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SECOND DEBATE

Place and Date:

San Francisco, California
October 6, 1976

Moderator: Pauline Frederick, National Public Radio

Questioners:

Max Frankel, Associate Editor, New York Times

Henry L. Trewhitt, Diplomatic Correspondent,
Baltimore Sun

Richard Valeriani, Diplomatic Correspondent,
NBC News



Points made by President Ford:

SOVIET UNION

"I think it's in the best interest of the United States and the world as a whole that the United States negotiate rather than go back to the cold war relationship with the Soviet Union."

"We have negotiated with the Soviet Union since I've been President from a position of strength."

"I negotiated at Vladivostok with Mr. Brezhnev a limitation on the MIRVing of their ballistic missiles at a figure of 1,320, which is the first time that any President has achieved a cap either on launchers or on MIRVs."

"I hope and trust in the best interests of both countries and in the best interests of all peoples throughout this globe that the Soviet Union and the United States can make a mutually beneficial agreement because if we do not and SALT I expires on October 3, 1977, you will unleash again an all-out nuclear arms race with the potential of a nuclear holocaust of unbelievable dimensions."

MIDDLE EAST

"The United States today, according to Prime Minister Rabin of Israel, is at a peak in its influence and power in the Middle East."

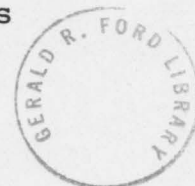
"Since I've been President, we have sold to the Israelis over \$4 billion in military hardware. We have made available to the Israelis over 45 percent of the total economic and military aid since the establishment of Israel 27 years ago."

"It's my strong feeling that we ought to sell arms to Iran for its own national security and as an ally, a strong ally, of the United States."



NATO

"I don't believe that it's in the best interests of the United States and the NATO nations to have a Communist government in NATO."

EASTERN EUROPE

"The United States does not concede that those countries (of Eastern Europe) are under the domination of the Soviet Union."

(Clarification by the President - October 12, 1976:
"I want to set the record straight on an issue that has received prominent attention in the past week -- the question of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

"First, the countries of Eastern Europe are, of course, dominated by the Soviet Union. Were it not for the presence of more than 30 Russian divisions there now, the countries of Eastern Europe would long since have achieved their freedom.

"Second, the United States never has, does not now, and never will recognize, accept, or acquiesce in this Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

"Third, the peoples of Eastern Europe yearn for freedom -- while their countries may be physically dominated, their spirit is not. Their spirit has never been broken and never will be. And some day they will be free.")

CHINA

"We will continue to move for normalization of relations (with the Peoples Republic of China) in the traditional sense. And we will insist that the disputes between Taiwan and the People's Republic be settled peacefully."

"The Ford Administration will not let down, will not eliminate or forget our obligation to the people of Taiwan."

DEFENSE BUDGET

"Let me say very categorically, you cannot maintain the security and the strength of the United States with the kind of defense budget cuts that Governor Carter has indicated. In 1975, he wanted to cut the budget \$15 billion. He is now down to a figure of \$5 billion to \$7 billion. Reductions of that kind will not permit the United States to be strong enough to deter aggression and maintain the peace."

MORALITY

"The foreign policy of the United States meets the highest standards of morality. What is more moral than peace, and the United States is at peace today. What is more moral in foreign policy than for the administration to take the lead in the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974, when the United States committed 6 million metric tons of food, over 60 percent of the food committed for the disadvantaged and underdeveloped nations of the world?"

"The Ford Administration wants to eradicate hunger and disease in our underdeveloped countries throughout the world. What is more moral than for the United States under the Ford Administration to take the lead in Southern Africa, in the Middle East? Those are initiatives in foreign policy which are of the highest moral standards."

AFRICA

"The United States, seeking to preserve the principle of self-determination, to eliminate the possibility of bloodshed, to protect the rights of the minority as we insisted upon the rights of the majority, I believe followed the good conscience of the American people in foreign policy."

PANAMA CANAL

"The United States must and will maintain complete access to the Panama Canal. The United States must maintain a defense capability of the Panama Canal, and the United States will maintain our national security interests in the Panama Canal."

MISSING IN ACTION

"As long as Vietnam, North Vietnam, does not give us a full and complete accounting of our missing in action, I will never go along with the admission of Vietnam to the United Nations."



Points made by Governor Carter:

DEFENSE

"As a matter of fact, I have never advocated a cut of \$15 billion in our defense budget."

(The Savannah Morning News on March 18, 1975, quoted Carter as telling the Savannah Rotary Club:

"Approximately \$15 billion could be cut from the defense budget and not weaken this nation's military capability..." On March 20, 1975, the Los Angeles Times reported that Carter told a Beverly Hills news conference that "he thinks the Ford defense budget for this year could be cut by about \$15 billion without sacrificing national security.")

SOVIET UNION

"He (President Ford) has been in office two years and there has been absolutely no progress made toward a new SALT agreement."

(In November 1974 President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev made a historic agreement at Vladivostok, for the first time putting a ceiling on the nuclear arms race at equal numbers of systems and MIRVs. This agreement received the strong endorsement of the U. S. Senate in May 1975.)



AFRICA

"Now we went into South Africa late, after Great Britain, Rhodesia...We did not go in until right before the election."

(The United States began discussions with African leaders on the events and trends in Africa over a year ago, first with respect to Angola and subsequently concerning the problems in Rhodesia and Namibia.)

The President sent Secretary Kissinger on a formal fact-finding trip in April, 1976, at a time when many political observers noted its possible damage to the President's political standing. This was certainly not election politics.)

* *

"He (Ford) and Mr. Kissinger and others tried to start a new Vietnam in Angola, and it was only the outcry of the American people and the Congress when this secret deal was disclosed that prevented our renewed involvement..."

(Carter is either frighteningly uninformed or knowingly deceptive.)

There was never, at any time, any thought of using U.S. forces as was publicly stated.

Eight separate Congressional committees were fully briefed on our Angola proposals on 24 separate occasions. More than 24 Senators, 150 Congressmen, and 100 Congressional staff members were kept informed.

U. S. efforts were designed to support majority rule in Angola. Carter implies he would acquiesce in Soviet/Cuban intervention in other countries' affairs.)



MIDDLE EAST

"During this current year we are shipping...to Saudi Arabia about \$7.5 billion worth of arms."

(In FY 1976 the United States shipped \$429.4 million of defense articles and services to Saudi Arabia. Weapons constituted 2.2 percent of that, or \$8.4 million.

In FY 1976 we signed Solan Agreements to sell \$2.5 billion of defense articles and services to Saudi Arabia. Weapons constituted \$247 million or 10 percent. Some of these goods and services, including weapons, may have been delivered in FY 1976.)

* *

"During this current year we are shipping to Iran, or have contracted to ship to Iran, about \$7.5 billion worth of arms."

(In FY 1976 the United States shipped \$1,232 billion of defense articles and services to Iran. Weapons constituted 41 percent of that, or \$509.8 million.

In FY 1976, we signed Sales Agreements to sell \$1.3 billion of defense articles and services to Iran. Weapons constituted \$419 million or 32 percent. Some of these goods and services, including weapons, may have been delivered in FY 1976.)

* *

"Under the last Democratic Administration, 60 percent of all weapons that went into the Middle East were for Israel. Nowadays 75 percent were for Israel before, now 60 percent go to Arab countries and this does not include Iran. If you include Iran, our present shipment of weapons to the Middle East, only 20 percent goes to Israel."

(Carter is correct when he says 60 percent of all weapons (sales) that went into the Middle East were for Israel under the last Democratic Administration.

Carter is wrong when he says nowadays 60 percent goes to Arab countries. The actual figure is 39 percent in FY 74-76 weapons sales. In FY 74-76, 61% of U. S. weapons to the Middle East went to Israel.)



NATO

"I never ever advocated a Communist government for Italy. That would be a ridiculous thing for any one to do who wanted to be President of this country."

(On May 18, 1976, Carter was quoted in the European edition of Newsweek as saying: "I believe we should support strongly the democratic forces in Italy, but still we should not close the doors to Communist leaders in Italy for friendship with us. It may be that we would be better off having an Italian government that might be comprised at least partially of Communists tied in with the Western world rather than driven into the Soviet orbit irrevocably.")

NON-PROLIFERATION

"He (President Ford) has put pressure on the Congress, and I don't believe Mr. Ford would even deny this, to hold up on non-proliferation legislation until the Congress agreed for an \$8 billion program for private industry to start producing enriched uranium."

(Far from holding up legislation, the President pressed and personally worked with members up to the closing minutes of the Congressional session for passage of constructive non-proliferation legislation.)

The President's proposed legislation for enriched uranium included a proposal for expansion of government-owned enrichment facilities.)

* *

"Only in the last few days with the election approaching has Mr. Ford taken any interest in a non-proliferation movement."

(In the Spring of 1975, the President called the first of a series of meetings with the nuclear supplier nations, the countries whose cooperation is vital to any non-proliferation efforts. In the Summer of 1974, the President ordered a comprehensive review of the entire subject in order to determine what further steps could be taken to strengthen non-proliferation policies.)

OIL EMBARGO

"If the Arab countries ever again declare an embargo against our nation on oil, I would consider that not a military, but an economic declaration of war, and I would respond instantly and in kind."

(To be effective, such a counter embargo would have to be joined by the industrialized democracies. Otherwise the Arabs could go elsewhere for arms, machines, food, etc.

Even if supported by these countries, a counter embargo would cut off goods far less critical to Arab states than oil to the industrialized states.

Such a move would provide a strong push toward the Soviet Union for the Arab states.)

CHILE

"This (Chile) is a typical example maybe of many others, where this Administration overthrew a united government and helped to establish a military dictatorship."

(The Chilean government was overthrown by a military coup in September, 1973, almost a year before President Ford took office. Besides not knowing his chronology, Carter is totally wrong, as confirmed by Senator Frank Church's Committee of the U. S. Senate, which found the U. S. government was not involved in the overthrow of the Allende government.)



ARAB BOYCOTT

"The Arabs have put pressure on Mr. Ford -- and he has permitted a boycott by the Arab countries of American businesses in trade with Israel who have American Jews owing or taking part in the management of American companies."

(President Ford is the first President to have analyzed the boycott problem comprehensively and taken corrective actions.

In November of 1975, the President directed the Commerce Department and all Federal agencies to prohibit compliance with discrimination practices in foreign trade.

The Justice Department has launched the first anti-trust suit in a major boycott case.

The President on Monday, October 4, signed the tax bill, which had severe penalties against U.S. firms that participate in the boycott or discrimination.

On Thursday, October 7, the President directed the Department of Commerce henceforth to disclose those companies that participate in the Arab boycott.)

FOOD

"As far as strength derived from doing what is right, caring for the poor, providing food, becoming the breadbasket of the world, instead of the arms merchant of the world, in those respects we are not strong."

(By any standard of measure, we are the breadbasket of the world, both in terms of commercial sales and of food aid to the world's needy.)

