

The original documents are located in Box D03, folder “Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Reports on Reagan Advertising” of the President Ford Committee Campaign Records at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1825 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-0950

FEBRUARY 17, 1976

TO: BO CALLAWAY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER
SUBJECT: REAGAN MEDIA SPENDING

We have estimated Ronald Reagan's media spending for New Hampshire and Florida(attached).

A couple of observations:

1. Reagan is outspending the PFC in both states by a 2:1 dollar ratio.
2. Generally speaking, he is running his paid schedules longer at significantly higher levels of pressure.
3. The primary difference appears in the use of television -- although Reagan is spending more than the PFC in radio, the biggest difference is in the area of his television weight.

Although these data are strictly estimates based on conversations with station representatives, I think it's fair to say that the Reagan paid media effort is just about twice the dollar value of what we are executing on behalf of the President.

Although these estimates will not be specifically relevant to state spending limitation questions (because they are only estimates), these data indicate things to watch for as the formal spending reports are filed.

Please let me know if you wish to discuss.

Attachments

cc: Pete Dailey Bob Moot
Stu Spencer Bob Visser
Bob Marik
Peter Kaye
George Karalekas
Dawn Sibley
Clayton Wilhite
John Vinson
Ed deBolt
Fred Slight



COMPARISON OF REAGAN VS. FORD MEDIA ACTIVITY
EFFECTIVE STATE #'S

| | <u>New Hampshire</u> | | <u>Florida</u> | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| <u>Medium</u> | <u>FORD</u> | <u>REAGAN</u> | <u>FORD</u> | <u>REAGAN</u> |
| <u>Television</u> | | | | |
| Dates | 2/10-2/23 | 1/26-2/23 | 2/10-3/8 | 2/3-3/7 |
| # Weeks | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| # Mkts. | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| Est. GRP's wk | 100-200 | 200-350 | 150-200 | 200-350 |
| Total Budget | \$3870 | \$11,083 | \$80,000 | \$165,971 |
| <u>Radio</u> | | | | |
| Dates | 2/3-2/23 | 1/26-2/23* | 2/10-3/8 | 2/2-3/8 |
| # Weeks | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| # Mkts. | 20 | 19 | 10 | 10 |
| # Stations | 25 | 25 | 52 | 53 |
| # Spots Sta. | 30-36 | 36 | 24-30 | 36 |
| Total Budget | \$10,432 | \$27,149 | \$83,000 | \$111,968 |
| <u>Newspapers</u> | | | | |
| Time | Feb. | Jan. | Mar. | - |
| Size | Pg. B&W | 1200 lines | Pg. B&W | - |
| Cost | \$4467 | \$600 | \$24,000 | - |
| <u>Total Spending</u> | \$18,769 | \$38,832 | \$192,000 | \$277,939 |

* Mass. radio spill-in began 1/20.

REAGAN - EFFECTIVE STATE DOLLARS

New Hampshire:

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| TV: | \$11,083 |
| Radio: | 27,149 |
| Newsp Current: | <u>600</u> |
| | \$38,832 |

if a Newsp. Drop
possible \$5,000 addt'l.

Florida:

| | |
|--------|----------------|
| TV: | \$165,971 |
| Radio: | <u>111,968</u> |
| | \$277,939 |

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1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

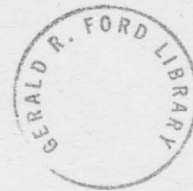
FEBRUARY 18, 1976

TO: BO CALLAWAY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER
SUBJECT: REAGAN MEDIA SPENDING

Attached are further breakdowns on Reagan's media spending for New Hampshire and Florida.

Attachments

cc: Peter Kaye
Stu Spencer
Bob Marik
George Karalekas
Dawn Sibley
Clayton Wilhite
John Vinson
Ed deBolt
Fred Slight
Bob Moot
Bob Visser✓



2/16/76

SPOT & SPOT RADIO MARKET LISTNEW HAMPSHIRE AND FLORIDA

| <u>New Hampshire</u> | <u>TV</u> | | <u>Radio</u> | |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | <u>Ford</u> | <u>Reagan</u> | <u>Ford</u> | <u>Reagan</u> |
| Boston | X | X | X | X |
| Manchester | X | X | X | X |
| Portland/Poland Springs/X Mt. Washington | | X | X | X |
| Manchester | | | X | X |
| Dover | | | X | X |
| Portsmouth | | | X | X |
| Concord | | | X | X |
| Exeter | | | X | X |
| Nashua | | | X | X |
| Hanover | | | X | X |
| Littleton | | | X | X |
| Keene | | | X | X |
| Conway | | | X | X |
| Rochester | | | X | X |
| Laconia | | | X | X |
| Plymouth | | | X | X |
| Berlin | | | X | X |
| Franklin | | | X | X |
| Lebanon | | | X | X |
| Petersboro | | | X | |

| <u>Florida</u> | <u>TV</u> | | <u>Radio</u> | |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | <u>FORD</u> | <u>REAGAN</u> | <u>FORD</u> | <u>REAGAN</u> |
| Miami | X | X | X | X |
| Tampa | X | X | X | X |
| Orlando/Daytona Bch. | X | X | X | X |
| Jacksonville | X | X | X | X |
| Panama City | | X | | |
| West Palm Beach | X | | X | X |
| Mobile/Penscola | | X(62% spill out) | X | X |
| Tallahassee | | | X | X |
| Lakeland | | | X | X |
| Ft. Myers | | | X | X |
| Melborne | | | X | X |

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

~~1) The Reg I~~
2) D

March 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: STU SPENCER
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER *B*
SUBJECT: REAGAN MEDIA ACTIVITY

1.) Reliable reports indicate the Reagan campaign has severed their relationship with their media buying service, Ruth Jones, Ltd.

She say she "can't put up with their craziness anymore". *Source*

More to the point, they probably can't afford her services anymore. The Marc Ball agency (Trelavan's group) will handle spot placements as needed.

2.) Separately, Reagan has purchased the attached 30 minute television programming in Wisconsin. This is reasonably solid coverage on a one shot basis.

No :30 and :60 spots have been purchased as yet.

c.c. Peter Dailey
Peter Kaye
Bob Marik
Bob Moot
Rogers Morton
Fred Slight
✓ Bob Visser

Attachment



WISCONSIN

REAGAN 1/2 HOURS

ESTIMATED RATING

GREEN BAY

30 (both)

CBS

SAT 8:30 - 9:00

NBC

SAT 6:30 - 7:00

MILWAUKEE

10

WITI

FRI 10:05 - 10:35

WTMJ

WVTV

NOT ORDERED YET - POSSIBLE

MADISON

WISC

NO ORDER

WKOW

NO ORDER

18

WMTV

FRI 8:30 - 9:00

WAUSAU

27

WSOW

NO ORDER

WSAU

SAT 8:00 - 8:30

LA CROSSE/EAU CLAIRE

37

WEAU

FRI 6:30 - 7:00

WKBT

SAT 7:30 - 8:00

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 2, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: STU SPENCER
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER
SUBJECT: REAGAN RADIO COPY

The attached Reagan radio commercials were produced in Wisconsin last evening. They will be airing in Wisconsin over this weekend and are sponsored by the Wisconsin Citizens for Reagan.

The five minute spot is reported to be a "special" and not for general airing.

c.c. Tim Austin
Peter Dailey
Ed DeBolt
Roy Hughes
Peter Kaye
Rog Morton
Fred Slight
✓ Bob Visser



THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN PAID FOR BY WISCONSIN
CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, DON M. TAYLOR WAUKESHAU TREASURER.

ANNOUNCER: There are many questions Racine and Wisconsin voters must ask themselves before they go to the polls on April 6th. Many candidates, both Republican and Democrats, will be on your primary ballot seeking your vote for President. It will be a choice only you can make. However, there are some things that you should remember next Tuesday. Ronald Reagan has answered the questions Racine and Wisconsin voters have asked concerning the future of this country.

RR "All I can see is what other nations the world over, see: collapse of the American will and the retreat of American power. There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of detente until it sees that the American people have elected a new President. What do I offer the American people in place of the dillusion of detente? I offer them what I believe the truth, that all our concessions have not brought genuine peace any closer; that this nation must trust less in the preemptive concessions we're granting the Soviet Union and more in the reestablishment of American military superiority."

ANNOUNCER: Ronald Reagan has gladly and decisively stood up for the rights of the private citizen and local government.

RR: "Few quarrel with government aims when it sets out to help improve our lives but the target usually remains untouched in spite of the fact that they are using our money for ammunition. Surely

a government would turn to the private sector for help. I think they could find more imaginative solutions to this problem."

Ronald Reagan is not a Washington career politician. While serving as Governor of California, he maintained his Campaign pledge to streamline government.

RR "All of us grew up in an America that has some characteristics that seem to have been lost down through the years. Such things as the work ethic, the belief in reward for excellence, the idea there was no ceiling on what a person in this country could achieve if he was willing to go after it. But more and more there seems to be those that have decided we can't control our own destiny and that we must have an elite in the nation's Capitol make all the decisions for us. I believe this can be turned around.

ANNOUNCER: You have a decision to make on April 6th. Next Tuesday vote as if your future and that of your family's depended on that vote. Elect your President this time around. On Tuesday, vote Reagan. He's a winner, a proven winner. In California he ran for office twice in the nation's most popular state and was twice elected Governor by a wide margin and this is a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans better than 3 to 2. Republicans, Democrats, Independents, this Tuesday vote for Reagan.

THE PROCEEDING ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN PAID FOR BY WISCONSIN CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, DON M. TAYLOR WAUKESHAU TREASURER.

:60 RADIO (REAGAN)

ANNOUNCER: Ronald Reagan is the candidate that has spoken out on the issues that affect your wallet, your family's safety and your children's right to a decent education.

RR: "All of us grew up in an America that has some characteristics that seem to have been lost down through the years. Such things as the work ethic, the belief in reward for excellence and the idea that there was no ceiling on what a person in this country could achieve if he is willing to go after it. But more and more there seems to be those that have decided we can't control our own destiny and that we must have an elite in the nation's Capitol make all the decisions for us. I believe this can be turned around."

ANNOUNCER: You have a decision to make on April 6th. Next Tuesday vote as if your future and that of your family's depended on that vote. Elect your President this time around. This Tuesday vote Reagan.

THE PRECEEDING ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN PAID FOR BY WISCONSIN CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, DON M. TAYLOR WAUKESHAU TREASURER.

:60 RADIO (REAGAN)

ANNOUNCER: Ronald Reagan knows that the voters of Wisconsin are concerned with the course that the present administration has taken with our foreign policy.

RR "All I can see is what other nations the world over, see: collapse of the American will and the retreat of American power. There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of detente until it sees that the American people have elected a new President. What do I offer the American people in place of the delusion of detente? I offer them what I believe the truth, that all our concessions have not brought genuine peace any closer; that this nation must trust less in the preemptive concessions we're granting the Soviet Union, and more in the reestablishment of American military superiority."

ANNOUNCER: On Tuesday, vote for the strong new leadership America needs. Vote Reagan.

PRECEEDING ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN PAID FOR BY WISCONSIN CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, DON M. TAYLOR WAUKESHAU TREASURER.

:60 RADIO (REAGAN)

ANNOUNCER: Ronald Reagan is not a Washington career politician. Throughout his campaign Ronald Reagan has wisely and decisively stood up for the rights of the private citizen and local government.

RR: "We can no longer afford politics as usual; a time has come for those we send to Washington to stop thinking about the next election and start thinking about the next generation."

ANNOUNCER: Ronald Reagan believes that the American voters should have more control over the future of his country.

RR: "Few quarrel with government aims when it sets out to help improve our lives. But the target usually remains untouched inspite of the fact that they are using our money for ammunition. Surely a government would turn to the private sector for help I think they could find more imaginative solutions to this problem."

ANNOUNCER: Republicans, Democrats and Independents on Tuesday, vote for the strong new leadership America needs. Vote Reagan.

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CITIZENS FOR REAGAN. DON L. TAYLOR WAUKESHAU TREASURER.

WISCONSIN PRIMARYREAGAN ACTIVITY

Spot television: (as of 4/2- 3 p.m.)

| MARKET | STATION | ACTIVITY LENGTH | DETAILS | COST |
|--------------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| Milwaukee | WISN | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/4 Sun 1:30-2p | \$ 420 |
| | | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/3 Sat 7-8p | 900 |
| | WITI | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/2 Fri 11:05-11:35p | 1,000 |
| | WIMJ | Nothing Ordered | | |
| | WTV | Nothing Ordered | | |
| Green Bay | WBAY | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/3 Sat 8:30-9p | \$ 560 |
| | WFRV | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/3 Sat 6:30-7p | 450 |
| | WLUK | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/5 Mon 6:30-7p | 500 |
| Madison | WISC | Nothing Ordered | | |
| | WKOW | Nothing Ordered | | |
| | WMTV | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/2 Fri 8:30-9p | 350 |
| Wausau | WSAU | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/3 Sat 8-8:30p | 225 |
| | WAOW | Nothing Ordered | | |
| La Crosse- Eau Claire | WEAU | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/2 Fri 6:30-7p | 265 |
| | WKBT | $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. program | 4/3 Sat 7:30-8p | 530 |
| | WXOW | Nothing Ordered | | |

No 30' sec or 60' sec spots have been ordered as of yet.

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 28, 1976

File

MEMORANDUM TO: STU SPENCER
FROM: DAWN SIBLEY SS .
SUBJECT: REAGAN COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY

Attached is an updated report of Reagan's media activity in the upcoming primary states.

We will be forwarding this report to you on a regular basis, or whenever new information is available.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

cc: Mr. Morton
Mr. Hughes
Mr. Kaye
Mr. Slight
Mr. DeBolt
Mr. Visser
Mr. Ryan ✓



4/27/76

COMPETITIVE REPORT

STATE: TEXAS
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

| <u>MEDIUM</u> | <u>COMMERCIAL LENGTH</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>ESTIMATED TOTALS</u> | | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | | | <u>#WEEK</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPENDITURE</u> |
| TELEVISION | :30 | 4/17 | 2 | 18 | 350-400 GRP'S | 80,000 |
| | 1/2 HOUR | 4/20 | 2 | 18 | - | EST. 20,000 |
| RADIO | :60 | 4/17 | 2 | STATEWIDE | 36/STA/WK | <u>85,000</u> |
| | | | | | TOTAL EST: | \$185,000 |

UPDATE:

- 1) Reagan is trying to increase pressure as much as possible for the last week of the campaign, however, station's political limitation of availabilities are making it tough for him to get more time.
- 2) Other groups for Reagan such as the American Conservative Union and Delegates for Reagan have been turned down when they have requested time because Citizens for Reagan has already bought up the maximum time available.
- 3) Reagan has asked for availabilities on Spanish radio stations in Texas.

LATEST

Reagan cancelled radio activity on radio station in Ft. Worth -
reason: not enough money. Tracking this right now.

Who trying
to purchase
it now.

COMPETITIVE REPORT

4/27/76

STATE: INDIANA
CANDIDATE: REAGANI. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN - AGENCY: CARLSON & CO.ESTIMATED TOTALS

| <u>MEDIUM</u> | <u>COMMERCIAL LENGTH</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>#WEEKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPENDITURE</u> |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| TELEVISION | :30 & :60 | 4/16 | 2 1/2 | 6 (TOTAL STATE) | 350 GRP's | 65,000 |
| | 1/2 HOUR | 5/3 | 1 | 2 | LIGHT SO FAR | - |
| RADIO | :60 | 4/16 | 2 1/2 | STATEWIDE | 36/STA/WK | <u>68,000</u> |
| | | | | | | 133,000 |

UPDATE:

Reagan bought this market early; there have been no recent changes.

Like Ford, he is not utilizing the Chicago ADI TV stations to cover the state of Indiana.

COMPETITIVE REPORT

4/27/76

STATE: GEORGIA
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

| <u>MEDIUM</u> | <u>COMMERCIAL LENGTH</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>#WEEKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPENDITURE</u> |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| TELEVISION | 1/2 HOUR | 4/19 | 2 | 3 | 1-2 PER MKT. | - |
| | | | | (ALBANY) (COLUMBUS) (ATLANTA) | | |

UPDATE:

If Reagan adheres to his pattern of placing last minute activity just prior to primary date, an additional burst of half hour shows can be anticipated for the weekend of May 1st.

Avails were requested by Christiansfor Reagan in Atlanta, however, nothing was purchased.

4/27/76

COMPETITIVE REPORT

STATE: ALABAMA
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

| <u>MEDIUM</u> | <u>COMMERCIAL LENGTH</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>ESTIMATED TOTALS</u> | | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------|
| | | | <u>#WEEKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPEDITURE</u> |
| TELEVISION | 1/2 HOUR | 4/20 | 1 | BIRMINGHAM | 1 TIME + 5 :10 ID'S TO PROMOTE PROGRAM | - |

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D-
RR-
file

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Mr. Ryan



4/27/76

COMPETITIVE REPORT

STATE: TEXAS
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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4/27/76

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CANDIDATE: REAGANI. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN - AGENCY: CARLSON & CO.ESTIMATED TOTALS

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4/27/76

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CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | | | <u>#WEEKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPENDITURE</u> |
| TELEVISION | 1/2 HOUR | 4/19 | 2 | 3 | 1-2 PER MKT. | - |
| | | | | (ALBANY) (COLUMBUS) (ATLANTA) | | |

UPDATE:

If Reagan adheres to his pattern of placing last minute activity just prior to primary date, an additional burst of half hour shows can be anticipated for the weekend of May 1st.

Avails were requested by Christiansfor Reagan in Atlanta, however, nothing was purchased.

4/27/76

COMPETITIVE REPORT

STATE: ALABAMA
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

I. CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

| <u>MEDIUM</u> | <u>COMMERCIAL LENGTH</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>ESTIMATED TOTALS</u> | | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------|
| | | | <u>#WEEKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPEDITURE</u> |
| TELEVISION | 1/2 HOUR | 4/20 | 1 | BIRMINGHAM | 1 TIME + 5 :10 ID'S TO PROMOTE PROGRAM | - |

UPDATE:

If Reagan adheres to his pattern of placing last minute activity just prior to primary date, an additional burst of half hour shows can be anticipated for the weekend of May 1st.

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROGERS MORTON
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER ~~3~~
SUBJECT: REAGAN IN TEXAS

The Reagan copy line in Texas is:

For Texas,
the differences are clear,
the choice is clear.

Reagan.

Copy for a :30 television spot on Energy is attached.

c.c. Peter Dailey
Ed DeBolt
Roy Hughes
Peter Kaye
Dick Mastrangelo
Fred Slight
Stu Spencer
✓ Bob Visser

Attachment (1)



"TEXAS - ENERGY"

(:30 TELEVISION)

REAGAN: "Mr. Ford's energy policy is a disaster.

Prior to the Arab oil embargo, we imported only a fraction of our oil needs and yet, that embargo cost 1/2 million American's their jobs.

Now, we import more than 1/2 the energy supply we consume.

How many Texans will lose their jobs if there is another embargo?

How many Texas industries will have to shut down?

America needs energy independence, and the leadership to get it."

SUPER: "For Texas, the differences are clear.

The choice is clear.

Reagan."

D-1

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 29, 1976

MEMO TO: STU SPENCER
FROM: CLAYT WILHITE
SUBJECT: REAGAN RADIO - TEXAS

Attached for your information are transcripts of five Reagan :60 radio commercials being used in Texas.

Also attached is a comment by Reagan on the Merv Griffin Show in Dallas/Ft. Worth on Tuesday, April 27.

cc: Roy Hughes
Rogers Morton
Bob Visser
Fred Slight
Tim Ryan
Bruce Wagner
Peter Dailey



RONALD REAGAN
:60 RADIO

No other candidate in this year's Presidential Primary, Democrat or Republican, has ever won an election with as many votes as Ronald Reagan did when he was elected Governor of California. And he did it in a Democratic state. He received almost 3,000,000 votes, nearly a million more than his Democratic opponent. He repeated his victory four years later. Reagan, a proven winner. A proven leader.

REAGAN: "I believe that something has to be done to reverse the course this nation has been on. I believe that maybe it's time for people from outside of Washington, who are not a part of the family there, to go in, who are not bound by old friendships and old ties and who can go to work to reverse this course. And set us on the right course. I'd like very much to have your help in doing it. (applause)"

In Texas, the differences are clear, the choice is clear.
Ronald Reagan.

Paid for by Citizens for Reagan. Senator Paul Laxall, Chairman

REAGAN RADIO COMMERCIAL
:60

"There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of detente until it sees that the American people have elected a new President. What do I offer the American people in place of the delusions of detente? I offer them what I believe to be the truth: that all our smiles and concessions have not brought genuine peace any closer. The truth is that this nation must trust less in the pre-emptive concessions we are granting the Soviet Union, and more in the re-establishment of American military superiority. If Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger are wrong in their belief that Soviet ambitions have moderated so much that we no longer need to maintain military superiority, if they're wrong, there will be no future opportunities, no time, to correct their error ."

ANNOUNCER: For Texas the differences are clear. The choice is clear.
Ronald Reagan.

Paid for by Citizens for Reagan, Senator Paul Laxall, Chairman.

RONALD REAGAN
:60 Radio Texa

(Texas accent)

My name is Robert Milan, and I'm a Democrat. In the past I've supported for George Wallace. This year, for the first time in my life, I'm going to cross over and vote in the May 1 Republican Primary. It's now clear that George Wallace can't win his party's nomination. Ronald Reagan can. I want my vote to count this time around. Like Wallace, Reagan wants to give government back to the people, to cut our military spending and taxes, de-centralize welfare. He knows. that forced busing doesn't work. Reagan pleads that excessive government controls are weakening us in energy and agriculture. We're losing our position as the number one military power in the world. And Reagan can do something about it. But only if all conservatives, regardless of Party get behind him in the May 1 Republican Primary.

ANNOUNCER: The only way to make Governor Ronald Reagan President is to vote in the Republican Primary on Saturday May 1. For Texas the choice is clear. Ronald Reagan.

Paid for by Citizens for Reagan. Senator Paul Laxall, Chairman.

REAGAN RADIO COMMERCIAL :60
Texas

Saturday, May 1, is the Texas Republican Primary. For Texas the choice is clear. Ronald Reagan.

Reagan: "Mr. Ford's energy policy is a disaster. Prior to the Arab oil embargo, we imported only a fraction of our oil needs and yet, that embargo cost half a million Americans their job. Now, we import more than half of the energy supply we consume. Imagine how many Texans will lose jobs, how many industries will be forced to cut production or even shut down completely if there is another embargo. Where is the leadership we so desperately need? The energy bill Mr. Ford supported and signed into law, discourages exploration and cripples our nation's drive for energy self-sufficiency. Texas and the nation need energy independence and the leadership to get it.

The only way to make Governor Ronald Reagan is to vote in the Republican Primary on Saturday, May 1. For Texas, the differences are clear - the choice is clear. Ronald Reagan.

Paid for by Citizens for Reagan. Senator Paul Laxal, Chairman.

REAGAN :60 RADIO
TEXAS

My name is R. Miller Hicks and I am a Reagan delegate candidate for the Republican National Convention.

Governor Ronald Reagan is a winner. He is the only Republican conservative candidate that can win in November over any opponent. Governor Reagan won the governorship of California by over 1 million votes in a state where his Party was outnumbered 2 to 1. Let's face the facts: only Ronald Reagan

(TAPE INCOMPLETE)

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017, 697-5100

TAPE #F-3

RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

TRANS: 4/29/76

HERV GRIFFIN

F765077 30 Dallas/Fort Worth 4/27/76 KDFW 4:25PM

RONALD REAGAN: One of the biggest failures the Washington establishment has forced on us is forced busing. The people of Corpus Christi can testify that it's failed to achieve its goal. Instead, it has increased the bitterness and animosity it was supposed to reduce. Forced busing should be ended by legislation if possible. If not, then by Constitutional amendment. Control of education should be returned to local school districts.

D-

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 30, 1976

MEMO TO: STU SPENCER
FROM: CLAYT WILHITE
SUBJECT: REAGAN ADVERTISING IN TEXAS

The attached information details the cross-section of organizations who have been purchasing newspaper advertising on Reagan's behalf in Texas. Note that most appeared during the last few days of the campaign.

We have requested copies of all the advertising.

cc: ✓ Bob Visser
 Tim Ryan
 Roy Hughes
 Bruce Wagner
 Peter Dailey
 Peter Kaye
 Fred Slight



COMPETITIVE REPORTTEXAS NEWSPAPERSCANDIDATE: REAGANADI/PUBLICATION

| <u>DALLAS/FT. WORTH</u> | <u>INSERTION SIZE</u> | <u>INSERTION DATE</u> | <u>PLACED BY:</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| DALLAS TIMES-HERALD | 1 PAGE | 4/30 | TEXAS FRIENDS FOR REAGAN |
| | 6 COL. X 12" | 4/29 | DELEGATES FOR REAGAN |
| | 1 COL. X 20" | 4/30 | " |
| | 1 COL. X 18" | 4/30 | " |
| SHERMAN DEMOCRAT | 3 COL. X 18" | 4/25 | DR. HARRY SHYTLEN |
| | 2 COL. X 1½" | 4/28 | " |
| WEATHERFORD DEMOCRAT | 1 PAGE | 4/28 | DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON (PAID FOR BY HENRY C. GROVER) |
| MINERAL WELLS INDEX | 1 PAGE | 4/28 | HENRY C. GROVER |
| PARIS NEWS | 1 PAGE | 4/27 | DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON |
| <u>HOUSTON</u> | | | |
| GALVESTON NEWS | 1 PAGE | 4/30 | HENRY C. GROVER |
| HOUSTON CHRONICLE | 1 PAGE | 4/30 | TEXAS FRIENDS FOR REAGAN |
| HOUSTON POST | 1 PAGE | 4/29 | " |
| <u>SAN ANTONIO</u> | | | |
| SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS-NEWS | 3 COL. X 5" | --- | DELEGATES FOR REAGAN |
| KERRVILLE TIMES | 5 COL. X 7" | 4/28 | ----- |
| | 5 COL. X 14" | 4/30 | ----- |
| KERRVILLE MOUNTAIN SUN | 1 PAGE | 4/22 | KERR COUNTY COMM. FOR REAGAN |
| | ½ PAGE | 4/22 | " |
| | 1 PAGE | 4/29 | " |
| | ½ PAGE | 4/29 | " |
| VICTORIA ADVOCATE | 1 PAGE | 4/28 | DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON |
| | 1 PAGE | 4/30 OR 5/1 | DELEGATES FOR REAGAN |
| <u>WACO/TEMPLE</u> | | | |
| TEMPLE TELEGRAM | 1 PAGE | 4/28 | DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON |
| <u>TEXARKANA</u> | | | |
| HENDERSON NEWS | 4 COL. X 5" | 4/11-29(6X) | CITIZENS FOR REAGAN |
| TEXARKANA GAZETTE NEWS | 1 PAGE | 4/29 | DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON |

ADI/PUBLICATIONTEXARKANAINSERTION
SIZEINSERTION
DATEPLACED BY:

LONGVIEW JOURNAL NEWS

2 COL. X 2"
2 COL. X 2"
2 COL. X 2"
2 COL. X 2"4/21
4/22
4/23
4/25SONNY UTSLOH
"
"
"

MARSHALL NEWS MESSENGER

1 PAGE

4/27

DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON

CORPUS CHRISTI

NO COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY REPORTED

BEAUMONT/PORT ARTHUR

BEAUMONT ENTERPRISE JOURNAL

1 PAGE

4/29

BEAUMONT COMM. FOR
REAGANLUBBOCK

LUBBOCK AVALANCHE JOURNAL

20"
4"4/4
4/19-----
-----EL PASO

EL PASO HERALD-POST, TIMES

1 PAGE
1 PAGE4/30
5/1AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE
UNION
-----AMARILLO

PAMPA NEWS

3 COL. 6"

4/29

13TH DISTRICT FOR
REAGAN

AMARILLO GLOBE-TIMES, NEWS

1 PAGE

4/29

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

McALLEN/BROWNSVILLE

BROWNSVILLE HERALD

1 PAGE

4/28

HENRY C. GROVER

McALLEN MONITOR

1 PAGE

4/28

"

HARLINGEN VALLEY MORNING STAR

1 PAGE

4/28

"

ABILENE

BROWNWOOD BULLETIN

1 PAGE
5 COL. X 14"4/28
4/30DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON
"ODESSA/MIDLAND

MIDLAND REPORTER TELEGRAM

5 COL. 8"

4/27

19TH CONGRESSIONAL
DISTRICT FOR REAGAN

ODESSA AMERICAN

 $\frac{1}{4}$ PAGE

4/27

DELEGATES FOR REAGAN

ODESSA/MIDLAND

BIG SPRING HERALD

1 PAGE

4/27

DRAKE AGENCY, HOUSTON

TYLER

TYLER COURIER TIMES

4 COL. X 15"

DELEGATES FOR REAGAN

1 PAGE

4/28

"

1 PAGE

4/29 OR 4/30

"

NACOGDOCHES SENTINEL

4 COL. X 10½"

4/28

4 COL. X 10½"

4/29

4 COL. X 10½"

4/30

WICHITA FALLS

NO COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY REPORTED

SAN ANGELO

NO COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY REPORTED

LAREDO

LAREDO TIMES

5 COL. X 14"

4/30

GOODWIN & DAWINSON
AGENCY, HOUSTON

R/R
D

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

May 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: STU SPENCER
FROM: CLAYT WILHITE
SUBJECT: REAGAN COMPETITIVE ADVERTISING
IN NEBRASKA

Attached is the latest Reagan competitive media information from Nebraska. From these indications, he is utilizing a heavy schedule of both television and radio.

We will be forwarding newspaper information within the next few days.

cc: Bruce Wagner
Pete Dailey
Roy Hughes
Bob Visser ✓
Tim Ryan



COMPETITIVE REPORT

STATE: NEBRASKA

CANDIDATE: REAGAN

| <u>CITIZENS FOR REAGAN</u> | <u>START DATE</u> | <u>#WKS</u> | <u>#MARKETS</u> | <u>PRESSURE</u> | <u>EXPENDITURE</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| TELEVISION: | | | | | |
| 1/2 HOUR | | | LINCOLN | 1X) | |
| | | | OMAHA | 2X) | |
| :10 ID'S | 4/26-28 | | OMAHA | 5 SPOTS) | \$7,000 |
| :30 ANNCT. | 5/5-10 | 1 WK | LINCOLN | 250 GRP'S) | |
| | | | OMAHA | 250 GRP'S) | |

NOTE: :10 ID'S WERE PROMOS FOR 1/2 HOUR IN OMAHA

RADIO:

RADIO IS BEING PURCHASED BY CITIZENS FOR REAGAN TO START 5/6 & 5/7.
DETAILS WILL BE PROVIDED ON 5/7.



Memo from the desk of

L.R. RAISH

5 May '76

Bob

Following up my telephone conversation with Tim Ryan, here are 2 copies of the FCC News Release on applying "Equal Time" to Reagan films.

When the full text of the ruling comes out, I will see that you get a copy.

1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. - Suite 400

Washington, D.C. 20036

Phone (202) 659-9100

JRF

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NEWS

Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20554



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64438

Report No. 14151

BROADCAST ACTION

May 4, 1976 - B

FCC AFFIRMS "EQUAL TIME" APPLICABILITY TO REAGAN FILMS

The Commission has denied Adrian Weiss review of a February 10 ruling by the FCC Broadcast Bureau concerning the applicability of the "equal time" provisions of the Communications Act to the broadcast of motion pictures in which Ronald Reagan, a bona fide candidate for the Republican nomination for President, appeared.

Weiss had indicated that through his company, Adrian Weiss Productions, he owned two motion pictures in which Reagan appeared as an actor. He requested a ruling to the effect that Section 315 of the Act did not apply to these films because they were non-political and "have no bearing whatsoever on present day public issues."

In its ruling, the Broadcast Bureau pointed out that the FCC is prohibited by Section 326 of the Act from censoring broadcast matter, and does not attempt to direct broadcasters in the selection or presentation of specific programming. Thus, it noted, the FCC could not prohibit any programming that might include appearances by candidates for public office.

However, the Bureau said, under Section 315, if a broadcast licensee permits a legally qualified candidate for public office to use a station's facilities, he must afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office. It also pointed out that if a legally qualified candidate appeared on a bona fide newscast, bona fide news interview, bona fide documentary or on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event, such an appearance would not be considered a use of a station for purposes of Section 315.

In addition, the Bureau cited a 1972 Commission ruling that held an appearance on a nonpolitical entertainment program by comedian Pat Paulsen, then a bona fide legally qualified Republican candidate in the New Hampshire Presidential preferential primary, would entitle all opposing candidates to equal opportunities.

(over)



This conclusion, it said, was sustained by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (San Francisco), which stated that neither the equal time provision in Section 315 of the Act, the legislative history of that enactment nor its subsequent amendments indicate that Congress intended for the Commission to distinguish between political and non-political uses by candidates.

The Court further emphasized that "Section 315 is grounded in the recognition that radio and television play important roles in the election process. A candidate who becomes well-known to the public as a personable and popular individual through 'non-political' appearances certainly holds an advantage when he or she does formally discuss political issues to the same public over the same media."

The Broadcast Bureau, concluding that the Commission had no basis for distinguishing between political and nonpolitical appearances by candidates, found it was clear that the broadcast of movies in which Reagan appeared would be a "use" under Section 315 and would entitle opposing candidates to equal opportunities in the use of the broadcasting station.

Action by the Commission April 29, 1976, by Order. Commissioners Lee, Reid and Washburn, with Commissioners Wiley (Chairman) and Quello concurring and Chairman Wiley issuing a statement in which Commissioner Quello joins, and Commissioners Hooks and Robinson dissenting and Commissioner Robinson issuing a statement in which Commissioner Hooks joins.

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This is an unofficial announcement of the Commission's action. Release of the full text of the Commission's order constitutes official action. See *MCI v. FCC*, 515 F. 2d 385 (D.C. Circ. 1975).

Concurring Statement of Chairman Richard E. Wiley

(in which Commissioner Quello joins)

(re: Letter to Mr. Adrian Weiss)

From a common sense point of view, it seems absurd to apply the same regulations to old movies that are applied to political announcements. In these circumstances, we should make it clear that our discretion in this matter is limited by statute, and that we are not completely free to follow our own judgment concerning what may be a reasonable or practical approach to the problem.

Section 315 of the Communications Act provides that all legally qualified candidates must be afforded equal opportunities in the "use" of broadcast facilities. In 1959, Congress recognized the fact that a strict application of this standard might tend to dry up meaningful broadcast coverage of political campaigns, and created an exemption from the equal time principle for news programs. See generally Aspen Institute, 55 FCC 2d 697 (1975), affirmed Chisholm v. FCC, ___ F.2d ___ (D.C. Cir., April 12, 1976). No similar exemption has been created for entertainment shows or "old movies," and it is difficult to see how the Commission could, on its own, develop and administer a distinction between "political" and "non-political" appearances of candidates. See Paulsen v. FCC, 491 F.2d 887 (9th Cir., 1974).

While the Commission is not in a position to grant Mr. Weiss the relief he requests, it must be conceded that the present equal time law does result in inequities to the owners of certain film properties, and that it does have an inhibiting effect on the presentation of many programs in which candidates make an "appearance." Accordingly, I am hopeful that the Congress, at an appropriate time, will explore the possibility of legislative reform.

DISSENTING STATEMENT OF COMMISSIONER GLEN O. ROBINSON

(in which Commissioner Hooks joins)

I agree that the Commission should not undertake to fashion delicate distinctions concerning who is a "candidate" and what constitutes a "use" within the meaning of Section 315 of the Communications Act. But the imperatives of administrative simplicity have their limits; and common sense at least occasionally has its claims. Section 315 does not in terms require, and in my view should not be read to require, the result the Commission reaches today.

When the candidates' appearance is totally unrelated to the political campaign, and where it manifestly does not tend to enhance his electoral image, I think the Commission has discretion to follow the dictates of common sense and to hold the appearance is not a "use" within the reach of Section 315. This result is definitely indicated here. In one of these two films ("Tennessee's Partner") Mr. Reagan portrays a "cowpoke"; in the other, ("Cattle Queen of Montana") a gunfighter. These films were made many years before Mr. Reagan entered politics; they have absolutely nothing to do with the Presidential campaign; and I at least find it difficult to see how they enhance Mr. Reagan's image or stature as a political candidate. ^{1/}

So far as I can tell, the majority does not dispute this but evidently believes nevertheless that it may not, and should not, make subjective judgments as to whether a particular appearance serves a

^{1/} Evidently I am not alone. President Ford has indicated he will not request equal time if these old movies are shown (See Broadcasting, April 26, 1976, p. 5) while Mr. Reagan has suggested, in regard to movies of similar distinction and vintage, that he would. Washington Star, Nov. 23, 1975, p. A2.

political purpose of the candidate. Such has been its view heretofore. See Pat Paulsen, 33 FCC 2d 835 (1972), aff'd, 491 F. 2d 887 (D.C. Cir. 1974). This is tantamount to an irrebutable presumption that the mere exposure of a candidate must work to his advantage, inasmuch as the Commission deems it impossible to determine otherwise. I cannot indulge such a presumption and I do not interpret Section 315 or the Court's opinion in Paulsen to require me to do so.^{2/}

Subjective judgments do, of course, carry with them a special danger of unfairness, and I do not discount the concern of the Paulsen court--a concern that evidently underlies today's decision--over the Commission's trying to distinguish between "political" and "non-political" appearances of a candidate. Difficult cases could be imagined--what if, for instance, Robert Redford (or some other perennial movie good-guy) ran for political office? But we should not paralyse our common sense with an overactive imagination. We would not be likely to see many, if any, cases which would cause serious difficulties in the future if we were now to exercise a modicum of discretion and decide simply that exposure is not, ipso facto, "use." Moreover, the

^{2/} In Paulsen the Court of Appeals affirmed the Commission's conclusion that comedian Pat Paulsen's appearance on "The Mouse Factory" would have been a "use" of television within the meaning of Section 315. The Court emphasized the utility of a "go/no-go" rule in keeping government clear of "highly subjective judgments concerning the content, context, and potential political impact of a candidate's appearance." Id. at 890-891. The Court did not make such a rule obligatory on us; and we ought not to assume that the Court would applaud (even if it probably would tolerate) the application of this "go/no-go" rule in every conceivable case. (I should add that the Commission's decision in Paulsen seems to me most dubious; it could and should have been otherwise decided on the criteria I would apply to this case; but one need not disagree with the Commission's decision in Paulsen to disagree with today's decision.

Commission has an uncommon facility for making "purple cows" -- as they have come to be called here^{3/}--out of special cases in which it wants to set no precedent. No case better commends itself to this treatment than the two films here--two purple cows of the old West.

3/ The origin of the phrase in Commission lexicon is unknown but it is apparently derived from Gelett Burgess' verse, "The Purple Cow":

"I never saw a Purple Cow,
I hope I never see one;
But I can tell you, anyhow,
I'd rather see than be one."

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Report No. 14151

BROADCAST ACTION

May 4, 1976 - B

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Weiss had indicated that through his company, Adrian Weiss Productions, he owned two motion pictures in which Reagan appeared as an actor. He requested a ruling to the effect that Section 315 of the Act did not apply to these films because they were non-political and "have no bearing whatsoever on present day public issues."

In its ruling, the Broadcast Bureau pointed out that the FCC is prohibited by Section 326 of the Act from censoring broadcast matter, and does not attempt to direct broadcasters in the selection or presentation of specific programming. Thus, it noted, the FCC could not prohibit any programming that might include appearances by candidates for public office.

However, the Bureau said, under Section 315, if a broadcast licensee permits a legally qualified candidate for public office to use a station's facilities, he must afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office. It also pointed out that if a legally qualified candidate appeared on a bona fide newscast, bona fide news interview, bona fide documentary or on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event, such an appearance would not be considered a use of a station for purposes of Section 315.

In addition, the Bureau cited a 1972 Commission ruling that held an appearance on a nonpolitical entertainment program by comedian Pat Paulsen, then a bona fide legally qualified Republican candidate in the New Hampshire Presidential preferential primary, would entitle all opposing candidates to equal opportunities.

(over)

This conclusion, it said, was sustained by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (San Francisco), which stated that neither the equal time provision in Section 315 of the Act, the legislative history of that enactment nor its subsequent amendments indicate that Congress intended for the Commission to distinguish between political and non-political uses by candidates.

The Court further emphasized that "Section 315 is grounded in the recognition that radio and television play important roles in the election process. A candidate who becomes well-known to the public as a personable and popular individual through 'non-political' appearances certainly holds an advantage when he or she does formally discuss political issues to the same public over the same media."

The Broadcast Bureau, concluding that the Commission had no basis for distinguishing between political and nonpolitical appearances by candidates, found it was clear that the broadcast of movies in which Reagan appeared would be a "use" under Section 315 and would entitle opposing candidates to equal opportunities in the use of the broadcasting station.

Action by the Commission April 29, 1976, by Order. Commissioners Lee, Reid and Washburn, with Commissioners Wiley (Chairman) and Quello concurring and Chairman Wiley issuing a statement in which Commissioner Quello joins, and Commissioners Hooks and Robinson dissenting and Commissioner Robinson issuing a statement in which Commissioner Hooks joins.

- - - - -

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Concurring Statement of Chairman Richard E. Wiley

(in which Commissioner Quello joins)

(re: Letter to Mr. Adrian Weiss)

From a common sense point of view, it seems absurd to apply the same regulations to old movies that are applied to political announcements. In these circumstances, we should make it clear that our discretion in this matter is limited by statute, and that we are not completely free to follow our own judgment concerning what may be a reasonable or practical approach to the problem.

Section 315 of the Communications Act provides that all legally qualified candidates must be afforded equal opportunities in the "use" of broadcast facilities. In 1959, Congress recognized the fact that a strict application of this standard might tend to dry up meaningful broadcast coverage of political campaigns, and created an exemption from the equal time principle for news programs. See generally Aspen Institute, 55 FCC 2d 697 (1975), affirmed Chisholm v. FCC, ___ F.2d ___ (D.C. Cir., April 12, 1976). No similar exemption has been created for entertainment shows or "old movies," and it is difficult to see how the Commission could, on its own, develop and administer a distinction between "political" and "non-political" appearances of candidates. See Paulsen v. FCC, 491 F.2d 887 (9th Cir., 1974).

While the Commission is not in a position to grant Mr. Weiss the relief he requests, it must be conceded that the present equal time law does result in inequities to the owners of certain film properties, and that it does have an inhibiting effect on the presentation of many programs in which candidates make an "appearance." Accordingly, I am hopeful that the Congress, at an appropriate time, will explore the possibility of legislative reform.

DISSENTING STATEMENT OF COMMISSIONER GLEN O. ROBINSON

(in which Commissioner Hooks joins)

I agree that the Commission should not undertake to fashion delicate distinctions concerning who is a "candidate" and what constitutes a "use" within the meaning of Section 315 of the Communications Act. But the imperatives of administrative simplicity have their limits; and common sense at least occasionally has its claims. Section 315 does not in terms require, and in my view should not be read to require, the result the Commission reaches today.

When the candidates' appearance is totally unrelated to the political campaign, and where it manifestly does not tend to enhance his electoral image, I think the Commission has discretion to follow the dictates of common sense and to hold the appearance is not a "use" within the reach of Section 315. This result is definitely indicated here. In one of these two films ("Tennessee's Partner") Mr. Reagan portrays a "cowpoke"; in the other, ("Cattle Queen of Montana") a gunfighter. These films were made many years before Mr. Reagan entered politics; they have absolutely nothing to do with the Presidential campaign; and I at least find it difficult to see how they enhance Mr. Reagan's image or stature as a political candidate. ^{1/}

So far as I can tell, the majority does not dispute this but evidently believes nevertheless that it may not, and should not, make subjective judgments as to whether a particular appearance serves a

^{1/} Evidently I am not alone. President Ford has indicated he will not request equal time if these old movies are shown (See Broadcasting, April 26, 1976, p. 5) while Mr. Reagan has suggested, in regard to movies of similar distinction and vintage, that he would. Washington Star, Nov. 23, 1975, p. A2.

political purpose of the candidate. Such has been its view heretofore. See Pat Paulsen, 33 FCC 2d 835 (1972), aff'd, 491 F. 2d 887 (D.C. Cir. 1974). This is tantamount to an irrebutable presumption that the mere exposure of a candidate must work to his advantage, inasmuch as the Commission deems it impossible to determine otherwise. I cannot indulge such a presumption and I do not interpret Section 315 or the Court's opinion in Paulsen to require me to do so.^{2/}

Subjective judgments do, of course, carry with them a special danger of unfairness, and I do not discount the concern of the Paulsen court--a concern that evidently underlies today's decision--over the Commission's trying to distinguish between "political" and "non-political" appearances of a candidate. Difficult cases could be imagined--what if, for instance, Robert Redford (or some other perennial movie good-guy) ran for political office? But we should not paralyse our common sense with an overactive imagination. We would not be likely to see many, if any, cases which would cause serious difficulties in the future if we were now to exercise a modicum of discretion and decide simply that exposure is not, ipso facto, "use." Moreover, the

^{2/} In Paulsen the Court of Appeals affirmed the Commission's conclusion that comedian Pat Paulsen's appearance on "The Mouse Factory" would have been a "use" of television within the meaning of Section 315. The Court emphasized the utility of a "go/no-go" rule in keeping government clear of "highly subjective judgments concerning the content, context, and potential political impact of a candidate's appearance." Id. at 890-891. The Court did not make such a rule obligatory on us; and we ought not to assume that the Court would applaud (even if it probably would tolerate) the application of this "go/no-go" rule in every conceivable case. (I should add that the Commission's decision in Paulsen seems to me most dubious; it could and should have been otherwise decided on the criteria I would apply to this case; but one need not disagree with the Commission's decision in Paulsen to disagree with today's decision.

Commission has an uncommon facility for making "purple cows" -- as they have come to be called here^{3/} -- out of special cases in which it wants to set no precedent. No case better commends itself to this treatment than the two films here -- two purple cows of the old West.

^{3/} The origin of the phrase in Commission lexicon is unknown but it is apparently derived from Gelett Burgess' verse, "The Purple Cow":

"I never saw a Purple Cow,
I hope I never see one;
But I can tell you, anyhow,
I'd rather see than be one."

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

Q
Campaign
176
General

May 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: STU SPENCER
FROM: CLAYT WILHITE

Attached is an appeal from the Young America Campaign Committee on behalf of Ronald Reagan in California. Also included is a sample script of the proposed advertising.

cc: Rogers Morton
Roy Hughes
Fred Slight
Bob Visser ✓
Tim Ryan
Peter Dailey
Bruce Wagner



REAGAN CALIFORNIA FUND

A Project of:

Young America's Campaign Committee

Dear Friend:

Your assistance on a most urgent project could mean the difference between victory and defeat for Ronald Reagan in the June 8th primary in California--the most important primary of the campaign.

That is why I am writing to you today.

Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan are in a virtual dead heat for convention delegates coming into the California primary. The winner of the California primary will take an extra 167 delegates to the convention.

These 167 delegates will mean the margin of victory for the Republican presidential nominee. More delegates are at stake in California than New Hampshire, Florida, Vermont, and North Carolina combined!

Ronald Reagan's stunning defeat of Gerald Ford in the North Carolina primary was a result of his aggressive media campaign in that state prior to the voting.

That is why the Reagan California Fund has been established by the Young America's Campaign Committee. We intend to place spot radio advertisements throughout California a week prior to the primary.

We have entered into an agreement with the nation's top producer of radio advertisements.

Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., the star of the television series The FBI, has agreed to do the narration for the ads.

They will be targeted in communities across California with the precision that was apparent in the media blitz that brought Ronald Reagan victory in North Carolina.

Production costs, distribution fees, etc., will be \$25,000 and that amount is needed at once. Unless we receive that amount by May 25, 1976, the ads by Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., cannot be run.

These ads are the most economical and effective method for reaching the millions of California voters. Ronald Reagan's chances of victory in California will be severely set back without them. As a result, his chances for the Republican nomination could be lost.

That is why it is vital that you send what you can today. Please send at least \$20 today. If you cannot send \$20, we will be grateful for whatever you can contribute. But we must have whatever your generous contribution by May 25.

It is important to consider what Ronald Reagan's defeat could mean for the Republican Party.

Consider the record of the Ford administration and the possibility of its continuing should Ronald Reagan lose the California primary:

1. There would be more appointments of left-liberals into the administration such as Charles Goodell and Nelson Rockefeller.
2. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would remain, throughout Ford's term, continuing the policy of one-way-street detente.
3. The United States would continue its second-rate military posture and perhaps slip to third rate or fourth rate.
4. The United States would continue its policy of surrender of American possessions such as the Panama Canal Zone.
5. Deficit spending would continue unabated, without a voice of leadership coming from the White House.

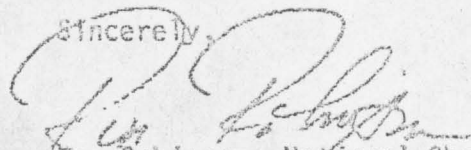
Before you decide how much to give, I should explain that the Reagan California Fund is an independent organization, entirely separate from the Citizens for Reagan campaign committee.

Because it is an independent committee, the Reagan California Fund may solicit funds from individuals beyond the \$1000 limit. Thus, if you have already contributed the maximum \$1000 to the official Citizens for Reagan campaign committee, you may contribute up to an additional \$24,000 to the Reagan California Fund.

In addition, while the official Reagan effort in California is limited in what it can spend on behalf of Ronald Reagan, our committee can wage an all-out effort to win in California without government-enforced spending restrictions.

If any contribution could tip the scale for a Reagan victory, your contribution to the Reagan California Fund could be it. Please be generous, and soon. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Ron Robinson, National Chairman
Reagan California Fund

5/11 4:30

Alayt

YOUNG AMERICA'S CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Air Date _____
Radio Spot Number _____ #2
Title _____ 60 SECONDS
Narrator _____ EFREM ZIMBALIST, JR.

60 SECOND RADIO SPOT

This is a sample transcript of the radio ads planned for California one week before the Primary

I, LIKE YOU, AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY. I, LIKE YOU, HAD HOPED THAT AFTER WATERGATE GERALD FORD WOULD LEAD US AWAY FROM DEFICIT SPENDING, APPEASEMENT ABROAD, AND MILITARY WEAKNESS. I HAVE CONCLUDED HE HAS NOT DONE THIS. INSTEAD HE HAS FIRED A SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WHO DISAGREED WITH KISSINGER'S DETENTE, ACCEPTED AMERICA'S STATUS AS THE SECOND STRONGEST NATION IN THE WORLD, IS ACQUIESCING IN THE GIVE-AWAY OF THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE, AND HAS PRESIDED OVER \$100 BILLION IN DEFICITS IN JUST TWO YEARS. RONALD REAGAN IS MY CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT BECAUSE HE PROMISES A NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, THE RESTORATION OF AMERICAN MILITARY SUPERIORITY, NO GIVE-AWAYS OF AMERICAN TERRITORY SUCH AS THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE TO LEFTIST DICTATORS, AND, HE PROMISES A BALANCED BUDGET. IF YOU BELIEVE AS I DO THAT STRONG LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED IN THE WHITE HOUSE AS WE ENTER OUR TWO-HUNDREDTH YEAR, THEN I URGE YOU TO VOTE FOR RONALD REAGAN IN THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY. THIS IS EFREM ZIMBALIST, JR. THANK YOU FOR LISTENING.

END

END

END

END

END

END

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

May 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: PETER KAYE
FROM: CLAYT WILHITE

Attached are scripts from all Reagan competitive TV
advertising that we have acquired to date from Texas.

A cassette of this material is available in our office.

cc: Bob Visser
Tim Ryan
Fred Slight
Rob Quartel



REAGAN COMPETITIVE TAPES

CORPUS CHRISTI - BUSING

REAGAN/FORD COMMENTARY ON PANAMA CANAL (INDIANA)

"NO TIME"

"ENERGY"

"WALLACE"

"DEFENSE"

30 MINUTE REAGAN ELECTION SPECIAL (SCRIPT NOT INCLUDED)

DEFENSE

: 30

REAGAN:

WELL I BELIEVE IN THE PEACE OF WHICH MR. FORD SPEAKS AS MUCH AS ANY MAN, BUT PEACE DOES NOT COME FORM WEAKNESS OR FROM RETREAT. IT COME FROM THE RESTORATION OF AMERICAN MILITARY SUPERIORITY.

ASK THE PEOPLE OF LATVIA, ESTONIA, LITHUANIA CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, HUNGARY, ALL THE OTHERS. EAST GERMANY, BULGARIA, ROMANIA. ASK THEM WHAT IT'S LIKE TO LIVE IN WORLD WHERE THE SOVIET UNION IN NUMBER 1. I DON'T WANT TO LIVE IN THAT KIND OF WORLD AND DON'T THINK YOU DO EITHER.

WALLACE

:30

I'M ROLLY MILLIRONS, CONSERVATION DEMOCRAT. ON SATURDAY, MAY 1, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE I'M VOTING IN A REPUBLICAN PRIMARY.

I'M VOTING FOR RONALD REAGAN, A CONSERVATIVE WHO CAN WIN. IT IS NOW CLEAR GOVERNOR WALLACE CAN'T. GOVERNOR REAGAN IS RIGHT ON THE ISSUES AND RIGHT FOR ME. HE CAN WIN BUT IT'S GOING TO TAKE CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS TO DO IT. SO FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE I'M VOTING IN A REPUBLICAN PRIMARY.

REAGAN:

ONE OF THE BIGGEST FAILURES THE WASHINGTON ESTABLISHMENT HAS FORCED ON US IS FORCED BUSING. THE PEOPLE OF CORPUS CHRISTI CAN TESTIFY THAT IT'S FAILED TO ACHIEVE IT'S GOAL. INSTEAD IT HAS INCREASED THE BITTERNESS AND ANIMOSITY IT WAS SUPPOSED TO REDUCE. FORCED BUSING SHOULD BE ENDED BY LEGISLATION IF POSSIBLE. IF NOT, THEN BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. CONTROL OF EDUCATION SHOULD BE RETURNED TO LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

NO TIME

:30

REAGAN:

THE TRUTH IS THAT THIS NATION MUST TRUST LESS
IN THE PRE-EMPTIVE CONCESSIONS WE'RE GRANTING
THE SOVIET UNION AND MORE IN THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT
OF AMERICAN MILITARY SUPERIORITY.

IF MR. FORD AND DR. KISSENGER ARE WRONG IN
THEIR BELIEF THAT SOVIET AMBITIONS HAVE
MODERATED SO MUCH, IF WE NO LONGER NEED TO
MAINTAIN MILITARY SUPERIORITY, IF THEIR WRONG,
THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE OPPORTUNITY. NO TIME
TO CORRECT THEIR ERROR.

ENERGY

:30

REAGAN:

MR. FORD'S ENERGY POLICY IS A DISASTER.

PRIOR TO THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO, WE IMPORTED
ONLY A FRACTION OF OUR OIL NEEDS; AND YET
THAT EMBARGO COST A $\frac{1}{2}$ MILLION AMERICANS
THEIR JOBS.

NOW WE IMPORT MORE THAN $\frac{1}{2}$ OF THE ENERGY SUPPLY
WE CONSUME. HOW MANY TEXANS WILL LOSE THEIR
JOBS IF THERE IS ANOTHER EMBARGO? HOW MANY
TEXAS INDUSTRIES WILL HAVE TO SHUT DOWN?

AMERICA NEEDS ENERGY INDEPENDENCE AND THE
LEADERSHIP TO GET IT.

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

X: Roy Morton
Stu Spencer
Roy Hughes
Peter Kaye
D-

May 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

BRUCE WAGNER

FROM:

DENISE CONSIDINE

SUBJECT:

COMPETITIVE REPORT - NEWSPAPERS

CANDIDATE: REAGAN

STATE: MICHIGAN

Reagan newspaper activity has been reported in all 6 of the ADI's in which we are currently advertising. The insertion sizes are full pages, with all but two scheduled to run on Monday, May 17th. Units were placed by the Drake Advertising Agency of Houston.

The estimated cost for reported activity is \$23,023.

Please advise if there are any questions.

Denise

cc: Clayt Wilhite
Peggy Pilas
Dawn Sibley
Carol Karasick
George Karalekas



COMPETITIVE REPORT
MICHIGAN NEWSPAPERS
CANDIDATE: REAGAN

| <u>ADI/PUBLICATION</u> | <u>INSERTION SIZE</u> | <u>INSERTION DATE</u> | <u>PLACED BY</u> |
|---|---|-----------------------|------------------|
| <u>Detroit</u> | | | |
| Detroit News | 1 Page | 5/17 | --- |
| Ann Arbor News | 1 Page | 5/17 | --- |
| Pontiac Oakland Press | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Royal Oak Tribune | 1 Page | 5/17 | --- |
| Mount Clemens Macomb Daily | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Monroe News | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| <u>Grand Rapids/Kalamazoo/ Battle Creek</u> | | | |
| Grand Rapids Press | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Kalamazoo Gazette | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| Battle Creek Enquirer & News | 1 Page | 5/17 | --- |
| Muskegan Chronicle | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Grand Haven Tribune | 1 Page | 5/18 | --- |
| Greenville News | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| <u>Flint/Saginaw/Bay City</u> | | | |
| Flint Journal | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Bay City Times | 1 Page | 5/17 | --- |
| Saginaw News | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Owosso Argus Press | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| Mount Pleasant Times-News | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| <u>Lansing</u> | | | |
| Lansing State Journal | 1 Page | 5/16 | Drake Agency |
| Jackson Citizen Patriot | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| Hillsdale News | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| <u>Traverse City/Cadillac</u> | | | |
| Traverse City Record Eagle | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Cadillac News | Will not divulge competitive information. | | |
| <u>South Bend/Elkhart</u> | | | |
| Benton Harbor-St. Joseph Herald Palladium | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Dowagiac News | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Sturgis Journal | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |
| Niles Star | 1 Page | 5/17 | Drake Agency |

Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

Visser

CP 76
D

July 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

PFC STAFF

FROM:

CLAYT WILHITE

SUBJECT:

REAGAN TV PROGRAM

Ronald Reagan's scheduled half-hour television message can be seen tonight at 10:30 p.m. (EDT) on ABC (Channel 7 in Washington).

