The original documents are located in Box 36, folder "Debate #2 (2)" of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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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

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"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."

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"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.

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PRESS PLAN -- SECOND DEBATE

RESOURCES

V. P. Rockefeller
Senator Dole
Secretary Richardson
Secretary Simon
Former Secretary Rogers
Former Secretary Laird

Dick Cheney
Mike DuVal
Jim Baker
Ron Nessen
Senate Foreign Relations
House Foreign Affairs
Senate Armed Services
House Armed Services

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3

NBC -- Ambassador Scranton

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4

· V. P. Press Conference

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5

- 1. DuVal Press Briefing with Nessen
- 2. DuVal Editorial Board -- (San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco Examiner
- 3. DuVal -- "Newspeople" KPIX (CBS)
- 4. Baker -- "News Watch" KRON (NBC)
- 5. KGO (ABC) News Talk (Radio)

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6

- 1. W. H. Press Office (Washington) open for telephone duty, telegram receipt and transmittal to San Francisco
- 2. Reaction interviews with House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations members.
- 3. Reaction interviews with
 - (a) Veterans' leaders -- national/state
 - (b) Governor Reagan
 - (c) Governor Connally

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7

1. Morning Show Analyses
Former Secretary of State Rogers
Former Secretary of Defense Laird

Former Secretary of Defense Richardson

2. Press statements or press conferences by:

Richardson

Laird

Dole

Rockefeller

Rogers

Senate and House Committee Members

- 3. White House makes available through USIA overseas reaction
- 4. Cheney and DuVal brief news magazines on preparation

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8

1. Rumsfeld -- Speaking Breakfast

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10

NBC

CBS

ABC

For belease at 6 pm (Edle) Salurda Od9, 1976 Stalement ly De Press Secretary and debense folier neverled a number af Gundamental contradiction and inconsistances in Carley positions In addition, he simple Lodges a straight answer & many questions Therefore, we know almost nother fabaul Carters Goreun Roling and deliense pontions Van we did before Do debate Mr. Carter Relocical assertion of taughness loword De Soveil Vnier Cannal be Recorded will his intender Le ceil the defence budget I billions of dollars, to will draw " From brom oversas, and to strap magor weapons sixe as the B-1 bomber. Mr Carleri professed wish to strenghther Goverign alleaners Carper with air stated weens on accepting communists in European governments, will draw al of US froms and his high-landed attitude towards mintean politeration.

On Flowerday, Carles leaders that he made no mirtales in De debate rue plinsert that is met (In his 18 opportunities & speak during the debate, "Carte made at feast 14 errors.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON Allachel is a detailed foot Sheet listing the factual of errors and missepresentations and made by Mr. Carter, eithe Grom rignerance of the fact, on debiberate mis-Statement.

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> (The European Edition) (NEWSWEEK A May 1976)

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A beaucupt "Our country is not strong anymore" (page 2).

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Comment: These stalements are contradictors

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MACT A compilation of Statements made le Mr Carter deving the debate and The admid freat Contradicting Mr. Carler 5 Stellements o

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Corter "We are not respected

Recent quotes from foreign leaders:

Prime Minister Cosgrave of Ireland

"...the ties that were forged between us (the U.S. and Ireland) in the early years have not lessened with time. On the contrary, I believe they are today stronger and firmer than ever."

March 17, 1976

President Giscard d'Estaing of France

"I do not think there has ever been a time when contacts between our two governments have been more frequent, consultation more sustained and cooperation more good willed."

May 17, 1976

Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany

"This is the third time in the past two years that I have come to the United States for talks with you, Mr. President, and I am not counting the meetings in other places. You, yourself, have made several trips to Europe, one of which was an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in July 1975, and I mention this because these frequent visits are a manifestation to the outside world of our mutual bonds and the closeness of our relations.

<u>Chancellor Schmidt</u> (Continued)

"I don't think I am exaggerating when I say that at no time during the past 30 years have the relations between our countries been closer and has been cooperation between our two governments more trustful and direct than today."

July 15, 1976

Secretary General Luns of NATO

"First of all, the situation in the United States itself, all of the allies have noted the improvement in the economic posture of the United States, which well compares to nearly all the allies. Secondly, if I may use the word, the recovery from the sense of disaffection which you felt two or three years ago in the United States and the fact that the Bicentennial was such a signal of success and this country has regained its unity of purpose.

"Then, of course, the voices which were so loud two or three years ago about withdrawing troops of the United States from Europe have become very muted indeed, and the United States' commitment to the defense of the United States and the whole Alliance on the first line in Europe has been underlined by the fact that two combat brigades have been added to the strength of the allied troops in Germany."

"As a matter of fact, Iran is going to get 80 F-14's
before we even meet our own Air Force order for
F-14's."

Facts: The Air Force has never ordered F'14's the F-14 is a Navy plane.

F-14 deliveries have been and are schedule as follows:

	1974 & Prior	<u>75</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>79</u>	80
USN	148	73	50	36	36	36	24
Iran	_	_	24	36	20	-	

The delivery schedule results from a sustained rive aircraft per mosth production rate. The delivery as divided between the United States and Iran meets the U.S. Navy's programmed requirements for the F-14.

W

"I would quit conducting the decision making Carter: process in secret...." Many issues of national security (e) g. Fact: disposition and movement of forces; weapons systems capabilities, doctrine) are sensitive and must necessarily remain (In the Truman Administration) "...before our Carte: nation made a secret agreement... we were sure that we had the backing, not only of the President and the Secretary of State, but also the Congress and the people." -- The Yalta and Potsdam/Agreements were not cleared Commen advance by the Congress or the American people.

Carter:

"In the case of the Helsinki agreement, it may have been a good agreement at the beginning but we failed to enforce the so-called Basket 3 part which ensures the right of people to migrate to join their families to be free to speak out."

The Helsinki Accord is not a treaty to be "enforced"

upon a given date. It represents a standard of conduct

against which Soviet behavior can be measured over

time. Progress has been made. A recent West German — Polish Treaty provides for emigration of 125,000 ethnic Germans to West Germany from Poland.

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Fact:

Totally wrong. In November 1974
President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev
made a historic agreement at Vladivostok, for
the first time putting a on the nuclear arms
race at equal numbers of systems and MIRVs. This
agreement renewed the strong endorsement of the
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The draft SALT Trenty is 90% complete





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(GAO

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Simply not true. The only approval given was

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Carter:

I believe that the boycott of American businesses by the Arab countries because these businesses trade with Israel or because they have American Jews who are owners or directors in a company is an absolute disgrace. This is the first time I remember in the history of our country where we have let a foreign country circumvent or change our Bill of Rights.... When we have a strong President who will protect the integrity of our country, the commitment of our Constitution and Bill of Rights...."

Fact:

The Arab international boycott began in 1952.

Nothing was done in this country before 1969 and no comprehensive program to combat it until November 1975. Mr. Carter considers Presidents Kennedy and Johnson not strong Presidents??

"Governor Carter made no mention of this problem until very recently and was apparently completely unaware of the Administration's actions of November 1975.



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

We 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 political observers noted its possible damage to the President's political standing. This was certainly not election politics, and Ms



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

In FY 1976 we shipped \$429.4 million of defense articles and services to Saudi Arabia. Weapons constituted \$22\% of that, or \$8.4 million.

In FY 1976 we signed Sales Agreements to sell \$2.5 billion of defense articles and services to Saudi Arabia. Weapons constituted \$247 Mor 10%. Some of these goods and services, including weapons may been delivered in FY 1976.

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 "...during this current year we are shipping
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In FY 1976 we shipped \$1.232 billion of defense articles and services to Iran. Weapons constituted 41% of that, or \$509.8 million.

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Fact:

Wrong on all counts.

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.

Carter:

"... 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."

Comment:

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.

Assuming that were possible, is in those countries' interest? Would the Arabs be more harmed by a loss of industrial goods and food than industrialized nations by a loss of oil?

What effect would it have in driving the Arabs back to the Soviet Union?

Needless to say, it would shatter any hope of a Middle East peace settlement.



"Under the last Democratic Administration, 60% of all weapons that went into the Middle East were for Israel. Nowadays, 75% were for Israel before, now 60% 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% goes to Israel."

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Comment:

It is important that the American farmer continue to be able to sell to foreign markets.

It is important to assure that we do not allow high surges in foreign demand to drive up the price of bread in this country.

 $\overline{\left(\cdot \right)}$

To meet both aims requires a predictable market, so that farmers can plan and we can be confident of being able to meet foreign and domestic demand without price fluctuations.

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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.

Office of the White House Press Secretary (Lawton, Oklahoma)

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The debate on foreign and defense policy revealed a number of fundamental contradictions and inconsistencies in Mr. Carter's positions. In addition, he simply dodged a straight answer to many questions.

Therefore, we know almost nothing more about Mr. Carter's foreign policy and defense positions than we did before the debate.

Mr. Carter's rhetorical assertion of toughness toward the Soviet Union cannot be reconciled with his intention to cut the defense budget by billions of dollars, to withdraw U.S. troops from overseas, and to scrap major weapons such as the B-1 bomber.

Mr. Carter's professed wish to strengthen foreign alliances clashes with his stated views on accepting communists in European governments, withdrawal of U.S. troops and his high-handed attitude toward dealing with our allies on nuclear proliferation.

On Thursday, Mr. Carter told a group of labor leaders that he made no mistakes in the debate. That is not true. In his 18 opportunities to speak during the debate, Mr. Carter made at least 14 errors.

Attached is a detailed fact sheet listing the factual errors and misrepresentations made by Mr. Carter, either from ignorance of the facts or deliberate misstatements.

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FACT SHEET

A compiliation of statements made by Mr. Carter during the debate, and the actual facts contradicting Mr. Carter's statements:

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

 $\frac{\text{Facts}}{\text{Story}}$: The Savannah Morning News on March 18, 1975, in a story by Richard Green, quoted Mr. Carter as telling the Savannah Rotary Club,

"The Federal budget...could and should be cut, especially the defense budget. 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 Mr. 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."

This week, after the debate, the reporter for the Los Angeles Times confirmed that Mr. Carter had, indeed, made that comment on a \$15 billion defense budget cut.

* * * *

Carter: "Our country is not strong anymore" (page 2 of transcript). "I think militarily we are as strong as any nation on earth." (page 25).

Comment: These statements are contradictory.

* * * *

<u>Carter</u>: 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."

Facts: On May 18, 1976 Mr. Carter was quoted 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."

(The European Edition - Newsweek, May 10, 1976)

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Carter: "We are not respected anymore."

Recent quotes from foreign leaders:

Prime Minister Cosgrave of Ireland

"...the ties that were forged between us (the U.S. and Ireland) in the early years have not lessened with time. On the contrary, I believe they are today stronger and firmer than ever."

March 17, 1976

President Giscard d'Estaing of France

"I do not think there has ever been a time when contacts between our two governments have been more frequent, consultation more sustained and cooperation more goodwilled."

May 17, 1976

Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany

"This is the third time in the past two years that I have come to the United States for talks with you, Mr. President, and I am not counting the meetings in other places. You, yourself, have made several trips to Europe, one of which was an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in July 1975, and I mention this because these frequent visits are a manifestation to the outside world of our mutual bonds and the closeness of our relations.

"I don't think I am exaggerating when I say that at no time during the past 30 years have the relations between our countries been closer and has been cooperation between our two governments more trustful and direct than today."

July 15, 1976

Secretary General Luns of NATO

"First of all, the situation in the United States itself, all of the allies have noted the improvement in the economic posture of the United States, which well compares to nearly all the allies. Secondly, if I may use the word, the recovery from the sense of disaffection which you felt two or three years ago in the United States and the fact that the Bicentennial was such a signal of success and this country has regained its unity of purpose.

"Then, of course, the voices which were so loud two or three years ago about withdrawing troops of the United States from Europe have become very muted indeed, and the United States' commitment to the defense of the United States and the whole Alliance on the first line in Europe has been underlined by the fact that two combat brigades have been added to the strength of the allied troops in Germany."

* * * * more Carter: "As a matter of fact, Iran is going to get 80 F-14's before we even meet our own Air Force order for F-14's."

Facts: The Air Force has never ordered F-14's. The F-14 is is a Navy plane.

F-14 deliveries have been and are scheduled as follows:

Calendar <u>Year</u>	1974 & prior	<u>75</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>79</u>	80
USN	148	73	50	36	36	36	24
Iran	-	_	24	36	20	-	_

The delivery as divided between the United States and Iran meets the U.S. Navy's programmed requirements for the F-14.

* * * *

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Comment: The Helsinki Accord is not a treaty to be "enforced" upon a given date. It represents a standard of conduct against which Soviet behavior can be measured over time. Progress has been made. A recent West German-Polish Treaty provides for emigration of 125,000 ethnic Germans to West Germany from Poland.

Modest numbers of families are being reunited.

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Fact: Totally wrong.

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 \underline{Facts} : Simply not true. The only approval given was that the report be released with no security classification.

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

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The President's proposed legislation for enriched uranium included a proposal for expansion of <u>Government-owned</u> enrichment facilities.

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Comment: 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.

Assuming that were possible, is it in those countries' interest? Would the Arabs be more harmed by a loss of industrial goods and food than industrialized nations by a loss of oil?

What effect would it have in driving the Arabs back to the Soviet Union?

Needless to say, it would shatter any hope of a Middle East peace settlement.

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 $\frac{\text{Facts}}{(\text{sales})}$: 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.

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

Facts: 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, Mr. 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.

Mr. Carter's sinister suggestion that this government habitually overthrows other governments is unworthy of comment.

* * * *

Carter: "I have also advocated that we stop the sale by Germany and France of reprocessing plants to Pakistan and Brazil."

Facts" This brazen and unenforceable threat stands in contrast to Mr. Carter's comment that we must cooperate more clearly with our allies. In fact, President Ford is working with Germany and France and the other nuclear suppliers in a cooperative effort to resolve the reprocessing issue.

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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.

The President has worked closely with the Congress to find an acceptable legislative formula for addressing the problem.

President Ford has recognized that the ultimate solution to the Arab boycott issue is an end to the Arab-Israeli dispute. He has, therefore, moved responsibly to end discrimination against American citizens while avoiding any unilateral actions which would jeopardize the Middle East peace process.

* * * *

Carter: "One of the most embarrassing failures of the Ford Administration, ...is his refusal to appoint a Presidential Commission to go to Vietnam...Laos...Cambodia...and try to trade for the release of information about those who are missing in action...

Comment: This is a basic disagreement over policy. To "trade" for information on our MIAs can only mean trafficking in human lives and allowing Hanoi to play on the anguish and suffering of the survivors for economic and political gain. We will not do this.

The Vietnamese have an obligation to provide a full accounting for all our missing and the President insists that they do so.

We are willing to talk and that is why a U.S. negotiator has been designated for exchanges with the Vietnamese in Paris.

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<u>Carter</u>: "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..."

Facts: Mr. 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. Mr. Carter implies he would acquiesce in Soviet/Cuban intervention in other countries' affairs.

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<u>Carter</u>: "We also need to have provided an adequate supply of enriched uranium. Mr. Ford, again, under pressure from the Atomic Energy Lobby, has insisted that this reprocessing or rather re-enrichment be done by private industry and not by the existing government plants."

Facts: Carter seems confused about whether he is talking about enrichment or reprocessing.

But he is wrong either way.

The President has requested approval from the Congress to build an addition to the government-owned Portsmouth, Ohio, plant to increase our capacity to produce enriched uranium.

* * * *

Carter: "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."

 $\overline{\text{Facts}}$: By any standard of measure, we <u>are</u> the breadbasket of the world, both in terms of commercial sales and of food aid to the world's needy.

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<u>Carter</u>: "Only in the last few days with the election approaching has Mr. Ford taken any interest in a non-proliferation movement."

Facts: 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.

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