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6:00 P.M. EDT, SATURDAY,  
AUGUST 28, 1976

AUGUST 27, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Vail, Colorado)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE  
OF  
JAMES BAKER  
CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE

THE MOUNTAIN HAUS

3:10 P.M. MDT

MR. GREENER: Let me remind you that the ground-rules on this is that it is embargoed for 6:00 p.m. Saturday night. I know that several of you have talked to me about the fact you do not have Sunday papers. Jim, if possible, will be glad to talk to some of you as long as whatever stories you get on that are run on Monday. So, this is, as I said before, embargoed for 6:00 p.m. Saturday night. It is for film and sound, with the same embargo.

Q Simultaneous film and sound?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, we decided to do that.

MR. GREENER: We will wait for you to do that, Walt. It is obviously on the record.

Q I think there has been a sudden change in the rules in one instance here. If some of the non-Sunday people talk to Jim Baker and cover matters not covered here at all, not touched upon here at all, something else totally different --

MR. GREENER: It is obviously a regular interview if it is not covered here, but nothing covered here can be used before Sunday.

MR. BAKER: In view of the fact that you heard from all of the heavies in Vail this morning, I am really not quite sure why I am here, although it was pointed out to me I had a real self-interest in making sure you did here from them this morning.

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As most of you know, I have been on board all of two days. I have been here for a week. I have been officially on board for two days. I think we have had a very, very productive week.

We have reviewed a general election plan that was some six weeks in the preparation. That big black notebook over there is what we have spent most of our time on. We have spent some time, as you know, and as the President announced a couple of days ago, on the organization, itself, and the restructuring of the President Ford Committee.

We have spent a good bit of time, both at the staff level and with the President, on our media plan and on the President's role in the campaign. I am not going to get into a lot of detail on that subsequently, but we have discussed that among ourselves and we have discussed it with the President. We have gotten into the question of the use of advocates in the campaign, both Cabinet advocates and others, such as the Vice Presidential candidate, Senator Dole; the Vice President, himself; Governor Connally, and others.

We have spent some time, of course, on the matter of the debates, and that has been the subject of some statements by the President. We have also, as I mentioned, looked at the general campaign strategy plan.

I would like, before I take your questions, to just say one other thing. That has to do with Rog Morton's continuing position with the campaign. Rog is going to continue with the campaign, as the President indicated this morning. He is going to continue in a very active capacity. He is going to be free of the day-to-day management responsibilities, and that is why I have been designated as the chairman of the campaign. He is going to be on the road for us, and he is going to be in charge of the operations of the Steering Committee, as was announced a couple of days ago.

I think it is important to note in the President's written statement announcing this change of two or three days ago, he pointed out that this was a suggestion from Rog Morton. Rog Morton brought me into the Government and I am sort of his guy, so to speak. So, I hope that is clearly understood.

I will be delighted to take your questions.

Q Jim, under the President, who is really in charge of the President's campaign? Is it Dick Cheney? Is it Rogers Morton? Is it yourself, or who?

MR. BAKER: Bob, as I visualize it henceforth and the way it has worked over the course of the past four days, the President Ford Committee will be in charge of the campaign. But we will work very closely with the White House and there is not going to be any of this pull and tug that we have seen and that we have read a lot about in the past.

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Dick Cheney is going to serve on an executive committee which is going to be composed of myself and my six deputy chairmen. They are: Roy Hughes for administration; Ely Peterson for voter groups; Bill Greener for communications; John Deardourff for advertising; Bob Teeter for research; and Stu Spencer for political.

That executive committee will make the decisions, obviously, in consultation with the President.

Q Jim, what can you say about the amount of campaigning by the President between now and November?

MR. BAKER: I can't say a lot about that, Russ, because as the President indicated two days ago, there will be a time and place to announce that and this is not it.

Q Why?

MR. BAKER: That is his decision.

Q Why all the coyness about the President's role? Isn't this the name of the game?

MR. BAKER: I don't think so, Helen. This is a part of the general strategy and my understanding is that that will be announced at an appropriate time and place, but it is a little early to do that now.

Q What about the media campaign now?

MR. BAKER: What about it? I won't give you the theme, but I will tell you how much money we anticipate spending on it.

Q How much?

MR. BAKER: Roughly \$10 million.

Q That is half the budget?

MR. BAKER: That is almost half what we are allowed to spend under the law. I think we are allowed to spend \$21.8 million under the law.

Q What does that mean, media?

MR. BAKER: That is all media.

Q What? Advertising? Radio? Television?

MR. BAKER: The works.

Q How is that broken down into various segments?

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MR. BAKER: I don't have that right now for you. Let me say this: On the overall budget question, all we have, to date, is a preliminary budget breakdown. I can't stand up here today and tell you how much we will spend on Vice Presidential travel, for instance. You know we have a ball park figure, but this is something we are going to spend a lot of time on next week in Washington and, quite frankly, we haven't had the time to get into that kind of budget nitty-gritty this week.

Q Will you give us the budget breakdown as you have it now?

MR. BAKER: I don't have it with me and I would rather not get into that now, Dick, because it is very, very preliminary and frankly, we expect a lot of changes in it.

I would think that would be something we could give you over the course of the next ten days or two weeks.

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Q Jim, have you decided where the President will kick off his campaign, including both a date and place?

MR. BAKER: That decision has not been made, Tom.

Q Have you allocated the resources of the campaign, in terms of region and State?

MR. BAKER: No, that decision has not been made, Jim. As I hope the President has made clear, and I hope Governor Connally made clear, and I hope Vice President Rockefeller made clear this morning, we are not writing off any section of this country. We are not writing off any State in this country. Right now we are polling in 18 States, and until we complete that polling and until we make some other judgment, we are not going to be able to sit down and say we will spend X dollars in Y States.

Q But you obviously have some idea as to where that money and those resources can be best used?

MR. BAKER: We know, for instance, that Texas, contrary to reports that it is being written off, is indeed a key State, and we expect to spend in Texas consistent with our overall budgetary requirements. We know New York is a key State. Illinois is a key State. California is a key State. Those kind of preliminary decisions we have made, but it is premature, quite frankly, for us to now allocate expenditures on a State-by-State basis.

Q What are the States you are polling in?

MR. BAKER: We are polling in some 18 States. We are polling in Mississippi. We are polling in Texas. We are polling in New York. We are polling in Florida. We are polling in Virginia. I don't have the list right here.

Q What for, to find out what?

MR. BAKER: To find out how we stand in the polls in those States, to see what the voters in those States feel the issues are and that sort of thing.

Q Jim, by spending as much money as you are talking about here for media, it seems that has the overwhelming priority and everything else is going to have to be divvied up after that is put aside.

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MR. BAKER: I think it is obviously important. I rather suspect it is going to be an important part of the expenditures of the opponents also. We have new groundrules this year, as you well know, Rudy, and we have to live with those and you have to reach the largest number of people in the most efficient way.

Q Jim, could you tell us how you are going to spend money on and how you organize the voter registration?

MR. BAKER: You mean how much money is being allocated to voter identification and turnout?

Q Yes.

MR. BAKER: I can't give you a dollar figure on that, Dick, but as I think I said earlier this week, I believe in this organization and I think you win political campaigns through organization and I think that is extremely important. We will allocate resources to it to the extent we have them. I can't give you a figure now.

Q Do you pay for the fees of the surrogates, all the travel costs and so forth?

MR. BAKER: Do we pick those up? We absolutely have to under the law. The advocates -- we refer to them as advocates. They were surrogates in 1972.

Q Jim, do you put New York in the same category as Texas as a possible key State?

MR. BAKER: Yes, I think New York could properly be characterized as a key State or swing State.

Q Then you think you have as much chance of winning New York as you do Texas?

MR. BAKER: I didn't say that. I said I think they fit in the same category of key or swing States. Until we have completed a little more of the nosing around in there, I can't tell you that we have as good a chance in New York as we have in Texas.

Yes, Fred?

Q What States are you now fairly sure Ford will win?

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MR. BAKER: If we get into this now on a State-by-State basis, we will end up by answering the question Jim asked earlier. I would rather not give you anymore classification than we have so far.

Q How many?

MR. BAKER: I think there are ten to a dozen we consider, maybe 14, that we consider ourselves in very, very good shape.

Q How many electoral votes in those 12 or 14?

MR. BAKER: I would have to look at my list.

Q What are they?

MR. BAKER: I don't want to get into a State-by-State, Bob, I really don't now, until we have had a chance to look at this thing more carefully in the next ten days to two weeks and look at our dollars. I don't want you to leave here with the idea we are going to concentrate in a certain area and not in another because that is frankly a decision we have not made yet.

Q There was a back and forth on the President's television image during the primaries. You know, you went at one point with the candid man into the Oval Office and then I think in California there was a lot of criticism of trying to sell him like soap and cigarettes.

Have you decided what sort of theme you are going to project on?

MR. BAKER: We have a media plan which the President has signed off on, but it would really obviously be premature to reveal the nature of that, the theme of that, the direction of that today.

Q What considerations went into the decision that you are going to spend half of your budget for media advertising?

MR. BAKER: What considerations went into that? I think one obvious consideration is the fact that this year we are tied to a limit of \$21.8 million. As I mentioned earlier, it is important that we reach as many people as efficiently as we can, and that is the best medium I think for doing so.

You know, in 1972 I think there was some \$62 million spent in the Presidential campaign.

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Q Are you going to have the equivalent of a truth squad following Jimmy Carter around?

MR. BAKER: We don't have any plans in that regard, Russ. I think it would be fair, though -- it wouldn't be unreasonable to expect us to want to rebut Jimmy Carter's statements where we think he is wrong, but we have no plans to have a truth squad on his tail everywhere he goes.

Q How about having Dole on his tail? He has been already.

MR. BAKER: That is what I meant about rebutting him where we think he makes statements we feel should be rebutted or need to be rebutted.

Senator Dole would be an appropriate spokesman on our behalf.

Q Is there a plan for him to follow him around?

MR. BAKER: There is no plan for him to follow Jimmy Carter around physically. The Senator will have his own schedule, and the details of that, just at noon today we sat down and started working out the preliminary details of his schedule so that hasn't been firmed up at all.

Q You talked about the ten, 12 or 14 States in which you said you think you are in very good shape. You are talking about the Midwest, aren't you? You have already acknowledged that the Midwest is your base, that is why you have the Dole-Ford accent there. You are really talking about the Midwest, aren't you?

MR. BAKER: We are talking about States where we have historically run well in, of course.

Q Michigan?

MR. BAKER: I don't want to get into a State-by-State on that. I would rather wait until we refine this a little more and until we come down with the balance of our polling.

Walt?

Q To what extent will the President capitalize on his underdog role in the campaign and at what point down the line is it that you can see him ceasing to be an underdog and moving ahead somewhat?

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MR. BAKER: I think we would capitalize on it in every way we could, Walt. As I said earlier, I think people are selling us short. I think we are likely to surprise a lot of people. It was only four or five weeks ago a lot of people were writing us off. Insofar as at what point we will pull ahead in the polls and at what point down the line, I don't have a crystal ball. I will be satisfied if we pull ahead on November 1.

Q At what point will you be worried if you haven't pulled ahead?

MR. BAKER: When you start, as we did, 33 points down, as long as we continue to make gains, I think we will be happy.

Q How far along are you on the debate issue? Do you see a decision in sight, or an agreement, I mean?

MR. BAKER: You know both candidates pretty well agreed to the general concept. I am not up on exactly what has gone on over the last day and a half in connection with the negotiations that are going on in Washington, but unless they hang up on procedures, I think you will see a debate.

Q Jim, do you have anything to announce on the preparation for the Carter-Ford debates?

MR. BAKER: I have nothing to announce on the debates.

Q Is there a whistle stop contemplated?

MR. BAKER: That has been considered. There is nothing firm on that. We are still taking a look at that.

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Q Can you be any more specific on the role that Governor Connally will play and Governor Reagan will play and is your reluctance to talk about the media campaign now a result of some things you want Reagan to do that he hasn't said he would do yet?

MR. BAKER: In answer to the latter part of your question, absolutely not. We just happen to feel you don't unveil your media plan two or three weeks in advance of the time you actually have it going.

In answer to the first part of your question, I thought Governor Connally said it pretty well this morning when he said he expects to be actively involved, that he is going to do everything he can to see the President elected.

Q What is that?

MR. BAKER: I think he will serve as a national advocate for the ticket. It would be our hope that he would be -- I am talking about Connally now -- a national advocate, not just a regional one because he has strength nationally. It would further be our hope he would help us in some key States where he is particularly strong, obviously, Texas being one of those.

Q What about Reagan?

MR. BAKER: Governor Reagan, we would hope very much would be an advocate for us. There is no agreement to that effect, as yet; however, the Chairman of the Citizens for Reagan in the primary in California is in Vail now. We have been meeting with him.

Q Who?

MR. BAKER: The Chairman for Citizens for Reagan in the California primary. His name is Mike Curb. He is the new National Committeeman from California and he discussed whether or not to come out here directly with Governor Reagan before he came out here and the Governor told him not only to come out here, but to cooperate in every way he could in connection with blending the two campaigns -- blending the two sides of the party in the campaign in California this fall.

We have had very substantive discussions with him since he has been out here.

Q Governor Rockefeller said this morning to President Ford that he "is going to every voter in every State throughout the country." Does he stand on that?

MR. BAKER: "He" being Governor --

Q "He" being President Ford.

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MR. BAKER: "He" being President Ford. I am going to adopt two rules: One is I am not going to second-guess or interpret the President's statement. The second is I am not going to do the same thing with the Vice President's statement. You will have to ask him.

Q Will you have a Democrats for Ford Committee and, if so, who will head it?

MR. BAKER: There are discussions about that, Bob. So far no one has been chosen to head that. We have not asked anybody. We would be delighted to have the support of Mrs. Green, but the President has not asked her to head Democrats for Ford nationally. But we would hope very much she would be involved on our behalf.

Q Speaking of Democrats, are you going to use the Harry Truman theme this fall or has that been shelved? Is he going to relate the campaign to be talking about how Harry Truman came from behind?

MR. BAKER: I think there is a parallel there, John, that we would like to draw, but that is not to say the President's role in this campaign will be the same as Harry Truman's was in 1948.

Q Do you anticipate any campaigning from trains?

MR. BAKER: That question was asked earlier. That is one thing we are considering now, but no decision has been made on that.

Q To follow up the Truman thing, is it not going to be a "give'em hell" type campaign?

MR. BAKER: I didn't say it wasn't going to be a "give'em hell" type campaign. I said the President's exact role in it might not correspond to Harry Truman's role in 1948.

Q Will John Connally's activities be dictated to or funneled through the President Ford Committee or will he be a free agent paying his own way?

MR. BAKER: I have never known anybody to dictate anything to John Connally and we wouldn't pretend to, Ann.

Q Will you pay for his plane tickets?

MR. BAKER: If he is out campaigning for us, we certainly will.

Q How about Governor Reagan? Would you expect him to fall in as part of a Ford Committee pattern or on his own?

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MR. BAKER: I think he might want to do some campaigning on his own for Senatorial and Congressional candidates across the country as Governor Connally will want to do. As I said earlier, it would be our hope he would also campaign for us and, if so, we will pay his expenses.

Q Do you anticipate any organizations who could place ads and do volunteer work outside the strictures of the FEC, like you had in the primaries?

MR. BAKER: You mean independent expenditures?

Q Yes.

MR. BAKER: We are not aware of any. I would think there would be less of that than there was in the primaries. I don't know that for sure. We probably wouldn't know that.

Q In an effort to stretch the campaign dollar, are there any plans to try and coordinate expenditures on the Presidential campaign on the Congressional races?

MR. BAKER: There is no plan to that effect but, obviously, if an advocate is out campaigning for a Congressional candidate, there will be a sharing of expenses with the Congressional Campaign Committee. But there is nothing in the mill to -- maybe that is something we ought to take a look at but, so far, we haven't. We are in the process now of trying to prepare a master schedule of all advocates -- Congressional and Cabinet -- and then the advocates, such as Governor Connally and Vice President Rockefeller and Governor Reagan and Senator Dole.

Q I am not sure we can draw a positive out of your double negative a few minutes ago. Is it going to be a "give 'em hell" campaign?

MR. BAKER: I didn't say it was going to be a "give 'em hell" campaign, Jim, and I didn't say it wasn't. That really gets into the strategy issue, which I said earlier I really don't want to characterize now because the President doesn't want it characterized at this point. As he indicated a day or so ago, there will be a time and a place for that, his role. That gets into his role and I have been very frank in saying I am not here to answer that particular question.

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Q Apart from the President's own role, will the tone of the campaign generally be the advocates and everyone being a "give 'em hell" kind of campaign?

MR. BAKER: I don't think it is going to be a "give 'em hell" type campaign in the sense we are going to be out there attacking. Someone asked me the other day if it wasn't going to be a dirty campaign. I don't think it is going to be a dirty campaign.

Q Is it going to be one of fear and trepidation?

MR. BAKER: One of fear and trepidation? It certainly will not be. Aggressive is perhaps an adjective we ought to use.

Q Jim, if you can only spend \$10 million on administrative salaries and Presidential travels, with the rest put off for advertising, is President Ford going to be able to travel as much as you would like him to?

MR. BAKER: Yes.

Q How much is that?

MR. BAKER: That is the question we don't want to get into today.

Q All through the primaries the President refused to debate Reagan because he thought it would do no good. Can you tell us what kind of political judgment went into the decision not only to accept the debate, but to take the initiative and ask for it?

MR. BAKER: I think it was done for two reasons, Ed, quite candidly. One was probably the fact we were 33 points down in the polls. Against Governor Reagan we were the favorite. That is number one.

Number two, I think it was suggested because the President believes -- and we believe -- that it is important that the American people know what Jimmy Carter's positions on the issues really are. There has been a lot of question about that. We don't see this so much as a contest between the President and Jimmy Carter as we see it as an opportunity to get the issues and Jimmy Carter's position on the issues out before the American people. The President's position is well known.

Q Jim, do you think the debates will be the crucial factor in this campaign?

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MR. BAKER: I don't think that they necessarily will, John. That is what I meant by I don't see it as a win or lose situation. I frankly think the winner here is the American people. They are the ones that are going to benefit from the debates, and I see the debates as important, but I don't see that as a make or break.

Q Even before your polls you have already named New York and Texas as key or swing States, I think was the phrase you used. Can you tell us a few others you are putting in that category?

MR. BAKER: I have said Illinois and California.

Q Jim, could you give us some idea as to whether or not you have discussed Dole's image and how you are going to use him as an attacker and whether he is going to go as far as Vice President Agnew went on the Nixon ticket in 1968 and 1972?

MR. BAKER: There has been some discussion of Senator Dole's role as a part of our meetings over the course of the past week. I don't think that you will see a parallel between Senator Dole's activities in this campaign and Spiro Agnew's activities in 1972. I think it is fair to say I don't think that is the use that will be made of Senator Dole.

Fred Barnes.

Q Are these 18 States where you are doing the polling, are they basically swing States or do they also include some of the ones where you think you are failing --

MR. BAKER: No, that is a broad spectrum of States. They include States where some of the polls show us behind. I think I told you we are polling in Mississippi, but we hear constantly now that things in the South are completely different than what they were two weeks ago.

I do think that we have here--and I think the polls reflect this--the dramatic gain we made in the polls last week reflect we have a very volatile situation. That is another reason why we are not writing off any section of this country.

Q You said there are 14 States where you are very strong. Can you put a number on the number of States where you are exceptionally weak at this point?

MR. BAKER: I don't know that I want to put a number on. There is probably a roughly like number which has just historically been Democratic States.

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Q What do you mean you hear that things are completely different in the South and from whom do you hear that?

MR. BAKER: We hear that from a lot of our people down there. We hear it from people who were not involved in the primary campaigns and quite frankly, we see it in the polling, opinion research polls.

Q The Gallup Poll is coming out Sunday and it shows the President and Carter running almost neck and neck in almost every part of the country except the South, where Carter is still far ahead --

MR. BAKER: Eleven points. As Governor Connally said this morning, that is nothing for a stepper.

Q Given your limits on spending, wouldn't it be kind of foolish to pour a lot of money into the South, trying to make up an 11 point gap, when you are in much better shape in every other part of the country?

MR. BAKER: I don't know that you can say that, Ed, because an 11 point gap is a gap that was made up here very recently. Hubert Humphrey made up 11 or 12 points on Richard Nixon in 1968 post-Convention, so 11 points is not only not as unrealistic --

Q But Humphrey could spend more than \$21 million.

MR. BAKER: That is right. He could.

Q That is where you get into the allocation of resources.

MR. BAKER: That is correct. That is where you get into the allocation of resources, but that shouldn't be interpreted as meaning we have written off those States now because they are changing, they are changing constantly, and we are not going to write off the South.

Q Let's look at that in another way. If your new polling shows that you are making gains in the South, will that then be a factor in determining whether or not you put in a certain amount of resources there?

MR. BAKER: Whether we allocate more money then, because we have money now, roughly money allocated.

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Q Jim was John Connally speaking for John Connally this morning when he talked about the fears people have about Jimmy Carter or was that a part of the campaign strategy?

MR. BAKER: I think he was probably speaking for himself, but I think it represented one of his very constructive contributions to our sessions.

Q Did the President join him on that?

MR. BAKER: I think the President concurred in his remarks, yes.

Q Are you going to use the entire Cabinet, including Kissinger, on the road, and how will that interfere with their Government roles?

MR. BAKER: My understanding is we will not use the State and Defense Departments as we didn't use them in the primaries.

Q And Justice?

MR. BAKER: Excuse me, and the Justice Department.

Q You mean everybody else can hit the road regardless of their Government jobs?

MR. BAKER: Every other Cabinet officer is not only free to campaign for the President, but in my opinion they have a duty to campaign for the President.

Q Could you characterize Senator Dole's role and explain how it would be different from Vice President Agnew's?

MR. BAKER: I have already said there are no plans to put Senator Dole on the road to follow Jimmy Carter as a truth squad. There are no plans to utilize Senator Dole as a slasher, an attacker and a hatchet man.

Q Jim, how do you explain the difference in the polling in the South and nationwide? What has happened over the past two or three weeks to account for the shift?

MR. BAKER: I think there are two reasons. Number one, very frankly, you expect a gain in the polls coming off your Convention. The Democrats got one coming off theirs and we have obviously got one coming off ours.

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Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, I think the American people are beginning to focus on who they want for President of the United States for the next four years and they are focusing on the race in November and they have stopped looking at the primaries and the races that we were concerned with in the primaries.

Q Jim, a minute ago you spoke of a master schedule for advocates and in connection with that you mentioned Governor Reagan's name. Do you see an active advocate role for Governor Reagan and do you visualize it the same way as Connally's role as a national role, rather than a regional role?

MR. BAKER: Yes, we would visualize his role as a national advocate and comparable to the role of John Connally in a sense that we are not going to program Governor Connally, he will determine when and where he is going to appear and Governor Reagan, should he choose to appear for us, will obviously make the same determination.

I have already said we hope Governor Reagan will be an advocate for us. There has been no agreement to that effect as yet. So far he has exhibited a very cooperative spirit in terms of supporting the campaign.

Q You talked about the schedule. Is he not penciled into the schedule now?

MR. BAKER: Who?

Q Governor Reagan?

MR. BAKER: As I said, we are just forming this master schedule, which is all the Congressional advocates, all the Cabinet advocates and these people -- like Vice President Rockefeller, Governor Connally, Governor Reagan -- once we have had an opportunity to discuss it with him and he has said he will do it.

We hope he will do it. I want to make that very clear. Those discussions have not been held yet, those specific discussions, although the President, as he indicated two days ago, did talk to the Governor at length in Kansas City about supporting the ticket.

Q Do you expect to want as a Ford advocate Senator Schweiker?

MR. BAKER: We would be delighted to have the support of all Republicans, and particularly all Republican in the United States Senate and all Democrats and Independents in the United States Senate.

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Q Jim, you have made a very important decision here to put \$10 million into media.

MR. BAKER: That is not irrevocable, but that is our rough --

Q You haven't told us beans about it other than to say it is going into advertising. Can you break that out and be a little more forthcoming?

MR. BAKER: No, I can't.

Q How much you will put in newspapers, how much in billboards?

MR. BAKER: No. Until I work it over in more detail I frankly don't have it to give it to you. I don't mind giving it to you once we have decided on it.

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Q I thought you said the President signed off on it.

MR. BAKER: He signed off on it as a general budget allocation for media. We don't know how much is going into newspapers, how much into radio, how much will be in TV production. We are just not at that point, yet.

Q In your opinion, is Jimmy Carter qualified to serve as President and conduct foreign policy?

MR. BAKER: I would rather let the President speak to that, Jim. That is not my decision.

Q You said a few minutes ago that the apprehension-of-Carter theme was a constructive contribution by Governor Connally. But you didn't answer Helen's question, which is, are you going to use that theme in the general election campaign?

MR. BAKER: The suggestion was only raised last night and we are considering it.

Q It was made by Connally?

MR. BAKER: Yes.

Q What did he say that would do?

MR. BAKER: He didn't say it would do anything, Ed. He simply said it is his belief and his view a lot of people out there have this fear because of some of the inconsistent statements Jimmy Carter has made. Whether we use that as a theme in the advertising, and that sort of thing, is a decision we would have to make subsequently.

Q You spoke of certain States historically being Republican and Democratic. Really, in 1968, that changed. Are you saying we are sort of back to where we were in 1960, back where the Democrats have control of the South?

MR. BAKER: I wouldn't agree it changed in 1968, just because Richard Nixon swamped George McGovern, that those States became Republican.

Q Are you saying now that we are back into a more traditional situation -- the solid South for the Democrats, strong in the industrial States, Republicans strong in certain Northern States and the farm States?

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MR. BAKER: No, that is not what I am saying. I am saying there are some States and I am not going to name one of them, but there are some obvious States that historically are Democratic. But the minute I name one of them here, we will get a call from the State Chairman of that State saying, "You have written us off. Now, what is going on?" And so, we are not going to get into that game.

Q What do you mean, Dole won't have a campaign like Spiro Agnew?

MR. BAKER: I said, he won't be out there as a truth squad. I have said he is not going to be a hatchet man.

Q He has already, hasn't he, in his first two speeches?

MR. BAKER: I am talking about following him around now. He is not going to do that and he is not going to be a hatchet man. Senator Dole is not Spiro Agnew.

Q The President said frequently early in his Presidency, that the next Presidential campaign would be run with the RNC as the vehicle. What role is the RNC going to play?

MR. BAKER: The RNC is going to play a very substantial role in this campaign because they are in charge of voter identification and voter turn-out. They are going to be operating the telephone banks in most States. I am going to meet with Mary Louise early next week to refine that a little bit and make some determinations with respect to those particular States.

Generally speaking, the way the thing is now set up, the ID and voter turn-out programs are going to be run through the National Committee. It is obvious in some States there is a special situation where we will have to run our own voter turn-out program and it is that we are going to discuss with the RNC.

Q In the past, you know, the press traditionally paid for candidates' flights. Usually, Presidential candidates make money off the press, enough to pay for the planes. Is that legal now? Can you do that any more?

MR. BAKER: I would have to ask the lawyers that. I don't know.

Q Jim, are there any campaign hazards you are afraid of now between now and November -- a lack of organization, a lack of money -- any big stumbling block you see between now and November?

MR. BAKER: I don't see any right now. Sure, there are plenty of things. We want to make sure we touch all the bases, Ann, and do our homework.

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If we had more money, we would be delighted. But it is obviously a fair game if they are limited to the same degree we are. You know, I guess anything could happen. That is a two-way street, though. Something could happen to the country; something could happen in foreign affairs that could be beneficial to us or detrimental. You have all those unknowns in there so that is a highly speculative question. That is the best way I know how to answer it.

Q What can you say about the President's Labor Day campaign activities?

MR. BAKER: Nothing. It is undecided.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 3:48 P.M. MDT)