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C.G. -

Background
briefing by
STU Spencer
for our files.

JCC



This Copy For _____

BACKGROUND BRIEFING

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH U.S. OFFICIALS

AT 10:13 A.M. EDT

JULY 17, 1976

SATURDAY
(Hartford, Connecticut)

MR. NESSEN: From time to time some of you have asked questions about how the campaign is going and where the delegate count stands, and so forth. I thought you probably would want to hear those answers from someone who knows more about it than I do.

I think the best way to do this, so that the official can be as forthcoming as possible, is to do it on BACKGROUND basis with him identified as a senior campaign official.

Q Why?

MR. NESSEN: I said so that he can be as forthcoming as possible, Fran.

Q What is to stop him from being forthcoming with his name on it?

Q Right.

Q We quote him all the time.

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Sometimes correctly, sometimes incorrectly (Laughter).

Q That is on the record?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: That is on the record.



Q Is that the only way you will do it?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL. That is the way Mr. Nessen wants it. That is the way we will do it.

Q How do you feel about it?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I agree with Mr. Nessen.

Q What about the PFC?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: We have no division in the campaign between the White House and the PFC Committee. We are sticking together.

Q You won't be overstrained with using your own name, will you?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: We will go on BACKGROUND, Helen.

I have no statement. I would say that we are not trying to take away from the Connecticut Convention today. We feel this is one of the most important events of the primary campaign period for us because we feel that we will do very well here. Our goal is to take 35 delegates. We could end up with 33, but we are going to go after 35.

As of now, today, before the Connecticut Convention, we are at 1,068 delegates. Former Governor Reagan is at 1,000 delegates, so we feel that after today's Convention, we will be either at 1100 or 1103, which is sort of a magic number, we think, politically, for psychological reasons. We also think that next week, sometime, we are going to have another announcement for the press in terms of uncommitted delegates that will come into our organization or into our count for Kansas City.

So, we are getting very close and this count that I am giving you does not include Hawaii, which we feel very good about, but are an uncommitted delegation by resolution of their Convention and includes no delegates



out of Mississippi, which is the biggest other block of uncommitted delegates, which is about 30.

So, with that, if you have any questions, I will be glad to answer them.

Q Are you saying that next week, there is a possibility you could go over the top?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I am saying that we will be very close next week.

MORE

Q How would you imagine to lose two here with each district electing three?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: We could lose three if they are all by districts. Are they slated by districts?

Q There are 17 slated at large and in slates of three.

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: If you lost the district, you would lose three.

Q Which district do you anticipate losing?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: We don't anticipate losing any district.

Q Which district has the greatest possibility of being lost?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I don't remember the number. Is it the third? I think it is the third where Reagan would have the most strength. It is the one down by New York. The second?

Q Do you think President Ford will have the magic number before the convention?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL; Yes, I think the President will have over 1130 delegates prior to going to Kansas City.

Q Where are those extras going to come from?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: All over the country, Bob, various States. We are not going to divulge that today.

Q Are they from uncommitteds?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: They will be from uncommitteds, yes.

Q How many do you think Reagan will get in New Jersey and Pennsylvania? How many new ones will he pry loose there?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Based on what we have seen with his trip into East Pennsylvania-New Jersey, we doubt very much if he is going to pry any loose. We felt all along that he had some support in both of those States and he will probably get that support, but in our count we don't think that he is going to pry any loose. We think his trip has been very futile.

Q Do you count him as having any in New Jersey?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL Yes.

Q How many?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I don't want to get into State-by-State counts. I might have to live with them.

Q What is going to happen next week at the White House? Those delegates that are coming to the White House to talk to the President, do you have any idea how that is going to run?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I don't, no.

Q Who is coming?

Q Has there been a shift in the uncommitteds since the Mondale ticket was formalized?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I don't think that that has had any great bearing on the roughly 100 uncommitted delegates that are left. We have not seen it.

Q Have you sounded the Reagan forces out on Reagan taking the second place?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, we have not. There have been no discussions. To my knowledge there have been no discussions about the Vice Presidency at all.



Q Are you going to get any in Utah today?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: The only opportunity we have in Utah would be Senator Garn, and I don't like his chances.

Q Once again, which Congressional district do you think is the weakest for the President?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: The one that borders New York. Is that the second or the third?

Q No, that is the fourth. I don't think that is the one you mean. Is it the one that is around New Haven?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I don't know.

Q Can you find out?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Yes, we will find out.

Q Is the Democratic effort to make an issue out of the pardon of Mr. Reagan, saying that if he is nominated that won't be an issue for the Democrats affecting the uncommitted delegates?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I don't think so. We don't sense in any way -- the only thing we can sense within the Republican Party, whether it be Reagan supporters or Ford supporters, is the fact that we feel that the nomination of Mondale gives us the good divisive point, something that we can discuss in the general election. Maybe Carter thinks it is a plus for him. We think it is also a plus for us.

Q Why?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Because with the combination of Democratic platform and Carter embracing the Democrat platform in the nomination of Mondale, who is an established liberal, it gives us a division in the general election that we think that we can capitalize on.



Q Why? Do you think the people are not liberals?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Every piece of research we have seen and part of the way that Carter got to where he is indicates to us that the majority of this country is moderate to liberal -- or moderate to conservative.

Q Are you saying then you can capitalize on the pardon?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I am not saying that at all.

Q My question was about the pardon.

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I didn't understand your question. You will have to repeat it.

Q Mr. Mondale said in his acceptance speech that, "We have just gotten through the worst political crisis in the country and we are led by the man who pardoned the man who did it," and that is an issue as far as he is concerned. After that, Mr. Reagan said, "Nominate me and the Democrats will not have that as an issue."

Is that affecting the way the uncommitted delegates are talking?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No.

Q What do you think in the Democratic Platform would be a good talking point for the Republicans and what is offensive to them?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: There are great numbers of spending bills -- the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, the National Health Insurance Program, things of that nature, which are tremendous amounts of dollars and I think that is where the debates will rest.

Q You said you were going to do well in Hawaii and you have been very hopeful in Hawaii. How about Mississippi?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Mississippi, in our judgment is still wide open -- they are an uncommitted delegation and we know that we have some support in the delegation at this point. A lot of them are truly uncommitted. They are wide open.

Q Is the President considering going down there next week?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: There has been some discussion of it, but no decision made.

Q Do you have any feel of the Reagan people on not having any credentials challenges? Does that still leave open the possibility that there will be some rules fight at the Convention that would affect the balloting --

for example, requiring Ford delegates to vote for him on the first ballot?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Yes, there could be some rules fights, yes. There is a unity resolution which was passed by the National Committee and that could be a fight in the Rules Committee. That is basically a resolution that says the delegates have to abide by the State laws or the States that they came from in terms of being bound. There could be a fight over that.

Q As the senior campaign official, do you expect Stu Spencer to resign after the Convention?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I have no intention to, but that is always a good speculative story. In politics, you can always speculate somebody is going to leave.

Q Why is Peter Kaye leaving?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: You will have to ask Rogers Morton that. I am not going to get involved in it.

Q Will there be a President Ford Committee after the Convention or is the Republican National Committee going to take over?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: There will be a President Ford Committee, but there will be very close coordination and cooperation with the Republican National Committee. In fact, we have been in the process over the last three or four months in connection with the Reagan organization of working out the details of how we can best utilize both organizations. It will be much closer than in the past.

Q Why do you need two?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: You don't need two. The point is this, that the President has made the commitment that he wanted his campaign to be worked through and with the National Committee because of the things that have happened in the past. Now, we are trying to

fulfill that obligation, and when you only have \$21.8 million to spend, there is a lot of resources at the National Committee that you can use and we want to use them.

Q Did I understand you to say a minute ago that you don't think Reagan is going to pry any of the President's delegates loose?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: That is correct.

Q Then, why are all these State delegations being brought into the White House in the next couple of weeks? What is the purpose of these visits?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Some of them are uncommitted, some of them are already committed and it is a situation of getting them in a position so they know the President and what he stands for and keeping it firm.

Q Does this not indicate here that some of these people are borderline delegates?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Any uncommitteds are a borderline delegate, but I don't think that Reagan is going to pull any of them away from us is what I am saying.

MORE

Q Would you explain the Mississippi situation? I don't exactly understand what is going on down there.

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: What do you want to know?

Q For one thing, when are these people going to have to commit themselves one way or the other?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: They can do it at any time. They had a resolution passed. They had a meeting which in essence said that they would go uncommitted to Kansas City. They can hold a meeting tomorrow or this afternoon and uncommit that commitment and divide the delegation up any way that they want.

Q So, if the President went down there, presumably he would go before a meeting of some kind at which they would line up? Is that what you are saying?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: The invitation we have I think is to appear before a party fund-raising event in Mississippi. Whether he would meet with delegates or not, if he goes, I don't know at this point.

Q Could it end up with Mississippi deciding who the Republican candidate would be?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Mississippi could be very important, Hawaii could be very important because they are the two biggest blocks of uncommitted voters left.

Q How many in Hawaii?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: There is a total of 18.

Q How many in Mississippi?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: 30.

Q The President has said a couple of times that it would be interesting, a lot of what he does would depend on what the Democrats did at their convention, and he would be watching that. Then why does the choice of Mondale as the number two choice -- the Republicans in recent days have indicated that they could attack this ticket as a liberal ticket -- how does that affect the number two choice, do you think, for the President, and what would be most helpful to him?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: I am not going to get into any discussion of the Vice Presidency. That is a decision the President has to make. I have not discussed it with him, and I do not wish to speculate on it.

Q What is your current uncommitted count in New York and Pennsylvania?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: It is about 12 in New York.

Q In Pennsylvania?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Five.

Q Do you see a trip to Hawaii by the President before the convention? (Laughter)

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: No, I don't.

We are going to send Cheney to Hawaii.

Q Can I take you back to the very beginning when you were giving some numbers? What do you expect Reagan to have at the end of the day?

SENIOR CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL: Today he has 1000 delegates in our count, and if he wins all of them in Utah, which we think he will do, he will have 1020.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

(AT 10:27 A.M. EDT)



August 20, 1976

REMARKS OF ROBERT DOLE
SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

RUSSELL, KANSAS

12:25 P.M. CDT

SENATOR DOLE: Thank you very much, Governor Bennett. This is just a normal rally crowd when I come home. (Laughter)

I am very pleased to be here. I worked in this court house eight years. We haven't had this many people go in and out of the court house since then and during that time. But it is always great to be home. As I look around and see so many friends, it is good to remember where you came from, and I have never forgotten that. If I have had any success, it is because of the people here.

We may even convert Nancy to a Republican before we leave here today. (Laughter)

I want to say a word about a friend of mine. We were in Kansas City just passing through town the last few days and yesterday morning the phone rang and somebody said, "It is the President." I said, "Of what?" (Laughter) They said, "The President of the United States." (Laughter)

Seriously, the President called me yesterday morning and asked if I would like to be on the ticket and I thought about it one second and said yes. (Laughter)

I have known President Ford for 16 years. When I first went to the Congress, where I succeeded the late, great Wynn Smith, and Jerry Ford -- excuse me, Mr. President -- Jerry Ford then was a friend of Kansas. He has been all over this State. He has been in Dodge City and has been in Great Bend as recently as a year and a half ago, and he has traveled everywhere else in Kansas.

He really is a friend, and I can say to my friends in Russell, it was a complete surprise to me that I received a call yesterday. It was not expected, but everybody in Kansas had a list and I kept running around and looking at this list and that list, but I could never find the President's list, so I had no way of knowing what was going on.



But, I consider it a singular honor that the President said yesterday morning -- and I can attest to this -- "We start our campaign not next week or next month. We start our campaign tomorrow, and I am going to start in the heartland of America." That is why he is here today.

I suggested to the President if he wanted to start in the heartland, I knew of a little place that would qualify, and that is why we are in Russell today. (Laughter)

Now, somebody was saying, who wasn't quite as enthusiastic as me and the President, "Well, it is a Friday afternoon. Many of those people have already made plans." (Laughter) I surmised we could probably take care of that, and we could delay the bridge club until Monday. (Laughter)

But, it is really a thrill for me to be here with my daughter, Robin, my mother and my wife, Elizabeth. I told President Ford on the way, "These are just relatives, and there is another crowd on the other side of the court house." (Laughter)

I really never believed I would be in the position-- when I was County Attorney of Russell County and in the State Legislature before that--I never believed it when I got to Congress after drowning Keith Sebelius in Dole pineapple juice, (Laughter) I never believed it when I went to the Senate, and I don't really believe it yet today.

But, it shows you can come from a small town in America, that you don't need the wealth and all the material things in this world to succeed, if I have succeeded. Some may quarrel with that. But I want to emphasize, as I did before, if I have done anything, it is because of the people I have known up and down Main Street and I can recall the time when I needed help, the people of Russell helped.

That was a long time ago, and I thank you for it again.

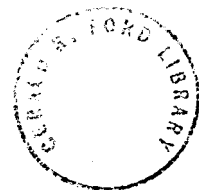
But the real honor today -- and I understand Friday is a good day for Presidents to drop in. (Laughter) The last one was Teddy Roosevelt, and he made a speech from the depot, and there is someone back there who was here. (Laughter)



I can't think of any greater honor than to introduce to you my friend, a man I consider to be a friend of America, a friend of rural America, a friend of small town America, and really one of us, the President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford.

END

(AT 12:33 P.M. CDT)



Carlson, FYI
August 20, 1976

INTERVIEW OF ROBERT HARTMANN
WITH THE
AIR FORCE ONE POOL

Then
bill

Q Is he doing this under duress? Because of the openness, forthrightness and candor of the Ford White House?

Q Did he do anything different, working on this speech, than he has done before because many people know it is easier for the President to deliver --

MR. HARTMANN: The President started working on his speech right after the Fourth of July, the day after, Monday, the 5th of July. We got back to the White House. He called me in and said when are we going to work on this. The first thing we did, we got from the old official documents acceptance speeches of all the Presidents back to Harry Truman, all the Presidents and all the candidates of both parties.

I then sent out a memo to all of the Cabinet except those who were specifically nonpolitical like Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Kissinger and the Attorney General, and asked for their views, suggestions, opinions, whatever, and also the members of the senior staff of the White House and those who in the past have shown an excessive inclination towards speechwriting. We asked them to send in more or less of an outline, and ideas rather than something like a draft and try to keep it short.

Then there were some other people in addition, such as PFC people and some of his friends like Bryce Harlow, members of the transition team, Mel Laird and so on.

Q Who from the PFC?

MR. HARTMANN: I think Rog and Spencer, Elly Peterson, I think that is all. Bill Timmons. And then there were the Republican leaders in the House and Senate. In addition, of course, from time to time when he was talking to people, said if you have any ideas send them in to Bob Hartmann. We got some volunteers that way.



All of these things were given to him and he read them all and marked the ideas he liked with a red pencil, under the things he liked.

Q He read all these memos, Bob, that you presented to him?

MR. HARTMANN: He read them, too.

Q I mean --

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, he read them all.

Then we had the -- we brought our speechwriting department -- I skipped a step. About three weeks ago, I guess it was, the President sat down with me alone and he had a little piece of yellow paper on which he made some notes and he outlined a general outline, the way he wanted it, the order in which he wanted the speech to go. Obviously, although he didn't have much on the little sheet of paper, he had been doing a lot of thinking about it and he rattled off, like, you know, 1-ABC, 2-ABC, 3-ABC. I took that outline and had a meeting of our speechwriters and relayed it to them and they, of course, also had been reading up on all this other stuff and everybody was to come back with a draft.

Q How many, Bob?

MR. HARTMANN: Five or six or seven.

Q Their own drafts?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, their own draft. I took those drafts in to the President, along with my own. Naturally mine was the winning one. (Laughter)

Q I wonder why.

Q You put your name on the winner?

Q You had the names on those?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I was kidding about that. Mine was the basic draft because I had had the benefit of working with him personally and it was naturally closer to what he wanted.



Q Are you serious he picked yours? It was a matter of picking one, and he picked yours?

MR. HARTMANN: It was pretty close. I obviously had ten years on anybody else.

Q Bob, did your draft have the line in there challenging Carter to a debate?

MR. HARTMANN: I will get to that in a minute.

He then took the other drafts. He took all the drafts and marked the part that he liked the best and he wrote some stuff in on his own and then I went back and put all of this together.

Q You incorporated what he liked best into yours, right?

MR. HARTMANN: I incorporated what he liked best from all of them and his own stuff, of course. Then this went back to him about two weeks ago. Then we began working on it every day for several hours and --

Q Both of you?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q When would this start?

MR. HARTMANN: Maybe it would be an hour in the morning --

Q When, though?

Q Two weeks ago, he said.

Q Two weeks ago, I am sorry.

MR. HARTMANN: About two weeks ago.



Q Did you work on it every day?

MR. HARTMANN: In some form. He kept this very close. He didn't farm it out to everybody on the staff like he usually does. There wasn't a great deal of factual data that needed to be checked out. We checked that out without actually giving the whole text to the research people. We just asked them to check the facts. So, the draft, itself, was very closely held and was reviewed; aside from the President, only by Jack Marsh and Cheney early on in the process and again toward the very end of the process. The rest of it was, aside from those people he may have shown it to himself, it was not farmed out to everybody on the staff like he usually does.

There were only two copies of this draft at any time. One was mine and one was his. He never let it out of his hands, neither did I. All of the changes were put in by the same two gals.

Q Why the security? Who were you afraid to see it?

MR. HARTMANN: It wasn't so much that as everybody wants to change it.

Q It was more for your own staff, then. It was not fear of the Carter people?

MR. HARTMANN: Oh, yes. It was a matter of the President wanting to make this the way he wanted it, not everybody telling him the way he ought to do it.

Q Did Gergen ever see it?

MR. HARTMANN: Not with my knowledge and consent, but I can't answer that categorically.

Q Since it went across so well, apparently, does that mean you are going to have to be doing more of them from now on?



MR. HARTMANN: I don't know how I could do any more than I have already.

Q Continue the chronology. We are getting down to D-Day now, and the two of you have been working on the last drafts, right?

MR. HARTMANN: About a week ago, then he started working on delivery of it, first just aloud and then later with video tape and watching it played back to himself.

Q When did he start --

MR. HARTMANN: About a week ago. Let me see, the speech was given on Thursday, I guess about the previous Wednesday.

Q Anyone help him on that?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes. He had both myself and Bob Ordman and Don Penny.

Q Where would he practice, in the Oval Office?

MR. HARTMANN: Sometimes it was in the Cabinet Room, sometimes it was set up in -- it was usually set up in the Cabinet Room.

Q Did you say he practiced every day on this?

MR. HARTMANN: At least once.

Q He stood up?

MR. HARTMANN: He stood up at a little podium and it was recorded and he watched it played back and he did it again sometimes.

Q Why did he think it was that important?

MR. HARTMANN: It was.

Q He did the delivery and the speech itself, when did he put the debate in?



Q It was not in the draft, itself. We received it with the advance text.

MR. HARTMANN: No, this was a decision he came to a couple of hours before he went out.

Q He made the decision only a couple of hours before he went out?

Q He had been considering it for a long time, though, hadn't he? That is what Nessen told us, that he had been considering it.

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, I am sure he had because a couple of years ago, you may remember, I inadvertently said at that Sperling breakfast that he might possibly debate his opponents.

Q Two hours before he made the speech he decided to go for the debate?

MR. HARTMANN: I knew it was being considered and one other person knew it was being considered. As of yesterday and the time after he got through with the Vice Presidential business, we actually worked on exactly how he was going to say it, if he said it. He hadn't made up his mind for sure he was going to say it.

Q What were the considerations? Will you give us any idea of his motives for deciding to include that?

MR. HARTMANN: I think the only question is whether that part of the acceptance speech would be ready on time.

Q When did he decide to include it as part of the acceptance speech? Can you give us any sense of that?

MR. HARTMANN: I think you have to ask him.

Q When did he actually make the decision, then?

MR. HARTMANN: I left the hotel last night and I didn't know whether he was going to say it or not.



Q What time did you leave the hotel?

Q Did he continue to practice with the video tape and everything in Kansas City?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, he did in Kansas City, but about two days ago, before he gave it, was about the last one he recorded.

Q So, what time did you leave for the Convention?

MR. HARTMANN: About 6:00.

Q So, you didn't know then?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't know for sure whether he was going to say it or not say it, neither did anyone else.

Q When did he actually make the decision?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, just before he left the hotel he had my secretary type up the words on the speech typewriter. So, I suppose it was sometime in there.

Q When did he first tell Carter he was going to announce he was going to debate him, can you tell us that?

MR. HARTMANN: He didn't tell anybody.

MORE



Q We are not going to have a chance probably to ask the President this question. You couldn't give us any help at all on why he decided? Why did this seem like an opportune time?

MR. HARTMANN: He said we are going to come out fighting and this seemed a concrete example of it. That is my interpretation of what he said.

Q It was that philosophy that triggered him putting it in his acceptance speech rather than announcing it this weekend?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q You had no idea Carter was coming out this morning with the same challenge?

MR. HARTMANN: I had heard that from Sam Shaffer at the arena last night.

Q When you say videotape, you mean an actual film was taken on him making his speech and he would look at the film, is that how it goes?

MR. HARTMANN: You know these little home sets where you film the children and show them on television?

Q Was it a little thing?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, it wasn't a great big set-up. A camera sitting on a tripod. It wasn't very professional, but it did give him a chance to --

Q Bob, the remarks about you not having to do more is there won't be so many committee speeches any-more?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I don't know about the picture. We did eight in five days on the Bicentennial.

Q But they weren't all yours like this one. They didn't have so much the Hartmann mark on them as this one?



MR. HARTMANN: It was the same process.

Q Do you think this is the best speech you ever wrote?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't write it, the President wrote it.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

* * * * *



September 13, 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM SCRANTON
U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

THE NORTH LAWN

12:40 P.M. EDT

Q Mr. Ambassador, will you veto North Vietnam's efforts to get into the UN?

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: It is not North Vietnam any longer, as you know. It is Vietnam. And the President has instructed me today to veto that admission, yes. And the basis for it is quite clear.

For some time, we have been trying to work with the Vietnamese to have them be interested in the problem of the MIAs and their families, and so far have had very little in the way of either information or helpfulness from them concerning them.

As you probably know, there are two major criteria concerning membership in the United Nations. One is the matter of peace loving, and if it is a peace loving nation, then we want it to be a member of the United Nations; and the other is, is it interested in humanitarianism?

Certainly there is no object or no issue currently in the United States in regard to our relationship with Vietnam and in the world generally to indicate inhumanity more than their complete lack of reasonableness concerning bringing us information about these men who were lost in that area.

I have received many letters myself from families of the MIAs and from their friends and relations and, frankly, I believe this to be brutal treatment and inhuman treatment of people who deserve to have a different kind of treatment.

Q To what extent does election year politics influence this U.S. veto?



AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: I must say to you in all candor, it has no influence over me, and I do not believe over the President at all. As you know, we have not been attempting to play politics. The United Nations is an international organization and one which we handle on a nonpartisan basis.

Q Mr. Ambassador, the Vietnamese accused the United States of failing to answer their last note of August 27, and they say that there is a "placemat" and they have agreed to discuss MIAs but that the United States has not responded.

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: You will remember -- or maybe it has not yet become public -- but we did have a note from the Vietnamese in June and this note that they are referring to is their reply at long last to the note that we sent them in June which comes in now, in late August, to us, and we feel we have the right to take some time to answer theirs.

But there is nothing to indicate in any negotiations that are presently going on with the Vietnamese that they have let down their draw at all concerning the MIAs, and we feel very strongly that this is a condition precedent to admission. No matter even if there were some progress being made, as long as they have not done this it indicates that there is not the interest in humanitarianism which the UN demands.

Q But you say we are going to wait to respond to their August 27 note. How long do we have to wait?

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: I don't think it would be very long for a response, because we are very anxious to talk to them about this and other issues. But that is entirely up to the President and the Secretary of State. But the fact that they would complain about the fact that they have a note to us which has not received an answer when they did not answer ours for a period of three months, I don't think is any complaint at all, particularly if there is nothing in the note to indicate there would be a change in the status of the MIAs.

Q What about the admission of the Republic of Angola?

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: That has not yet come up, as you know, and we will deal with it when it does.

Q They say they are ready to negotiate on the MIAs; you say they are not.

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: I did not say they weren't. We would be delighted if they were, but there is not anything to indicate in the note that there would be a serious negotiation about this. There certainly isn't a change in the status of the MIAs, which is what we must have in order to believe that they are humane about this and not inhumane with regard to these men and their families.

Q I hate to repeat this, but their statement says they are ready to implement the agreement but the United States has failed to implement the agreement.

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: All I can tell you is that they have made the note public. Read it.

Q I am talking about what the note says and you are saying it does not say that.

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: I am simply saying I hope the negotiations will go on and that would be wonderful and I hope that they result in the kind of answer that we would all like to have, which is an adjudication of this problem, but the membership comes up tomorrow and there is no such adjudication of it at the present time.

Q Is there a linkage here with the question of the admission of South Korea?

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: Not that I know of. To the best of my knowledge the South Koreans did not apply to that.



Q Do you believe a veto will enhance prospects of negotiations on MIAs?

AMBASSADOR SCRANTON: I don't know whether it will or not. I think the veto has to be determined on what the situation is with regard to membership in the U.N. and I just outlined it to you. They are normally based on two criteria. One is the matter of humanitarianism and the other is the matter of peace loving.

Thank you.

END

(AT 12:48 P.M. EDT)



September 14, 1976

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE FRONT LAWN

2:50 P.M. EDT

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I just want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that the New York State Republican Party is off and rolling, and we are having our opening campaign swing on Thursday of this week with Vice President-designate Bob Dole. This is a plan, starting in Buffalo tomorrow night, and then having a rally in the morning and then going by plane to Rochester, Syracuse, Binghamton, end up in New York City, opening of the headquarters with the Senatorial candidates, Congressional candidates, the local legislative candidates and the local candidates running for the local offices meeting for rallies at the airport so that we really sweep through the State and get the kind of excitement and enthusiasm which I think this campaign is going to generate as it goes along, but which I think it needs right now.

This is the plan. It usually ends up this way with a swing of that kind in New York State, but the interesting thing is and the important thing is the polls show 41-45, Carter 45, the President 41, with 13 undecided. That is a lucky number. We are going to creep up on that coming up from behind. I used to start out about 25 points, 26 points behind, so 13 points is nothing and we think this thing is going to be a sweep for the President in New York State.

Q Is this a New York State poll or a national poll you were referring to?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: That is a poll of New York State, Just New York State.

Q Conducted by Mr. Teeter?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Yes.



Q Mr. Vice President, why do you think the Presidential campaign has stirred up so little enthusiasm thus far?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I would say that that is a question really that has to do with the mood of the country. Mr. Carter, of course, has been campaigning now for months since his Democratic Party election and there has not been much enthusiasm generated, and I think we have got to get the American people -- I saw some figures saying not more than 50 percent are going to vote -- and I think that is wrong.

I think everybody ought to get out there and vote. That is part of our responsibility as individual citizens, and we have got to get to the voters and discuss the issues, discuss the problems and discuss the tremendous opportunities that exist for the future.

I think this is one of the most exciting moments in history and that we are all lucky to be alive at this time. We are lucky to be Americans and we want to keep this country strong and we want to keep this country playing its role in the world for peace and opportunity.

Q Could it be, though, that both candidates just don't cause too much excitement, they are rather dull campaigners?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, I think the public really has had so much. They have been through so much over the last years in the way of emotional trauma that to focus on that campaign and on the future is perhaps, this far ahead, a little difficult but what we want to do is start that ball rolling and I think once the enthusiasm gets rolling, it is going to just go.

Q What is going to close the gap for the President in New York?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: The same thing we have always done, which is just getting to the people, getting a recognition and the knowledge of the two candidates, comparing the two candidates, as men -- I think in the last



analysis frankly the voters are going to think, when they get in that booth, "Who did we trust to handle the problems at home and in the world, to preserve the kind of strength and stability this country has now and peace in the world?"

I think myself, frankly, they are going to say, "We want experience, proven experience," and that is President Ford.

Q Mr. Vice President, what about New York City's reaction to the President's earlier action on the handling of their fiscal matters and that New York Daily News headline, "Ford To City: Drop Dead," have they forgotten that?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, I don't think they have and I think maybe it is going to turn out that what President Ford did is what saved the city. Now, this is very interesting and I think people in New York are beginning to realize that, that somebody had to say, "Look, it is time to stop, look and listen and get your house in order because you are headed for bankruptcy."

That is what he said and the truth of the matter is it turned out to be about right and they had taken very tough measures -- and you have to give the city and the State credit for it -- and things are coming out, but if somebody had not done that -- and it took a lot of muscle and a lot of courage to do it -- but I think that is the way President Ford is. He tells it like it is, and I think the American people want that.



Q Mr. Vice President, is the kind of excitement that you say has to get going in this campaign, is President Ford himself going to have to get out and do more campaigning himself to arouse that?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think he said so this morning on the Today Show that as soon as Congress got out of here and went in adjournment that he was going to get out himself, out with the people. That is what he loves to do, as you know.

Q In other words, you think he will get out and conduct an active campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I think so. That is what he has always liked to do. I think he only stayed here because he felt with Congress here and with all these measures being up in both Houses -- as you know, the last month the calendars of both Houses are jammed with subjects and there are always these compromises and he wanted to be here to try and protect the interests of the people.

Q Do you think staying here at the White House will hurt him?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Let's take the polls in New York State. That is the only one I can give you. There was a poll taken immediately after the Republican Convention and he was then three points behind. Two weeks later -- you expect after a Convention for it to be way up and then drop back. In two weeks, he only dropped one point. This is a very extraordinary figure and that is while he is here doing these things you are talking about so that now, when he gets out and when this thing gets rolling and the enthusiasm -- Carter has been on the road now for a month -- so that I think this thing is going to really start rolling.

Q You keep saying, "When he gets out." Do you think he is hurting himself by staying here? Do you think he is losing time?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: That is why I gave the figures, the one point slippage in New York. I don't know about the other States, which is really extraordinary and that is while he is sitting here in Washington, not out campaigning.

Q The answer is Yes, he is being hurt by staying here in the White House?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, the answer is not yes. The answer is, he is doing what he should which is being President of the United States, which he happens to be, which is to stay where he has the responsibility to fulfill and this, to me, marks the man. He has always done those things which he thought were right as President and this is his responsibility regardless of the possible political implications, adverse or not.

Q Will he go to campaign in New York State?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I would hope he would, although I have not tried to get a commitment from him because I don't want to put pressure on -- he was to do the country as a whole. Now, I have to imagine he is going to, but I don't know.

Q What is your role going to be in the next six weeks?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Six weeks of campaigning.

Q You are going to be an active advocate traveling around the country?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I don't know what that word "advocate" means. I am out just as I have been in the pre-Convention period, supporting President Ford because I think he is the best man for this country.

Q Will you concentrate your activities in the Northern part of the country?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Northeast, West, North, Chicago, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, et cetera, and then on out in the Northwest.

Q Will the President carry New York State?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Yes, he is going to. I said he was going to get nominated and I said he was going to carry New York, and he is going to be re-elected.

Q Isn't it something of a perversion of the record, though, to suggest that President Ford was the man who saved New York? I mean, that was not quite the way I remember the things happening at the time and I think you disagreed with his approach to saving New York at the time.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: What I said was that I thought New York City would take the steps necessary and that they would need aid from Congress to finance bonds which they could not sell during that interim period, as they were restoring their credit. That is what I said.

Now, he woke them up and shocked them by what he said so that they did exactly what I predicted they would do, which was to take the steps necessary and he urged Congress, which I had said I thought he should, urged Congress to pass legislation permitting Congress to advance funds on a short-term basis during this interim period until they could reestablish their credit. So, it came out exactly that way. It was sort of a shock treatment.

Q Mr. Vice President, how do you feel about the postponement of the issue of voting membership for Vietnam until after the election? Do you think that is a good idea? Do you think Mr. Ford might change his view after the election if he should be elected?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I am not familiar with the basic assumption there. What is the postponement?

Q They are not going to vote on Vietnam membership until after the election.



VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Whose decision was that? Do you know who made the decision?

Q I don't know.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: My guess would be it would be the Vietnamese that pushed the postponement, not the Administration.

MORE

Q Do you have any thoughts for us today on the Carter campaign, about how you think Mr. Carter has been doing in the last week or so?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: The only thing I would feel is the American people are going to vote, as I said, in the booth on the basis of trust and confidence and the thing that concerns I think a good many people is that for instance Mr. Carter came out strongly for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and then only a few weeks later or a month or so later when he got the trend as he went around the country and found people were for a balanced budget, now he has come out with a balanced budget by 1980, 1978 or 1980.

Now, those are inconsistencies which are so glaring that I don't think it builds confidence and I think this is the difficulty which he is going to face. He is trying to take two sides of an issue and then engender that sense of confidence in his position in their minds were he to be in the White House.

Q Would you like to be Secretary of State?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, sir.

Q You would not? Would you like to play a major role in the next Administration?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, sir.

Q What do you intend to do after the election?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I intend to go home.

Q You are not going to retire?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: No, I will stay in politics. I love this country and I will always serve this country, but there are a good many ways in which you can so I have no worry. I will just read what you fellows write and I will get some ideas and I will push those.

Q Mr. Vice President, I am still confused on exactly how you feel about the strategy of staying in the White House of the President during this campaign.

Number one, Mr. Carter is so far ahead in all of the polls that he is ahead right now, the President has to do something to close the gap. Aren't you saying he does indeed have to get out of here, that this is not working, in the poll that you showed us?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: I frankly, number one, would disagree with your use of the word the President's "strategy." This is not a strategy. It is the President of the United States you are where you should be and he should be here. This is not strategy. This is a fulfilling of the responsibility even though it might be adverse politically at this particular moment.

Q Now I assume he was not fulfilling his responsibility when he traveled so much back --

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Congress then was not in the position it is now. You must have been around here long enough to know how Congress works. Congress saves all the big programs until the end and then they work them out and they trade them off one against the other and they get the votes traded out and all the rest of it and he has to be here for all those amendments, to take his position on those, and I think he is doing the right thing.

When the American people stop to think about it, instead of feeling the way you feel, I think they are going to say, "This is the kind of man we want. He has the guts to stay here when it might be more advantageous to him politically to be out on the road." He wants to be where he should be because that is his responsibility as President of the United States. That is what I have always found, that if you do the right thing, in the long run the American people are so intelligent and so perceptive that it comes through and they like it.

Q What is in Senator Dole's record to commend itself to the voters of New York?

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER: Senator McGovern asked me this question on television at the Convention and I said, "Well, Senator, you know it is very interesting you ask that question." I said, "One of the things that is going to gain him the support of the progressive Republicans is his support of the food stamp program," and then when they commentate or said, "Oh, yes, that is right, he did, and by the way wasn't it a McGovern-Dole bill," and Senator McGovern said, "Yes, it was," and he said, "We better not dispute it or they might renominate Jesse Helms out there on the floor."

This was at the Convention, so that is one. Handicap is another, civil rights is another. He then has been cast, I think, very unfairly as being a -- maybe because he comes from a conservative part of the country -- as solely a conservative. He is not a conservative or a liberal in the sense of either. He is a progressive, realistic leader who deals with the problems on the basis of the merits of the problems rather than on ideological positions or predictions which say, "Don't confuse me with the facts." My mind is already made up." He is not that kind of politician.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 3:08 P.M. EDT)

October 10, 1976

PRESS CONFERENCE
OF
JIM BAKER

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

MR. BAKER: I thought we might start out by reviewing the progress of our campaign to date.

We think that we have had, during the five weeks of this campaign -- we have had four outstanding weeks. We recognize that this last week has been less than outstanding. However, we think that this is something to be expected. We would think that in a campaign such as this that there would be peaks and valleys.

We are extremely pleased with the results of our Oklahoma and Texas visits for the last two days. We think that the crowds have been large and enthusiastic -- in Lawton, Oklahoma, along the parade route in Dallas, and again at the State Fair in Dallas.

We would point to a Darden poll which was released here recently showing that the Carter lead in the South overall is slipping, and I would like to make specific mention of the results --

Q Results of what?

MR. BAKER: A recent Darden poll.

Q Spell it.

MR. BAKER: D-a-r-d-e-n. And I would specifically point to the results of our telephone canvassing in Texas, which I just got late yesterday afternoon, which shows that we are leading in the State of Texas. And we are very enthusiastic about our prospects for carrying both Texas and Oklahoma, which were two States, Phil, which we were really given very little chance in some five or six weeks ago.

Q Is this the first time the polls show you ahead in Texas?



MR. BAKER: This is the first time they have shown us ahead in Texas. I hasten to point out this is our own telephone canvass in Texas.

Q This kind of poll that is canvassing --

MR. BAKER: No, this is not an opinion poll. This is our own canvass. But we were very pleased. I would tell you very candidly that our most recent poll in Texas doesn't show us ahead. The Market Opinion Research poll shows us very close but not ahead.

Q Was this taken at about the same time the canvass was taken?

MR. BAKER: The canvass has been taken over a period of three weeks, Phil, and the poll was completed, I think, about a week ago.

Q Do you use the one, two, three, four, five system on your canvassing?

MR. BAKER: You mean the questions?

Q No, one for committed; two for --

MR. BAKER: No, we use for or against and undecided in our telephone canvassing.

Q Did you finish your statement?

MR. BAKER: Yes, that is it.

Q I was just going to ask, you used similar language yesterday when we arrived in Dallas about it being a less than outstanding week. Why do you think so?

MR. BAKER: Well, we would acknowledge that we hit a bump over the course of the last week with the Butz matter, with the Eastern European clarification. I would like to point out in that connection that this is the first time in five weeks that the President has clarified any statement that he has made in the course of this campaign, or that it has been felt that it has been necessary to clarify any statement.

I would like to point to at least six instances in which Mr. Carter has clarified campaign statements, starting with the middle income taxation statement, the tax on church property statement, the Playboy interview, the statement with respect to LBJ, the Clarence Kelley statement, and his statement back during the primaries regarding the ethnic purity of neighborhoods. Those are all statements that Mr. Carter has felt compelled to explain if not issue an outright apology.

Q And at this point, Jim, I think it would be fair to say that he will have to now explain why he said on the TV show that he had never proposed a \$15 billion budget cut for the Defense Department, which he clearly did on at least two occasions. So, that will presumably be the next item he will have to clarify.

MR. BAKER: The \$15 billion defense cut statement was on my list, and I simply omitted it.

Q Can I pursue that one step further? Could you characterize the President's campaign at this point after this past week?

MR. BAKER: I would characterize it as having hit a bump that did slow us down for a week. We feel we have regained the momentum with our very successful forays into Oklahoma and into Texas.

I would like also to mention the fact that it was only some five or six weeks ago that a lot of people were writing us out of this race altogether. We now see a situation where there are independent polls, national polls, indicating that the race is dead even. There are other national polls that show that we are slightly behind by some six to seven points

Q How do you plan on closing this, this five to six points that you say are there? Do you think there is a possibility that you could come up too quickly and then start going down again?

MR. BAKER: Phil, I have said all along that when you start 18 or 23 points behind, you don't worry about peaking too soon, and that is not something that is going to concern us.

We think we have had the momentum throughout this campaign except for this one week. We feel that we have regained it with very successful visits in Oklahoma and Texas. We have a campaign strategy that we think is the right one. It is one that has been successful to date and it is one that we are going to continue to pursue.

Q What effect will the Reverend Criswell endorsement of the President have on the campaign?

MR. BAKER: We think Reverend Criswell's support will be important to us. He is an acknowledged leader not only among Southern Baptists but also among Evangelicals, and we think that his support will be influential and will be quite helpful.

Q Have you got a Teeter poll yet on the debate itself, I mean your own thing as to the won-lost thing, purely of the debate?

MR. BAKER: The answer is, no, we do not have that yet. We are polling and we expect to have something in the early part of next week.

Q On the debate or at various stages, how?

MR. BAKER: It will go beyond just the debate. It will be the results of our second polls in many States, but it will have a debate question in there.

Q There will be a debate panel inside the sample; is that correct?

MR. BAKER: There will be a debate question inside the panel, that is correct.

Q You, from the start, have sort of dismissed this Eastern European thing. You have had trouble acknowledging that it was going to be an issue and then finding you did have a number of clarifications. How much damage do you think that has caused?

MR. BAKER: I think that the major effect, Phil, has been that it contributed to the slowdown in our campaign of last week. That is the major damage, it seems to me.

I think the President has explained the fact that he was not as precise in his answer as perhaps he should have been. I think he has pointed to his strong support of the captive nations of Eastern Europe under the Captive Nations Resolution. I think he has pointed out that it has been the policy of his Administration never to accept and acknowledge Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Therefore, I don't think that it is going to have a major effect among those people who believe in that cause.

Q So, then, there is no thought of going back to the Rose Garden where you were quite successful?

MR. BAKER: Frank, that was not in our strategy to begin with. I might say that we don't see that the slowdown is in any way occasioned by the fact that we are out of the White House more than we were during September. We always said in September that we were going to be out once a week. We followed that strategy. We were out all last week and, if you will think back, we were out the week before most of the week, including the Southern trip.

Q Isn't this lingering controversy in the press about what the Special Prosecutor is up to with the President's past campaign finance records causing problems?

MR. BAKER: Well, Phil, you know as much about that as we do. You heard the President's statements on it --

Q The point is, the President says no, there is nothing wrong, nothing improper, and the next day there is a headline about the Prosecutor doing something, being up to something. This is bound to hurt, isn't it?

MR. BAKER: We would prefer to see it disposed of, but again we know nothing more -- I know nothing more than you fellows know, having talked to the President in the Oval Office about it.

Q That is my question -- what does this do to the President politically as this lingers on unresolved?

MR. BAKER: All I can say to that is we would be delighted to see it resolved.



Q Do you think maybe this is part of the effort by the other side to keep this thing going and never have it resolved until after the election?

MR. BAKER: I have said all I want to say on the subject because it is pure speculation. You know everything we know about it.

Q Can I ask you about the Butz resignation? You mentioned that as one of the elements which you think contributed to the slowdown, I believe. Do you feel that the President, in his visits to Texas and Oklahoma, managed to offset that?

MR. BAKER: Well, I think that, as I indicated earlier, I firmly believe that we have regained whatever momentum we lost as a result of the Butz situation and the clarification with respect to the remark in the debate.

Q After the first debate, Carter didn't make any bones about the fact that he felt he hadn't been aggressive enough, and he would be more aggressive in the second debate, which he apparently was. I got the impression towards the end of this week that the President himself was becoming a little more vociferous and aggressive. Is that something he is going to continue in the third debate and throughout the campaign?

MR. BAKER: I wouldn't want to speak to the debate, because I think that that decision is still perhaps to be made with respect to the debate, but I would expect to see the President get somewhat more aggressive in his campaign appearances, not to the point that Governor Carter has reached when he calls the President more secretive than Richard Nixon or a worse President than Richard Nixon. We think that those are rather, it seems to us, desperate-type tactics or desperate remarks.

Q Democratic National Chairman Bob Strauss is saying the same thing of the President's attacks on Carter, saying that he is doing it because he is desperate, he has had a very bad week, to quote Mr. Strauss.

MR. BAKER: I don't think the President has attacked Governor Carter in the manner in which I am referring to here in the article by David Broder in the Washington Post this morning.

I noted also a piece, Charlie, in your paper, where they quote the Carter camp as claiming that the election is clinched.

Q Really, I don't know what the point of asking this is, but in really frank terms, what do you think your chances are of winning this thing?

MR. BAKER: We think our chances are a lot better of winning this now than they were five or six weeks ago when we started and when people were writing us off. We think frankly we are going to win it. We are very optimistic. I might again say I would point to the fact that we have had one clarification called for in the five weeks of this campaign.

Q Is the Eastern European thing a critical thing for your campaign as a whole in the Great Lakes arc of industrial Midwestern States? How bad is this ethnic thing for you there? Have you taken any kind of reading of that -- not the polls so much, but the pure, really respected political types that you deal with -- have you got an idea of how much this hurt you in Catholic-American ethnic voters from Illinois to Pennsylvania?

MR. BAKER: As I indicated earlier, I think it might have hurt had the President not explained it, and I believe that he did explain it in his statement of clarification in Southern California. I also believe that these voters know of his long record of support of the Captive Nations Resolution. I think these voters know that he cared enough as President of the United States to journey to these nations and he is the first President, I think, that has done so since Yalta Tehran.

Q I think there are a lot of people who didn't think that really represented the President's opinions but viewed it as a different problem, a clumsy performance under the stress of the debate; that it was not his real opinion but he found himself in the position of using declarative sentences which made it sound that way.

MR. BAKER: I would totally disagree with that, and again I would point to the fact that this --

Q I am just referring to the political aspects. Do you think there is a problem that grows out, not of the policy but of the impression left of sort of grace or the lack of it?

MR. BAKER: No, and that is what I was about to say in my answer. I would point to the fact that our opponent has felt compelled to explain at least six or seven things over the course of this campaign, misstatements, and I would also point to the fact in the first debate he was asked a question about whether he believed in -- Governor Carter now -- whether he believed in an incomes policy, and he didn't even understand the question. He started talking about a guaranteed annual income.

It seems to me to be a far worse faux pas.

Q Just one other question. The economy is really sort of altering a little bit. It is not going as you would like it. I am wondering, politically is this going to cause problems in the campaign?

MR. BAKER: We have been saying for some time that the recovery would continue but it would not continue at as fast a pace. We were delighted to note that the unemployment rate did fall, Phil, yesterday, and at least the unemployment rate is trending in the right direction.

THE PRESS: Thank you.