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OCTOBER 6, 1976

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY (San Francisco, California)

### THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE OF RICHARD B. CHENEY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS MICHAEL DUVAL SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT AND STUART SPENCER DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PFC

THE HOLIDAY INN

9:15 P.M. PDT

MR. CHENEY: We would be happy to respond to any questions you might have by way of obvious focus on the debates tonight.

Q Are there Soviet troops in Poland?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Yes.

Q How many would you say?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Offhand, I don't recall. There are four divisions. I am not sure, but a substantial number.

Q Do you think that would imply some Soviet dominance to Poland?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think what the President was trying to say is that we do not recognize Soviet dominance of Europe and that he took his trip to Eastern Europe -- to Poland, to Romania, to Yugoslavia -- to demonstrate, to symbolize their independence, and their freedom of maneuver.

Q Do you think he succeeded in saying what you just said he said? He said Poland was free, at one point during that answer.

MR. CHENEY: I think the point, Lou, was the President was focusing on the fact we want separate independent relationships with each of those nations, and that was the purpose of his travels. I think you would get a similar statement, I would assume, from some of those governments and that his policy of his Administration is that we are interested in separate, independent autonomous relationships with governments like Yugoslavia, Romania and Poland. Q Did he misspeak himself? Is that what you are saying?

MR. CHENEY: I would have to go back and check the transcript, Bob, but I think you have to look at it within the context of the allegation that was made, that somehow this Administration recognizes or has sanctioned the charge or wants a relationship based on the assumption of dominance and we don't assume that. We want a separate independent relationship with each of those countries.

Q But he did misspeak himself. That is fair enough to say, isn't it?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think you have to look at the transcript.

Q We got his quote.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: That is clearly what he was getting at.

Q He said the U.S. does not concede Eastern Europe itself independent under the domination of the Soviet Union.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: He does not concede the domination of Eastern Europe. That is what he took the trip for -- to demonstrate, to symbolize the independence of those countries. He did not concede --

Q Are there Soviet troops in Romania, too?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

Q If we have this many questions about it, do you think President Ford got his point across to the audience? Why wasn't he able to make this clear?

MR. CHENEY: I felt it was very clear, Ann, as I watched it. I understood exactly what he was saying, and I think the American people will understand exactly what he was saying, too.

Q Do you think it was a political plus for you, that particular comment?

MR. CHENEY: I think the overall debate was a definite plus from the standpoint of the American people's understanding of the President's beliefs and his record with respect to foreign policy. I thought the closing statement went right to the heart, at the bottom line, if you will, of the debates, and that all things considered in the final analysis the key fact the American people have to judge is whether or not a potential candidate for the Presidency has the experience and the knowledge and the understanding to be able to provide peace and freedom, and that the President went to the heart of the issue with respect to foreign policy in the campaign when he was able to point out that, after two years, we do in fact have peace and that not a single American is fighting anywhere in the world tonight.

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Q Is he going to put out the names of these companies from here or is that going to be the Commerce Department?

MR. CHENEY: We have been working for the last several days -- the last several weeks, really -- on an Executive Order, as I understand it, which would mandate the Commerce Department under the action he had previously enacted in 1975 to provide public access to the names of companies involved in the Arab embargo.

Q Did the President go one step further and say he will order the Commerce Department to make them public so the public does not have to go searching for them, but they will be told?

MR. CHENEY: That is correct.

Q When can we expect that?

MR. CHENEY: I expect you will have a fact sheet on it tomorrow.

Q When did the Administration change its position on it?

MR. CHENEY: We never changed our position on it.

Q Didn't you oppose legislation on the Hill to this effect?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No. As a matter of fact, we proposed that as a way in which to move the legislation through the Congress.

Q But initially didn't the Administration this year oppose any change in the boycott law?

MR. DUVAL: No, the compromise proposed by the Administration and the Congress would have done that, would have gotten the kind of proposal through in law that the President announced tonight. What the President indicated as a problem with the legislation was legislation that had in it a criminal sanction which was totally unenforceable.

The Democrats in Congress proposed a criminalization law which would have required us to get evidence from foreign countries which we never could have gotten, and therefore would not have been enforceable. What the President wanted was a law that was enforceable.

Q What was Mr. Parsky's testimony -- was it on the Bingham proposal, on the boycott proposal?

MR. DUVAL: That was two separate --

Q What was Parsky's testimony on the boycott proposal?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Parsky testified in opposition to the Bingham-Rosenthal amendment. The Administration was opposed to the Bingham-Rosenthal amendment.

Q Did Mr. Ford seem to be taking credit for signing this tax bill which provided for the tax sanctions against those companies that complied with the Arab boycott?

MR. CHENEY: He did in fact sign the tax bill, did he not?

Q He did.

MR. CHENEY: And that was a key provision of the tax bill and the Administration had no objections to that provision of the tax bill. We went along with that. It is a separate issue.

Q Can I ask Mike Duval a question? We have been hearing rumblings and rumblings that your side will propose some sort of an amendment to the rules for the third debate "to force Carter" to be more responsive to questions in the debate. Can you give us some idea as to what you are going to propose?

MR. DUVAL: We are on the Nessen amendment. I think the point, as I understood it from talking to Ron -and he raised a good point -- the format is intended to allow a structured and a disciplined approach to serious subjects. You ask a question. We anticipated that the American people would get an answer to the question asked and that the rebuttal would be on that topic. So that you did not have mini-speeches in this debate, where people go in with memorized speeches and give them.

The President answered every single question he was asked. In his rebuttal he referred to the points raised by Mr. Carter. And what I think we would like to see continue in these debates is both men be responsive to the questions that the reporters posed and in the rebuttals be responsive to the points made by their opponent.

Q Don't you want a moderator with a little more backbone, then? Isn't that what you are saying?

MR. DUVAL: The point is, the men themselves should do that because that is in the interest of the people that are listening to the debates trying to make up their mind. I think if you go back through the transcripts you will find the President always answered the question he was asked.

Q Mike, is this something you are going to propose to the Carter people, that their candidate be required to stick to the subject?

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MR. DUVAL: I don't know, Fred. I am not certain it would be enforceable. I think common courtesy and a sense of wanting to be responsive to the people who are listening to the debates would make Mr. Carter -- or at least would be a strong inducement on Mr. Carter -- to answer the question he has been asked. It seems to me it is not particularly fair nor leveling with the American people to avoid the questions you are asked.

Q Mike, when you thought you won the first debate, you opposed any changes in the format. Is this a sign you feel you did not do as well?

MR. DUVAL: No. As I said earlier tonight, I think in the first debate the President hit a triple. I think tonight he hit a home run. I am not sure what is left to do at the third debate.

Q Can we return to the four divisions in Poland? Does that not amount to dominance in that country?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think the point is the President was saying we do not concede Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and that we are working in every way to demonstrate, to symbolize the freedom, independence, of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Q Does domination now exist?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think the point is, he was trying to say that we do not concede the domination of Eastern Europe. That is the whole context within which he made that answer.

Q He said, "I don't believe the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union." Is that a valid statement?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think that is another element of it. In the sense of the acquiscence of the people of Eastern Europe there is no domination at all. Not that we don't concede it. There is none.

Q Two weeks ago at this hour, approximately, you had some preliminary polls indicating what public sentiment had been in reaction to the debate. Do you have anything similar tonight?

MR. CHENEY: I have not seen any yet, frankly. I don't know whether any organizations are polling tonight like they did at the first debate. Maybe somebody else can answer.

Q For the last debate you gave sort of a round-by-round score of how you thought it went, and I think yours was something like eight to two to two. There were 14 questions tonight. How would you score it?

MR. CHENEY: Nine and five.

Q Stu, how would you score it?

MR. SPENCER: Nine and five, for the President, obviously.

MR. CHENEY: For the President.

Q Mike, how would you score it?

MR. DUVAL: I am going to disagree with my Chief of Staff. I would score it 14 to zip.

Q Dick, didn't you say a couple of weeks ago by about now you thought the President would be leading in the polls?

MR. CHENEY: I think I said two weeks ago, Bob, when we talked in Philadelphia, I projected within two weeks we would have a national poll that would show us being even or ahead -- as I recall the specific language -and I would point to the Yankelovich poll, Time Magazine, as an indication that we have in fact achieved what I said we would two weeks ago.

Q What did the President say after the debate to you when you got back to the residence about how well he did?

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MR. CHENEY: I rode back from the debate with him to the residence and he felt -- we discussed it in the course of the ride -- he said he felt much better after this debate than after the first.

Q Why?

MR. CHENEY: He felt very comfortable. He felt it had gone very well. I did not ask him in detail why, Helen. In my view it was a matter that tonight after the debate I don't think we know any more about Jimmy Carter's positions or policies or what policies he would pursue in the national security area, both with respect to defense and foreign policy, than we did when we turned on the television tonight.

I was, I guess, disappointed in the sense I had hoped that you would have a clear-cut distinction in the sense that Governor Carter would stand by the positions he had taken previously and that there would in fact be more portrayed to the American people for them in fact to make a choice, observing a difference in the approach of the two candidates to national security matters.

I did not see that tonight because I thought Governor Carter never really did address the substance of the questions he was asked. I point specifically to the first question that dealt with the issue of whether or not he took issue with strategic arms limitation, the opening to China, our work in the Middle East or our work in Africa, and he never did at any course, at any point during the course of the debates tonight, address any one of these issues in terms of saying he would pursue a different set of policies.

From that standpoint I felt as I watched the debates, Helen, there was no question in my mind that the public watching the debates would feel that the President did in fact have a two-year track record, knew what he was doing with respect to SALT, knew what he was doing in South Africa, our relationships with China, our relations with Europe, and that Governor Carter never really did spell out any set of policies he would pursue were he to be successful.

Q What did Kissinger say to the President when he called?

MR. CHENEY: I don't know, Helen. I did not talk to him.

Q In view of the fact Mr. Frankel caught the President up on his statement about the captive nations, did the President say to you he had any second thoughts about this?

MR. CHENEY: We did not discuss it in the car.

Q Did he realize he had not said what General Scowcroft said he meant?

MR. CHENEY: I will say again we did not discuss it in the car.

Q You have not discussed with him at all the question of Poland since the debate?

MR. CHENEY: That is correct.

Q Don't you think you should issue a clarification on that?

MR. CHENEY: No, Helen. I thought he was clear in terms of what he meant and I would say, as Brent said, the point that was made -- and it was made within the context of the charge that the Helsinki agreement conceded or consisted of a U.S. concession of Soviet dominance of Eastern Europe -- and in the response to that question he made it very clear the U.S. does not concede the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Q What do you think the political effect of this will be in terms of Polish-Americans, Americans of Eastern European descent?

MR. CHENEY: Spence is the politician.

I think the political significance tonight has to be looked at in the total debate, and whether or not the American people came away with the feeling that Governor Carter is better qualified to handle foreign policy, and I don't think they came away with that impression.

I don't think he spelled out at all, at any place during the course of the debate, how he would pursue different policies from those that have been pursued by the President.

Q I heard what you said on that score earlier, but what I was asking is about a specific type or group of voters, what they call, I think, the American supporters --

MR. CHENEY: I would suspect they would be strongly supportive of the President's position that the United States does not concede Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Q Do you have any comment on the Roper Poll which gives Carter 40 percent and Ford 30 percent?

MR. CHENEY: I have not seen it.

Q What are your reactions of 40 for Carter, 30 for Ford, 30 undecided?

MR. CHENEY: I would want to look at the poll before I commented on it.

Q Does Mr. Spencer have any analysis of the political fallout of the statement -- whatever exactly he said or meant -- but the political statement about domination in Poland?

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MR. SPENCER: I don't view it as a political problem at all. I think the President answered the question very forthrightly and in the manner most people understand. I don't see any political problem at all. As far as the debate goes generally I look at it more from the standpoint of perception and style. I think the President was forceful tonight. I think when you use electronic media for debate the style probably is important to the issues they are discussing and he certainly scored on style tonight being very forceful, in command, and I think he did a tremendous job. I think he was much better than the last debate.

Q What do you think of Carter? Do you think he came on better than you expected him to?

MR. SPENCER: No, I frankly thought Carter would be better. I thought he was a little mushy.

Q Can we get some mechanics straightened out on tomorrow and the boycott announcement? Where are we going to get it? Is it going to be made in Washington? Here? Is Commerce going to make the announcement? Is the President going to make the announcement?

MR. CHENEY: We can give you guidance on it in the morning.

Q Dick, when are we going to get a list of companies who are participating in this boycott? This is what the President said actually he would make public.

MR. CHENEY: We will have details in the morning.

Q Was that a surprise? Did you know that was coming?

MR. CHENEY: No, it has been in the works for a week or ten days. It was not a surprise.

END (AT 9:35 P.M. PDT)

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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#### (Richmond, Virginia)

## PRESS CONFERENCE OF STU SPENCER DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE AND WILLIAM GREENER DEPUTY CHAIRMAN FOR COMMUNICATIONS THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE

#### THE SHERATON MOTOR INN

8:00 A.M. EDT

MR. NESSEN: We thought some of you might be interested in the schedule this morning.

Jim Baker, who we said would be here, wasn't feeling well and wanted to get a good night's sleep. Stu Spencer, who was going to fill in for him, looked all over the hotel for the press room and then found he was in the wrong hotel. He is on his way here by car now.

Bill and I will start before Stu gets here and give you the sort of nuts and bolts of what we are announcing here and then Bill and Stu can take you through whatever discussion of how this fits in with the strategy and the outlook for the last ten days of the campaign.

Basically what we are announcing is two things: A series of five television programs, half-hour television programs by the President between now and election day; and a series of eight radio statements by the President between now and election day.

Now I will just give you the nuts and bolts and Bill and Stu can take over at that point.

The television programs will be broadcast over statewide hook-ups in California on Sunday, originating from Los Angeles and the time will be 5:30 to 6:00 p.m. California time; statewide in Illinois on Tuesday, October 26, originating from Chicago -- I don't have any other firm air times for you, but they will all be late afternoon to early evening, mostly early evening -taped immediately before broadcasting and in some cases live; the third program will be statewide in Pennsylvania, originating from Philadelphia on Wednesday; the fourth program statewide in Ohio on Thursday, October 28, originating from Cleveland; and the final program of these five statewide in New York, originating from New York City on Sunday, October 31.

These are the five that are firmly planned right now. I think it is fair to say that there could be one or more added in other States, a half hour.

Here is the format. The format consists of a number of parts, one a videctape of the President and any members of his family who happen to be with him that day campaigning in that State that day. This is edited videotape. It will take up anywhere from six to eight to ten minutes of the program.

The second portion of the format will be a discussion between the President and the moderator of issues and the moderator will be Joe Garagiola. That will be in the studio.

The third part of the format will be participation by members of the President's family, whoever might be with him that day. Edith Green will be on all or most of the programs. She is a former Democratic Member of Congress from Oregon who worked as one of the leaders of the Kennedy for President campaign and is now a co-chairperson of the Citizens for Ford.

Q She will be traveling with the President?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, for all or most of it.

Also, there will be State and local officials. Those that we know who are participating so far include Senator Percy; Jim Thompson, the candidate for Governor in Illinois; Senator Javits in New 'York, and Ambassador Scranton in Pennsylvania.

Q What about Ohio?

MR. NESSEN: There will be other officials in other States. I just don't have a complete list for you.

Q How about California? Will Reagan be participating?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know yet, Jim.

The cost of this is as follows: The air time, about \$30,000 per State; the production costs also about \$30,000 per State. You multiply that by five programs and you come out with \$300,000 plus a certain extra cost that will go into promotional advertising to promote the five programs.

Q How much will be spent on the promotion? MR. NESSEN: I don't have an estimate on that.

Now let me just quickly tell you about the radio programs and then I am going to let Bill talk to you about -- there will be eight radio statements of five minutes each to be broadcast on the Mutual Radio Network each morning next week -- that is Monday through Saturday. There will hothbe any broadcast on Sunday the 31st and then there will be broadcasts on Monday the 1st and Tuesday the 2nd.

As I say, they will be five minutes each. They will consist of statements by the President, taped usually the day before, on one or more issues. The exact line-up is not arranged yet, but the issues would include taxes, probably crime, problems of older Americans, quality of life in America, defense, national security and foreign policy, inflation and so forth.

The cost of this, the Mutual network -- and I don't know who the Mutual reporter is here -- but I think they have between 400 and 500 stations if I am not mistaken. The broadcast time is 8:15 to 8:20 each morning right across the time zones. In other words, it will be 8:15 everywhere and the cost is \$47,000.

Q Is this for the toto?

MR. NESSEN: In total, that is right. That is air time and there is almost no production cost.



I will let Bill talk to you about why this is being done, how long it has been planned and how it fits in the overall strategy and what the outlook is. We should have Stu here shortly.

Q Will Joe Garagiola be traveling with the President or will we pick him up in every city?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know the details of that.

Q Is he being paid or is he a volunteer?

MR. NESSEN: I was told last night he was not being paid. He was volunteering his services. If that conflicts with the AFTRA regulations, which it could, I guess, I am sure the AFTRA regulations would be followed

Q Phil asked whether Governor Reagan is going to appear in California.

MR. NESSEN: I said I don't know.

Q Have you asked?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know since I haven't been actually involved in the production of the show.

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Q When is the first show?

MR. NESSEN: Sunday night, originating from Los Angeles, broadcast around California on a Statewide hook-up between 5:30 and 6:00 California time.

Q That would be tomorrow night?

MR. NESSEN: Tomorrow is Sunday, that is correct.

Q The football game is at that time?

MR. NESSEN: Let me say one other thing before I turn you over to Bill. This obviously will dictate to some extent the President's campaign schedule. I know some of you have been concerned about making around six or eight stops a day. What this means is on a day when he has one of these programs to do, say from midafternoon to early evening or midevening will be free of campaign appearances in order for him to prepare and do these broadcasts.

Q Is he still going to hit 100 cities?

MR. NESSEN: Aldo is, but the President won't. (Laughter)

Q Do you know what network hours or time he has bought on the speech of the last Monday?

MR. NESSEN: Do you mean on television?

Q The last two nights?

MR. NESSEN: Do you mean for an election eve statement?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: There are 30 minutes purchased, but I don't know what the time is.

Q Just 30 minutes?

MR. NESSEN: That is all I know.

Q It is an hour and a half, 30 minutes on each network?

MR. GREENER: All right. Thirty minutes on each network, that is right.

Q Can you tell us how much more there will be spent in the way of paid television commercials in dollars?

MR. GREENER: How much is left to spend?

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Q Yes.

MR. GREENER: As of Thursday we had 40 percent of the advertising budget left, which was 40 percent of \$9.5 million.

Q Will you repeat that balance?

MR. GREENER: Forty percent remaining, or roughly \$4 million was left. That is starting with statements on Thursday.

Q These will be financed by the remaining funds?

MR. GREENER: Absolutely, yes. The purpose, as Ron mentioned, was to keep the campaign on a positive track and on the issues. That is what he will be discussing. It has been in planning for about a month, a little over a month, to be exact.

Q Can you tell us what will happen election eve? Will there be a big television extravaganza?

MR. GREENER: We haven't decided the format. As I mentioned, there were 30 minutes purchased on each network.

Q This is a format used by President Nixon outlining issues on radio broadcast. Is that where the idea came from?

MR. GREENER: No, the original idea came from the fact that in 1972 they had a five-minute program at this time of day, the same time of day, in which the campaign manager -- I don't remember who did it --

Q Mitchell was the manager.

MR. GREENER: -- whoever it was -- talked every day at that time and we changed that of course to the President doing the speaking.

Q How much will the three election eve broadcasts cost?

MR. GREENER: I don't have the cost. I will try to run it down.

Q This \$4 million, is that PFC money? Is there any RNC left?

MR. GREENER: There may be, but I don't have the figures for it.

Q Can you give us more background on why it was decided this would be more fruitful for the President to do this and cut down on his actual appearances before audiences and others? Ron has said practically every afternoon and evening will be free of campaigning. Can you give us a little more background on that? MR. GREENER: I don't know, except it reaches a larger audience by going Statewide on television than you would ever gather into one single place.

Q Is Texas one of the possibilities?

MR. GREENER: Texas is a possibility for a stop and for an ad on TV, also.

Q When you say Statewide, you don't mean on certain stations it would be on every station in the State, would it?

MR. NESSEN: No, all the stations to cover part of each State.

MR. GREENER: In Los Angeles -- I don't know what stations it would be on. I only have the originating stations. I thought we had the networks.

Q Would you have that expanded like in the States of Florida and Texas?

MR. GREENER: Yes, it could be expanded.

Q Will Governor Reagan be asked to appear?

MR. GREENER: I don't know. I imagine Stu will know when he gets here.

Q You have no idea how many stations in each State?

MR. GREENER: No.

Q It won't be a particular network? It will be just cut across lines?

MR. GREENER: Yes.

Q Wasn't there a plan on these Statewide things where the President would talk to local newsmen?

MR. GREENER: We discussed a bunch of them.

Q Will we have access to the man at some time each day?

MR. NESSEN: We have every day for three years. That is not going to change in the last ten days.

Q You know that is not true.

MR. NESSEN: The answer is yes, you will have access to the candidate.

Q The White House press corps will have a chance every day to ask the man some questions, is that what you are saying?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know -- are you saying will he come to a briefing room and answer questions?

Q It is simple. At some point the President won't run from us, he will stop and answer some questions.

MR. NESSEN: I have never known the President to run, Phil.

Q I have, and you have, too. I want to know if he will be available.

MR. NESSEN: The answer is yes.

Q Is it likely he will have an ad on next Monday night?

MR. NESSEN: That is what we are talking about. Monday night will be election eve.

Q No, the day after tomorrow.

MR. NESSEN: Monday will be spent flying to Pittsburg. (Laughter) There will be no live coverage of that flight, however.

Q Where in California is he going besides San Diego?

MR. NESSEN: I think we have put that out already.

Q Do you have any overall figure of the television audience you expect to reach through this television series of half-hours?

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MR. GREENER: No, I don't.

Q Number one, I can't believe you haven't asked Reagan and you haven't had a reaction from him.

Q Question?

MR. GREENER: Jim said, pardon his skepticism, but he said he can't believe, one, that we haven't asked Reagan, and, two, we don't know whether he will be on some of the shows. The answer to both questions is, I haven't said he hadn't been asked and I never said that someone didn't know. I said I didn't, but I will check.

Q You know if he is on subsequent shows. Why don't you know whether he is on the first ones?

MR. GREENER: I didn't talk to Deardourf. He called at 3:30 this morning and dictated some answers. As soon as I can get to him, I will find out.

Q This 40 percent, are you talking about money that hasn't been committed to anything or money that just hasn't been spent?

MR. GREENER: Actually spent. In other words, we will be spending some \$4 million from last Thursday through the remainder of the campaign.

Q Will he later return from Fountain Valley and make the tape and then fly on to San Diego?

MR. NESSEN: He will do the first show at KABC-TV in Los Angeles.

Q Bill, how much is your overall television budget? You have \$4 million for the last 10 days. How much of the total out of the \$10 million are you spending?

MR. GREENER: We spent roughly \$10 million on total media, not television alone. I will have to find out.

MR. SPENCER: \$1.5 million is on print. The rest is already in television. It is almost now \$12 million instead of \$10 million for the total media budget.

Q About Phil's question about Ronald Reagan, has he been asked to appear in California? If he hasn't, why wasn't he, and all the subsequent questions?

MR. SPENCER: Let me make it abundantly clear that Ronald Reagan is supporting the President and will be campaigning heavily in California on the 29th of this month. He has a schedule all around the country. I haven't been in touch with him. They would like to have him on the TV show. Whether his schedule permits it or not, we don't know. Q Would you give us those figures again? You said out of \$12 million, how much for prints and how much for television?

MR. SPENCER: About \$1.2 million for print and the balance for radio and television. A lot of it is network buys; a lot regional buys. We are running about 500 gross rating points right now a week in all the media markets, which is about three-to-two over Carter.

Q Bill said it was about \$4 million from last Thursday. Can you break that down?

MR. SPENCER: The best answer is that we are going about 500 gross rating points, which is saturating television and all the major markets as well as the networks. I can't tell you how many dollars that is.

Q How many people will see your ads between now and the election?

MR. SPENCER: I can't give you that answer.

Yes, Rudy?

Q Bill said this last \$4 million is money to actually be spent. How much do you have still that you can really use any way you want to that you haven't committed to anything yet?

MR. SPENCER: I don't think that our treasurer really tells us the exact number because he is afraid we will spend it. I would say we probably have a flexibility after all the commitments we have made, including the package you heard this morning, we will have about a half million dollars.

Q Doesn't anybody know Reagan's schedule tomorrow?

MR. SPENCER: Somebody does, but Stu Spencer doesn't.

Q You don't know whether he will be on the show or not?

MR. SPENCER: No, but Judd Sumner does and we will get the information when we leave here.

Q How does the expenditure and the use of broadcasting time compare with past Republican Presidential efforts?

MR. SPENCER: I can't really authoritatively answer that. My guts tell me if they spent \$65 million back in 1972 during the Nixon campaign, they probably spent more over the long haul. I don't think they would have spent any more in the closing days in the last two weeks of this because this is almost saturation media, so it is not intelligent to overbuy. Q Stu, could you give us some idea, some information we need on Joe Garagiola and Congresswoman Green?

MR. SPENCER: Joe Garagiola is a strong supporter of the President. He is an articulate man. He relates well to people and he understands the medium which we will be playing with.

Q The Carter people report some difficulty on buying television time in the last couple of days of the campaign, resistance from stations to surrender that much time. Have you run into any trouble whatsoever?

MR. SPENCER: No. Most of our television buys were made quite a while ago. In other words, we are not adding very many stations at this time. It is part of a total package bought several weeks ago by our buying service.

Q Why did you get Joe Garagiola? What is his strong point in this country?

MR. SPENCER: Basically, Joe Garagiola is a person that is a strong supporter of the President. He is a person that understands the medium, the type of show, I think, which we are going to have a presentation on. I think those are the basic reasons.

Q How about Mrs. Green?

MR. SPENCER: Mrs. Green is an Independent or a Democrat, a strong supporter of the President, and a woman, and we feel that she adds a real plus.

Q Mr. Spencer, what changes have you had to make to comply with the President's promise last night not to conduct dirty politics?

MR. SPENCER: We have made no changes. We are not conducting a dirty campaign in any sense of the word or the interpretation.

Q Have you suggested to the President some emphasis on Yugoslavia?

MR. SPENCER: I am not an expert on foreign affairs. I pass.

Q You are an expert on the campaign.

MR. SPENCER: I haven't figured the Yugoslavia thing out yet.

Q Aside from the radio and network buys, your 30- and 60-second TV spots, are those going to be the anti-Carter type or the pro-Ford, the anti-positive approach?

MR. SPENCER: You won't see any television or radio in the closing days that you haven't seen before or doesn't have the same theme in it.

Q What would be the mix? Some of your commercials are decidedly anti-Carter as opposed to being pro-Ford.

MR. SPENCER: Which ones are anti-Carter?

Q People on the street.

MR. SPENCER: Oh, I see. Probably 60-40 mix in terms of pro stuff for the President.

Q Which direction?

MR. SPENCER: 60-40 pro-President.

Q How much does that add up to if you leave 40 percent for Carter? That is what,40 percent of the \$4 million? Was \$4 million left for media and some part is going for these half hours? What is it? A million or so?

MR. SPENCER: I don't know what the number is on the shows, how much they are costing.

MR. NESSEN: I gave the air time cost on radio and television.

FOR

MR. SPENCER: Forty percent of whatever is left.

Q Is that correct, that you are spending \$1.5 million on anti-Carter ads?

MR. SPENCER: I don't determine the man in the street that much of an anti-Carter ad. We are putting the record out.

Q Is that figure about right, \$1.5 million for --

MR. SPENCER: I am not a mathematician, but if you deduct that from the amount they are spending on the new programs, new shows, from total cost, 40 percent of that will be the number.

Q Stu, do you know what you are going to do with these in this hour spot the night before the election?

MR. SPENCER: No, we don't. What we like about that time buy and what we liked about what Ron talked about is it gives us flexibility. We can wait until the very last minute to decide what the President wants to talk about and what he wants to stress. Q Do you have any preliminary polls in from last night's debate?

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MR. SPENCER: No, we didn't poll last night on the debate, and I haven't seen any of the others.

Q You are polling this weekend in most of your States?

MR. SPENCER: Yes, eight major States.

Q When can we get the results?

MR. SPENCER: We never give the results of those polls out.

Q How do you figure the race, Stu, right now?

MR. SPENCER: I think it is very close. I think it will be decided in the last weekend, the last four days, and I am very optimistic.

Q Could you give us a rundown on those eight States, please?

MR. SPENCER: California, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.

Q How bad have you been hurt by McCarthy being ruled off the ballot in New York?

MR. SPENCER: I understand that is a plus and he still has another level of appeal to go to. I think it will be a plus for us in New York with McCarthy off the ballot. How many points he is worth, I don't know.

Q How much campaigning has Ronald Reagan done for the President so far?

MR. SPENCER: He started his schedule about a week ago, which has been a combination schedule for the Republican National Committee and for us. For example, in Texas last week he did a couple of RNC things, Congressional candidates things, peeled off to Amarillo, Longview, Texas, on behalf of the President. I haven't paid that much attention to his schedule.

Q Stu, on balance, did the debate last night do anything to change your assessments of the condition of the race at this point?

MR. SPENCER: I am not an expert on watching debates, so I found out after watching the first two. I thought the President did very well last night. I think it was on strategy. I think he made the points we wanted to make. To me, that is a plus.

MR. NESSEN: Bill went down to see if he could get the question answered about Reagan on the program tomorrow night. Let me give you John Deardourf's phone number in Washington. John, as you know, is one of the heads of the advertising or media section of the PFC. He is one of those putting together these programs. His phone number in Washington is 347-9779. He can help you if any of your offices want to get into more details of these programs.

I guess you might want to take a few minutes to file before we go to the Governor's Mansion. We have available, if anybody is interested, some fact sheets on each of the three debates, and we will get them handed out. They are all separate fact sheets on each of the three debates. They are more or less of a summary of what the President said, what Carter said, who was on the panel, and there is some comment on some of Carter's answers.

MR. GREENER: I talked to John and he said Phil Angel in the office was working with the Reagan people. He would call right away and see if it had been worked out and get back to us, and I will get back to you in about an hour or so.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END (AT 8:27 A.M. EDT)