

The original documents are located in Box E04, folder “Reagan Competitive Activity (2)” of the President Ford Committee Campaign Records at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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REAGAN TV

North Carolina

\$60426

54,416

Illinois

\$181,342

+ 90,000 271,342

Florida

\$216,542

Massachusetts

\$77,910

(just Boston)

1/27 - 2/23

New Hampshire

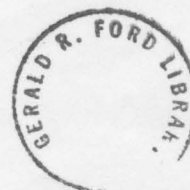
720

(just Manchester)

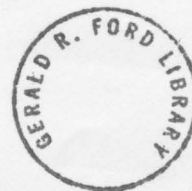


Competitive Broadcast Activity

<u>City</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Daypart</u>	<u>Lengths</u>	<u>Costs</u>
<u>ILLINOIS</u>					
Quad Cities	WHBF	2/17- 3/15	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$4,085
	WQAD	2/17- 3/15	EF, LF, Prime	30's & 60's	\$2,705
Peoria	WEEK	2/17- 2/23	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$1,400
	WMBD	2/24- 3/15	Day, Fringe, Prime	30's & 60's	\$1,811
	WRAU	2/17- 3/15	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$2,830
Champ/Spring/ Decatur	WAND	2/10- 2/14	EF, LF, Prime	30's	\$1,300
Springfield	WICS	2/17- 3/15	AM/PM Rot, Prime	30's & 60's	\$5,160
Rockford	WREX	2/24- 3/14	EF, LF, Prime	30's & 60's	\$4,644
	WCEE	2/17- 3/9	Day, EF, LF, Prime, Prime Acc.	30's & 60's	\$2,932
Chicago	WBBM	2/17- 3/15			
	WMAQ	"			\$84,475
	WSNS	"			
	WFZD	"			
	WGN	"	Various		\$20,000
	WLS	"			\$50,000
Charlotte	WSOC	"			\$9,000
	WBTW	"			\$18,000
	WCCB	"			\$2,000
	WRET	"			



<u>City</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Daypart</u>	<u>Lengths</u>	<u>Costs</u>
<u>ILLINOIS Cont'd.</u>					
Chicago	WBBM	3/1- 3/15	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$16,800
	WGN	"	"	30's	\$25,000
	WLS	"	"		
	WSNS	"	"		
	WFLD	"	"		
	WMAQ	"	"	30's & 60's	\$46,000
Charlotte	WBTV	3/7- 3/21	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$19,000
	WSOC	"			\$15,000
	WRET	"			
	WECB	"			
<u>FLORIDA</u>					
Jacksonville	WJKS	2/29	EF & LF	30's	\$1,020
	WJXT	2/2- 3/7	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$925/wk
	WTLV	2/3- 3/7	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$3,998
Orlando	WSWB				
	WDBO	2/3- 3/8	EF & Prime	30's & 60's	\$11,695
	WESH	2/3- 3/8	Various	30's & 60's	\$
	WFTV	2/5- 3/8	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$6,765
Miami	WCIX	2/3- 3/7	EF, Pr. Acc. Prime	30's & 60's	\$10,065
	WCKT				
	WTVJ	3/4- 3/8	E & L Fr. Prime Acc. Prime	30's & 60's	\$56,000



<u>City</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Daypart</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Costs</u>
<u>FLORIDA Cont'd.</u>					
Miami	WPLG				
Tampa	WTOG				
	WTVT	2/4- 3/7	EF & Prime		\$40,000
	WLCY	2/9- 3/7	All Dayparts		\$17,000
	WFLA	2/9- 3/6	All Dayparts		\$7,160
Ft. Myers	WBBH	3/17 6 wks.	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$3,000
	WINK	2/3- 3/8	EF, Prime		\$3,000
	WEVU	2/29	Prime	30's	\$230
W. Palm Bch	WPTV	2/3- 3/9	All Dayparts	30's & 60's	\$15,000
	WPEC	2/10- 3/7	Day, L. News Prime		\$5,900
Tallahassee	WOTV	2/4- 3/7	Day, Fr., Prime	30's & 60's	\$4,500
<u>NO. CAROLINA</u> Raleigh	WTVD	2/26- 2/29	Day, EF, LF, Prime	30's & 60's	\$3,000/wk
	WRAL	2/24- 3/23	Day, EF Pr. Acc.	30's & 60's	\$Free
Greenville/ Ashville/ Spartanburg	WFBC	2/24- 3/22	Day, Acc.	30's & 60's	\$11,000
	WSPA	2/25- 3/22	E & L FR, Prime	30's & 60's	\$6,241
	WLOS	2/24- 3/22	EF, L News	30's	\$1,100



<u>City</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Daypart</u>	<u>Lengths</u>	<u>Costs</u>
<u>NO. CAROLINA Cont'd.</u>					
Greensboro/W.S./ High Point	WFMY	2/24		60's & 30's	\$2,000
	WGHP	2/25- 2/29	Various	60's & 30's	\$900
	WXII	2/24- 3/1	Day, LF,	60's & 30's	\$950
Greenville/Wash/ New Bern	WITN	2/24- 3/1	E & L News, LF, Prime	60's & 30's	\$1,300
	WNCT	2/25- 2/28	Day, Fr, Prime	60's & 30's	\$475
	WCTI	2/24- 2/27	Various	60's & 30's	\$150
Wilmington	WECT				
	WWAY				
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>					
Boston	WNAC	1/27- 2/21	Various	60's & 30's	\$34,450
	WCVB	1/27- 2/23	Various		\$26,260
	WSBK	1/29- 2/23	Various	60's & 30's	\$17,200
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>					
Manchester	WMUR	1/27- 2/23	E. Fringe.	5Min. Prog.	\$720



Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

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

MARCH 4, 1976

TO: DAWN SIBLEY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER
SUBJECT: RONALD REAGAN SPENDING

We need a quick estimate of Ronald Reagan spending in Illinois, North Carolina and Wisconsin.

cc: C. Wilhite



A252

D U

ADS 3-6

WITH POLITICS

NASHVILLE, TENN. (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN'S ADVERTISING MAN SAID SATURDAY THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S NEW ADVERTISEMENTS WILL BE "STRONGER, HARDER HITTING" BUT STILL NOT IMPOLITE TO PRESIDENT FORD.

MARC BALL, PRESIDENT OF BALL & MCDANIEL, SAID A "WHOLE NEW THRUST" IS BEING INJECTED INTO THE FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR'S \$9 MILLION ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN.

"I WOULDN'T DEFINE THEM AS ANTI-FORD, JUST QUESTIONING IN A VERY SERIOUS WAY THE POLICIES OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION," BALL SAID.

HE SAID THE NEW ADVERTISING WILL NOT BE "ALL THAT DIFFERENT" FROM PARTS OF THE CURRENT REAGAN SALES PITCH TO VOTERS IN THE PRIMARY STATES.

"THEY'LL BE STRONGER, HARDER HITTING BUT NOT PERSONAL. WE AREN'T CALLING FORD DUMB OR ANYTHING," BALL SAID.

"THE FORD PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SAYING THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORD AND REAGAN, BUT THERE'S A VAST DIFFERENCE, JUST A VAST DIFFERENCE." HE SAID. "IT'S JUST BECOME TIME TO EMPHASIZE THOSE DIFFERENCES.

"I FULLY EXPECT REAGAN TO WIN -- MAYBE NOT EVERY PRIMARY -- HE DOESN'T HAVE TO WIN EVERY ONE TO WIN AT THE CONVENTION, WHERE IT COUNTS." SAID BALL.

HE SAID IF REAGAN GETS ONLY 20 PER CENT OF THE FLORIDA VOTE, 25 PER CENT IN ILLINOIS AND 30 PER CENT IN NORTH CAROLINA, "I THINK YOU MIGHT SEE THINGS CUT SHORT," BUT ADDED HE EXPECTS HIS CANDIDATE TO DO MUCH BETTER THAN THAT.

DUPLICATES B-WIRE POINTS

UPI 03-06 05:12 PES

A253

R B

POLITICS 3-6'

CORRECTION NIGHT LD POLITICS UNDATED A228 3RD PGH XXX MILTON SHAPP CAMPAIGNED IN (CAMPAIGNED STED IS ENTERED)

UPI-WASHINGTON

UPI 03-06 05:13 PES



Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

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

March 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAWN SIBLEY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER
SUBJECT: REAGAN COPY

Geo. dk
3/9

Mark Ball of Reagan's advertising agency has announced new commercials which focus more specifically on the Ford Administration policies.

Let's get ahold of these just as soon as possible.

c.c. Bo Callaway
Peter Dailey
George Karalekas
Stu Spencer
Clayton Wilhite



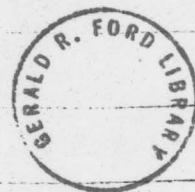
SUMMARY OF Regan Gap -

New Hampshire

1/27-2/23

TOT GAP (AS OF 3/9/76) 720

	<u>TOT GAP</u>
Manchester	720



SUMMARY OF REASON EXPENDITURES

MASSACHUSETTS 1/67-1/73

TOT EXP. 77910 (AS OF 3/9/76)

<u>MIKT</u>	<u>TOT EXP</u>
BOSTON	77910



SUMMARY OF Region EXP

FLORIDA

TOT EXP (AS OF 3/9/76) 216,545

	TOT EXP
Jacksonville	9610
Orlando	27140
MIAMI	66665
Tampa	64160
FT MEYER	6250
J. Palm Beach	20900
MIAMI BEACH	4500
Bike/Parkway	73,610
Winn City	4327
	<u>216,545</u>



SUMMARY of Reason EEP

North Carolina

TOT EEP (AS OF 3/9/73) 60,426

<u>HKT</u>	<u>TOT EEP</u>
Dorchester	3000
Row / RSH / SPART	18341
Charlotte	30500
Green Bros / WS / High Pt	3850
Greenville / work / new farm	1925
Wilmington	2810
	<u>60,426</u>



Summary of Reagan Eff

ILLINOIS

TOT Eff (As of 3/9)

181,342 ✓

<u>Market</u>	<u>TOT Eff</u>
Over Cities	6790
Peoria	6041
Chgo / Springfield / Decatur	1300
Springfield	5160
Rockford	7576
Chicago	<u>154,475</u>
	181,342



Peoria Radio

Illinois

	<u>2/24</u>	<u>3/2</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Davenport/R.I./Moline	2500	2800	2800	⁴ 8,100
Leoria	2200	2400	2500	7,100
Chicago	13,000	13,000	15,000	41,000
Rockford	1500	1500	1,500	4,500
Springfield/Decatur	3,000	3,200	3,200	9,400
Quincy/Hamilton	800	800	800	2,400
St Louis	4,000	4,000	4,000	12,000
Albanyville	500	500	500	1,500
Terre Haute	650	650	650	1,950
Peoria	1000	1000	1000	3,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	29,150	29,850	31,950	⁴ 90,950 ⁰⁰



Kadio Reagan

North Carolina

	<u>3/2</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>3/16</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Charlotte	5,500	5,500	5,500	16,500
Greensboro-W.Salem	3,600	4,200	4,200	12,000
Raleigh-Durham	2,600	2,200	2,400	7,200
Asheville-Greenville	1,600	1,600	1,600	4,800
Greenville-Nashville	1,500	1,500	1,500	4,500
Wilmington, NC	500	500	500	1,500
Norfolk	300	300	300	900
Hickory	100	100	100	300
Lenoir	100	100	100	300
Chattanooga	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>300</u>
	15,900	16,100	16,300	48,300



Campaign '76

Media Communications, Inc.

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

March 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLAYTON WILHITE
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER *B*
SUBJECT: RESULTS OF MEETING WITH PETER DAILEY

For our mutual convenience, here is a summary of our next steps with "action responsibility" indicated:

- 1) We should get Bob Teeter's point of view regarding the best insertion date for daily newspapers -- Friday or Monday. (Wagner).
- 2) We should get ahold of Reagan's five minute and thirty minute commercial films. (Sibley and Karalekas).
- 3) Let's get ahold of a representative sample of the advertising of the following Democrats: (Sibley and Karalekas):
- OK 3/9*

---Jackson
---Carter
---Wallace
---Udall

Scarp Jackson

- 4) We should analyze and organize the media payment procedures in New York City; problems include cash movement and the refusal of station representatives to receive lump sum payments.

cc: Pete Dailey
John Overaker
Dawn Sibley
Peggy Pilas
John Vinson



GOP Race Is Heated In Texas

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex.—Democrats hold the key to the outcome of the Republican presidential primary in Texas after a bitter primary battle in which President Ford has been accused of untruthfulness and challenger Ronald Reagan charged with irresponsibility.

On the Democratic side former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is mildly favored to follow up his Pennsylvania primary victory and win a plurality of the delegates against favorite-son candidate Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, who long ago withdrew from the national presidential race.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and an uncommitted liberal slate headed by Billie Carr of Houston are given a chance for only a handful of Democratic delegates, if any, from Saturday's first-ever Texas presidential primary.

Uncharacteristically for Texas, the Democratic contest has been a low-keyed, almost good-natured affair. Not so the Republican primary, where adherents of Reagan and Mr. Ford have reduced the Eleventh Commandment—"Thou shall not speak ill of a fellow Republican"—to a distant New Hampshire memory.

A few five-minute television commercial prepared by the Ford committee emphasizes patriotic themes, astronauts, the Statue of Liberty, martial music and a warning voice of Texas Sen. John G. Tower suggesting that Reagan is a political loser who has made hollow and misinformed statements that the United States is inferior to the Soviet Union in military strength.

A key section of this commercial, which has been aired heavily in Texas during the final week of the campaign, seems to carry echoes of 1964, when supporters of President John F. Kennedy depicted GOP presidential nominee Barry M. Goldwater as a nuclear war-monger.

Those who would seek



United Press International

President Ford and Sen. John G. Tower ride through downtown Conroe, Tex., during a campaign visit yesterday.

the presidency must be equal to its burdens," declares the Ford commercial. "They must not use words bristling with impatience or indulge in careless saber rattling. They must not forget the confrontation between nuclear giants can mean the extermination of mankind."

On the Reagan side the campaign has carried personal overtones ever since an opening letter by Citizens for Reagan chairman Ray A. Barnhart describing Mr. Ford as "an accidental President" who in the November campaign will be "butchered to pieces on Watergate, the pardon, Henry Kissinger, etc."

Barnhart has led a self-styled "truth squad" around the state, campaigning on the heels of Tower. In response to Tower's assertion that Mr. Ford has boosted the defense budget and is being "as frank and truthful as he can" with the American people, Barnhart alleges that Mr. Ford has committed "a series of falsehoods" and is engaged in "a deliberate attempt to deceive the public" on Soviet military strength and the status of the Panama Canal negotiations.

Often cited is the Presi-

dent's comment at a Dallas press conference April 10 when he declared "that the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give its operation rights as far as Panama is concerned." At the same time, in interviews with Texas newspapers, Mr. Ford has been defending the necessity of negotiating with the Panama government over control of the canal.

As in the Florida and North Carolina primaries, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has been a persistent issue.

A new one-minute commercial, paid for by Colorado brewer Joseph Coors at no financial cost to the Reagan campaign, features a sinister-appearing Kissinger interspersed with pictures of a group of schoolchildren saying the pledge of allegiance.

The commercial, labeled "a dramatization," features a simulated Kissinger voice making the following statements:

"It was understandable that the American people would tire of the burdens of leadership."

"A new agreement must restore Panama's sovereignty over the canal."

"We can no longer expect

our moral preference to hold sway."

"We must now reconcile our principles with our necessity."

At the end, while a message flashed on the screen against a backdrop of the American flag urges support for the Reagan delegates, the voice of one of the children says: "How can he do that to me? It's my country, too."

This commercial, considered both ineffective and unfair by the Ford committee, was regarded as so raw at least by one television station — KTTV in Fort Worth—that it refused to use the spot.

Both the Ford and the Reagan campaigns have attempted to target groups of voters who usually participate in the Democratic primary.

This is because Texas, with an estimated 5.3 million eligible voters, has no party registration. Democrats are free to participate in the Republican primary, providing they can find the GOP polling place, which under law must be separate from the Democratic polling place.

While the number of voters in past GOP primaries has never exceeded 150,000,

reports on absentee balloting this time indicate a far more substantial Republican turnout. Estimates range from Barnhart's prediction of 225,000 GOP voters to a turnout of nearly 500,000 anticipated by strategists at the Ford committee.

Reagan and his supporters are actively seeking support from former George Wallace voters and have formed a committee, "Texas Democrats and Independents," which is soliciting votes from Wallace backers. One of four Reagan radio spots used regularly in the campaign has a Wallace voter declaring: "It's now clear that George Wallace can't win his party's nomination. Ronald Reagan can."

The Ford committee is targeting what state coordinator Roger Wallace calls "national Republicans," those 600,000 voters who in state elections always vote for the entire GOP ticket.

GOP voters in 24 congressional districts will choose 96 delegates Saturday with another four to be selected at the state convention June 19. Democrats will choose 98 delegates in 31 senatorial districts, with another 32 to be named at the state convention, also on June 19.

Since most of the state's

known GOP voters are concentrated in two congressional districts in Dallas and Houston, some GOP districts may have as few as 2,000 Republican voters in the primary. But these districts will elect four delegates, the same number as the more populous districts. This means that an effective political organization in a few rural districts could offset the impact of presidential campaigning in the state's population centers.

The Democratic primary is equally confused if less emotional.

Bentsen is likely to win a hefty share of delegates Saturday, partly because the slate of delegates favoring him includes some of the state's best-known Democrats. There is a belief on the Carter side that, in Carter coordinator John Poulard's words, "our delegates are not as strong as our candidate."

Nevertheless, Poulard believes that the impact of the Pennsylvania primary will give Carter a Texas plurality. State Agriculture Commissioner John White, who organized the Bentsen campaign, thinks that it is still possible for the Texas senator to win the most delegates.

Campaign '76

Media Communications, Inc.

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

MARCH 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: BRUCE WAGNER
FROM: DAWN SIBLEY *DS*
SUBJECT: REAGAN COMPETITIVE INFORMATION

Attached please find latest estimates of Reagan's Competitive Spending in North Carolina, Illinois and Wisconsin.

This information has been delayed because the data submitted by SFM has been inadequate, incomplete and late. We are in the process of rectifying this situation.

Please utilize this as preliminary information, we will provide a more complete report early next week.

cc: Peter Dailey
Clayt Wilhite
George Karalekas
Bob Frank - SFM
Walter Staab - SFM



REAGAN COMPETITIVE SPENDING

BROADCAST ONLY

	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>FORD</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>		
# WEEKS	4	3
TOTAL COST	\$114,842	\$82,504
	TOTAL BUDGET:	\$109,192

<u>ILLINOIS</u>		
# WEEKS	4	3
TOTAL COST	\$271,342	\$157,797
	TOTAL BUDGET:	\$210,402

WISCONSIN

NO ACTIVITY/HAVE CALLED FOR AVAILABILITIES -----



Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

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

March 10, 1976

TO: DAWN SIBLEY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER *B*
SUBJECT: REAGAN: NORTH CAROLINA

The New York Times reports today that Reagan has cancelled television spots in North Carolina.

Let's confirm the situation.

Also, as previously discussed, let's try to get ahold of his newly-announced commercials just as soon as humanly possible. There will be important strategic implications.

cc: G. Karalekas
P. Dailey
C. Wilhite



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: NEW HAMPSHIRE 1/27 - 2/23

Total Exp. (as of 3/9/76) \$720

	<u>Tot. Exp.</u>
Manchester	\$720

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: MASSACHUSETTS 1/27 - 2/23

Total Expenditures \$77,910

<u>MKT</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
BOSTON	\$77,910

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

Total Exp. (as of 3/9) \$181,342

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
Quad Cities	\$ 6,790
Peoria	6,041
Champagne/Springfield/Decatur	1,300
Springfield	5,160
Rockford	7,576
Chicago	<u>154,475</u>
	\$ 181,342

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: FLORIDA

Total Exp. (as of 3/9/76) \$ 216,542

Total Exp.

Jacksonville	\$ 9,610
Orlando	27,140
Miami	66,065
Tampa	64,160
Ft. Meyers	6,230
W. Palm Beach	20,900
Tallahassee	4,500
Mobile/Pensacolo	13,610
Panama City	<u>4,327</u>
	\$ 216,542

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

SPOT RADIO

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

	<u>2/24</u>	<u>3/2</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>Total</u>
Davenport/RI/Moline	\$ 2,500	\$ 2,800	\$ 2,800	\$ 8,100
Peoria	2,200	2,400	2,500	7,100
Chicago	13,000	13,000	15,000	41,000
Rockford	1,500	1,500	1,500	4,500
Springfield/Decatur	3,000	3,200]	3,200	9,400
Quincy/Hannibal	800	800	800	2,400
St. Louis	4,000	4,000	4,000	12,000
Evansville	500	500	500	1,500
Terre Haute	650	650	650	1,950
Paducah	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,000
	<u>\$ 29,150</u>	<u>\$29,850</u>	<u>\$ 31,950</u>	<u>\$ 90,950</u>

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

Competitive Broadcast Activity

Television

Reagan

State = North Carolina

Total Exp. (as of 3/24/76)

Market

Total Exp.

Raleigh	10,225
Greenville/Ash. Spart	19,945
Charlotte	33,000
Greensboro	12,000
Wilmington	<u>2,810</u>
	77,980.00

(3/24/76)



Reagan's Upset Victory in North Carolina Attributed to

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 28—If there is any axiom of Presidential politics on which all experts in political advertising are agreed, it is that it is futile and even reckless for a candidate to attempt to harvest votes by sitting down in front of a television camera to make a speech. The only viewers who watch, the strategists insist, are those already committed to the candidate.

In the closing days of the North Carolina primary campaign, Ronald Reagan's forces had the temerity to ignore that axiom. As a last-ditch, desperation maneuver, a 30-minute speech by the candidate was broadcast in prime time on 15 of North Carolina's 17 television stations. All indications are that it had a powerful impact, so powerful that the speech may have made the difference for Mr. Reagan between victory and defeat.

An NBC News poll of Republican voters on primary day last Tuesday indicated that 20 percent of them had made up their minds in the last week of the campaign when virtually all political commentators and politicians were taking it for granted that President Ford was on his way to his sixth consecutive primary victory. The late deciders, the poll said, went to the former California Governor by a margin of nearly 3 to 1. According to the poll, a full 27 percent of the Reagan vote came in that 11th-hour surge.

Likeliest Explanation

Theorizing that something must have happened in the final week to explain such a heavy shift in opinion, the NBC pollsters searched for an event or events to explain why Mr. Reagan's stress on Soviet foreign policy gains and his attacks on Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger had caught on so suddenly. His television speech seemed to offer the likeliest answer, for it was the only conspicuous new development in the campaign.

Yet, strikingly, all that was truly new about the speech was the technique of its presentation and its exposure on television for a full half-hour. The address itself was a virtual anthology of familiar passages from Mr. Reagan's standard stump speech, without a single fresh line.

Impact of Last-Minute TV Speech

In fact, the speech had been videotaped in Florida two weeks before it was shown in North Carolina. But, since only a tiny minority of viewers ever venture out to a campaign rally, it may well have seemed brand-new to most of the viewers.

On the basis of a private screening after the North Carolina primary, it would appear that the speech may have been compelling in a way that the candidate seldom, if ever, is when heard at a rally.

Instead of standing behind a podium shuffling the index cards on which he jots down his notes and cues, Mr. Reagan was shown sitting behind a desk gazing directly into the camera.

Fear of Actor Image

Until North Carolina, Mr. Reagan's media adviser, Harry Treleven, deliberately refrained from exposing the candidate in this manner for fear that his professionalism in a studio situation would undercut his seriousness as a Presidential candidate. Specifically, Mr. Treleven feared it might remind voters of his career as an actor. Thus, the television commercials that were aired for Mr. Reagan in New Hampshire and Florida were designed to look like news film, always showing him in campaign situations addressing rallies.

Mr. Treleven initially planned to keep the same format in North Carolina but ran into resistance from local campaign chairman, Thomas F. Ellis, a Raleigh lawyer who remembered the impact of a television speech given by Mr. Reagan in 1964 in behalf of Senator Barry Goldwater.

"We begged them for a speech," Mr. Ellis recalled after the victory. But these folks who were political professionals, they always tend to do what the other guy does. If Jimmy Carter is shown walking down the street shaking hands with factory workers, they say, That's a good one. He won. Let's try that. They tend to go in stream."

More Receptive

Mr. Ellis argued for weeks that there was no way the candidate could get across his message in 30-second commercials. His insistence on a speech received strong backing from Nancy Reagan, the candidate's

wife, he said. Finally, Mr. Ellis threatened to go ahead on his own and air a month-old videotape of a Reagan address to a Junior Chamber of Commerce meeting in Raleigh unless the national campaign furnished him with a more up-to-date speech.

After Mr. Reagan's loss in Florida, the lawyer found Mr. Treleven's office more receptive to his arguments.

"By the time they hit North Carolina, they were listening to most anybody," Mr. Ellis said.

The speech that was finally used was recorded in Miami in the final week of the Florida campaign to take advantage of a free half-hour offered by the ABC affiliate there, WTLG. There were no visual frills and

only one camera was used by the station. Mr. Reagan sat at the desk with his hands folded, gesturing only twice in 30 minutes, as the camera zoomed in and out.

In the Reagan campaign, there was no thought at the time that the speech might later be used in commercials. But after the Florida defeat, the videotape was edited slightly to cut out references to

Florida that would have sounded odd in North Carolina.

The speech was shown on 15 stations in the final four days of the North Carolina campaign at a total cost of only \$10,000—the approximate price, by contrast, of two 30-second spots in prime time in New York.

Radio commercials were prepared to promote the speech, and two spot commercials—

one 60 seconds long, the other 30 seconds—were hastily edited from the videotape to reinforce its themes.

The candidate's earlier spots always ended with a slogan: "Reagan — He'll provide the strong new leadership America needs." Now there was no slogan or announcer's voice to augment the message he delivered straight into the camera.

"The truth is," he says as

the 30-second spot comes on the screen, "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 superiority."

The NBC News poll offered no conclusive answer to the question whether it was the argument or the delivery that

drove such foreign policy issues home for Mr. Reagan. And Mr. Treleven was drawing no quick conclusions as to whether an approach that apparently worked among North Carolina Republicans, an especially conservative group, should set the pattern for the Reagan commercials in upcoming primary battles.

But to Mr. Ellis it seemed that Mr. Reagan was belatedly doing what he should have done last November on the day he announced his candidacy. The campaign would have got off to a far better start, the North Carolina chairman argued, if it had been inaugurated with a nationally televised address.



Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

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

March 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: BRUCE WAGNER
FROM: DAWN SIBLEY *DS*
SUBJECT: REAGAN NBC 1/2 HOUR PROGRAM

The cost to have Radio TV Reports pull a cassette of the Reagan 1/2 hour program scheduled Wednesday, March 30, between 10:30 and 11 PM would be \$115.00.

Should we authorize this expenditure?

The price Reagan is paying for this program has been quoted as:

\$100,000 gross
+ 1,050 network charges
\$ 86,470 net total

We are in touch with Nielsen in order to secure overnight ratings on this program.

cc: Clayt Wilhite
George Karalekas
Carol Karasick
Barry Lafer



The Washington Star, March 31, 76

TV time for candidates

Ronald Reagan finally was allowed to buy a half hour of prime television time for his presidential campaign but that should not be the end of the controversy.

With television so important an element in political campaigns — if not the single most important element — it ought to go without saying that candidates should have access to the medium.

In Mr. Reagan's case, the candidate thought his campaign could very well end if he couldn't take his case to the public on national television. His campaign is suffering from a shortage of money, which the Reagan camp believed could be cured by a nationally-televised appeal. Beyond that, Mr. Reagan thought that the best way to sharpen the issues between him and President Ford was via a nationwide television speech.

It wasn't as if Mr. Reagan asked for free time, although the argument often is made that candidates should be given free television time. He asked to buy a half hour — at a cost of \$100,000 — on any of the three networks during the evening hours when the chance is greatest of attracting the widest audience.

What held it up? A Reagan aide said one network contended that Mr. Reagan is not a national candidate. If such an argument was in fact made, it ranks among the dumber statements to come out of televisionland.

The aide said another network claimed that it would have to sell time to other candidates if it sold time to Mr. Reagan. Well, what's wrong with that? If it is assumed that all the candidates of both parties who still are running in the primaries would want to buy a half hour — which isn't likely — that would amount to something like five hours. Divided among the three networks that would be less than two hours per network.

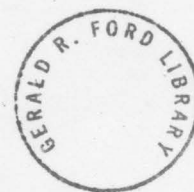
The real problem is that the networks are too concerned with their Neilson ratings. They're afraid that putting on a political speech in prime time will mean a loss of viewers for that time slot and a drop in those precious ratings which seem to control every decision of consequence in the commercial television industry.

It isn't that the networks favor the candidacy of President Ford, as one of the Reagan operatives charged. It's purely a business decision — a matter of dollars and cents; network executives fear that political programming, even though paid for by the candidates, will ultimately mean a loss of revenue because of a drop in viewer ratings.

NBC finally agreed to sell a half hour to Mr. Reagan, noting however that the decision was an exception to its general policy of not making time available to candidates while state primaries still are in process. ABC and CBS stuck to their refusal to sell the time. While NBC deserves commendation for its action, we suspect that the poor rating for the show Mr. Reagan's speech replaced had a good deal to do with its reversal.

We believe that Ronald Reagan, or any other legitimate presidential candidate, has a right to take his campaign to the public by national television, if that's the way he believes is the most effective — during the primary season as well as during the general election campaign. Perhaps Congress will want to see if some new rules for access to the airwaves by political candidates are in order.

It is incredible that during a year in which the leader of the free world is to be elected, a network executive can give the public reruns of comedy shows and cops and robbers but deny the public an opportunity to measure the presidential candidates.



The Washington Star, March 31, 76

Bitterness Voiced in Resignation

Callaway Alleges Ouster Plot

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

Howard H. Callaway, expressing bitterness over his resignation as President Ford's campaign manager, asserts that White House officials plotted to force him out.

Just before a meeting two weeks ago with White House Chief of Staff Richard Cheney, Callaway said, he learned that Ford aides were seeking to "orchestrate" his quick departure from the campaign.

As a result, he voiced strong objections to Cheney and asked for about two weeks to clear himself of allegations that he improperly used his influence to win government approval for the expansion of a Colorado ski resort he owns, Callaway said.

Cheney agreed to this, but the plot continued for a number of days as White House aides leaked stories about Callaway's resignation and replacement as

campaign chief by Rogers C.B. Morton, Callaway said.

"It took a while to call it (the plot) off," he said.

EXCEPT FOR the leaks, the White House has treated him well since the meeting and no one asked for his resignation, Callaway said, adding that it was not until Monday that he decided, on his own, to step down permanently as campaign chairman.

What prompted his decision was word from the Justice Department that its investigation of the allegations against him would not be completed this week or perhaps by next week, Callaway said. "There was no alternative but to leave the campaign."

So Callaway trekked down to the White House on Monday afternoon to give Cheney a copy of the transcript of an Atlanta press conference last week in which he disclaimed any wrongdoing. Cheney passed the document on to Ford.

At 6 o'clock that night, Cheney and Callaway went to see Ford in the Oval Office. Callaway had a written resignation in his pocket, but he did not give it to the President at first.

They talked for about 20 minutes, discussing the charges against Callaway and the state of the Ford campaign against Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination.

THEN CALLAWAY handed in his resignation and asked Ford if he could reinstate himself as campaign chairman — he had been suspended "temporarily" from that job since March 12 — for several days before Morton takes over.

Ford agreed to this "symbolic" reinstatement, and plans were set to announce the Callaway-Morton switch yesterday. Callaway also wanted Ford to view a videotape of the Atlanta press conference, but Ford did not do this.

The announcement, at 3:10 p.m. yesterday, was a kind of media event. As newsmen were ushered in the Oval Office, Ford, Callaway and Morton stood with their backs to the Rose Garden. Callaway kept his hands in his pockets.

From the President, Callaway got the words he wanted. "I know very deeply in my own heart that Bo Callaway is an absolutely honest person and one who would not under any circumstances undertake anything that was improper," Ford said.

"Bo, in his own unselfish way, recognizing that a campaign is a relatively limited time-wise affair, felt that for him to stay on while these investigations were being completed would not be helpful to the campaign," Ford went on.

"I am absolutely sure that Bo will be completely exonerated," the President said.

CALLAWAY SAID nothing during the brief session, which the White House press office called a "ceremony." It was on the driveway outside the White House that he told reporters of his bitterness.



The Washington Star, March 31, 76

Politics Today

For Delegate Counts,
Tipping Point's 1,200

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK — There has been a subtle but significant change in the last two weeks in the nature of the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The time for "momentum" has passed, and the contest for delegates is on in earnest.

The 1976 rules that forbid winner-take-all primaries above the congressional district level has made it unlikely that any candidate will arrive here at the national convention July 12 assured of the support of an absolute majority of 1,505 delegates and the nomination.

Instead, the goal is to come close enough to that figure so that nomination will seem inevitable — and uncommitted delegates will consider it prudent to commit themselves and make the critical differences in choosing the nominee.

THE QUESTION is just what the tipping point will prove to be. Among Democratic professionals today, the best guess seems to be about 1,200 delegates — meaning that a candidate who arrives here with that many votes locked in is likely to win the rest needed to get the nomination. What is clear already is that two of the three leading active candidates cannot reach that level.

Morris K. Udall, the self-styled champion of the party's progressive wing, has been so selective that he is unlikely to reach the convention with more than 600 to 700 delegates even if he exceeds his own and everyone else's expectations in New York next Tuesday and all the other primaries in which he is competing. Udall is not running in Texas May 1, where 130 delegates are at stake, and he failed to qualify in Indiana May 4 — when another 75 will be the prize.

Nor does Henry Jackson, the favorite in New York, have the potential for reaching anything that could be called a tipping point before the convention. Even if he were to sweep New York, Pennsylvania three weeks later and Indiana, he has ignored too many small states to have any reasonable chance of arriving at the convention with more than 1,000 delegates.

THIS LEAVES the inevitable Jimmy Carter. He is following the strategy that Ed Muskie demonstrated in 1972 cannot possibly work — entering everywhere. In fact, it is obvious now that it is the only feasible strategy for an outsider like the former Georgia governor.

But the arithmetic of Carter's situation demonstrates just how difficult it can be to reach the magic number.

Carter now has about 200 delegates. The exact number on which he can count depends on how many of the officially uncommitted are prepared to go with him when convention time arrives. At best, he has 300 delegates.

Carter is the only candidate making a serious effort in several convention states in which the process is beginning over the next few weeks, notably Kansas, Missouri and Virginia. If all goes well for him he may win 150 delegates in those states.

THERE ARE ALSO seven primaries in the next four to five weeks that will elect 821 delegates — New York and Wisconsin next Tuesday, Pennsylvania April 27, and Texas, Georgia, Indiana and Tennessee the following week. Even conceding Carter's momentum and optimism, it is difficult to see how he could win more than 400 to 420 in that group.

Another 100 to 150 delegates are within sight for Carter in the later primaries in May, assuming he does not lose his present momentum somewhere along the way.

Then, in the final primary week, there are 566 at stake in California, New Jersey, Ohio and Arkansas, in at least three of which he will be facing favorite son attempts to build bargaining power for local politicians. The most Carter could expect from those four states is probably 300 to 350 delegates.

But the Georgian cannot expect to arrive at the convention with more than 1,200 to 1,250 even if everything goes swimmingly over the next two months. And that means that he would require some major defection from another candidate, the favorite sons or the uncommitted bloc to reach the majority needed for the nomination.

This is the arithmetic that is encouraging speculation about a deadlocked convention and the possibility that Hubert H. Humphrey will win the prize in the end. But the same figures make it clear that someone who has not competed all along the way will find it even more difficult to approach the tipping point of 1,200 or better.

The rules are not designed for the smoke-filled room.



The Washington Star, March 31, 78

Reagan on Prime-Time TV Tonight

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Ronald Reagan says he is taking his presidential campaign directly to Americans via television tonight because he is frustrated that he hasn't been getting his message through to enough people.

Reagan refused comment on what he would say in the half-hour broadcast, starting at 10:30 p.m. on nearly 200 NBC stations. The broadcast will cost his campaign \$86,000. The Republican presidential challenger, who scored his first victory over President Ford last week in North Carolina after losing five Republican primaries, taped his 30-minute television program in a day-long session at a Hollywood film studio yesterday. He had canceled a week of campaign appearances to prepare for the program.



The Washington Star, March 31, 76

Tom Wicker

Risky for 'favorite sons'

NEW YORK — When Gov. Jerry Brown of California confided his presidential candidacy to a few reporters in his office one night, he was careful to term himself a "native son" rather than a "favorite son." That may have been more than just a calculated ambiguity as to whether he would run only in California, or in other states as well; in fact, the climate does not seem good this year for "favorite sons."

Classically, if the word can be applied to American politics, a "favorite son" has been a leading state political figure to whom that state pledged its presidential nominating delegates — not in any real hope of nominating him but as a strategic move to avoid early pressures from real candidates, and to increase the state delegation's importance and bargaining power at the national convention.

Occasionally, favorite sons have been nominated and more often they have been strategically important in throwing their delegates to the eventual nominee. Even more often, they have done little but advertise their own futility and their state's supposed glories.

In 1976, according to an estimate by Jules Witcover of the *Washington Post*, as many as 700 of the 3,008 Democratic delegates might arrive at the convention supporting "favorite" or "native" sons, or officially uncommitted. By his calculation, these sons and uncommitted slates will play some role in 15 states,

including the important trio holding the last primaries on June 8 — California, Ohio and New Jersey. Minnesota, for example, will almost surely gather most of its 65 delegates into an unauthorized "favorite son" slate for Hubert Humphrey. Sen. Robert Byrd may also be able to hold the heft of West Virginia's 35 delegates behind his "favorite son" candidacy.

But it is not at all clear that the strategy can work wherever it may be tried. For one thing, few states, in 1976, have Democratic party machines, bosses or elected officials powerful or popular enough to enforce it. For another, the Democrats have eliminated statewide winner-take-all primaries, greatly reducing the bargaining power even a reasonably successful favorite son or uncommitted slate could wield.

There are a number of reasons why challengers might do quite well against favorite sons. In a year when the public seems clearly anti-political, nothing is much more obviously political and manipulative than a "favorite son" candidacy. And since the Democratic rules now award at least some delegates to any candidate who can win at least 15 per cent of the vote in a state or a congressional district, there is a strong incentive for the national candidates to challenge the "favorite sons."

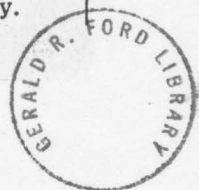
There is little for the national candidates to lose anyway, and much to gain. If they beat a "favorite son" on the latter's home

grounds, they earn political stature. But candidates like Gov. Brown and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas have plenty to lose — not only delegate races, but power and influence at home. Brown is risking, for example, his "anti-political" reputation in a statewide test he need not have faced for two more years, and the bursting of his remarkable bubble of popularity.

The way the 1976 campaign is unfolding raises some other questions about the strategy of "favorite sons" and uncommitted slates. It seems to be coming down to a two-man campaign between Carter and Sen. Henry Jackson, with Rep. Morris Udall more or less openly picturing himself as a vehicle for those who actually prefer Humphrey — who is not so much a non-candidate as a not-yet candidate.

In these circumstances, "favorite sons" and uncommitted slates are, in effect, pro-Humphrey. If either Carter or Jackson emerges a clear and commanding front-runner after the April primaries in Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania, which is likely, who but Humphrey — if anyone — could the favorite and native sons rally round, in order not to dissipate what strength they have?

When and if they do, moreover, they will run the risk on the one hand of appearing to seek a backroom choice over a primary winner; and on the other of being run over by a bandwagon gathering speed. Those are high risks to take for the reward of nominating Hubert Humphrey.



Garry Wills

Support in the Sun Belt important to both parties

Much has been made, recently, of America's "Sun Belt" — its southern tier or rim of states — as an electoral force. It is conceivable that three of the four candidates at the top of the party tickets next November could come from the Sun Belt. President Ford may have to appoint a Southerner to keep Reaganites in line — a senator like Baker or Brock, a Texan like Connally or Tower.

If Carter should be the Democratic candidate, what better way to balance the ticket than with the principal liberal challenger of the primary season, who just happens to be from Arizona.

When people say this election may, atypically, turn on questions of foreign policy, this reflects Sun Belt concerns. The South has always been in love with military things, and the Southwest grew to importance in the cold war era, blest with space and missile and aircraft contrasts.

The latest theorist of Sun Belt influence, Kirkpatrick Sale, has taken the valid insights of Kevin Phillips and others and inflated them to the point of absurdity. For one thing, Sale sees the shift of population and money as the result of conspiracy. He not only im-

poses a rigid identity on the Sun Belt, but an artificially contrasting and hostile personality on the "Yankee" part of the country. Like most conspiratorialists, he makes every accident the result of design, and each detail must be fitted into his master mosaic. Everybody is part of the conspiracy, on one side or the other.

Kevin Phillips, who invented the term Sun Belt, recognized the facts that Sale has turned into fiction. The Phillips analysis, often called a Southern strategy, was actually a "heartland" strategy, in which the Sun Belt played an important part, but only a part. Phillips also saw the South has always played a disproportionate role in our elections.

It supplies the largest homogeneous bloc of electoral votes, totaling roughly a quarter of those needed for election — or, with fringe states, nearly a third. If the Southwest begins voting with the old Confederate states on a regular basis, this large group could determine any election it cared to. Furthermore, the South has traditionally committed itself early — in the past, to Democrats; more recently, to Wallaceism. That gives the party with this assured bloc the chance to target its later efforts in the combination of states

needed to get an electoral majority.

This year both parties need assurance of Southern support — Republicans, because that is the base of Reagan's challenge; Democrats, because the Wallace threat has been broken and the South can be won back from its 1968 and 1972 apostasy. Jackson can hope that New York and Pennsylvania still have their old clout; but his support of vast military expenditures does not seem enough, of itself, to win much of the Southwest; and his appeal to the original South is nonexistent, as he tacitly admitted by pulling out of North Carolina after his Florida defeat.

We can expect, then, to hear more about guns and less about butter as primaries like the one in Texas approach. Ford, trying to out-tough Reagan, may find it impossible to move left after winning the primary struggle — the test will be his vice presidential choice.

Carter, on the other hand, can move but from his basic Southern constituency — all wooing movements in an election are toward the middle or "the other side." And with Udall on his ticket, he would have the best of both the Democratic worlds — another Sun Belter who is also the longest-surviving liberal in the primary conflict.



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

SPOT RADIO

REAGAN

STATE: NORTH CAROLINA

	<u>3/2</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>3/16</u>	<u>Total</u>
Charlotte	\$ 5,500	\$5,500	\$5,500	\$ 16,500
Greensboro-W. Salem	3,600	4,200	4,200	12,000
Raleigh-Durham	2,600	2,200	2,400	7,200
Asheville-Granville	1,600	1,600	1,600	4,800
Greenville-Newbern	1,500	1,500	1,500	4,500
Wilmington,	500	500	500	1,500
Norfolk	300	300	300	900
Hickory	100	100	100	300
Florence	100	100	100	300
Chattanooga	100	100	100	300
	<u>\$15,900</u>	<u>\$16,100</u>	<u>\$16,300</u>	<u>\$48,300</u>

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: NEW HAMPSHIRE 1/27 - 2/23

Total Exp. (as of 3/9/76) \$720

	<u>Tot. Exp.</u>
Manchester	\$720

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: MASSACHUSETTS 1/27 - 2/23

Total Expenditures \$77,910

<u>MKT</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
BOSTON	\$77,910

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

Total Exp. (as of 3/9) \$181,342

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
Quad Cities	\$ 6,790
Peoria	6,041
Champagne/Springfield/Decatur	1,300
Springfield	5,160
Rockford	7,576
Chicago	<u>154,475</u>
	\$ 181,342

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

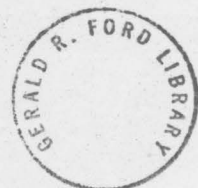
STATE: FLORIDA

Total Exp. (as of 3/9/76) \$ 216,542

Total Exp.

Jacksonville	\$ 9,610
Orlando	27,140
Miami	66,065
Tampa	64,160
Ft. Meyers	6,230
W. Palm Beach	20,900
Tallahassee	4,500
Mobile/Pensacolo	13,610
Panama City	<u>4,327</u>
	\$ 216,542

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

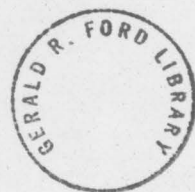
SPOT RADIO

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

	<u>2/24</u>	<u>3/2</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>Total</u>
Davenport/RI/Moline	\$ 2,500	\$ 2,800	\$ 2,800	\$ 8,100
Peoria	2,200	2,400	2,500	7,100
Chicago	13,000	13,000	15,000	41,000
Rockford	1,500	1,500	1,500	4,500
Springfield/Decatur	3,000	3,200]	3,200	9,400
Quincy/Hannibal	800	800	800	2,400
St. Louis	4,000	4,000	4,000	12,000
Evansville	500	500	500	1,500
Terre Haute	650	650	650	1,950
Paducah	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,000
	<u>\$ 29,150</u>	<u>\$29,850</u>	<u>\$ 31,950</u>	<u>\$ 90,950</u>

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76
COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: NORTH CAROLINA

Total Exp. (as of 3/9/76) \$ 60,426

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
Raleigh	\$ 3,000
Greensboro/Ashville/Spartanburg	18,341
Charlotte	30,500
Greensboro/Winston Salem/High Point	3,850
Greenville/Washington/New Bern	1,925
Wilmington	<u>2,810</u>
	\$ 60,426

(3/16/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

Total Exp. (as of 3/17/76)

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
Quad Cities	6,615
Peoria	10,201
Champaign/Springfield/Decatur	7,990
Springfield	5,500
Rockford	9,450
Chicago	<u>150,500</u>
	m
	190,256

(3/17/76)



CAMPAIGN '76

COMPETITIVE BROADCAST ACTIVITY

TELEVISION

REAGAN

STATE: ILLINOIS

Total Exp. (as of 3/17/76)

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>TOTAL EXP.</u>
Quad Cities	6,615
Peoria	10,201
Champ/Springfield/Decatur	7,990
Springfield	5,500
Rockford	9,450
Chicago	<u>150,500</u>
	190,256

(3/17/76)



The Washington Post, March 31, 76

Politics in Prime Time

IN RESPONDING to Ronald Reagan's desire to buy nationwide TV time, the three commercial networks seem to have put their ratings ahead of their public responsibilities. We say this *seems* to be the case; neither front-running ABC nor second-place CBS has explained its refusal to sell Mr. Reagan half an hour of prime time. NBC did make room for Mr. Reagan's address at 10:30 tonight, but no great sacrifice of ratings was involved. The network is simply dumping "The Dumplings," a situation comedy that has ranked 65th out of 72 programs and has already been canceled for next fall.

Given NBC's dismal showing in the recent ratings race, the network may have concluded that Mr. Reagan's speech may help. Beyond any specific calculations of this sort, however, all three networks are obviously reluctant to yield up prime time to paid political broadcasting. NBC's statement emphasized, for instance, that the network ordinarily would not accommodate such programs "this early while the state primaries are still in progress." The exception is being made because of Mr. Reagan's "unique situation" as the sole major primary challenger to an incumbent President. In other words, no Democrats need apply.

All this points to two problems. One is that the programmers and the politicians run by different clocks. This may be early in the year for NBC, but for Mr. Reagan it is at least high noon. His nationwide address is a major, last-ditch attempt to raise funds for the crucial primaries just ahead. In his view, a \$100,000 outlay for prime time is necessary right now: Next summer would be too late. Similarly, as the Democratic contest moves along, one or more of those contenders may decide to invest in a nationwide televised appeal. If so, he should not be denied time arbitrarily and without explanation from those who control the access to the air.

That leads to the larger problem: How such access for candidates should be secured. The laws and rules governing the subject are both murky and intricate. The 1974 campaign law, for example, requires stations to give "reasonable access" to candidates for federal office, but what is "reasonable" has not yet been defined. Add that bit of uncertainty to the complex provisions about equal time and the low advertising rates to be charged to political candidates, and it is easy to see why broadcasters would not rush to entertain requests for political ads.

Yet the industry does have an obligation to facilitate political debate — especially in a presidential election year, and most of all when one candidate is the incumbent, with his vast ability to shape and dominate the news. Stations and networks cannot entirely discharge their obligations, in our view, by covering campaign news and making bits of free time available for debates. It is also incumbent on the industry to allow candidates to advertise, within reasonable limits, in ways that fit the timing and strategy of various campaigns. We would shudder at the prospect of any more law on the subject, but we would welcome initiatives by the networks. Candidates ought to know what kind of air time is available for sale, and how much notice is required; the public ought to know what the policies are. In some cases "no sale" may be appropriate. But "no comment" is not.

Correction

In commenting yesterday on employment legislation, we erroneously said that the gross cost of creating 2 million publicly supported jobs would be about \$25 million a year. The correct figure is \$25 *billion*.



By Mike Peters for the Dayton Daily News

Last-minute law change tosses ballot-makers for loop in New York

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Mrs. Betty Dolen sighs and throws up her arms. "Calling it a nightmare would be an understatement," she exclaims.

Mrs. Dolen, executive director of the New York City Board of Elections, has been in a race against the clock, politicians, and the courts to have ballots printed and the city's 6,500 voting machines stuffed and ready for the New York State primary, April 6.

With the clock ticking and less than a week to go, she thinks she may make it . . . if the threatened subway and bus strike does not tie up the trucks delivering the ballots . . . if a threatened suit against the election board by candidates challenging their positions on the ballot is avoided . . . and if the printers are not delayed once again with more last-minute changes.

Upstate rush

In Albany, the state capital, Thomas W. Wallace, executive director of the State Board of Elections, echoes Mrs. Dolen's sentiments and mumbles that he has not had time enough for a lunch break in weeks.

Source of all this confusion is a last-minute change in New York's election law that allows for the first time the names of presidential candidates to be listed on ballots along with the delegate slates committed to them.

While generally hailed by nonpartisan good-government groups as a badly needed reform that siphons off some of the influence political "bosses" have wielded in the primary — and as a measure that allows voters to know for certain just which presidential candidates their votes will support, the law, enacted only 26 days before the primary, is proving an administrative mess and the source of widespread confusion and several lawsuits.

"It's not one primary, it's 39 separate primaries," remarks one political analyst, referring to the state's 39 congressional districts

Republicans exempted

and 247 Democratic convention delegates to be chosen from them.

New York Republicans exempted their party from the election law, which means all 154

delegates (the second largest to California's 167) official will not be committed to either President Ford or Ronald Reagan. Some analysts have seen this as a move to hold the state's delegation in reserve, should Vice-President Nelson A. Rockefeller decide to enter the fray.

On the Democratic side, Jimmy Carter's campaign leaders have attacked the primary here as "disgraceful" and "stacked" against him and in favor of front-runner Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

The Carter campaign has announced it will file suit in federal district court to contest the primary results in 10 congressional districts where their candidate's name will not be listed because of what they call "technical" irregularities. Carter campaign workers complain of such minor infractions as the misspelling of a name.

Mr. Wallace of the state election board argues that that is an "oversimplification" and that signatures of petitioners were knocked off for a number of reasons, the most frequent being that the person was not a registered voter.

Ruling favors Jackson

In another suit, Senator Jackson succeeded in convincing the State Supreme Court that 33 of his contested delegates should be listed even though Jackson supporters missed the deadline for filing. The judges ruled that the Legislature was so late in enacting the new election law that flexibility was needed in implementing it.

Campaign officials for Morris K. Udall have appealed the ruling.

In yet another court ruling, supporters of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey were told by the State Court of Appeals that they must be listed as "uncommitted" because Mr. Humphrey, who is not an announced candidate, did not authorize them to run under his name.

At stake in the Democratic primary will be 206 committed delegates; another 68 "at large" delegates will be chosen by the Democratic State Committee. As of this writing, Mr. Carter has 29 slates of delegates; Senator Jackson, 35 slates; Mr. Udall, 37; Fred Harris, 15; and George C. Wallace, 3.



March 31, 76

Roscoe Drummond

Religion in the campaign

Washington

It is a grave disservice — invalid, unfair, and out-of-date — for anyone to inject a candidate's religious beliefs into the presidential campaign.

This development is surfacing in a most unexpected manner. To their credit it is not being raised by the candidates themselves or by other politicians. It is being raised by an influential, nationally syndicated columnist.

The election of John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, seemed to take religion decisively out of presidential politics.

But at this critical stage in the primaries Joseph Kraft has begun to ask: "Is America ready for a Christian president from the South?"

Mr. Kraft's answer to his own question is that being a practicing Southern Baptist serves "to cloud Carter's prospects as the primary parade moves into more hotly contested industrial states."

Why? Why would the American voters be "ready" to elect a Northern Catholic to the presidency but not be "ready" to elect a Southern Protestant to the presidency?

The contention is that Mr. Carter's "religious approach" is a political liability.

I offer the opposite view — and I am not advocating Carter's nomination or election. I believe that few Americans will be offended by his deep religious self-dedication and that many will see it as a positive asset to political leadership.

The suggestion is made that it is "Carter's religious approach" which raises doubts about him in the minds of voters.

If "religious approach" means that the former Georgia Governor is taking positions on national policy and political strategy which reflect religious dogma, there is no evidence that I can discern to support such an argument.

If "religious approach" means that Mr. Carter is a deeply religious person who is not hesitant to identify his personal life with his Christian convictions — that is true and may well be what many Americans would like to see more of.

Carter has, on questioning, frankly explained to audiences his religious "experience," which has given him an inner peace and tranquillity, carrying him through stressful problems and providing "values" which guide his personal conduct. That isn't putting religion into politics. That is putting religion into private living.

It is not necessary to inject religion into the campaign to find reasons that some other candidate might make a better president. It is up to Mr. Carter to do the persuading on his behalf; it is up to the voters to do the deciding, but hopefully without having to cut through the mist of an invalid, unfair, and out-of-date religious issue.

The political professionals are showing no sign of wanting to get religious belief into politics. That's healthy.

Stuart Spencer, President Ford's acting campaign manager, was recently asked whether he thought that the religious dedication that Carter openly manifests would be a factor in the campaign. His view was that it would not weigh adversely and could turn out to be a positive source of political strength. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who hopes the Democratic convention will in the end turn to him as its choice, gave a similar answer.

Carter may or may not make it, and all I am saying is that he ought not to be rejected for wrong reasons.

The Christian Science Monitor, March 31, 76

Richard L. Strout

Thoughts on Jimmy Carter

Washington

It used to be at a Washington social gathering that when somebody said "Jimmy Carter" other groups were deserted; today it appears that all the groups already are talking about Jimmy Carter. Nobody in modern times has seen a presidential candidate like him. Even now most political writers pinch themselves. Where will he be halted? Everything he has done so far has been impossible.

He's the peanut farmer from Georgia who went to Annapolis, worked in nuclear submarines, and later became Governor of his state.

After that he seemed to disappear for a while, but he just went underground, working for a couple of years organizing his presidential campaign, which is now surfacing bewilderingly.

The arresting thing about his campaign is what has been called his disarming arrogance, his toothy smile, and his declaration to audiences that he will never lie to them. This goes hand in hand with the discovery that he is a practicing Christian in the Southern manner and talks matter-of-factly of areas of faith the discussion of which sometimes tends to embarrass those from other regions. Mr. Carter says he wants to bring respect back to Washington.

Governor Carter's emergence has tended to confuse everybody, because it is impossible to fit him into past political norms. For example, New York Times pundit James Reston, March 19, decried a major Carter speech on foreign affairs in Chicago before the Council on Foreign Relations as "disappointing" and unsuccessful. Carter was "pretending," said Mr. Reston, and this could lose him "everything."

On the other hand, columnist Clayton Fritchey, writing March 27 in the Washington Post, said, "It may be the most perceptive speech on U.S. policy made this year by any of the presidential candidates of either party."

Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, who helped write the Chicago speech, told this correspondent that further foreign policy talks would come shortly and would maybe help reveal Governor Carter's views. Others contributing to the Chicago speech were Richard Gardner of Columbia and Milton Katz of Harvard.

Governor Carter has given views on the subject elsewhere. Recently, in question-answer interviews with the Washington Post, he made these statements:

Angola: He would "not have gone in. . . . We tried to see which one of the factions was most beneficial to us without trying to assess which was best for the Angolan people. . . . Kissinger and Ford and the CIA decided that we would give them military aid, knowing that neither the American people nor the Congress would support that policy."

Korea and defense: "I would remove all atomic weapons from Korea. . . . I believe in a strong defense, but I'm talking about maybe 5 percent reductions. . . ."

Japan: "My commitment to Japan would be total."

Soviet Union: He believes their "ultimate goal" is world communism and "the expansion of their system. . . . I think we still have a superiority over Russia in the multiplicity of delivery systems for atomic weapons and our ability to defend ourselves. . . ."

Draft evaders: "When I issue the pardon, if I'm elected president, [in] my first week in office, I don't intend to criticize the young people who left the country. I'd just issue a blanket pardon without comment."



The Washington Post, March 31, 76

Election Panel Still Operating

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

Those who thought the Federal Election Commission might dissolve when the Supreme Court ruled that it was constituted illegally thought wrong.

Although the commission lost some of its powers when a court delay of its ruling ran out March 22, it is continuing to function in a broad area and it is continuing to grow.

The court's Jan. 30 decision and Congress' indecision since on what to do with the commission have not caused any reduction in the commission staff, now up to 142 people, nor its payroll, now running at \$204,000 a month.

The court in January ruled that the commission could not constitutionally perform executive branch functions and also have its own executive—the six commission members—appointed by Congress.

The court suspended its ruling for a month to allow Congress to repair the empowering legislation, and then granted an additional 21 days, but Congress is still far from deciding what to do with the commission and the law.

Meanwhile at the commission, at 1325 K St. NW, the auditors continue to audit campaign contributions to candidates, the lawyers continue to analyze the applicable laws, and commission business goes on.

Basically, the limiting of the commission's powers has affected only two of its functions: its power to certify federal matching funds for presidential candidates, and its power to interpret the election laws.

Thus, it has ceased writing regulations, advisory opinions and opinions of counsel.

But it has not ceased auditing contributions to the campaigns of presidential candidates, nor receiving and making public reports of contributions and expenditures by all candidates for federal office.

Presidential candidates are due to file their next regular monthly fund report with the commission on April 10.

Up to the time the court ended the commission's powers to certify matching grants on March 22, the commission had authorized \$12,618,240.88 for 14 candidates.

Since then, nine candidates have filed new requests for \$1,132,705.67 more. Most of the applications arrived Monday, including requests from three candidates for the Democratic nomination who no longer are actively campaigning in the primaries: Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp and Sargent Shriver. The pending requests are:

Birch Bayh	\$ 3,416.67
Frank Church	17,891.25
Jimmy Carter	57,538.87
Gerald R. Ford	742,363.63
Ronald Reagan	203,040.66
Milton Shapp	15,326.00
Sargent Shriver	3,456.00
Morris K. Udall	89,503.00
Fred Harris	21,429.01

Three candidates—Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson and anti-abortion advocate Ellen McCormack—made no submissions for April.

Wallace leads in matching funds so far, having received \$2,785,196.03; President Ford is next with \$1,952,615.68, Reagan third with \$1,679,124.19 and Jackson fourth with \$1,559,637.18.

Even with the commission's certification powers eliminated, at least temporarily, its auditors are now examining the books of the nine candidates who filed new reports on Monday so that, if and when the commission is reconstituted, it can move quickly to authorize payments to the campaigns.

Auditing staff is one of the two units still being increased by the commission. The other is the report review staff, which examines reports as they are filed.



The Washington Post, March 31, 76

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

'Just Plain Winning'

MADISON, Wis. — The stunning collapse of liberal dominance which has controlled Wisconsin's Democratic Party in recent presidential primaries is sundering old ideological ties and opening the way for Jimmy Carterism — defined by one erstwhile ideological purist as "just plain winning."

Indeed, "just plain winning" is clearly the former Georgia governor's most notable asset here, more important by far than his appealing personal campaigning style and his masterful ability to fudge issues.

Thus if, as seems likely, Carter next Tuesday beats Rep. Morris Udall, the last of the liberals still in contention (despite dairy farmer resentment over Carter's farm policies), the main reason will be this: massive desertion from the liberal cause by leaders of the Democratic left who exploited the "liberal" issues particularly Vietnam, in 1972 and 1968 to make George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy winners of the Wisconsin presidential primary.

"We've had it with the cloistered virtues of doctrinal purity," we were told by Jeff Sykes, Carter's chief agent for the 2d congressional district, the most liberal in the state. In a letter to all 2d district Democrats this week, Quaker Sykes, an antiwar militant who backed John Lindsay in the 1972 primary and then became a McGovern fund raiser, said that the object of politics is "to win elections" — a remarkable change from four years ago.

Likewise, the enlistment in Carter's cause of Donald O. Peterson, long-time Democratic national committeeman, ended a Quixotic Peterson movement for electing uncommitted delegates in reality committed to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Peterson, who tried to ride Vietnam to national power, has now tied his future squarely to Jimmy Carter.

More significant for Carter is the defection from the liberal cause of State Sen. Timothy Cullen, political and personal ally of Wisconsin Rep. Les Aspin, a Udall stalwart. Cullen came to Carter's camp despite intimate connections with the United Auto Workers union (UAW), which has ordered its locals to back Udall in seven of the state's nine congressional districts (including Cullen's senatorial district).

Cullen says his constituents are beginning to question all "liberal" programs and are taking a harder line on drug abuse, welfare frauds and gun control. "We are like Massachusetts," Cullen told us. "We've moved as far to the right in the last four years as they have."

To Cullen, then, the Democratic future belongs far more to Jimmy Carter than Mo Udall. The same sentiment has brought Carter two former state chairmen, William Gerrard, a fund-raising intimate of Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, and Richard Cudahy.

Moreover, throughout Carter's campaign swing last week his mere presence on the scene attracted vast curiosity and attention, culminating in a fund-raising luncheon at the Athens restaurant here jam-packed with Democrats who have just lately heard of Carter. More impressive than the turnout of Carter supporters was the presence in the restaurant of several incognito members of the state legislature, there without notice to watch the Georgia peanut farmer in action.

It is this star quality — and the indefinable status of bona-fide celebrity possibly on the way to the White House — that has made Carter capable of uprooting Wisconsin liberals for whom winning has suddenly become paramount and for whom ideological commitment to once-sacred-cow issues has become foolish.

On the stump, Carter was precisely consistent with past rhetorical efforts in other primary states, showing little if any change by way of wooing liberals in this liberal state as contrasted to the Democrats in North Carolina or Illinois.

Just as in the past, he refused here to get pinned down on hard issues. In an exchange with reporters which grew angry after repeated equivocations, the candidate refused to state flatly whether he would or would not use America's vast food surpluses as a bargaining lever against the Soviet Union. He slipped in an undercut against President Ford that was clearly unfair, charging him with letting "electronic" materials "and Pepsi-Cola" keep moving to Russia last year despite a decision "to withhold sales of grain."

In fact, the withholding of grain was a unique case to prevent another great grain robbery. It had nothing whatsoever to do with bargaining levers against Moscow, or favoring the President's corporate buddies.

But Wisconsin Democrats once committed to unalloyed liberal crusades could not have cared less. They weren't listening to rhetoric, but hoping they have gambled correctly that Jimmy Carter is going to be nominated for president; hoping, in short, that they have picked a winner who will end an eight-year Republican rule and give them a piece of the action.



The Washington Post, March 31, 76

Callaway Quits Ford Campaign; Morton Named

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

Howard H. (Bo) Callaway has resigned as President Ford's national campaign director and will be replaced Friday by Rogers C. B. Morton, a former Maryland congressman who is now a White House political adviser.

Flanked by Callaway and Morton in the White House Oval Office, the President announced the changes yesterday. He said he considers Callaway "an absolutely honest person" who will be exonerated of the charges that led first to his suspension as campaign director and now to his resignation.

Callaway submitted his resignation to the President at a White House meeting Monday night after first meeting with Richard B. Cheney, Mr. Ford's chief of staff and the main architect of efforts to sever the last remaining ties between Callaway and the Ford campaign.

Callaway, 48, a former Georgia congressman and Secretary of the Army who headed the Ford campaign since last July, was suspended as national campaign director March 13 pending the outcome of investigations into charges that he intervened with federal agencies to benefit a Colorado ski resort owned by him and his brother-in-law.

The resort is located in Crested Butte. The allegations against Callaway center on a meeting he hosted in his Pentagon office last July 3, his last day as Secretary of the Army. At the meeting, Callaway discussed the proposed resort expansion with high officials of the U.S. Forest Service, which must approve the expansion, and its parent agency, the Agriculture Department.

The Justice Department is investigating charges that Callaway improperly intervened with the agencies. The Civil Aeronautics Board is conducting a separate investigation into certain exemptions from charter flight requirements that Callaway's resort has enjoyed since 1969.

Callaway has denied any impropriety in connection with the resort.

The charges against Callaway were first reported by NBC television and the Denver Post March 12, jolting the Ford campaign entourage in the midst of a trip to Illinois and North Carolina.

The next day in Greensboro, N.C., the President announced that Callaway had asked to be relieved of his duties temporarily until the matter was resolved.



HOWARD H. (BO) CALLAWAY
... retains President's confidence

From the beginning of the incident, however, it was clear that Callaway had suddenly become a political liability who would only detract from Mr. Ford's campaign. Callaway acknowledged that yesterday.

"From the time NBC went on the air with these charges it was as certain as a Greek tragedy that I would have to leave this campaign," he told reporters outside the White House.

The only trace of bitterness that Callaway showed came when he discussed NBC and its reporter on the story, Jim Polk. He accused the network of uncritically accepting information from a weekly newspaper editor in the Crested Butte area "who has an ax to grind" in trying to halt growth in Colorado.

"From that point on [the NBC report], I had no defenses," he said.

In a telephone interview last night, Polk denied Callaway's assertions.

"NBC did all of its own research," he said. "NBC interviewed Mr. Callaway at length the day the story appeared and quoted him as he described the Pentagon meeting and his assessment that he had done nothing wrong."

The newspaper editor to whom Callaway referred is Myles Arber of the Crested Butte Chronicle. He also denied the charges as "absolutely untrue."

"I'd say 90 per cent of the editorial positions I've taken have been pro-growth," Arber said. He said he did not object to the resort expansion as such but contended that Callaway and his firm have "exerted undue influence" in seeking the expansion.

Arber said he cooperated with Polk but that "there was nothing that he didn't check out himself."

Callaway said, "It was clear to me that some people [in the White House] were trying to orchestrate getting me out." He said that he was told before a meeting he had with Cheney last week that Cheney planned to ask for his resignation then. Callaway said he strongly objected to this and asked for additional time to exonerate himself.

He said his resignation Monday night, however, was "totally and absolutely" voluntary and came after he learned that it would be at least two more weeks before the Justice Department completes its investigation.

Neither Callaway nor Morton spoke during the brief announcement of the changes, which White House sources had predicted two weeks ago. The President praised Callaway for his "unselfishness" and for his work in organizing the campaign.

In a letter to Callaway that the White House made public yesterday, Mr. Ford, describing himself as "deeply saddened," said he was accepting the resignation "with the greatest reluctance because I am confident that the allegations raised recently will be proven groundless and because the campaign will sorely miss your tireless efforts."

Callaway said he will temporarily resume his duties as the \$42,500 national campaign director to ease the transition until Morton officially takes over Friday. He said he then plans to return to his home in Atlanta and does not plan to become active again in politics.



CALLAWAY QUILTS AS CAMPAIGN HEAD

**Ford Names Morton to Post
and Voices Confidence in
Departing Chairman**

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 30—President Ford replaced Howard H. Callaway today as chairman of the President's campaign organization, naming Rogers C. B. Morton to succeed him.

The President said he was "absolutely sure" that Mr. Callaway would be cleared of charges that he had used improper influence, while he was Secretary of the Army, to seek Government approval of plans to expand a ski resort Mr. Callaway controls in Colorado.

Even so, Mr. Ford accepted a formal letter of resignation that Mr. Callaway submitted last night and designated Mr. Morton, a White House counsel, former Cabinet member and onetime Representative from Maryland, to take charge of the campaign.

Change Was Predicted

White House aides, determined that the investigation of Mr. Callaway's conduct not be permitted to taint Mr. Ford's bid for a full term as President, had forecast the change in campaign leadership two weeks ago.

In a letter to Mr. Callaway that was made public this afternoon, the President said he was "deeply saddened" by the resignation "because I am confident that the allegations raised recently will be proven groundless."

At a brief, rather stiff meeting in the Oval Office, Mr. Ford stood between Mr. Morton and Mr. Callaway and voiced full confidence in the departing chairman.

On the basis of 15 years of friendship and "close personal experience," the President said, "I know very deeply in my own heart that Bo Callaway is an absolutely honest person and one who would not, under any circumstances, undertake anything improper."

The Departments of Justice and Agriculture, the Civil Aeronautics Board and a Senate subcommittee are investigating allegations that Mr. Callaway used improper influence to secure Government rulings that benefited his ski resort in Crested Butte, Colo.



United Press International

ident Ford with Rogers C. B. Morton, left, and Howard H. Callaway at the White House yesterday. The President announced that Mr. Morton would replace Mr. Callaway as his campaign manager.

Zero Pressure on Callaway

Mr. Callaway and White House officials insisted in interviews today that there had been, as Mr. Callaway put it, zero pressure on me to resign.

Mr. Ford praised his former campaign chairman for what he called a typically unselfish decision that it would not be helpful to the campaign to continue indefinitely on a paid leave of absence until the inquiries were completed.

But Mr. Callaway acknowledged at a news conference late today that he had met on March 17 with Richard B. Cheney, the White House chief of staff, to try to head off a demand for his resignation then. Mr. Callaway reportedly asked at that meeting for a week or two to clear his name before withdrawing from the campaign.

"I was very upset," Mr. Callaway said. "It looked like they were arranging ways of trying to push me out."

Sought Early Exoneration

But he added that he obtained consent to an effort—perhaps "naive," he conceded—to win exoneration by the end of this month.

Mr. Callaway said he realized yesterday that he would have to resign when his lawyer, Jerri Leonard, a former Assistant Attorney General, was unable to determine how long the central inquiry, by the Justice Department, would take.

"They couldn't promise [a decision] by the end of this week or even the end of next week," Mr. Callaway said.

Accordingly, he said he submitted a letter of resignation last night. By one White House account, Mr. Ford commiserated with Mr. Callaway and described the situation as "a damn shame."

White House spokesmen said Mr. Ford had made no effort to determine from any of the investigating agencies whether there were grounds for the allegations about Mr. Callaway's conduct.

Nonetheless, the President said he was "absolutely sure Bo will be completely exonerated and I know he feels that personally."

Effective on Friday

The resignation is to be effective this Friday, Mr. Callaway's 49th birthday. Mr. Morton, who is 61 years old and is a onetime chairman of the Republican National Committee and former Secretary of the

Interior and Secretary of Commerce, will take charge of the President Ford Committee the same day.

Mr. Morton, who became the President's political counselor in the White House on Feb. 1, was said to have been reluctant to become campaign chairman.

"You always have to twist Rog's arm," another White House official said. "But he's used to it by now. He knew he was going to get rolled."

Mr. Ford and his outgoing and incoming chairmen expressed confidence that the President would win the Republican nomination next August and defeat the Democratic nominee in November.

"The job you asked me to do last June is complete," Mr. Callaway said in his letter of resignation to the President. "Your nomination is virtually assured."

Mr. Ford in turn thanked Mr. Callaway for having organized "the open and honest campaign which I wanted and which the nation deserves."

Mr. Callaway told reporters that he bore no ill will toward anyone in the White House, especially the President. "I believe in him wholeheartedly," he said of Mr. Ford.

The New York Times, March 31, 78
Issues '76: Environment

Any candidate for the Presidency in 1976 will brush off at his political peril the issue of environmental protection. Too much has happened since the first Earth Day, close to six years ago, to permit the easy belief that Americans care about the air, water and land of this country only incidentally and after all their other problems have been solved.

The most striking of a series of similar findings by public opinion surveys is that six out of ten people are more concerned with improving the environment than they are with tax reduction or a curb on prices. They understand, as Presidential aspirants ought to, that without vigorous action now, the risks of pollution can only grow and in the end cost far more than the programs contemplated today.

The environmental record of the Ford Administration therefore presents other candidates—whether Democrat or Republican (except for the incumbent)—an opportunity to seize an initiative that would be both politically popular and of enormous benefit to the country. Consider that record:

- President Ford has twice vetoed legislation to regulate the surface mining of coal and to compel the reclamation of previously stripped and abandoned lands.

- He backed away entirely from national land-use planning, to which his predecessor had assigned the "highest priority" only to abandon it in his struggle to avoid impeachment.

- In the Ford Administration, the Department of the Interior has slowed down the protection of wildlife, particularly of endangered species. In contrast, it has hastened the oil exploitation of the Outer Continental Shelf without anything like an adequate study of environmental risks that have still to be weighed against the probable yield in energy.

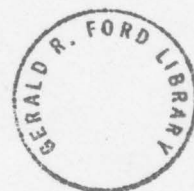
The record of Congress, with swollen Democratic majorities, makes some of that party's Presidential candidates likewise vulnerable. On land-use planning Congress has retreated more than once before the fierce

pressures of a determined lobby that was not above misrepresenting such legislation as the first step in a diabolical scheme for Federal zoning of private property. The Congress has been highly indulgent in stretching out the timetable for reducing harmful automobile emissions. It has scarcely begun to do what must be done to enable the mass transit systems of this country to reduce a volume of auto traffic which has gone far to destroy the cities of America and the air above them.

In the four years following the next Presidential inaugural, the environmental progress that has been made so far will either grind down, with grave consequences for the future, or it will regain a momentum that has faltered in the economic recession. It is up to the candidates to dramatize the environmental issue, to point out that a major program to improve the environment could also improve the nation's economy through application of resources to build and install the pollution controls, for which in many cases funds have already been voted and plans drawn up.

There are many other serious environmental issues that need emphasis in this campaign: the effort to screen and control toxic chemicals; resolution of alarming questions concerning the possible effect of aerosol and refrigerant gases—as well as of supersonic aviation—on the stratospheric ozone layer; the proper balance among various uses of the nation's forests, restoration of its parks, extension of its wilderness areas and, far from least, protection of its vital coastal areas from the depredations of industry on shore and the spillage of oil by tankers and freighters at sea.

All these objectives can and must be attained. Far from subordinating them to the state of the economy, candidates should view them as a major factor in improving that economy. The preservation of America's air, water and land is far more than a make-work program. It is the condition of life itself for future American generations. For a Presidential candidate's vision or lack of it, there can hardly be a better criterion.



The Washington Star, March 31, 76

TV time for candidates

Ronald Reagan finally was allowed to buy a half hour of prime television time for his presidential campaign but that should not be the end of the controversy.

With television so important an element in political campaigns — if not the single most important element — it ought to go without saying that candidates should have access to the medium.

In Mr. Reagan's case, the candidate thought his campaign could very well end if he couldn't take his case to the public on national television. His campaign is suffering from a shortage of money, which the Reagan camp believed could be cured by a nationally-televised appeal. Beyond that, Mr. Reagan thought that the best way to sharpen the issues between him and President Ford was via a nationwide television speech.

It wasn't as if Mr. Reagan asked for free time, although the argument often is made that candidates should be given free television time. He asked to buy a half hour — at a cost of \$100,000 — on any of the three networks during the evening hours when the chance is greatest of attracting the widest audience.

What held it up? A Reagan aide said one network contended that Mr. Reagan is not a national candidate. If such an argument was in fact made, it ranks among the dumber statements to come out of televisionland.

The aide said another network claimed that it would have to sell time to other candidates if it sold time to Mr. Reagan. Well, what's wrong with that? If it is assumed that all the candidates of both parties who still are running in the primaries would want to buy a half hour — which isn't likely — that would amount to something like five hours. Divided among the three networks that would be less than two hours per network.

The real problem is that the networks are too concerned with their Neilson ratings. They're afraid that putting on a political speech in prime time will mean a loss of viewers for that time slot and a drop in those precious ratings which seem to control every decision of consequence in the commercial television industry.

It isn't that the networks favor the candidacy of President Ford, as one of the Reagan operatives charged. It's purely a business decision — a matter of dollars and cents; network executives fear that political programming, even though paid for by the candidates, will ultimately mean a loss of revenue because of a drop in viewer ratings.

NBC finally agreed to sell a half hour to Mr. Reagan, noting however that the decision was an exception to its general policy of not making time available to candidates while state primaries still are in process. ABC and CBS stuck to their refusal to sell the time. While NBC deserves commendation for its action, we suspect that the poor rating for the show Mr. Reagan's speech replaced had a good deal to do with its reversal.

We believe that Ronald Reagan, or any other legitimate presidential candidate, has a right to take his campaign to the public by national television, if that's the way he believes is the most effective — during the primary season as well as during the general election campaign. Perhaps Congress will want to see if some new rules for access to the airwaves by political candidates are in order.

It is incredible that during a year in which the leader of the free world is to be elected, a network executive can give the public reruns of comedy shows and cops and robbers but deny the public an opportunity to measure the presidential candidates.



Campaign '76

Media Communications, Inc.

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

March 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: STU SPENCER

FROM: DAWN SIBLEY *DS*

We have been informed by Tim Ryan that station WISN TV in Milwaukee, Wisconsin is offering us a 30 minute segment on the same day, Sunday, April 4, that Ronald Reagan has purchased a 30 minute segment (see attachment). We are not planning to take advantage of this offer and will inform the station's Sales Manager of our decision, however, we wished you to be aware of this matter. Should you wish us to do otherwise, please inform us.

For your information, I am attaching the list of 1/2 hour programs that we are informed Reagan will be utilizing in Wisconsin.

cc: Bruce Wagner



MEMORANDUM

March 30, 1976

TO: Stu Spencer
FROM: Tim Ryan
RE: Reagan Media

Ronald Reagan has just purchased a 30-minute segment on WISN TV, Milwaukee, Wisconsin for \$420.00. (WISN is a CBS affiliate.) The tape will be shown on Sunday, April 4th from 1:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.

The Station's Sales Manager, Jim Norton, called to inform us of this buy and to offer us a 30-minute segment on the same day from 12 Noon - 12:30 P.M. The cost would be \$420.00. Norton needs a reply by April 1st.

cc: Bruce Wagner ✓



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 }
WTV } 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



North Carolina
Reported Region Half Hour Programs

<u>Market</u>	est. share	HH rtg.	<u>Station</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Charlotte	34	19	WSOC	3/19	1000
Raleigh	37	17	WTVD	3/21 6-6:30PM	2000
Asheville/Moenville	24	15	WKOS	3/20 8-9PM	1640

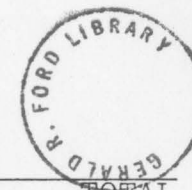
4640

EST
impressions

est
share



NORTH CAROLINA
REPORTED MEDIA EXPENDITURES (\$)



	<u>TV</u>	<u>FORD</u> <u>RADIO</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>REAGAN</u> <u>RADIO</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
CHARLOTTE/GREENSBORO	10,701	13,752	24,453	33,000	16,500	49,500
WINSTON-SALEM	9,256	10,043	19,299	12,000	12,000	24,000
RALEIGH-DURHAM	5,904	6,390	12,294	9,895	7,200	17,095
ASHEVILLE-GREENVILLE	7,046	4,060	11,106	79,945	4,800	24,745
GREENVILLE-NEW BERN	-----	2,698	2,698	1,925	4,500	6,425
WILMINGTON	1,883	1,245	3,128	2,810	1,500	4,310
REM. STATE	-----	1,498	1,498	-----	1,500	1,500
 TOTAL	 34,790	 39,686	 74,476	 79,575	 48,000	 127,575

BILLBOARDS & LECTURE TOURS

Reagan 1/2 hour NBC

Overnight A.C. Nielsen Rating

Average 1/2 hour

Average 1/4 hour

Share

Rating

10:30-10:45

10:46-11:00pm

New York

16.0

9.1

9.2

8.9

Chicago

11.0

7.3

8.1

6.5

L.A.

23.0

12.0

12.6

11.3

Projected National
Rating wtd.

9.6

Realistic Projection

8.6-9.0

Est # TV Households

Projected National Rating: 6,624,000

More Realistic Rating: 6,072,000



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NO. **12066**
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NUMBER WHEN REMITTING

MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS -- CAMPAIGN '76

1828 L STREET
WASH D C 20036

JAN 31, 1976

BRUCE WAGNER

INVOICE DATE	CUSTOMER P.O. NO.

TERMS: NET 10 DAYS

SERVICE	AMOUNT
JANUARY 28 CAMPAIGN "76	
VTC REAGAN ANNOUNCEMENT WNAC TV 558 PM	100.00
ORDERED BY	
GEORGE KARALEKAS	
MSGR TO BOSTON AIRPORT 25.00	
AIR FREIGHT WASH D C AIRPORT 35.00	
MSGR TO CAMPAIGN "76 20.00	
AIR FREIGHT	
MSGRS:	
TAX	NONE
TOTAL →	35.00 45.00 180.00

*OK to pay
OK 2/1/76*

*PAID
1 March 76
#230 Acct #2
(DW)*

Operator

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COLOR PHOTOBOARDS - VIDEO CASSETTES

NO. **16425**
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CAMPAIGN '76
MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS
1828 L STR N W
WASH D C 20036

MARCH 15, 1976

INVOICE DATE	CUSTOMER P.O. NO.

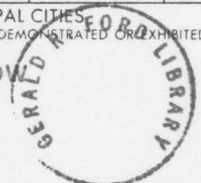
GEORGE KARALEKAS

TERMS: NET 10 DAYS

SERVICE			AMOUNT
5 V T C			
REAGAN	RQ	ROCKFORD	
CARTER	Z	MIAMI	
WALLACE	H	CHICAGO (B/W)	
WALLACE	SL	ST LOUIS	
JACKSON	Z	MIAMI	
5 at 40.00			200.00
CASSETTE			21.50
<i>OK</i>			221.50
MSRG TO D SIBLEY EAST 86 STR ^{TAX}			NONE 6.00
TOTAL →			227.50

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SALES AND ...
COLOR PHOTOGRAPHY

CAMPAIGN ' 76
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1828 L STR N W
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George KARALEKAS

NO. 10100
PLEASE SHOW INVOICE
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MARCH 15, 1976 INVOICE DATE CUSTOMER P.O. NO.

TERMS: NET 10 DAYS

SERVICE				AMOUNT
TRANSCRIPT - REAGAN RQ 762010				15.00
6 VTC AS FOLLOWS:				
REAGAN	ST LOUIS	SL	762134	
REAGAN	ST LOUIS	SL	762133	
CARTER	MIAMI	Z	762466	
WALLACE	QUAD CITIES	RQ	762394	
	CHI	H	762398 762398	
	CHI	H	762401	
6 AT 40.00				240.00
VTC				21.50
PAID 3-23-76				276.50
OPERATIONS ACCT. # 335				NONE
TAX				4.00
TOTAL				280.50

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*OK to pay
Computer
Martin
3/26*

PAID 3-23-76
335
OPERATIONS ACCT. # 335
DE GR TO DE GARMO IN NEW YORK

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George KARALEKAS

0. C
0. C
22550. +
28050. +
50600. *
50600. 0

DATE	CUSTOMER P.O. NO.

TERMS: NET 10 DAYS

V T C	
REAGAN	MIAMI
JACKSON	ST LOUIS
	MIAMI
	MIAMI
CARTER	MIAMI

S 761823
761757
761832
761792
761744

CASSETTE

AMOUNT
40.00
40.00
40.00
40.00
40.00
21.50

PAID
DATE 3-23-76
CK. No. 335

OPERATIONS ACCT. # xx61

MSGR TO DE GARMO IN NEW YORK

TAX NONE 4.00

TOTAL → 225.50

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