of all references to the issue of national security and returned to positive rating when Mr. Reagan appealed to one's sense of patriotism and love of country. This group's reactions fall into three categories of content -- economic problems, national security and patriotism. Their most extreme responses were the negative ratings of Reagan's national security discussion. If these voters could be demographically differentiated more sharply, one would have well-defined areas of issue stance upon which appeals would be appropriate.

Type II

Twenty of the 62 respondents are in Type II. They are largely Independents who believe in the importance of military strength and have the most unfavorable approval rating of Mr. Reagan while being much more positive in their feelings toward President Ford. The portions of the program with which they were in strong agreement are inflation as the cause of economic problems, government spending, busing and Social Security.

Strongly unfavorable reactions occurred in response to his request to the audience for their attention, his discussion of his experience as Governor of California, his criticism of Ford in the Helsinki pact agreement, and his own reasons for wanting to be President. These negative ratings are reinforced by similar reactions in the major pattern changes which are negative. This group became significantly more unfavorable to the program when Reagan criticized Ford's experience as a congressman and member of the Washington establishment, the spending of Congress as it is tied to the White House and the practical gun control in California.

Type II, while agreeing with Mr. Reagan's position on several issues, disliked his attacks on Ford. They re-emphasized their negative feelings toward Reagan by unfavorable responses whenever he referred to his personal goals and accomplishments. They conclude the program with a strong negative feeling towards Reagan.



Type III

This group is composed of nine respondents, whose major distinguishing features are their negative approval ratings of Ford in the areas of economics and foreign policy, although in general, give President Ford higher ratings than Mr. Reagan. This is the most active of the five groups in terms of their total changes in responses of substantial magnitude throughout the program.

Favorable reactions occur in response to Reagan's concern that Congress should care for all of us rather than just itself, self-sufficiency in energy production, government by the people and the need for American military superiority. They disagree that federal government should be weakened to strengthen state and local government. The group reacts negatively to the arguments against losing the Canal Zone, for inflation as the cause of recession and unemployment and any references to God and his purpose for this country.

There is no overall trend to the reactions of this group. They take each statement as Reagan's position and react independently, rather than building a consistent set of responses throughout a content area. These people weigh each issue and its arguments in making evaluation of the presentation. Their discriminating manner makes them unwilling to commit themselves quickly to a stable position. These subjects may well be characterized as the uncommitted voter who decides his vote intention quite late in the campaign, perhaps more the result of their last information rather than any cumulative effect.

Type IV

There are nine respondents who constitute this typology. They are composed of Independents who are the least interested in national politics of all groups. They have the lowest rating of Ford of all groups at 3.0, the only group not to register a favorable response toward him in general. The general feeling of this group toward Reagan is slightly unfavorable.

Positive responses of this group were in reference to government spending in relation to deficit budgets, Social Security tax, government by the people as practiced in California with task forces of citizens, welfare, housing, the busing issue and Ford's participation in the Helsinki pact. Unfavorable reactions to the speech are limited. They held to the initial negative evaluation response until Mr. Reagan began to get into the full economic issue discussion. The criticism of energy legislation provoked a sharp negative response by this group. To a substantially greater extent than all other types, this group rated the final section of the speech, Dimension 1, very unfavorably. As a result, the broadcast ends with this group on an extremely negative note. However, a quite substantial portion of their responses fell into the positive area, indicative of an overall favorable impression of the broadcast.

Type V

The final eight respondents are the basis of Type V. They are the only group with more males than females and more Republicans than Independents. As with all other groups, the initial feelings toward Reagan were slightly negative, while Ford's ratings were slightly positive. They are the only group who did not rate military strength as important. Type V was the least active of the groups in making strong, rapid changes in evaluations. Their movement in rating the program was slow and of a cumulative action, suggesting one should examine the trend of responses here.

This group began very negatively in their evaluations and it was well into Mr. Reagan's economic arguments that they moved from an unfavorable rating to only a neutral response. The responses maintain a constancy around the neutral point until Reagan's discussion of his experience as Governor of California when the evaluation drops to an extremely negative position. Gradually, the responses turn toward the more positive with strong positive ratings on the discussion of busing, gun control, big government and national security as a general problem. All specific references to national security issues received little more than neutral responses. The final segment of the speech, Dimension 1 in the previous analysis, received very favorable ratings with the final position as most positive of all groups.

Type V has few strong reactions in the program. Their slow movement from the negative side of evaluation in the first half of the program to a consistently positive in the second half indicates a reaction to Mr. Reagan overriding any content differences. As these voters are gradually moved to a more favorable position for Mr. Reagan, his style, rather than issues, are the deciding factor

TABLE 2

Number of Males and Females in Each Type

	Type					Total
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	
Males	7	9	3	3	5	27
Females	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>35</u>
Totals	16	20	9	9	8	62

No significant difference among groups

TABLE 3

Party Preference by Response Type

	Type					Total
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	
Republican	4	7	4	1	5	21
Independent	10	13	5	6	3	37
Democrat	1	0	0	0	0	1
All other	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
Totals	16	20	9	9	8	62

No significant difference among groups



TABLE 4

Age by Response Type

	Type					Total
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	
Under 25	7	9	3	4	4	27
25 up	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>35</u>
Totals	16	20	9	9	8	62

No significant difference among groups

TABLE 5

Means for Control Items for Typal Differentiation

	Means for Response Groups				
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
Interest in national politics	1.38	1.55	1.44	1.89	1.63
Approve Ford handling job	2.75	2.60	2.89	2.89	2.88
Approve Ford economics	3.38	2.70	3.89	3.22	2.75
Approve Ford foreign policy	2.75	2.80	3.56	3.22	2.75
Approve Ford	2.75	2.60	2.67	3.00	2.50
Approve Reagan	3.13	3.35	3.11	3.33	3.25
Military strength	2.25	2.15	2.11	2.56	3.13

No significant differences among groups



SUMMARY OF GROUP RESPONSES

GROUP I	<u>Strongly Favorable Responses</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable Responses</u>
	"Congress should provide for the people instead of itself"	"I want to speak to all on the
	"Social Security taxes should be reformed"	"Inflation is cause of economic problems"
	"Citizen groups can improve government"	"Should not make friends with Communist countries"
	"Welfare reform can be accomplished"	"Should not give up Panama Canal"
	"We are a great people"	"Kissinger says we're No. 2"
		"Peace should come from military superiority"
GROUP II	"Inflation is cause of economic problems"	"I want to speak to all on the
	"Congress should provide for the people instead of itself"	"My experience as Governor of California"
	"Social Security taxes should be reformed"	"Ford signed away freedom in H"
	"Forced busing is wrong"	"In response to little girl, I to be President to make our country free"
		"Ford's experience as a Congressman was limited"
		"Practical gun control worked California"

SUMMARY OF GROUP RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

GROUP III	<u>Strongly Favorable Responses</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable Responses</u>
	"Congress should provide for the people instead of itself"	"Washington has taken over state local jobs"
	"We were going to become self-sufficient in energy"	"Should not give up Panama Canal"
	"Citizen groups can improve government"	"Inflation is cause of economic problems"
	"We're second in military weapons"	"Federal interference in busing"
	"Restore American superiority in the military"	"Federal interference in education"
		"Busing is wrong"
		"God has a divine purpose for us"
		"Make this country as God intended it to be"
GROUP IV	"Cannot build lasting economy with large national debt"	"I want to speak to all on the issue"
	"Social Security taxes are unfair"	"Congress and President enacted energy legislation"
	"Citizen groups can improve government"	"We are a great people"
	"Government by the people through task forces"	"God had a divine purpose for us"
	"Welfare system is failing"	"In response to little girl, I want to be President to make courts free"
	"Federal interference in housing and busing"	"Make this country what God meant to be"
	"Busing is wrong"	
	"Ford signed away freedom in Helsinki"	

SUMMARY OF GROUP RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

GROUP V

Strongly Favorable Responses

"Forced busing is wrong"
"Gun control won't work as is"
"Big government is a problem"
"Communism threatens us"
"We are a great people"
"God had divine purpose for us"
"In response to little girl,
I want to be President to
make the country free"

Strongly Unfavorable Responses

"I want to talk to you about the
issues"
"Things aren't improving economi"
"My experience as Governor of
California"

TABLE 1

Mean Semantic Differential Ratings*

	Ford		Reagan	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Intelligent-Unintelligent	3.34	3.45 ^d	3.23	2.79 ^d
Bold-Timid	3.84 ^c	3.91 ^d	2.44 ^c	2.45 ^d
Honest-Dishonest	2.68 ^c	2.82	3.44 ^c	3.24
Decisive-Indecisive	3.92 ^c	3.89 ^d	2.97 ^{bc}	2.52 ^{bd}
Safe-Dangerous	2.97 ^c	3.19 ^d	4.23 ^c	3.81 ^d
In Touch-Out of Touch	3.37	3.64	3.68	3.39
Just-Unjust	2.86 ^{ac}	3.18 ^a	3.52 ^c	3.37
Concerned-Indifferent	2.83	3.03	2.82	2.71
Straight Forward-Evasive	3.21	3.45	3.51 ^b	3.11 ^b
Sincere-Insincere	3.02	3.10	3.31	3.23
Competent-Incompetent	3.47	3.61	3.66 ^b	3.21 ^b
Trustworthy-Untrustworthy	2.65 ^{ac}	3.14 ^a	3.53 ^c	3.26
Strong-Weak	3.60 ^c	3.76 ^d	2.90 ^{bc}	2.66 ^{bd}
Leader-Follower	3.57 ^c	3.96 ^d	2.83 ^c	2.71 ^d
Informed-Uninformed	3.10 ^a	3.37 ^a	3.34	3.27

* Lower scores indicate more favorable ratings, range = 1-7.

^a Difference between pre and posttest means for Ford are significant at at least the .05 level.

^b Difference between pre and posttest means for Reagan are significant at at least the .05 level.

^c Difference between pretest means for Ford and Reagan are significant at at least the .05 level.

^d Difference between posttest means for Ford and Reagan are significant at at least the .05 level.

