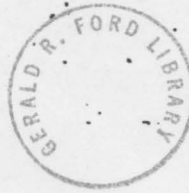


The original documents are located in Box 28, folder “Second Debate, 10/6/76: Press Reaction” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Michael Raoul-Duval donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.



Hyland, LL

UP-072

(FORD STRATEGY)
(BY JOHN MILNE)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT FORD HOPES TO PROJECT HIMSELF AS A LEADER DURING THE SECOND DEBATE WITH JIMMY CARTER BY CITING HIS TWO-YEAR RECORD IN MAKING FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY, ADMINISTRATIVE SOURCES SAID TODAY.

HE IS BEING ADVISED TO STAY AS GENERAL AS POSSIBLE, THE SOURCES SAID, IN ORDER TO KEEP THE NATIONWIDE TELEVISION AUDIENCE FROM BEING CONFUSED BY A LONG AND INVOLVED DISCUSSION OF SUCH INTRICATE ISSUES AS THE SALT ARMS LIMITATION TALKS.

BUT IF JIMMY CARTER GETS INTO TECHNICAL SPECIFICS, THE PRESIDENT CAN OVERWHELM HIM WITH A GREATER KNOWLEDGE, SINCE HE IS BRIEFED EACH DAY ON INTELLIGENCE MATTERS INVOLVING MILITARY AND FOREIGN POLICY, SAID HIS ADVISERS.

UPI DISCUSSED FORD'S DEBATE STRATEGY WITH SOME OF HIS KEY AIDES, WHO DECLINED TO BE QUOTED BY NAME.

THEY SAID FORD'S PREPARATION INCLUDED USE OF LARGE LOOSE-LEAF BOOKS FILLED WITH POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, PROVIDED BY THE PENTAGON, STATE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER AGENCIES, ALONG WITH A RUNDOWN OF CARTER'S STATED OPINIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE.

"THIS IS OUR DEBATE," SAID ONE AIDE. "THIS STUFF IS WHAT PRESIDENTS DO, AND HE'S BEING ADVISED BY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ACTUALLY DOING IT. CARTER IS GETTING ADVICE FROM PEOPLE WHO HAVEN'T BEEN IN GOVERNMENT SINCE THEY GAVE US THE VIETNAM WAR."

ALL THE ADVISERS SAID FORD WOULD STRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS AT PEACE, WITH FEW POSSIBILITIES OF A CRISIS THAT MIGHT INVOLVE U.S. TROOPS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

HE ALSO IS EXPECTED TO DWELL ON THE NEED FOR A STRONG MILITARY FORCE, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF A SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES TO REINFORCE THAT STRENGTH.

CARTER'S VIEWS MOST MENTIONED BY FORD'S STRATEGISTS ARE THAT THE PENTAGON COULD REDUCE ITS BUDGET BETWEEN \$5 BILLION AND \$7 BILLION BY CUTTING WASTE; THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NEGLECTED ITS ALLIANCES AND HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH TO SLOW THE ARMS RACE, AND THAT SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER HAS CONDUCTED "LONE RANGER" DIPLOMACY.

"HE'S GOT TO KEEP TO THE CENTER," ONE AIDE SAID OF CARTER, "AND THERE HE'S ON OUR TERMS. TAKE THE B1. IF HE GOES HARD RIGHT AND SAYS THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING, THEN WE SHOW HOW WE NEED A NEW BOMBER AND THAT MAKES CARTER FUZZY ON THE ISSUES.

"IF HE SAYS DON'T BUILD IT, THEN WE CAN ASK WHAT KIND OF SIGNAL THAT SENDS TO OUR ALLIES. WHAT'S MORE, HE'LL OFFEND A LOT OF LABOR SUPPORT AND LOSE CALIFORNIA."

THE ADVISERS FEEL THE DEBATE TOMORROW EVENING COULD BE PIVOTAL, POINTING TO REPUBLICAN POLLS SHOWING MORE THAN 70 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION THINK DEFENSE IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN ISSUES -- A STATISTIC BACKED UP BY SOME STATE DEMOCRATIC POLLS.

UPI 10-05 01:40 PED

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary

Leading The News...

SECOND DEBATE SUPPLEMENT
REGIONAL REACTION



<u>MIDWEST</u>	1-14
<u>SOUTH</u>	15-29
<u>NORTHEAST</u>	30-40
<u>WEST</u>	41-51

A Disappointing Show -- But Public Still Wins
Editorial, excerpted, Detroit News

The American public was again the winner in the second of the televised debates. Jimmy Carter even thought the contest was disappointing in several respects.

As we viewed it, the major disappointment was Carter's tactic of giving programmed responses which were not responsive to the questions. Starting with the very first question, Carter wound up his replies by tearing into the Ford Administration for what he termed its "weakness, secrecy and amorality" in the handling of foreign policy and defense issues. No matter what the succeeding questions were, he still offered prepared replies which often did not address themselves to the questions.

As a challenger, Carter apparently felt he had to be on the offensive in an area in which he obviously lacks the experience the President possesses. So he took the offensive -- but also became offensive.

That refers to his sneers at the President which simply showed bad manners. Ford is a candidate, just as Carter is, but he is also President of the United States and entitled to the respect due any man occupying that office. In our opinion, Carter on occasion was close to insulting, as when he suggested he was happy that Ford had learned the expiration date of the SALT pact.

Ford's performance, while more satisfactory than Carter's, also was disappointing. Even worse, the President made a major error when he said, "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under the Ford Administration."

A second flap occurred over Ford's announcement that the Commerce Department would identify U.S. companies which aided in the Arab boycott of Israel. The department, apparently caught off guard by the announcement, said it was prepared to release only the names of firms which honor the boycott in the future. At the moment, that sounds more like bureaucratic foot-dragging than a presidential error but it is no help to Ford.

In general, Ford was much more responsive to the questions than Carter was but also needled the Democratic nominee for his inexperience and lack of knowledge of the facts. Even in the face of Carter's personal attacks, he looked presidential and remained calm and unruffled.

While foreign affairs often gets a low priority in public interest ratings in comparison with domestic issues, it has been and still is a life and death issue for millions of Americans. Thus it warrants a high priority when the people go to the polls.

Michigan

The second debate did offer the public help in making that decision even though both men missed opportunities to explore foreign policy issues more deeply. -- (10/8/76)

Ford Stumbles Twice on Foreign Policy
Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Free Press

Jimmy Carter is probably going to keep President Ford chewing shoe leather for some time because of the two rather glaring mistakes Ford made in the second of the televised debates.

Ford, to be charitable about it, misspoke himself -- both in describing the Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and in discussing his administration's response to the Arab boycott of Israel.

Without any caveats, Ford announced to the country that "the Department of Commerce will disclose those (American) companies that will have participated in the Arab boycott (of Israel). Within 24 hours, however, the President had reneged on this pledge.

As for Ford's claim that Congress thwarted the administration's effort to deal more forcefully with the insidious boycott of Israel and Jews, that was just political hogwash. The fact is that Congress led the way in trying to blunt the Arab boycott, and ranking members of Ford's own team, including Secretaries Kissinger and Simon, fought to prevent passage of such legislation.

In his debate over U.S. foreign policy, Ford had quite a bit going for himself at the outset. In these two areas, however, his statements were in error and his performance was poor. In short, he goofed. -- (10/9/76)

Debate Clouds Panama Issue
Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Free Press

If the Panama Canal controversy ever is satisfactorily and fairly resolved, it will be with no thanks to the campaign bluster of President Ford and Jimmy Carter. Ford at least avoided saying in this week's foreign policy debate with Carter that the U.S. would "never give up" its right to run the canal, and to defend it, as he did when campaigning in Texas earlier this year. But he never clarified the issues in that tinderbox region, as he had the opportunity to do, either.

Carter, for his part, positively eroded the chances for negotiating a fixed-term treaty with the Panamanians -- something that logic and justice demand -- by vowing he would "never give up complete control or practical control" of the Canal Zone. He would, however, be willing to keep talking with the Panamanians,

raise the payment for the privilege of using the canal, and perhaps even reduce the U.S. military presence there.

Fortunately, despite Ford's own insistence Wednesday night that the U.S. would maintain "complete access" to the waterway, Secretary Kissinger and Panamanian Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd met the following day and agreed that the two countries should resume the treaty negotiations that were recessed in May.

The alternative, it should be plain by now, is continued confrontatoin in a basically "no-win" situation for the U.S. A single act of sabotage could close the canal for months, and guerrilla action could turn the Canal Zone into a blood-soaked no-man's-land.

A better way to resolve the dispute, obviously, is at the negotiating table. Neither Ford nor Carter should turn to demagoguery to settle an issue that can be settled realistically only through diplomacy and common sense. -- (10/9/76)

Mr. Ford's 'Mistake'

Editorial, excerpted, Grand Rapids Press

President Ford made a serious mistake in last Wednesday's foreign policy debate with Jimmy Carter. His statement that "there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, and there never will be under a Ford Administration..." was incredible.

In Los Angeles Friday, Mr. Ford told a group of business leaders "it has been alleged by some that I wasn't as precise as I should have been the other day." He then added that "what I meant to say during the debate was that the United States does not recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and never will."

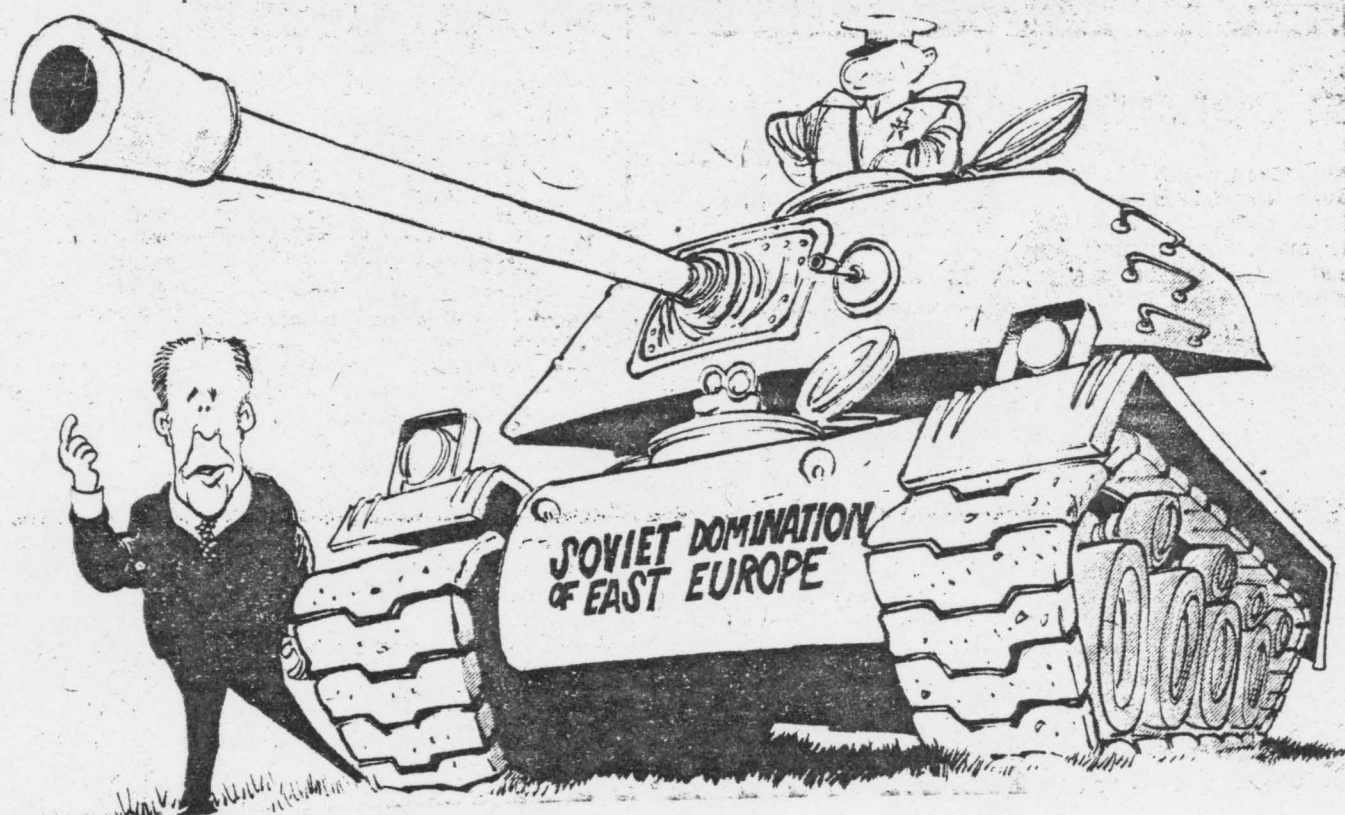
That same day before campaign volunteers, however Ford said he speaks the truth when he seeks votes and declared: "We don't make a mistake one day and apologize for it the next."

Why not? Voters understand that candidates during the course of a campaign do commit errors in fact. And much more often than not, the candidate who publicly acknowledges a mistake is respected for it.

November's election is far too important to be decided by boo-boos. We can readily understand President Ford's reluctance to say that his remarks on Eastern Europe were in error, but, really, he should do just that. Let it not be said by historians that Gerald Ford would rather be wrong than President. -- (10/11/76)



**'AH, LET ME REPHRASE THAT REMARK
ABOUT NO SOVIET CONTROL IN EASTERN EUROPE'**



MichiganThe Second DebateEditorial, excerpted, Michigan State Journal

President Ford's remark that he did not believe Eastern Europe is dominated by the Soviet was a major error, and the President seemed to compound it in responding to followup questions from a news panelist.

Elsewhere in the debate, Carter seemed to be evasive on many questions, using lengthy dialogue and lofty words but not answering the specific question. He said he deplored secrecy in fashioning foreign policy, but failed to give a clear answer on how he would remedy the problem if elected.

Also disappointing was the format. It seemed to provide for more of a quarrel than a debate. It would have been better, we think, if the candidates had been permitted to address each other directly. -- (10/8/76)

IllinoisThe Debates: Round TwoEditorial, excerpted, Chicago Daily News

President Ford's surprising contention that Eastern Europe is not under Soviet "domination" had to be a presidential slip of a high order. Time and time again, Ford lost opportunities to nail down his supposedly superior knowledge of foreign affairs.

Yet Jimmy Carter missed the mark on many occasions also. He came out fighting, in contrast to the timidity and nervousness he exhibited in the first debate, but many of his punches were off target as he evaded the direct question and wandered down a side road.

One thing that came through the fog of rhetoric and hyperbole was the fact that on most of the vital foreign affairs issues, the two candidates are by no means as far apart as they would have us believe. Both put a strong national defense system at the top of their priority list, despite quibbling over exact dollar amounts. Both would "negotiate from strength" with the Soviets. Both seem to have taken lessons from Ronald Reagan in how to get tough about the Panama Canal and maintain effective U.S. control there. Both stand foursquare behind Israel. Both favor improving the tenuous relationship with mainland China.

Ford was pushed to the defensive from the outset, and many of his strongest points were blurred as a result. It is plainly true that the United States is not at war, and that U.S. mediation has helped to defuse the volatile Mideast and more recently the critical situation in southern Africa. This mediation would not have been possible without a substantial degree of trust in the

Illinois

United States on both sides of the dispute and among America's allies. Carter's general charge that the Administration's foreign policy is "all style and no substance" stumbles over the real substantive results that have been achieved.

In a debate of this kind, the necessity of scoring points on personality and what might be perceived as forcefulness can get in the way of the calm reason and judgment that should prevail in the formulation of foreign policy. Both candidates said some things we hope they really didn't mean. -- (10/8/76)

There's Still a Third Chance

Editorial, excerpted, Chicago Sun-Times

Credit President Ford with the big gaffe of the campaign so far. His debate statement that Eastern Europe was not under the domination of the Soviet Union, as we detail below, was stupid. There's no other word for his assertion and reassertion that freedom from outside domination reigns there.

He also made a rash promise on the release of a list of U.S. businesses that have observed the Arab boycott against Jews and Israelis. His Commerce Dept. said Wednesday it would not honor the promise. He also wrongly claimed credit for anti-boycott initiatives; his administration in fact opposed them.

Getting beyond those remarks, however, the Ford administration does have many aspects of its foreign policies that can be defended handsomely, and Ford succeeded in doing so. The administration's intercession in southern Africa on behalf of black-majority rule is a move for which he need not apologize. Similarly the hands-off policy toward Portugal a year ago was one that bore fruit, and so was the absence of overreaction to the coming to power of Communists in some national positions in Italy.

Finally, although the Helsinki accord has its problems, Ford was correct not to abandon it or take the Soviet Union to task excessively for not honoring it.

Jimmy Carter, in our judgment, offered little hope in his presentation that he would significantly alter parts of the nation's foreign and defense policies that need changing. He refused at least two opportunities, for example, to say the defense budget needs a good pruning, relying instead on a vague assertion that this country must remain strong. He indicated that, if anything, he would be even tougher in his negotiations with the Soviet Union and, although we do not think any U.S. President should give away military advantage, we are fearful that Carter's kind of rhetoric (even more than Ford's) might prevent mutually advantageous agreements.

Illinois

Carter promised openness in the conduct of foreign policy, yet he dodged answers to questions much more than Ford did, making speeches instead.

If Ford's performance showed two stupidities that might disqualify him as an interpreter of foreign policy, Carter's showed a slickness that, while it may win debates, does not offer a satisfying hope of good leadership.

Each man will have a third chance to better himself. --
(10/8/76)

Ohio

Consensus Foreign Policy
Editorial, excerpted, Cleveland Plain Dealer

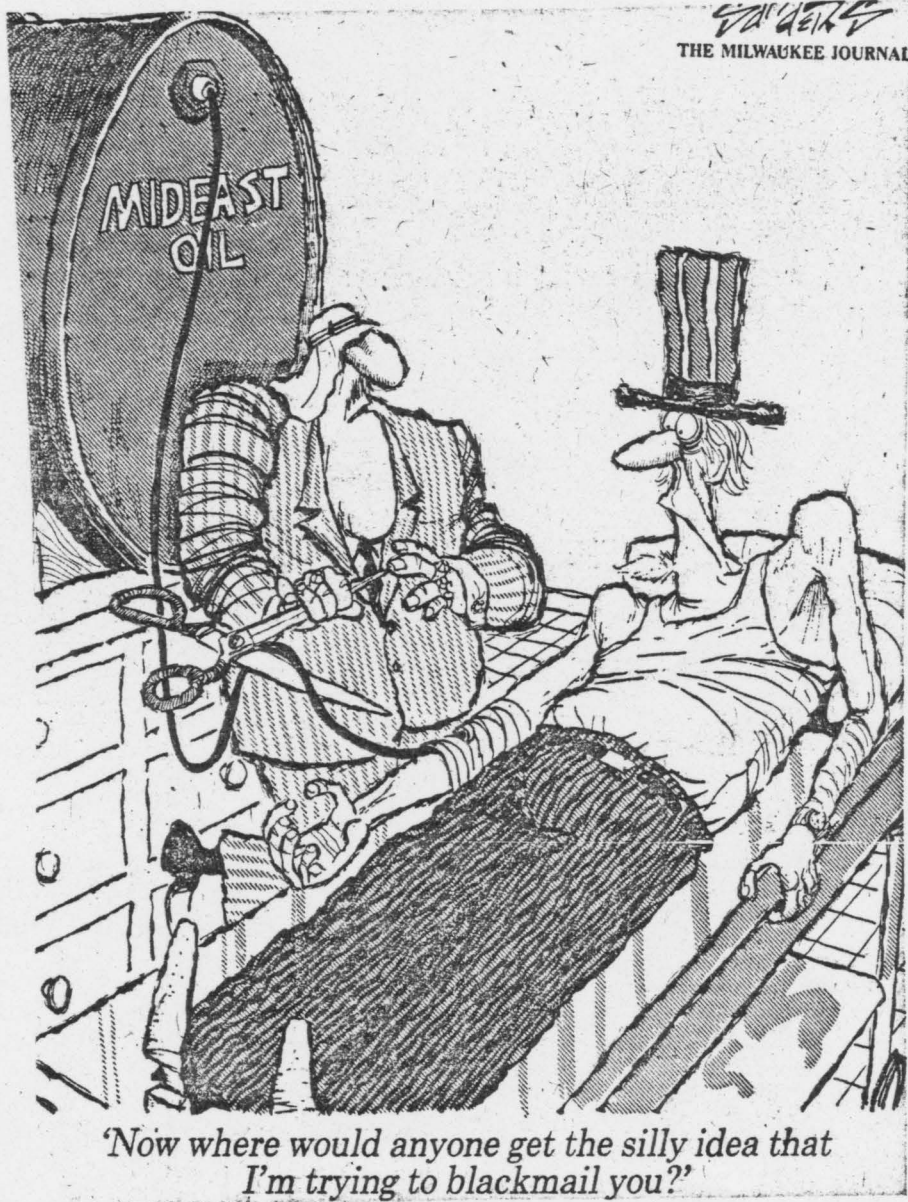
One thing above all emerged from the Ford-Carter foreign policy debate: Both men agree on the broad design of the balance-of-power politics currently pursued by the U.S.

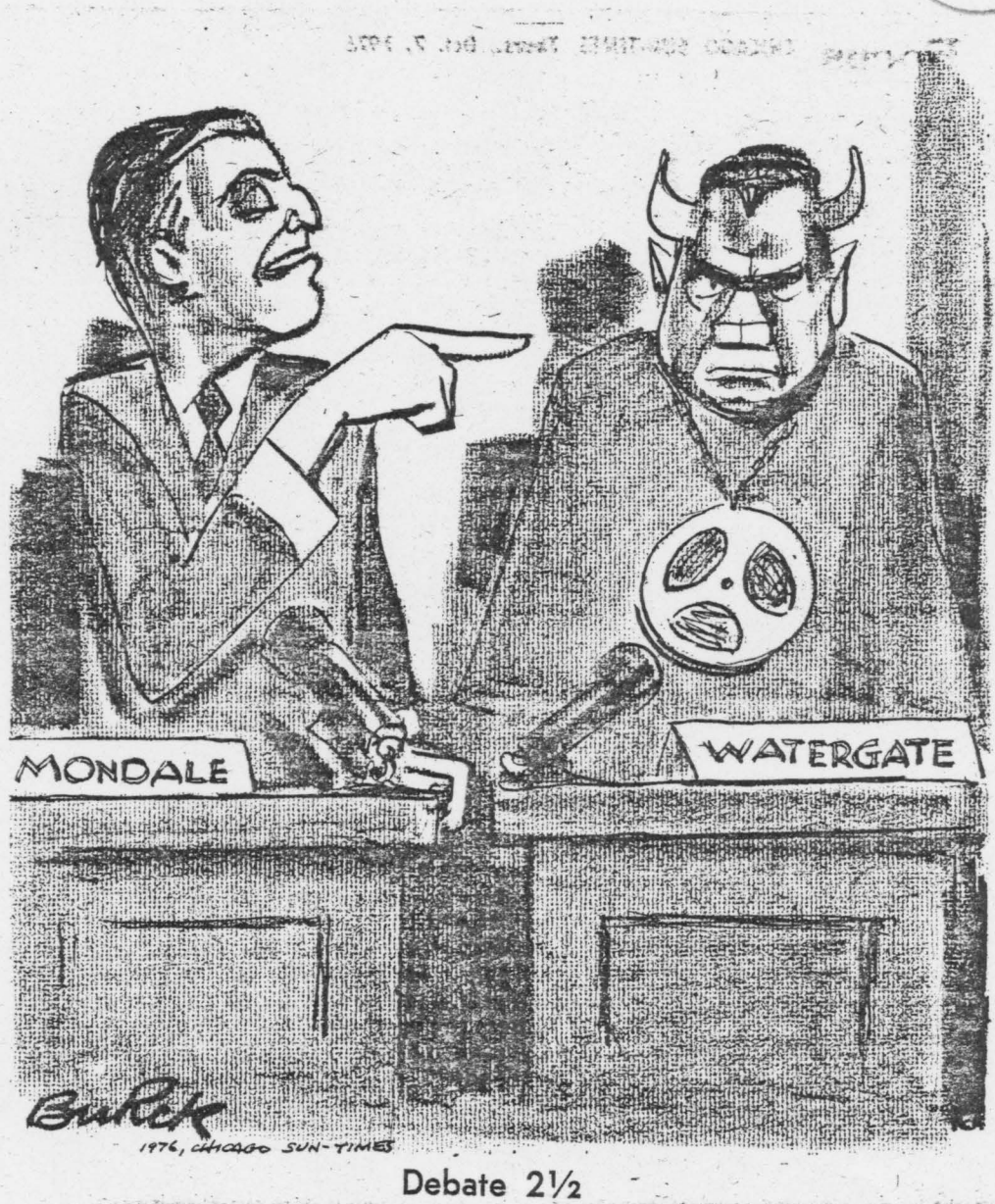
With one or two exceptions, Carter's differences with the Ford administration centered on style and nuance rather than substance. Repeatedly, Carter naively condemned what he described as the secrecy with which the administration pursues foreign policy. Carter also hammered at a morality-in-foreign policy theme, contending that American support for some non-democratic regimes and escalating arms sales represented an absence of morality.

Carter was credited by some with a more forceful manner than he demonstrated during the first debate. Ford's statement about Eastern Europe detracted from the remainder of his otherwise sound performance. -- (10/8/76)

Spirited Confrontation
Editorial, excerpted, Youngstown Vindicator

Although neither man scored a decisive breakthrough, Jimmy Carter emerged a narrow-margined winner in the second round of the presidential debates. Carter's edge stemmed in part from President Ford's wayward insistence that Eastern Europe is not under the domination of Russia, and Carter's aggressive emphasis in attacking aspects of administration policy which do not lend themselves to brief explanations for a national television audience. In any case, for all the scrappy, often bitter rhetoric, Ford and Carter were in basic agreement more often than not during their confrontation on foreign policy and defense. -- (10/8/76)





The Second DebateEditorial, excerpted, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

It had been widely assumed that President Ford's experience in foreign affairs and defense policy would provide him an advantage. And although that was not apparent to us in the two men's handling of the questions, Ford clearly was able to exploit his incumbency. This he did by dropping, in effect, three new policy announcements: that the cruise missile, if linked with the Soviet Backfire bomber, is a negotiable item in arms control talks; that his Administration will make available a list of American corporations that have assisted the Arab boycott and that a new Mideast peace initiative will be undertaken shortly.

Despite the verbal potshots of somewhat questionable taste that both men occasionally resorted to, they were in close substantive agreement on many issues. They concurred, for example, on the need for the U.S. to retain practical control over the Panama Canal. Both advocated a strong military establishment, support for Israel and taking Taiwan into consideration in decisions involving furthering relations with Peking.

Jimmy Carter had two particularly strong suits. First, he was absolutely correct, we think, in decrying the enormous amounts of weapons the U.S. is peddling around the world. Ford had no effective rejoinder to Carter's declaration that America should be the world's "breadbasket" rather than its "arms merchant."

Secondly, Carter was effective when he pointed out that the key questions facing the country are those concerned with leadership, devotion to principle and correct priorities for the future. These questions transcend foreign policy discussions. But within that framework it is legitimate to use those as benchmarks to measure the Ford Administration's performance with regard to the secret conduct of policy, to the humanitarian issues involved with its dealings with Chile and the USSR and, again, to the proliferation of weapons around the world.

Ford, too, promised a foreign policy based on morality. And, by way of example, he offered his Administration's recent initiative in southern Africa, which appears to have a chance of averting racial war and establishing majority black rule in Rhodesia. While the U.S.' interest in that area regrettably is recent, Ford can justly take pride in its efforts to promote political justice there.

Americans should be especially heartened by Ford's strong support for reaching a new nuclear weapons agreement with the USSR before the interim offensive strategic arms treaty expires a year from now. His disclosure that the cruise missile limitations

can be included in such an accord is an important and sensible concession that could well help break the negotiating impasse that now seems to exist. -- (10/7/76)

No-Win Debate

Editorial, excerpted, St. Louis Globe-Democrat

The Ford-Carter debate on foreign policy and defense was a flop from the opening bell because of Jimmy Carter's determined refusal to answer the questions he has been asked.

When Carter did respond directly, he tended to agree with the past or present policies of President Ford, but nonetheless continued to criticize Ford for a lack of leadership. Carter's trickery was transparent.

Ford made a tactical error in the beginning by letting Carter put him on the defensive. The present foreign policy problems did not begin with President Ford. When Carter failed to refute any of the Republican achievements cited by Max Frankel at the start of the debate, Ford should have used his opening remarks to dump Yalta, and the no-win policies in Korea and Vietnam in the laps of some of his Democratic predecessors whom Carter professes to admire so much.

President Ford's denial that Eastern Europe is under Soviet domination is inexplicable. The lightweight Carter cannot fairly be declared the winner of the debate, but an impartial referee could well rule that Ford delivered a technical knockout to himself with his clumsy comment on Eastern Europe.

Debate Two should go down in the record books as a no-win contest. -- (10/8/76)

Boycott PoliticsEditorial, excerpted, Des Moines Register

The Ford-Carter debate on foreign policy managed to confuse further the complicated subject of the Arab trade boycott of Israel.

President Ford and Jimmy Carter deplore the boycott and want to free Americans from its effects. As president, Gerald Ford also has to promote trade, including trade with Arab nations, and promote friendship, including Arab nations. So his administration says enough (and is lax about enforcing them), and it opposes new ones which might lead to confrontation with Arab states.

Jimmy Carter says he would enforce them strictly; he favors the new proposals in Congress against the boycott -- and naively thinks that would end the Arab boycott. Only Arab-Israeli peace can do that.

President Ford made two claims which gave an inaccurate picture of his record. He said he signed a tax bill Oct. 4 denying a tax deduction to American companies which cooperate with the Arab boycott. He signed, but his administration had opposed that clause.

Ford also made his surprise announcement that the Commerce Department "will disclose those companies that have participated in the Arab boycott" and he blamed Congress for not passing such a requirement.

The Ford administration has consistently opposed congressional efforts to make it illegal for American companies to discriminate against American companies or individuals on the Arab blacklist. The adjournment of Congress cut short the latest congressional effort, but both houses wanted to strengthen anti-boycott laws. -- (10/11/76)

Debate Proved Little
Editorial, excerpted, Milwaukee Journal

Jimmy Carter appeared stronger, more sure of himself than in his first encounter with President Ford. However, whether this debate was any more decisive than the first for either candidate is questionable. Whether the nation really learned a great deal about the present conduct of foreign affairs or how it would be conducted in the future also is doubtful.

Ford was intent on proving that he was an experienced leader in foreign affairs. Carter was intent on diminishing that image and bolstering his.

What was particularly disappointing about this confrontation was that rational debate gave way to old time Cold War rhetoric and blatant appeals to various voting constituencies. Too often, it became a question of who was going to be tougher on communism, who was more moral, who was going to be a better friend of Israel, who was going to do more to free the Iron Curtain countries of Eastern Europe. -- (10/7/76)



Round Two
Editorial, excerpted, Richmond Times-Dispatch

The American people waited to hear Mr. Carter explain his positions in round two of the Presidential debates. And they waited. And waited. For 90 minutes, listeners and viewers waited for the Democratic candidate to state his views in sufficient detail for them to understand the policy that he would propose as an alternative to the policy of President Ford.

They waited in vain. As he has done so often during the campaign, Mr. Carter talked in generalities and platitudes, obscuring his views, if he has any, with a cloud of rhetoric. So today, the American people know little more about the Democratic candidate's foreign policy proposals than they did before the debate.

He was, at times, conspicuously contradictory. He said at one point that the United States is "not strong any more," but later he insisted that the United States is as strong militarily as any nation on earth. He criticized the United States for selling wheat to Russia but vowed that he would never use food alone as a foreign affairs tool. And he said the United States should become the "breadbasket" of the world, which, of course, included Russia.

By contrast, most of Mr. Ford's responses and comments were solid and specific. Does this mean that President Ford performed flawlessly? Absolutely not. His assertion that there is "no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe" was absurd.

Early reaction to the debate indicates that the public considered it almost a draw, although a panel of debate coaches assembled by AP declared Mr. Carter the winner by a narrow margin. More confident and aggressive than he had been in the first debate, the Democratic candidate made a far better appearance this time. But overall, Mr. Ford's performance contained far more substance.
Richmond Times-Dispatch (10/8/76)



The Debates--Round 2Editorial, excerpted, The Richmond News Leader

One doesn't have to be particularly enthusiastic about the overall content of what Jimmy Carter said, to acknowledge that he may have gotten the edge on President Ford in the second debate. Yet as one sat and watched, these thoughts kept intruding: (1) Ronald Reagan would have chewed CARTER up, and (2) this sort of political theater is an odd way to go about electing our Presidents.

The President's statement regarding Eastern Europe, combined with his comments about the Helsinki accords and the Shanghai Communique and the Vladivostok meeting and the statistics of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks emphasized (a) the difficulty of defending detente, and (b) the near-impossibility of advantageously citing statistics in a political debate.

In the rest of the debate, however, the President seemed to have the clear advantage. To Carter's generalities, the President offered specifics. Carter invoked standard cliches and shibboleths of the Left. And to counter these cliches, President Ford offered specifics, such as his repeated comments about how Carter has proposed to decimate the defense budget. The President offered specifics such as those, and asked that he be judged in terms of "experience and result." Two years of the Ford Administration, he said, has given us an America that is "strong, free, and respected." No American, he said, is "fighting or dying" anywhere. America has "peace with freedom."

That is a good message, and true--and he said it comparatively well. Yet in this world of political theater one has to wonder whether it is good enough, and whether he said it well enough, to win him the support of a majority of the national electoral audience.

The Richmond News Leader (10/7/76)

'Why Didn't the Darn Sound Go Off THIS Time?'



**'I Think You Have Everything...
Speech...Grin...Mud'**



Who's Believable?Editorial, excerpted, Columbia (S.C.) State

President Ford may have stumbled verbally in talking about East Europe in the debate, but we were more distracted by Jimmy Carter's contention that the nation's defense budget can be cut by billions of dollars without weakening our military strength.

To imply that Mr. Ford didn't know any better than to claim there was no connection between Moscow and the East European countries is an absurdity.

Mr. Carter's position on national defense suffers from a more serious flaw than ill-chosen words. The Democratic-controlled Congress (Mr. Carter's party) agreed with Mr. Ford on this year's defense appropriation, the largest amount ever allocated.

The Soviet expenditures for military purposes have far outstripped the United States, which is now said by some to be in second place militarily. Just how can this nation spend less on military preparedness and at the same time maintain a parity, or catch up, with the Soviet Union?
Columbia (S.C.) State (10/17/76)

Jimmy Does Better
Editorial, excerpted, The Atlanta Journal

Overall, we think Carter established himself as far from being outclassed by the incumbent in knowledge and ideas about foreign policy, a major achievement for a person whose strong point supposedly is domestic economic issues.

In part Carter achieved this by criticizing President Ford and Henry Kissinger for the Helsinki agreements, for snubbing Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and for failing to get as much out of detente as we are giving--all positions which previously had come primarily from conservative Republicans.

That may be reassuring to those who have thought of Carter as George McGovern warmed over. And Ford certainly didn't help himself by arguing that the Russians do not dominate Eastern Europe. On the other hand Ford's rejection of Carter's defense cut ideas may impress people as making sure we have sufficient strength to back up tough talk, for the Russians respect action more than talk.

Both candidates spent so much time accusing each other of distorting the facts about what conditions actually are that they tended to slight concrete discussion of what should be done.

The Atlanta Journal (10/7/76)

Both Candidates Scored In the Second Debate
Editorial, excerpted, The Charleston Gazette

We were mildly dismayed by the fact that Ford and Carter found it necessary to establish their anti-Communist credentials and we hope their campaigns won't be run against the Soviet Union in the style of the 1950s. We believe the American people will stipulate that neither candidate is a dangerous Boshevik determined to sell out the nation.

Some of Carter's thrusts at an inconsistent administration foreign policy reached home.

Ford had no acceptable response to Carter's charge that America has substituted for diplomacy the distribution of weapons around the world. The President had no response at all to Carter's charge that the administration helped establish, then coddled, a vicious military dictatorship in Chile. To the Carter reminder that the administration shields from public scrutiny the American businesses involved in the Arab states' boycott of Israel, Ford's response verged on desperation. He would, he said, order the records opened the next day.

The President wasn't routed, however. He was able to cite the noteworthy achievements of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Africa as evidence that morality, not expediency, is at least sometimes at the heart of a foreign policy program. Ford gave a reasoned explanation of the nation's uncomfortable alliance with an authoritarian South Korea, and we were pleased to hear, for the first time, that the administration isn't charmed by the South Korean dictator. Ford also declined to reach toward the frenzied right for votes when he accepted the reality of the existence of mainland China.
The Charleston Gazette (10/8/76)

Weighing Debate Blunders

--Editorial, excerpted, New Orleans Times-Picayune

No one can really believe that a conservative Republican President believes there is no Soviet domination of the Iron Curtain countries. Mr. Ford was responding in the context of a question on the European Security Conference in Helsinki, and probably thinking of -- though clearly not articulating -- long-standing American policy of trying to reduce Eastern Europe's dependence on the Soviet Union by offering it substantial, regularized relations with us.

But everyone must certainly wonder what Mr. Carter believes about how foreign policy is conducted. One hopes he has enough sense to know that it is quite impossible to consult public opinion during intense, sensitive negotiations or foreign emergencies. Does one hold public hearings or take polls on the technical details of arms control talks, on whether or how to rescue the American crew of a captured ship or plane, on whether to support an invasion of Cuba, or on what kind of pressures or guarantees can be used to pacify the Mideast?

His apparent promise of direct public participation in such matters, while characteristically populist, is rank demagoguery.

Mr. Carter also has some things to clarify, and he should be pressed to do so.

--New Orleans Times-Picayune (10/9/76)



Marshmallow Debate

--Editorial, excerpted, Charleston Evening Post

The Ford-Carter debate on defense and foreign policy issues was the greatest exhibition of intellectual broken field running since -- well, since these same two gentlemen debated domestic affairs. After the first 30 minutes, one had the distinct impression the candidates were trying to beat each other to death with marshmallows.

Does Jimmy Carter seriously believe he would have greater success in "open" negotiations with, say, Leonid Brezhnev? Would Mr. Carter even go so far as to show the American public the minutes of Candidate Carter's pre-election negotiations with George Meany?

As to a policy of "fireside chats", perhaps the less said the better. The thought of subjecting an American television audience to repeated samplings of the kind of platitudes that have marked the debates thus far is, frankly, nauseating.

Finally, how does Mr. Carter propose to "bring Congress into the process" to a greater degree than it already is? The role of Congress in the shaping and conduct of foreign policy is rather strictly limited by the Constitution.

Mr. Ford fared no better in our book than did Mr. Carter in Wednesday night's debate. In particular, we found his statement concerning the Panama Canal devious in view of the published written instructions he has given Ambassador Bunker who is charged with responsibility for negotiating the new treaty with Panama.

--Charleston Evening Post (10/8/76)

A Slugging Match

--Editorial, excerpted, The Commercial Appeal

Those who thought the first debate between President Ford and Gov. Jimmy Carter was dull certainly got a different show in the second debate. It was much more a slugging match, so much so that some voters apparently recoiled from the verbal exchanges. The sharpness of the exchanges, however, did not really demonstrate any significant differences in the foreign policy objectives of the two candidates for the U.S. presidency.

Carter probably lost some following by his overly aggressive manner toward the President. His snide remark that the President finally had learned the termination date on SALT was unnecessary and unkind. His confused reference to Karl Marx's comments about war and the capitalist system was another such remark.

Who won? The polls show Carter with a slight edge, thus evening the score from the first debate. But in both debates the polls showed a large segment of viewers thought the debates a draw.

Those first impressions undoubtedly will be subject to some revision as citizens gather in the days ahead to review and debate the positions of the candidates. And that is what makes this series of debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters worthwhile.

--The Commercial Appeal (10/8/76)

Mr. Ford's Mistake

--Editorial, excerpted, Chattanooga News-Free Press

Ever since he said it in last week's debate, we have been trying to puzzle out just what prompted President Ford to say that Eastern Europe is not under the domination of the Soviet Union. There really is no good answer. It was just a slip, a blooper, a comment the opposition can and easily has made capital of, something that will cost him some votes, all for no real reason.

The only thing we can guess is that Mr. Ford meant that the spirits of the people of Eastern Europe are not dominated by their Soviet captors, even though their countries are under Red control. But that is not what he said.

The campaign decisions ought to be made on other issues that do count, that do involve different approaches and different results.

While there is no reason to applaud or to ignore Mr. Ford's slip, there is also no reason to vote for a less sound candidate, Mr. Carter, because Mr. Ford made a statement he should not have.

--Chattanooga News-Free Press (10/11/76)

Thoughts on Debate No. 2

--Editorial, excerpted, Knoxville News-Sentinel

The President was at his best in replying to Carter's charges that U.S. foreign policy was an immoral failure. He pointed out successes in keeping Portugal out of Communist hands, reducing Soviet influence in the Middle East, nudging Arabs and Israelis toward peace and averting racial warfare in Southern Africa. Keeping the peace is a highly moral act, he reminded his challenger.

The most disturbing moment came when Carter's mean streak surfaced briefly. Ford had finished a discussion of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), when Carter sneered that he was pleased Ford knew the date the SALT treaty expires, implying he knew nothing else.

That was an uncomfortable reminder of how Carter rode the primary campaign trail -- lashing out at opponents with hurtful phrases and then, if bad publicity ensued, saying he had been misunderstood or did not mean what he said.

--Knoxville News-Sentinal (10/7/76)

KentuckyLittle Guidance on Foreign Policy...
Editorial, excerpted, The Courier-Journal

As a debate, the second encounter between President Ford and challenger Carter rated higher than last month's glorified news conference. But as a forum for discussion of American foreign policy, or even as an insight into the candidates' views on specific issues, it fell far short of both expectations and of national need.

With both men more aggressive than on the previous occasion, the second debate provided livelier listening. But both candidates tended again to use the questions as springboards for prepared statements rather than spontaneous and more responsive answers. If Gov. Carter appeared to have the edge over his opponent most of the time, this was mostly because of Ford's failure to demonstrate convincingly that his White House experience had given him a surer grasp of foreign affairs.

Gov. Carter raised worthwhile questions, as he has throughout this campaign, about ending secrecy in government and doing more to bring Congress and the people into the decision-making process. The record of the past decade and a half, through both Republican and Democratic administrations, shows a trail of deceit and connivance that we could profitably do without. But Carter's answers don't live up to his questions.

Carter, of course, had the harder task because all he could say was what he would do if elected. That's fine, except that most foreign crises or situations are not precisely predictable. Ford should have been on surer ground, since he could point to his record of actual achievements.

Given the free-swinging style of the debate, such political grandstanding must be expected. Certainly Carter got in his share of low blows and misleading statistics. Because of these political jibes, the debate fell far short of the broad discussion of foreign policy issues that the American people so urgently need.

Wednesday night's war of words also must have left many voters perplexed about how different a Carter foreign policy would be from that of another Ford administration. The style doubtless would be different, but the substance evidently would be much the same. Both men want a strong America, a nation that commands respect in a world at peace. Beyond that, they haven't shown how they'd differ in basic policies. The voters' decisions next month will have to depend on more than foreign policy concerns.

-- (10/8/76)

North CarolinaSecond DebateEditorial, excerpted, Charlotte Observer

Gerald Ford sought to wrap the mantle of the presidency around himself Wednesday night -- and it well-nigh suffocated him. In the first debate, devoted to domestic matters, Jimmy Carter was expected to slice up the president handily. But Mr. Carter's knife hand proved shaky, and it didn't happen. The second debate was supposed to be all Ford. After all, he is the man with the record in foreign affairs, presiding over a country at peace. But Gov. Carter came on so strong and so fast that he kept President Ford markedly on the defensive for most of the evening.

Saying the Russians do not dominate Eastern Europe is like saying Ma Bell doesn't dominate the telephone business.

A president's advantage in political debate is that he is president and can use the powers of his office. But Mr. Ford, exerting the power of his office, got his facts badly scrambled when he said: "... Because the Congress failed to act, I am going to announce tomorrow that the Department of Commerce will disclose those companies that have participated in the Arab boycott. This is something that we can do. The Congress failed to do it and we intend to do it."

So this second of the three presidential debates has been as surprising as the first. Mr. Carter seemed unsure of himself the first time around; Wednesday night it was President Ford's turn to look awkward. -- (10/8/76)

AlabamaThe Great Debate IIEditorial, excerpted, Birmingham News

A careful analysis of Jimmy Carter's statements and accusations leaves one no more sure of what his style of conducting foreign policy would be were he to be elected to the presidency. He spoke in such vague generalities, one could only assume he agreed with the realities of American foreign policy as pursued by the Ford administration, but disliked the present cast of players, the background music and the handling of the scenery.

For the most part throughout the debate Ford's responses indicated he had both the experience and the facts to refute Carter's sweeping grapeshot fusillades. In accusing Ford with failure in foreign policy, Carter carefully avoided mentioning the successes of the Ford administration while Ford concentrated on the successes and skimmed on areas where events have gone against U.S. interests.

Alabama (continued)

All in all, neither of the candidates stood out as great or charismatic leaders, and the nation is still left wondering where Carter stands on important foreign policy issues.
-- (10/8/76)

ArkansasGrading the Second Debate
Editorial, excerpted, Arkansas Gazette

The first debate between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter on Sept. 23 was a success, in our judgment, because it revealed sharply and clearly before a huge national audience major domestic issues that divide the candidates and their parties.

This joint appearance of the candidates suggested that there are not great differences between them on foreign policy - either that or neither candidate thinks he can talk candidly on foreign policy and get away with it.

In surveying the whole performance in Debate II, we suppose that not much could be expected of candidates for President discussing at this time such volatile issues of foreign relations and defense. It is conceivable that a presidential debate on foreign policy, this close to the election, was not in the national interest at all. -- (10/8/76)

What Foreign Policy?

by William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

(excerpted, Boston Herald-American)

After the second debate by presidential candidates, one begins to wonder if either contender benefits from the spectacle. There is an inevitable feeling that those who were for Carter anyway, think that he won the debate, and that those who favored Ford thought him the victor.

In the second debate, as in the first, the candidates were making a pitch to the undecided and uncommitted voters, since common sense dictates that few of those who had already made up their minds how they would vote would change them as a result of the debate. Viewed in that perspective, one wonders just how many of the voters who were undecided prior to the debate now know how they will vote. My bet is that there is no significant change.

To watch two men of that stature talk without notes or reference material is, in itself, remarkable. Each fielded some tough questions. Each seemed confident. Each made his point well, though there was initially some mystery of just what President Ford meant by denying there was Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. It turns out that what he meant made much sense, but he stated it poorly. I don't think the President's unclear phrasing will lose the Polish-American and other votes that had been pledged to him.

Carter may have brought more bluster to himself through some of his statements about foreign policy which I thought were rather brash and ill-considered.

For example, Carter said that if Saudi Arabia or any other Arab oil producing country imposed another oil embargo on the U.S., he would consider it a declaration of economic war and would cut off all American trade including arms sales to the Arabs. This overlooks the fact that there is simply no other source for oil in sufficient quantities to meet our needs. It ignores the fact that a counter-embargo would force many American workers into idleness. Most of all, the statement made Mr. Carter seem completely oblivious to the fact that such an embargo might force the Arab oil countries right into the waiting arms of the Russians.

Here are a couple of other points made by Carter, which, on analysis, raise questions about his ability to cope, as President, with the nettlesome problems of foreign affairs:

-- Carter said America is not strong anymore, nor is it respected anymore. Later he modified this, saying he was thinking in terms of our "moral" position in the world. Who then has got higher morals or has helped more people in the world, I ask.

-- Carter said that President Ford should have "enforced" the human rights provisions of the Helsinki agreement, which the Soviet Union has ignored. How? By arms? With a nuclear bomb? Impose a trade embargo on the Russians? Well, how else to you "enforce" something like that?

-- Carter said that if he is elected president the threat of atomic weapons would be eliminated. The only way you can eliminate the great of atomic war is to defuse the Russians' big ones, and how does he propose to do that, I ask.

-- Carter, at one point, described Israel and Iran as "allies". Friends, yes; but allies, no, as we have no mutual defense pacts or military alliance agreements with either country.

The exercise left me feeling that Carter continues to approach major issues in an emotional and evangelical way, while President Ford though far from colorful, continues to describe a careful and practical -- and successful -- course in matters both domestic and foreign.

-- Boston Herald-American (10/10/76)

Well, who gave you permission
to believe Pres. Ford
anyway?...



L.I. Newsday, (10/12/76)

Ford Showing Gains Him Edge

By Otto Zausmer

(excerpted, Boston Globe)

The second debate between Ford and Carter, confined almost exclusively to foreign policy questions, once more gave President Ford an edge.

Both speakers were for motherhood and against sin throughout the debate, but the differences between them were primarily on shades and emphasis. Rarely on substance.

But President Ford was much more collected, much stronger and stricter, and Carter seemed to be more nervous and tense than the President.

Carter, however, missed one great opportunity in this debate.

He attacked Secretary Kissinger repeatedly, but he missed the opportunity to lay out in detail the failures and weaknesses of the Kissinger policy.

--Boston Globe (10/7/76)

The Power of Incumbency

By Robert L. Healy

(excerpted, Boston Globe)

Any challenger debates a President on foreign policy with two strikes against him. The President keeps the store, makes war or peace, decides on nuclear proliferation and conducts basic foreign relations with leaders of other governments. President Ford made all these points last night with some success.

But Jimmy Carter was able to hold his own through it all, pointing out that the President had not taken leadership except during Presidential campaign time on disarmament and getting agreements on majority rule in Rhodesia.

Carter was effective in his themes for United States leadership abroad, for informing American people on the course of foreign policy so that there will be no more Vietnams, and for a vision of the kind of world we will leave to our children. Carter showed he was knowledgeable and informed, and, because of this, he did not lose the debate to Ford.

It was the best of the Presidential debates. It traced the past and the goals for the future in foreign affairs. For the American people it was a useful exercise. The panel of reporters was excellent. The questions were hard and meaningful, and there was follow-up. There was an effort to strain out the campaign rhetoric in the questions, and to an extent they succeeded. And the nation got a good glimpse at what each candidate stands for in foreign affairs.

Carter was impressive in the sense of a new direction.
But the Ford record is not bad.
--Boston Globe (10/7/76)

On Substance, A Ford Edge
Buffalo Evening News
Editorial excerpted

On rhetorical debating points, some of the polls and morning-after experts show the second of the Ford-Carter debates evening the score with the first, but on issues of substance, they leave this 1976 presidential contest, in our judgment, about where it was -- with President Ford still closing fast and a neck and neck race now likely to continue right on down to the Nov. 2 wire.

This one was like watching two men point to the same bottle, one calling it half full, the other half empty. Both candidates, it seemed to us, tended repeatedly to overstate their case, letting their roundhouse rhetoric often outdistance any real differences over real issues.

The debate did open up a number of provocative subjects for later campaign discussion. Thus both candidates stirred a lot of dust without ever greatly enlightening the public about the whole question of U.S. arms sales abroad. The difficult issue of nuclear proliferation was likewise bandied about but never explored in depth. And the whole discussion of defense policy -- which was supposedly given equal billing with foreign policy -- turned on who's for spending how much, with little said about any of the more complex long-range problems of what kinds of weapons systems this country needs for its adequate future defense.

By its nature, this was a debate that put the challenger constantly on the attack, the incumbent on the defense. But if the result is being judged in some overnight polls a slight edge for Mr. Carter, it was still President Ford who seemed to us to score the most telling point of the evening in his crisp final summation.

Buffalo Evening News (10/7/76)

The Debate: Purposes and Policies

--Editorial, excerpted, Long Island Newsday

A debate succeeds or fails depending on the significance of the subject matter, the amount of light shed thereon and the extent to which the debaters reveal themselves. The second debate between Ford and Carter -- unlike the first, succeeded on all three counts.

Surprisingly, Carter showed himself to be both comfortable and insightful in a field the President was supposed to dominate. Carter seemed much more knowledgeable than Ford about the purposes of foreign policy, and he did the political campaign a major service by establishing the virtually forgotten connection between a country's economic well-being and its international credibility.

The President, on the other hand, stumbled badly despite all the advantages of incumbency.

Where Ford could only defend a record inherited from his predecessor along with his Secretary of State, Carter offered guidelines for a new post-Vietnam, post-CIA foreign policy based on leadership, the reassertion of basic American principles and a concern for "thekind of world we want our children to live in." Obviously one can argue whether Carter has the experience or the resources to accomplish those ends, but at least he has a vision of them to offer.

-- Long Island Newsday (10/7/76)

Carter's 'Idealism' Could Defeat Him

Adrian Lee

--excerpted, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

What materialized in the second debate was the picture of Mr. Ford, the plumber, trying desperately to get a wrench on a busted pipe in a water-filled cellar, be it the Middle East, South Africa or South Korea, while somewhere off to one side, somebody (here Carter) was reading him a lesson in advanced hydraulics.

The image is of the doer vs...well, the philosopher, the moralist. And this puts the best face possible on a CARTER role which could (with the Democratic nominee's demonstrated capacity for preempting all the virtue, all the idealism in sight) verge on the impractical, the visionary and the maudlin.

If there's anybody the American voter enjoys and esteems, it's the workman, the mechanic, with dirty hands and a toolbox -- this, despite media insistence that what the voter is or should be preoccupied with is Carter idealism.

So what Carter has to get down to, if only to illuminate subsequent debate, is not Mr. Ford's motivations in South Africa

or the Middle East, but the specifics of his workmanship. If Mr. Carter doesn't like the way Mr. Ford is "wiping the joint" in the Middle East, he's got to get out his blowtorch, and his leadpot, and show him how.

There's another aspect of this virtue-and-idealism business that threatens trouble for Mr. Carter.

An idealism that cannot be equated with self-interest isn't much good; it's soft-headed. Curiously enough, Mr. Ford seemed to have trouble gearing himself up to saying so, just like that. Which shows the occasional awe that the nuts-and-bolts workman seems to have for the abstract theoretician.

The meddling Mr. Carter seems to be advocating is just the kind of ruinous political intervention that the liberal community insisted on in Vietnam: Saigon had to have a government just like Washington's; it had to have candidates, primaries, nominees and elections...democracy. All this without the slightest semblance of the sophisticated apparatus, national committees to precinct committeemen, that supports the massive U.S. political structure. The result, of course, was paralysis and chaos.

--Philadelphia Evening Bulletin (10/10/76)

Great Debate Number Two - a TKO for Carter

--Editorial, excerpted, Providence Journal (Rhode Island)

Putting the rhetoric to one side, Wednesday evening's presidential debate should have left the American people with a degree of reassurance about where this country stands and where it may be headed in terms of foreign policy. Aside from differences in emphasis, style and interpretation, the debate showed that Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford have pretty much the same approach to key elements of that policy.

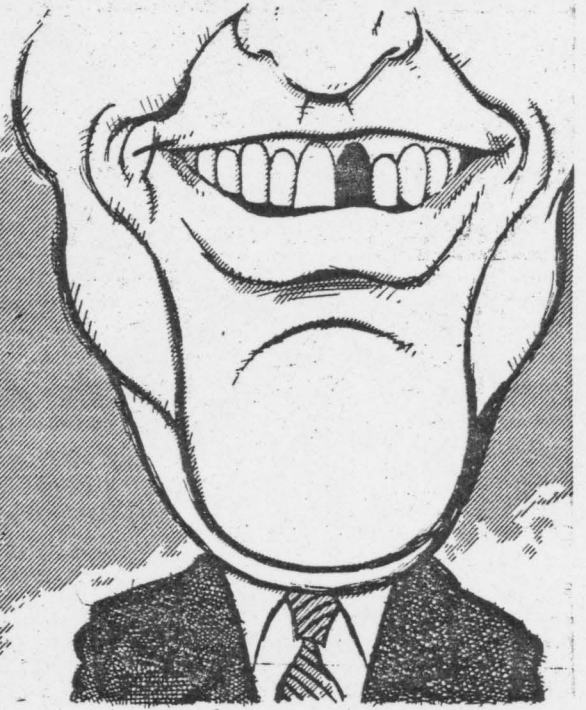
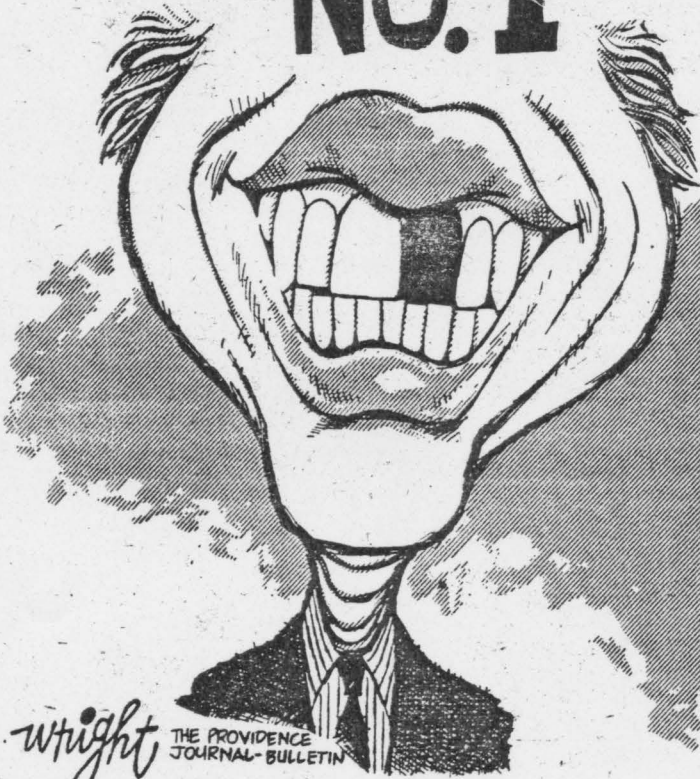
The two contenders agree on what this country's place in world affairs should be -- number one, economically and militarily -- even while disputing the cost of keeping it there.

In substance, then, citizens of this country and our friends and allies abroad should feel reassured that, whoever wins the election in November, U.S. foreign policy will take no major new turns.

However, if we are to believe Mr. Carter, there may be some not insignificant new approaches to how foreign policy would be handled by his administration. He vows a more "open" approach. Such promise may fall pleasingly on ears attuned to democratic and egalitarian yearnings. But to sophisticates who believe that secrecy, and occasionally deception, are to the development of diplomacy what a darkroom is to the development of a negative, these promises will be as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

DEBATE NO. 1

DEBATE NO. 2



wright THE PROVIDENCE
JOURNAL-BULLETIN

On technical points, we would give the debate to Mr. Carter. He had the advantage of the outsider taking the offensive, and he showed more agility, more combativeness and less awe of the presidential presence than in the first debate. President Ford, while overrehearsed and occasionally wooden, nevertheless exuded an impression of power and authority.

If President Ford committed a major gaffe by insisting that Eastern Europe is not under the heel of Moscow, Mr. Carter, who says he will never lie to us, at least played loose with truth in his unprovable charge that the United States overthrew the Allende government in Chile.

--Providence (Rhode Island) Journal (10/8/76)



"Next time, Tonto, when they ask you a question... say, 'Ugh'!"



What a Sorry Pair!

--Editorial, excerpted, Manchester Union Leader

Whatever else the debates are accomplishing, they are doing a mighty fine job disillusioning the American people about the two candidates who are running for the high office of the presidency of the United States!

The first debate indicated as much. The second just about proved it. Neither of them is fit to be in the White House.

President Ford ought to have his head examined for saying that Poland is independent of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Carter's performance was equally inept. If, once more, Americans hear that Carter will restore leadership, purity and sweetness and light to everything and tell the American people every little thing he is doing in foreign affairs or any other avenue of the government, they are going to scream.

A more sanctimonious little hypocrite this newspaper has never s-en! As this newspaper has said before, it is one hell of a choice that faces the American people this November.

Toward the beginning of the week after next, this newspaper will indicate its sad and reluctant choice, if by that time we can force ourselves to make a choice between these two characters, one of them shifty and sanctimonious and the other one, as we have always said, just plain stupid.

--Manchester Union Leader (10/4/76)

Who Won?

By David Jensen, excerpted, Sacramento Bee

By the narrowest of margins, veteran debate coach Barbara O'Connor of Sacramento awarded last night's campaign debate to President Ford.

Ms. O'Connor, chairwoman of the communications studies department at California State University, Sacramento, faulted Jimmy Carter for failing to maximize his opportunities and arguments.

"There were all kinds of opportunities in my mind for him to maximize arguments, and I don't think he did that," she said.

Ms. O'Connor gave the debate to Ford on a 25-24 score. She was one of a panel of five debate coaches across the country selected to score the debate by the Associated Press.

Ms. O'Connor said, "On presidential delivery, the nonverbal communication dimensions are better for Ford: eye contact, leaning forward and looking aggressive.

"Carter looks kind of meek and is still not as aggressive, not as presidential. The self-assured Southerner doesn't show in the debates." -- (10/7/76)

The Experts Grade Ford and Carter

By Lynn Ludlow, excerpted, San Francisco Examiner

Five foreign policy specialists agreed last night without enthusiasm that Debate 2 was a blurry answer to the public's questions.

Richard Heggie of the World Affairs Council summed up the 90-minute show as "an awful lot of simplistic explanations of an awful lot of very complicated issues, and that's where this debate format doesn't lead to anything really productive."

Albert Fishlow of the University of California said President Ford, who has become knowledgeable about the constraints imposed on foreign policy in the real world, allowed his challenger, Jimmy Carter, "to deal with an ideal world in which those constraints aren't present."

George Marotta of the Hoover Institution said Carter blew it by his failure to specify his own policy.

James O'Leary of UC Berkeley said: "Ford was in a tremendous position to deflate Carter's moralizing -- and he didn't press it. It would have been a great opportunity for a reasoned

discussion of morality in foreign policy. Instead, Ford let Carter define the issues in terms of style -- of conducting diplomacy and how open you are with the American people."

Fishlow said, "What the debate failed to bring out was the fact that each of the candidates do in fact have comprehensive world visions which are quite different. They never succeeded in expressing their very different conceptions. There was no real probing of how all the pieces fit together for each of the candidates." -- (10/7/76)

Their Mid-Term Report Cards
Excerpted, San Francisco Examiner

Here is a report card on the Ford-Carter debate, drawn from remarks of the five foreign policy specialists in a panel assembled by the Examiner:

Albert Fishlow: I'll judge them as politicians. I think Carter did fairly well. He avoided the two cardinal sins -- to be regarded as a man who couldn't be trusted with his finger on the nuclear trigger and as a man who doesn't maintain a strong national posture. He forced Ford to be defensive in an area where he might have sought more credit. I would rate Carter higher than Ford.

James Siena: I'm looking at it as a lawyer. For the reason that he emphasized morality -- no matter how unrealistic this might be -- in terms of appealing to the voters, my guess is that Carter would probably carry the jury.

George Marotta: I thought the President came out better. Carter, by choosing mostly to attack Ford's performance rather than articulate his own policy, missed an opportunity.

Richard Heggie: In my view, both did a lot better than in the first debate. Both seemed more human. Both missed opportunities. And I would say that as politicians, they both came off well, Carter a little better.

James O'Leary: In statecraft, in situations fraught with dangers and limitations, you set priorities. You try to achieve your priorities. I don't think either candidate set any priorities. Neither defined the nature of the limits. On that basis, I'd flunk them both. -- (10/7/76)

Carter's 1st, but Ford's 3rd

1. How much of the debate did you see?

All 43% 3/4 12% 1/2 7% 1/4 5% none 33%

2. Which candidate did you prefer prior to the debate?

Ford 34% Carter 30% Undecided 36%

3. Which candidate do you prefer now?

Ford 38% Carter 38% Undecided 26%

4. Who did the best job handling each of the following issues?

	Ford	Carter	Undecided
Detente	36%	22%	42%
Middle East	42%	38%	20%
China	39%	35%	25%
Panama Canal	31%	33%	36%
Africa	33%	31%	36%
Defense Spending	38%	31%	31%
Arms Sales	32%	39%	29%
Spread of Communism in Europe	28%	40%	32%

5. Which candidate showed superior knowledge of the issues?

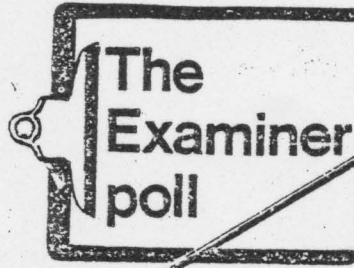
Ford 47% Carter 21% Neither 32%

6. Which candidate showed more poise?

Ford 31% Carter 38% Neither 31%

7. All in all, who won the debate?

Ford 31% Carter 38% Neither 33%



Carter's RoundEditorial, excerpted, Austin American-Statesman

The first Ford-Carter debate was tentative and most people called it a draw. The second one was a clear Carter victory, both in style and substance.

President Ford was on the defensive from the outset, and his major blunder in claiming there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was costly.

Jimmy Carter's major weakness in the second debate was his tendency to ignore the question at hand in order to throw in some of his pet points and magic cue words like Watergate.

Ford's gaffe on Eastern Europe is going to cost him votes from the segments of the American population of Slavic origin.

Both candidates performed better than the first time out -- both were more vigorous, more animated, and there was less of an inclination, though not enough less, to throw out volumes of statistics.

President Ford seemed wooden, even with gestures, and his hesitant style of speech contrasted badly with Carter's more assertive, fluid pattern. -- (10/8/76)

Round 2 is Carter'sEditorial, excerpted, Dallas Times Herald

Although neither displayed the debating skill of a Henry Clay or a Daniel Webster, Jimmy Carter clearly scored the more political points in his set-to with Gerald Ford on U.S. foreign policy -- the encounter in which the incumbent President was supposed to have the heaviest advantage over his challenger.

Much of the loss was the President's own fault. Millions of Americans must have listened wide-eyed and open-mouthed as Mr. Ford declared not once but twice that Eastern Europe is not dominated by the Soviet Union.

The President's statement clearly outshines Mr. Carter's Playboy interview as the biggest blunder of the campaign -- so far. But the Democratic candidate did not come away from the cameras without blemish, either. In a rather silly anything-he-can-do-I-can-do-better pitch for the Jewish vote, Carter promised to consider any future Arab oil embargo against the U.S. as an "economic declaration of war" requiring retaliation.

Yet Mr. Ford's response to this was not comforting. In a clumsy attempt to exploit the power of his incumbency, he promised that the Commerce Department would release on Thursday

Texas

a list of U.S. corporations that have aided the Arabs in their trade boycott of Israel. The list was not forthcoming.

In fact, the President's portrayal of himself as a tough opponent of the boycott whose efforts have been thwarted by a Democratic Congress falls woefully short of the truth. The Ford administration consistently opposed anti-boycott legislation proposed during Congress' just-ended session, and even hinted that a veto was in store if it passed.

Although Mr. Carter's more confident manner and Mr. Ford's Eastern Europe blunder may have helped the Democratic nominee toward a happier Election Day, the debate did little to elucidate this country's present foreign policy or inspire the electorate to believe that the country would be substantially safer in the care of one man or the other. -- (10/8/76)

Did Carter Really Win Round 2?

By Robert E. Basking, excerpted, Dallas Morning News

They say Jimmy Carter won the second debate, but really now, did he?

What did Carter say that added significantly to our understanding of foreign affairs? About all we got out of it was that he was more committed to Israel than to the Arab nations, in what was a transparent bid for the Jewish vote.

And what did President Ford say that was important to our understanding of international diplomacy? Very little that we did not know already.

It was unfortunate, of course, that the President misspoke when he talked about Eastern European nations not being under domination of the Soviet Union. He has since clarified that statement. The only thing that we can conclude was that he was dealing in some vague realm of international diplomacy and simply did not get his thoughts across.

We have yet to see any good, or any illumination, that has come from the "debates." Would it not have been better for both the President and Carter to have delivered thoughtful foreign policy addresses, backed up by position papers?

The issues crises that confront this nation in the world today are too large to be treated so casually as was done in an over-staged television atmosphere. So are the problems on the domestic front. The times demand better treatment of important political considerations.

It is perhaps all right for Jimmy Carter to dwell in his campaigning upon "morality" and "lack of leadership" in the White House, but his cliches tend to wear out in any serious

contemplation of the role of the American government in today's world.

The next debate is supposed to be a "free-for-all" and the President, who will have to maintain his presidential posture, will be at a severe disadvantage, we feel. Carter will be in a position to be free-wheeling and able to throw out all the innuendo he likes, and he has shown a remarkable capacity to do that in his low-key, good-ole-boy style.

This is not a good campaign. There is not classic quality to it. And the American public seems definitely to be uninspired one way or another about it.

The times may not demand a towering giant in the White House, and certainly we are not going to get that. But the choice now lies behind a durable, thoughtful, honest incumbent and a man who prates about his own sanctimony and sometimes betrays it. -- (10/10/76)

NebraskaFord Misses Needed Knockdown
Editorial, excerpted, Omaha World-Herald

When President Ford and Jimmy Carter enter the TV ring for the final round they will apparently be about even on points.

Ford, generally, was given the edge in the first round; Carter in the second. In the second joint press conference, Carter brought back his smile. But he seemed to turn it on just before throwing a sneak right.

The Carter strategy seemed to be to slip the questions while working in excerpts from his standard campaign speech. The fact is, though that Carter failed to give a direct answer to many of the questions.

He was more aggressive than in the initial confrontation. He attacked. But precious little light was thrown on the potential Carter foreign policy.

As the challenger, Carter clearly had the advantage and he took it. Ford was forced to defend his foreign policy while Carter was free to sharp-shoot. Carter showed his colors in one revealing segment. He criticized Ford for not appointing a presidential commission to go to Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia to "trade for release of information" on American MIAs.

Ford said the U.S. isn't interested in negotiating with Vietnam on admission to the UN until full information is provided on the 800 American MIAs.



Why should the U.S. go to Southeast Asia, hat in hand, to beg for the information from the current dictatorships in those nations? It is blackmail, pure and simple, and Carter would bow to those terms.

Before Round 2, Ford was trailing in many of the national polls but closing ground. He needed a knockdown but he didn't get it. -- (10/8/76)

ColoradoDebate II: Carter Shades Ford
Editorial, excerpted, Denver Post

What can be said of the second Great Debate between President Ford and Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter?

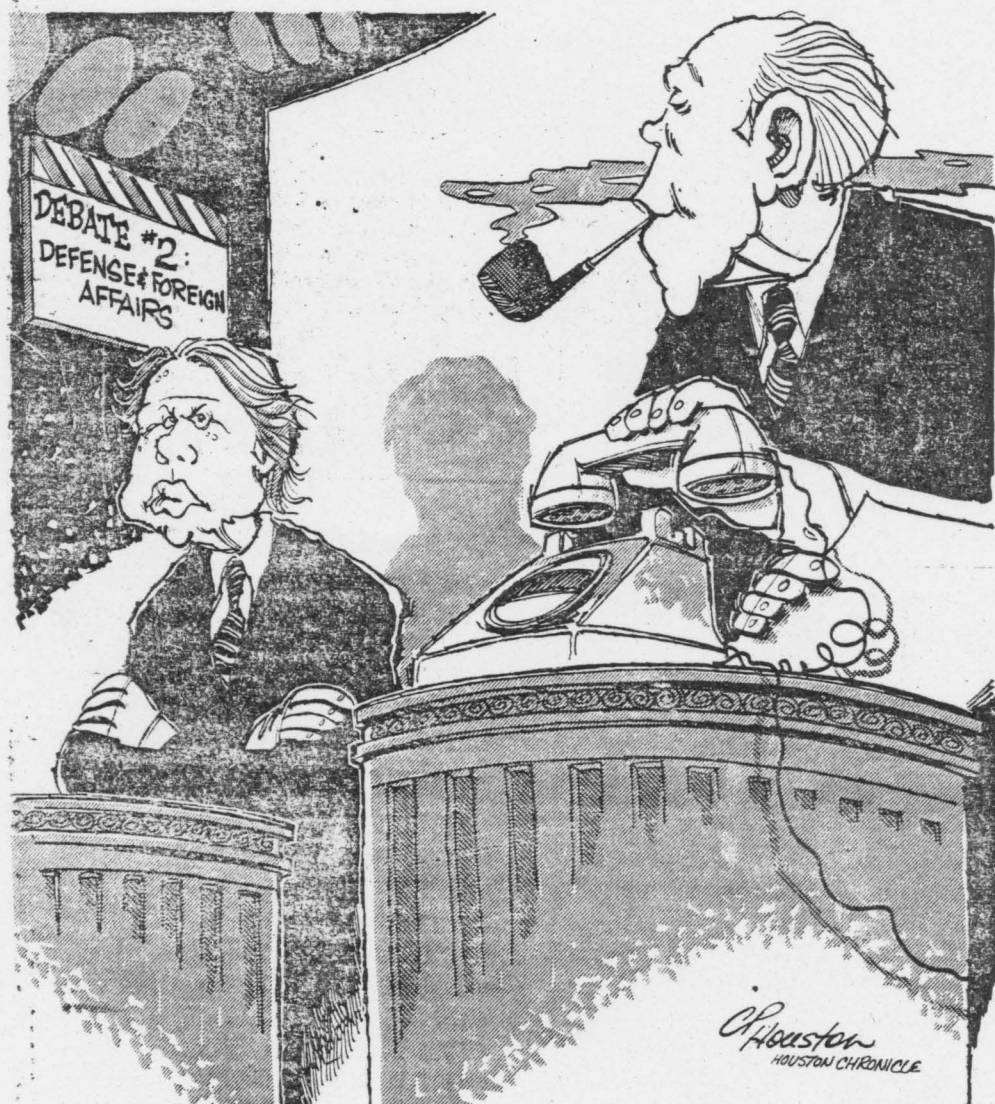
In the days prior to the debate, both Carter and Ford had indicated that their primary objective was to impress the voters with their statesmanship, with their capacity for leadership. On substantive issues, Ford was conceded an edge simply because of his presumed working familiarity with the details of foreign policy and its formulation.

If there were a surprise, it was that Carter held his own, perhaps even shaded the President; if that's true, the debates now stand even, insofar as Ford is conceded to have acquitted himself a shade better in the initial debate.

Each man had his good moments and his bad moments. The President apparently goofed when he said that Poland and other nations in Eastern Europe are free of domination by the Soviet Union. If he had some supportive criteria for this surprising statement, he failed to bring it up. Result: viewers left wondering just what Ford was trying to say -- and why.

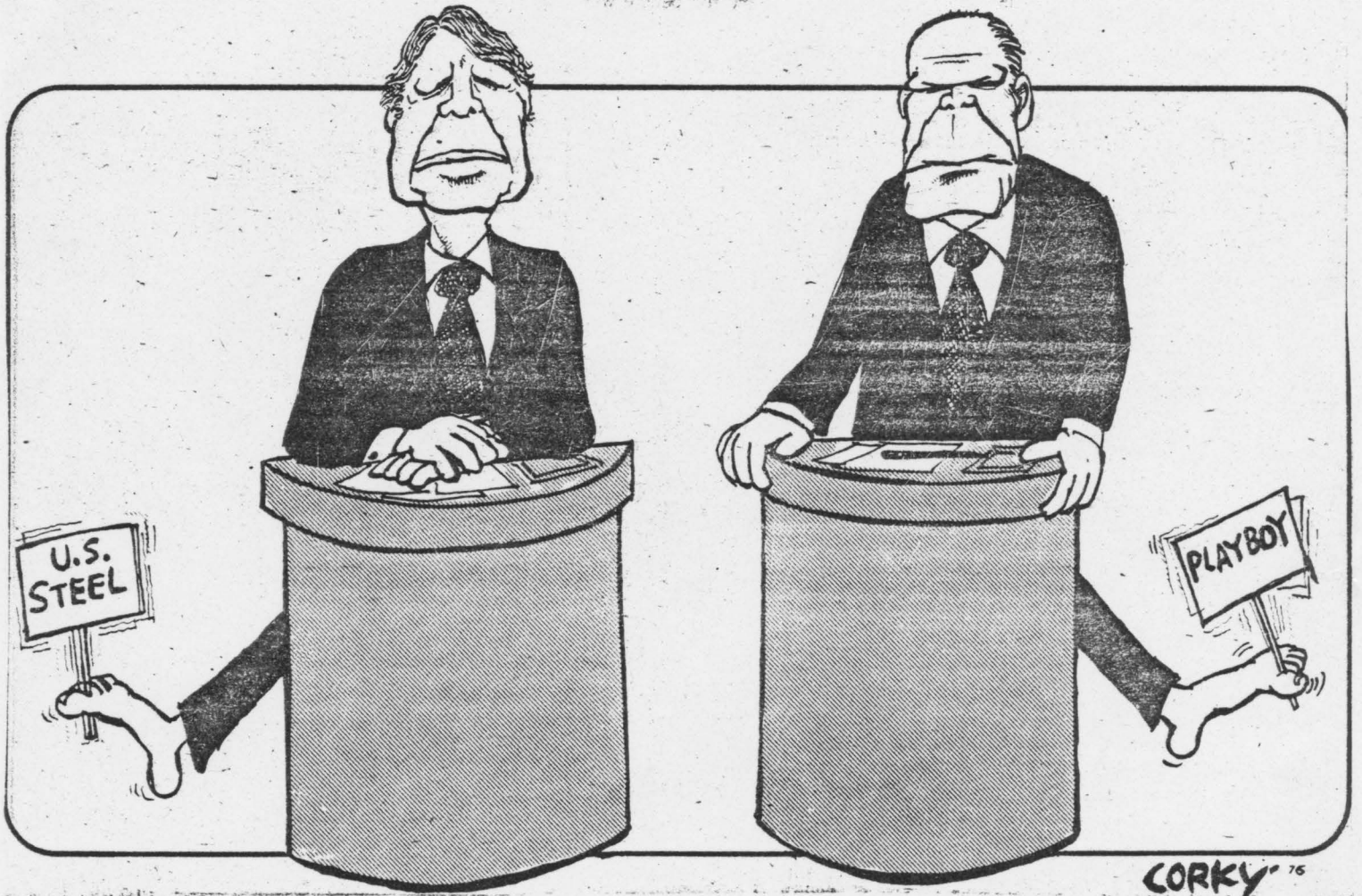
Carter, on the other hand, was regarded as having delivered a low punch when he sneered that he was delighted the President remembers the date of the expiration of the first SALT agreement. Carter also raised practical doubts that he would be able to conduct wholly "moral" foreign policy totally "in the open." This needs further explanation to become a valid issue.

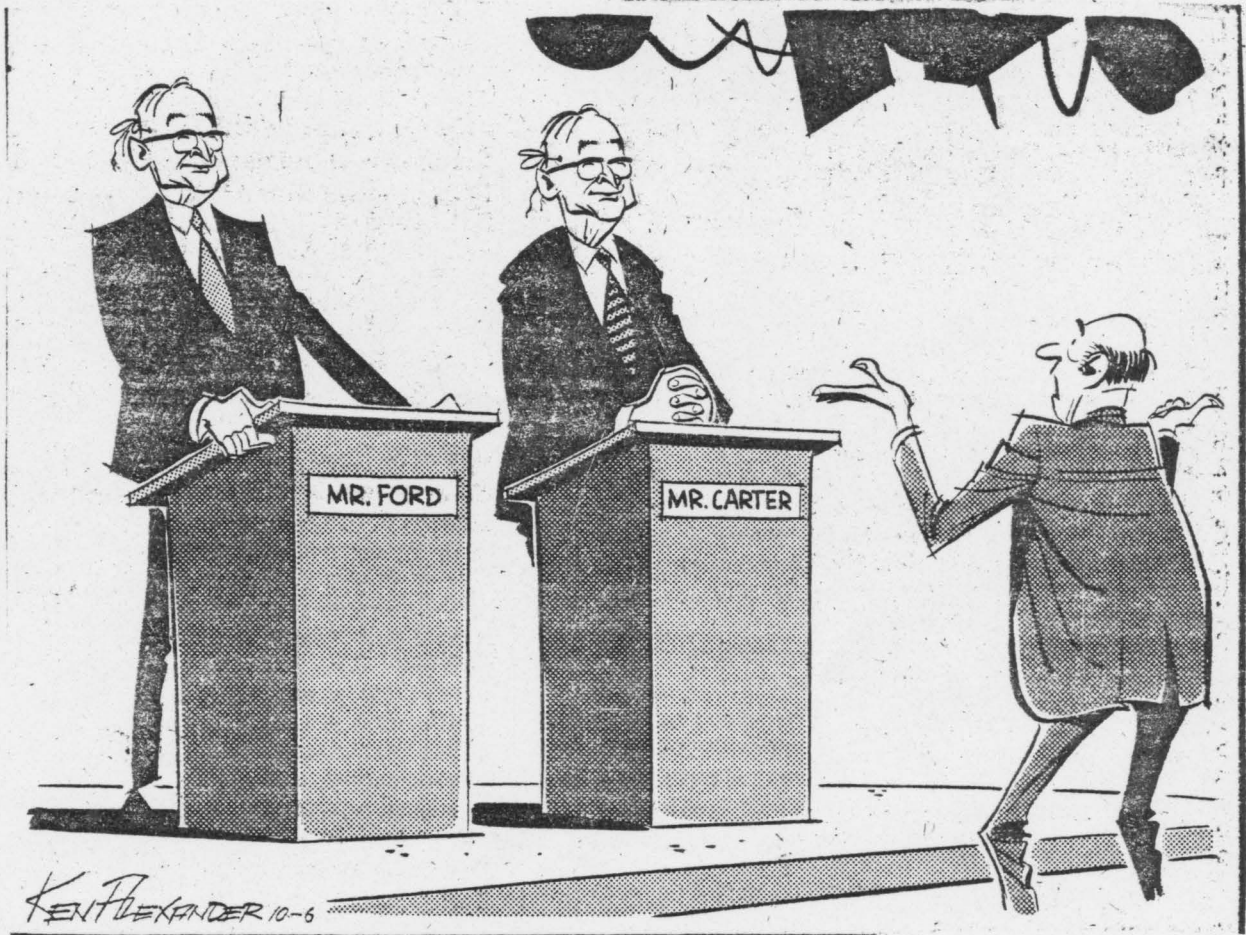
On the other hand, each candidate peaked in his closing remarks, coming close to the presidential image he sought to project. -- (10/8/76)



'Now then, Mr. Carter, as you were saying before the hotline rang and Henry and the Joint Chiefs dropped by with these late communiques...?'

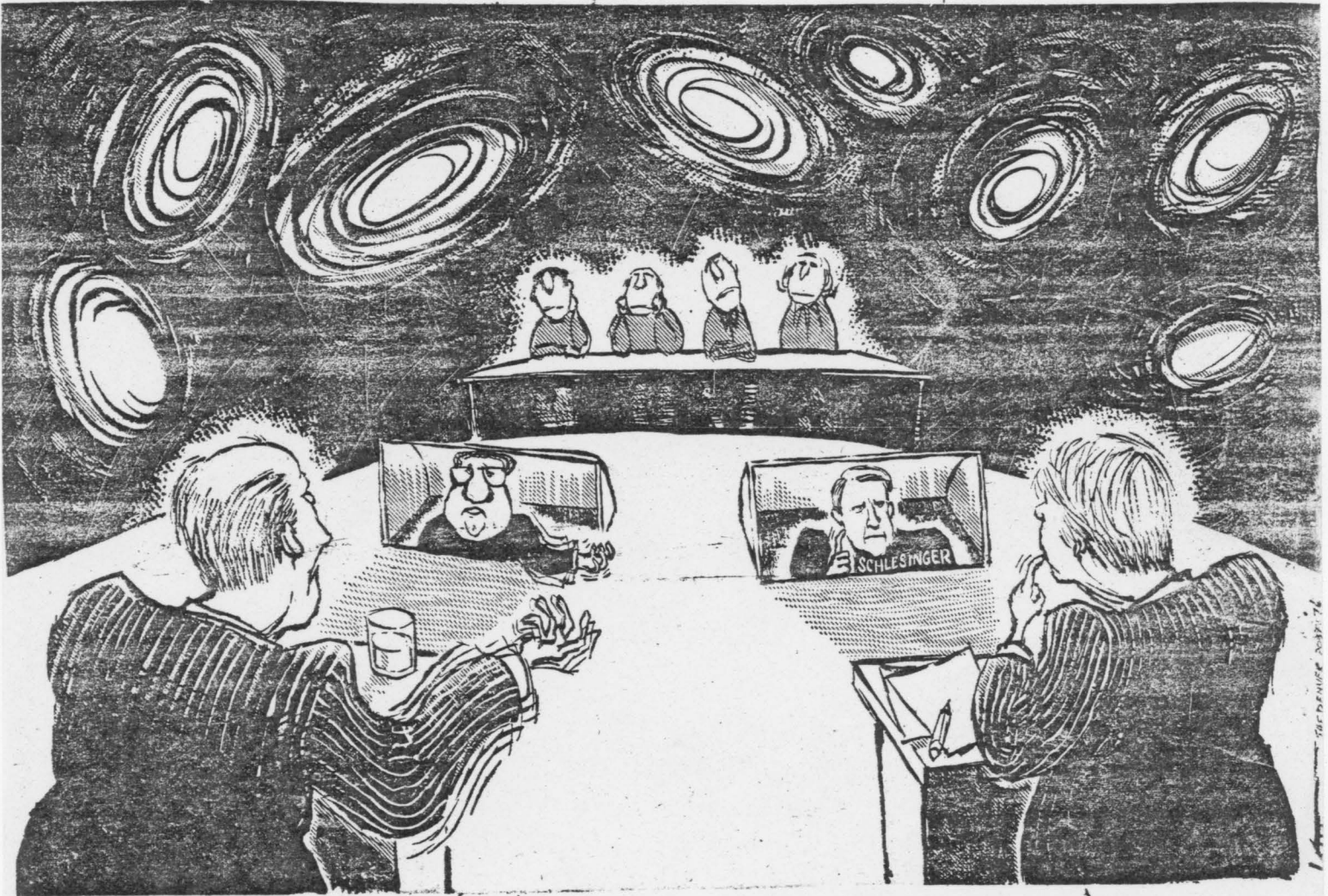
'Our topic for debate tonight is foreign affairs . . .'





"Now wait, you can't BOTH be Harry Truman"





Denver Post, 10/6/76

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

For Thursday Afternoon, October 7, 1976

		<u>Page</u>
News Wrapup	Wall Street Journal	1, 2
<u>ECONOMY</u>		
<u>Issues</u>		
Wholesale Prices Surge	UPI	3
<u>FORD INVESTIGATION</u>		
Tax Audit Indicates Ford's Pocket Money in '72 was \$5 a Week	Wall Street Journal	4, 5
<u>DEBATE</u>		
<u>Polls</u>		
Poll Finds Carter Won Debate Narrowly	AP, Morning Shows	6
College Professors Say Carter Won Debate	AP	
<u>Ford</u>		
Ford "Felt Good" About Debate	AP, UPI, Morning Shows	8
Dole Calls Ford Winner	AP, UPI, NBC, CBS	9
<u>Carter</u>		
Carter Says He Kept Ford on Defensive	AP, UPI, Morning Shows	10
Mondale Says Ford Facts "Unreal"	AP, UPI, CBS, NBC	11
<u>Reaction</u>		
Newsmen Discuss Debates	Today Show	12
CBS Reporters Assess Debate	CBS Morning News	13
Reaction Harsh Among Poles, Lithuanians	UPI	14, 15
Farmers, Defense Workers Watch Debates	Today Show	16

<u>DEBATES (cont'd.)</u>		<u>Page</u>
<u>Reaction</u>		
Panamanian Ambassador: Carter	AP	17
Would Raise Price on Treaty		
The Second Presidential Debate	Baltimore Sun	18
Harris Survey: Mondale Leads		
<u>ELECTION</u>		
<u>Polls</u>		
Mondale More Help Than Dole	Chicago Tribune	19
VP Impact: Mondale Rated	C.S. Monitor	20
Stronger Where It Counts		
UPI Survey: GOP to Pick Up Only	UPI	21
One New Governor		
Pre-Election Showings of	Washington Post	22
'President's Men'		
<u>FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGN</u>		
<u>Mayaguez</u>		
The GAO's 20/20 Hindsight	Chicago Tribune	23
Delayed-Action Charge	N.Y. Daily News	24
NSC Held Up Mayaguez	Good Morning, America	25
<u>CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGN</u>		
<u>Strategy</u>		
Carter Turns a Corner	N.Y. Times	26
<u>FOREIGN POLICY</u>		
<u>Boycott</u>		
Giving in to the Boycott	Baltimore Sun	27
Fighting the Boycott	N.Y. Times	28
Commerce Dept. Confused on	UPI, CBS	29
Boycott List		

Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

World-Wide

CARTER AND FORD clashed on foreign policy in the second debate.

Jimmy Carter charged that under President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger U.S. foreign policy has ceased to reflect American ideals.

have fewer deductions and exclusions, Joseph Pechman of Brookings Institution said. He and Carter's press aide emphasized that Pechman was only giving his own interpretation of Carter's thinking.

THAILAND'S GOVERNMENT was overthrown by the armed forces.

Business and Finance

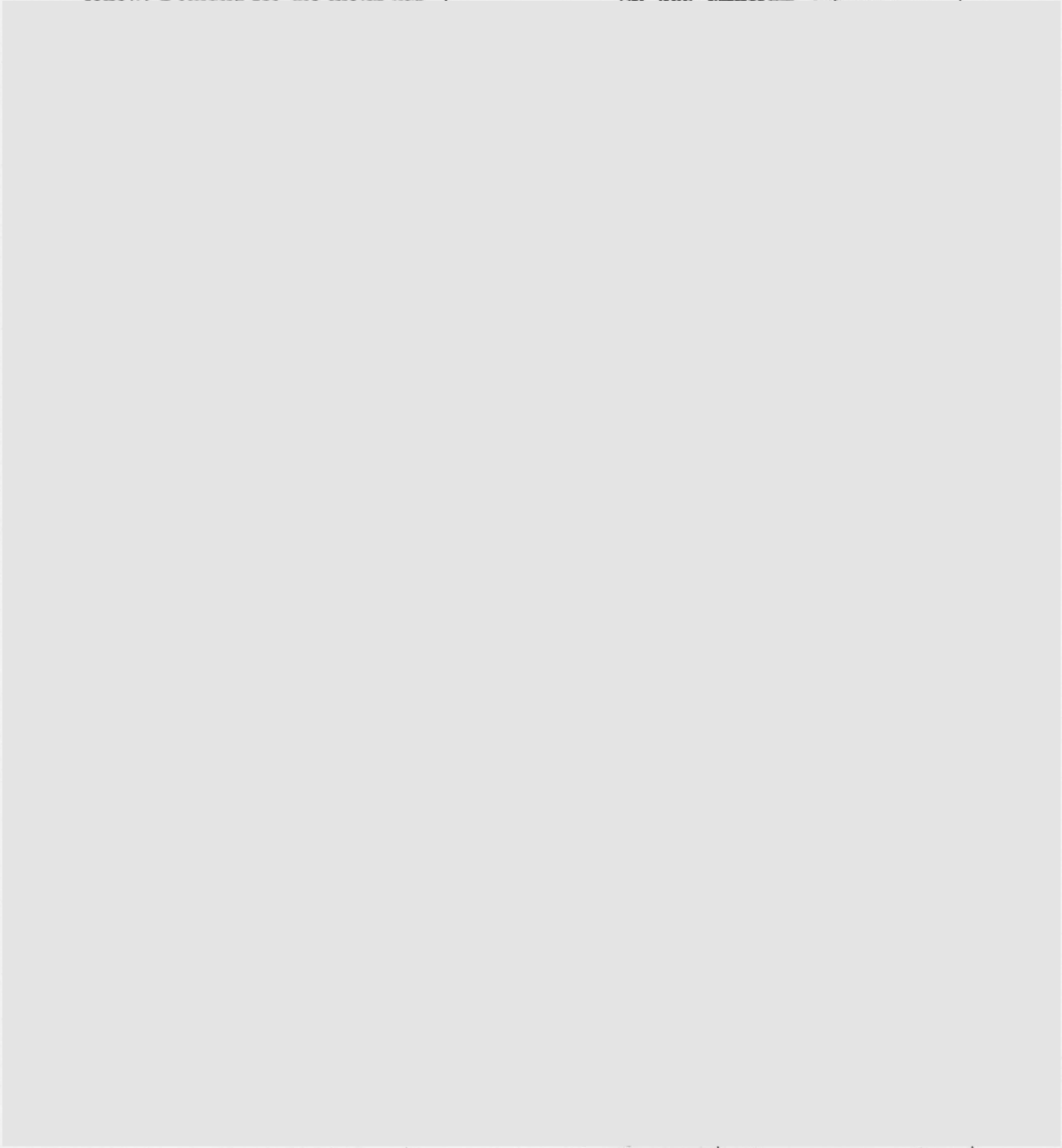
COPPER PRICES were cut four cents a pound, to 70 cents for cathodes, by Phelps Dodge and Asarco; others didn't immediately follow. Demand for the metal has

Alcoa agreed to sell Jamaica a 6% interest in its bauxite mining and refining operations there, as well as all of its mining and nonoperating lands. Jamaica would lower its bauxite production tax.

(Story on Page 7)

* * *

St. Joe Minerals expects 1976



agreement.

Wholesale Prices Surge

Wholesale prices jumped 0.9 per cent in September, returning to a double-digit annual rate for the first time in nearly a year, the Labor Department reported today.

The inflationary surge, reflecting a 10.8 per cent annual rate, was a drastic reversal of a recent cooling trend that saw wholesale costs decline 0.1 per cent in August. Not since last October have these prices risen as sharply.

A sharp rise in farm prices combined with an unusually big increase for industrial commodities to produce the September increase, which is certain to promote fears of a resurgence of inflation and embarrass President Ford in the waning days of his campaign.

Farm prices jumped 1.9 per cent in September following substantial declines in the past two months. Food prices rose 0.5 per cent, also a reversal of recent trends.

Industrial prices rose 0.9 per cent -- the biggest increase in nearly a year. This compared to average monthly increases of 0.6 per cent over the past three months, and an average increase of 0.2 per cent in each of the first five months of the year.

The large increase in industrial prices was more alarming to economists, because these prices are less volatile and make up about 70 per cent of the index.

Prices increased sharply for wood products, fuels, rubber and plastic products and transportation equipment. Also up were prices for machinery and equipment, metals and metal products and chemicals.

Over the past three months, industrial prices have risen at an ominous compound annual rate of 9.6 per cent -- compared to declines of 11 per cent for farm and food prices. UPI 10/7/76

An IRS Analysis
Tax Audit Indicates
Ford's Pocket Money
In '72 Was \$5 a Week
Loan From a Political Fund
For Vacation Also Shown;
The Minus Bank Account
Was the Inquiry Thorough?

By JERRY LANDAUER
 and CHRISTOPHER A. EVANS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Ever since it became known last month that the Watergate Special Prosecutor is investigating Gerald Ford, the White House has made a basic contention: Mr. Ford was exhaustively checked before Congress confirmed him as Vice President in 1973, so his record shouldn't be questioned now.

The President himself, in a news conference the other day, reminded the public that he was "given a clean bill of health, not only by the FBI but the Internal Revenue Service, by Senate and House committees, an overwhelming vote in the House and Senate."

But questions now are arising about the thoroughness of the IRS investigation of Mr. Ford's tax returns from 1967 to 1972. It now also is clear that only a few Congressmen or Senators had received an IRS audit report on Mr. Ford in time to read it before questioning him at his confirmation hearings.

The Wall Street Journal has obtained a copy of the 13-page IRS audit report, involving Mr. Ford's personal and campaign finances, and its authenticity has been confirmed by Phillip Buchen, the President's White House Counsel. Although the statute of limitations has expired on any campaign-financing issues, tax matters could still be prosecuted, under the law. However, the precise nature of the special prosecutor's investigation isn't known.

Inquiry Continues

It's clear, however, that the investigation by Special Prosecutor Charles Ruff of Mr. Ford's past political campaigns isn't over. Last month, Mr. Ruff subpoenaed the political records of two maritime unions that have contributed more to Ford congressional campaigns than any other single source since the early 1960s. This week, Mr. Ruff intends to interview the presidents of the two unions, Jesse Calhoun of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union; his subpoenas to the two unions and to the Kent County, Mich., Republican Committee cover the period 1964 to 1972.

The IRS report on Mr. Ford's audit raises several questions that weren't pursued by the congressional committees that conducted Mr. Ford's confirmation hearings:

—The report shows that by tracing Mr. Ford's known sources of cash in 1972, IRS agents determined that throughout the year he must have got along on \$225—or about \$5 a week—in pocket money, a figure that "surprised" even Mr. Ford, according to the agents. Together, Mr. and Mrs. Ford managed the entire year on \$637.39 for "miscellaneous, out-of-pocket" cash expenditures, according to the agents, who said they accepted the figure as reasonable.

"Little Need for Cash"

Mr. Buchen says \$5 a week in pocket money was ample for Mr. Ford. "He had very little need at any time for personal cash," the White House Counsel says.

Mr. Ford traveled extensively between Washington and Michigan and throughout the country campaigning for GOP candidates, Mr. Buchen says. The expenses were paid either "from Mr. Ford's own campaign funds or were borne by the other parties for whom he made appearances. In Washington, his automobile transportation was furnished to him as Minority Leader, (and) his lunches when he wasn't involved in meetings or entertainment were very modest," Mr. Buchen says.

—Four times in 1972, checks were written on a political account known as the Gerald R. Ford Fifth District Account at Union Bank & Trust Co. in Grand Rapids, Mich., to pay for clothes totaling \$871.44 for Mr. and Mrs. Ford. The IRS agents determined that these purchases didn't qualify as political expenses. Instead, the agents held that the payments for clothes constituted personal income for the Fords, and the agents docked them for a tax of \$435.77 on that income.

Later, in a letter that became part of the Senate record of the vice presidential confirmation, a Ford representative stated that the clothing purchases had been "disallowed" as a business expense, leaving the impression that Mr. Ford originally had paid for the clothes from a personal account.

—The IRS report also shows that on Nov. 30, 1972, Mr. Ford paid \$1,167 for a family ski vacation to Vail, Colo., out of the same Gerald R. Ford Fifth District Account at the Grand Rapids bank.

That account mainly consisted, the agents said, of reimbursements for political travel and "some political contributions." When the IRS agents who were examining his returns a year after the trip discovered Mr. Ford's use of political income for a personal purpose, they brought it to his attention.

"Mr. Ford believed that this amount has been repaid," the agents explained in their report. "He instructed Mr. McBain (Robert J. McBain, the Ford family accountant) to make the necessary reimbursements which had been overlooked."



Tuesday afternoon, Mr. Buchen of the White House staff was asked for an explanation of this transaction. He stated that, despite the implication of the IRS report that the money wasn't paid back for a year, Mr. Ford actually reimbursed the Fifth District account 16 days later, and on his own initia-

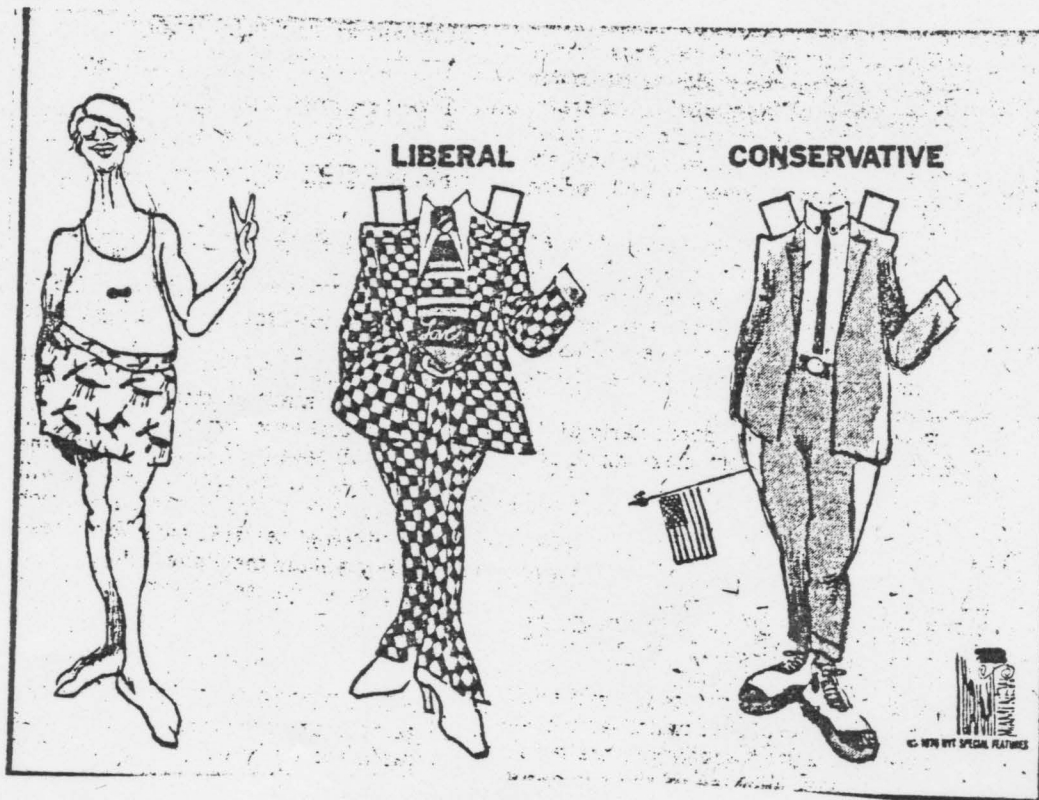
POLL FINDS CARTER WON DEBATE NARROWLY

A nationwide Associated Press poll Thursday found that Jimmy Carter scored slightly better than President Ford in their second debate on foreign and defense policy. The telephone survey of more than one-thousand registered voters made immediately after the San Francisco debate found neither Carter nor Ford the clearcut winner.

But 38 per cent of those polled said Carter had won, while just over 34 and a-half per cent gave the nod to Ford. And 27 per cent called it a draw or said they didn't know who won.

Carter's margin over Ford was statistically small. But the scores in his favor were consistent throughout the varied questions asked in the poll, giving strength to the poll's basic finding on who won.

The theoretical margin of error for a sample of this size is about two and nine-tenths per cent in either direction if the results are projected to stand for the reaction of the entire viewing audience. AP Morning Shows 10-7



Richmond Times-Dispatch, 9/23/76

College Professors Say Carter Won Debate

Washington AP - Jimmy Carter won the second campaign debate by a whisker over President Ford, in the view of five prominent college debate coaches.

The panelists judging the debate for The Associated Press used a scorecard that gives each contestant from one to five points in each of six categories. Two of the coaches called Carter the winner by two points. Two others picked Ford by a single point.

The fifth judge called it a dead heat on the basis of points, but awarded the decision to Carter on a tie-breaker standard used for college debates.
AP 10/7/76



Ford "Felt Good" About Debate

President Ford feels "very good" about his foreign policy debate with Jimmy Carter, but says his Democratic opponent failed to give "specific answers to specific questions."

Betty Ford, in a phone call after the second debate at the Palace of Fine Arts Theater Wednesday night, assured her husband he had won.

Asked what he thought, Ford quipped, "I seldom disagree with my wife, and so on this occasion I will agree with her." UPI

Secretary Kissinger phoned Ford to say he had "taken the offensive and had been affirmative about our successes." UPI

Ford said he answered all the debate questions and set forth his policies.

"I think we did all right. I felt comfortable. I answered the questions specifically and I feel very good about tonight."

Ford said he thought Carter was "very general."

"He covered a great many issues without talking about any answers. Therefore, I thought he ought to be pinned down and I thought the questioner made a big effort to do so. I certainly hope that the American people will make certain the future that he gives specific answers to specific questions." CBS

Addressing an enthusiastic group of supporters after the debate, Ford said, "How many of you can remember just a few weeks ago when the polls showed we were 32 per cent behind. I'd much rather be a slow starter than a fast finisher."

Ron Nessen had told reporters Wednesday night the Ford forces will try to change the debate format. He said they will request that the candidates be required to talk about the subject of the question, which he said Carter did not do. (CBS, NBC)

The President's chief debate consultant, Mike Duval, laughed when he heard of Nessen's statement terming it the "Nessen Amendment". Duval called it a rhetorical ploy and said the White House has no plans to change the format. (CBS, NBC)

The President will campaign all day Thursday in the Los Angeles area before moving on to Oklahoma and Texas for the weekend. AP, UPI morning shows 10/7/76

Dole Calls Ford Winner

Senator Robert Dole, after watching the debate, said President Ford clearly won the debate and that Jimmy Carter didn't really come to debate.

Addressing reporters after the debate, Dole said, "If the American people came to see a foreign policy debate they saw President Ford debate foreign policy. If they came to watch a politician trying to get votes, they saw Gov. Carter trying to get votes." (CBS)

Dole added, "President Ford in his closing statement, said there's two only two things that matter and that's experience and results and he's had experience and results. Governor Carter had no experience and all he did was nitpick throughout the 90 minutes as far as I could find." (NBC)

Dole will campaign in Michigan and Illinois and will take several days next week to study for his debate with Sen. Mondale. AP, UPI, NBC, CBS 10/7/76

Carter Says He Kept Ford on Defensive

Jimmy Carter says he doesn't know if he won his second debate with President Ford, but feels "pretty good" about the confrontation because he kept Ford on the defensive.

"It's a horrible administration to try to defend, so he was on the defensive, I felt, all the way through the debate," Carter told reporters as he left the stage. (Morning shows)

Carter was jubilant as he asked a rally of 9,000 people "Anybody wanna debate?" The partisan crowd roared back their approval of his performance. "How about that, wasn't that something?" he added, and the crowd roared again.

Carter continues campaigning today, meeting with labor leaders in San Francisco before flying to Salt Lake City for a private meeting with Mormon leaders and a speech to an education group. He ends the day at a dinner in Los Angeles where he will campaign Friday.

"I feel pretty good about it, but I'm so deeply involved in it personally I can't make a judgment," Carter said of the debate. "I felt the first one was about a draw and I felt better about this one." (ABC - CBS)

"I think I won, but I'm sure he feels the same way," Carter said. Carter's staff said his performance was better than the first meeting in Philadelphia, where Carter appeared nervous in the opening minutes and did not hit his stride until halfway through the session.

"I think we've laid to rest the issue the Republicans have tried to raise that Jimmy's not qualified and competent in the area of foreign policy," said his press secretary Jody Powell. He kept Mr. Ford on the defensive a good portion of the evening and as a result the President made a few mistakes." NBC

One of Carter's aides said part of his strategy last night was to make the points he wants even though they may not be in direct response to the questions. President Ford had complained about that strategy. If the polls show that Carter wond the debate, he may be reluctant to change that strategy, Kenley Jones reported. NBC

Carter staffers were rejoicing. They knew the previous 90 minutes had made their jobs easier, especially from Ford's comment on Eastern Europe, Bill Wordham (ABC).

Hamilton Jordan said, "We've been held accountable for the past few weeks for things that Carter has said and I'm sure that Mr. Ford will be held accountable for what he's said." (ABC) AP, UPI Morning shows 10-7-76

Mondale Says Ford Facts "Unreal"

Sen. Walter Mondale says some of the foreign policy points President Ford made in his debate with Jimmy Carter were "inconsistent with the facts" and "unreal."

Mondale watched the Wednesday night faceoff in his hotel suite in Omaha, a stop on his midwestern tour.

Mondale said that in Ford's presentation, "we heard no philosophy, no direction, no concern for the repression in Chile that we helped bring about; no concern about how we have turned our backs on Greece, now that she is a democracy, in that desperate dispute over Cyprus; no discussion about how we supported Portuguese colonial rule over Angola."

"Ford's foreign policy amounts to "no plan at all."

Mondale added that a Carter Administration could "put America back to work and we could do it without a war and have done it without a war." (CBS)

He told reporters, "I think the President made a major error in expressing the belief that the eastern European nations were autonomous and independent of Soviet control . . . to mention Poland as being free from Soviet control is about as unreal as anything I can imagine."

"I have never heard a high official make a statement more inconsistent with the facts than that."

Mondale said, "You've just heard the next President of the United States Jimmy Carter prove that he's the person that should conduct the foreign policy of this country. If I heard correctly tonight, I heard the President say that Eastern European countries are autonomous and independent of the Soviet Union. Any student in the sixth grade in a Nebraska grade school who gave that answer would be passed over until the next year." (NBC) - AP, UPI, CBS, NBC 10-7-76

Newsmen Discuss Debates

Washington Post columnist Joseph Kraft and Newsweek political writer Hal Bruno discussed Thursday night debate with Tom Brokaw and both agreed Carter did not prove he could carry out foreign policy, but both candidates came out with a lot of campaign rhetoric.

Edwin Newman, moderator of the first debate, also discussed the evening activities.

Bruno and Newman both said Carter hit "below the belt" on his sarcastic comment that the President remembered the date of the SALT agreement.

Kraft said Carter had no substantial answers on how to contend with the Russian arms buildup. Bruno said, however, that Carter at least proved he could discuss foreign policy although he doesn't have the experience Ford has.

Kraft and Bruno agreed the President overdid and over stated himself on the hard line to the Russians when he said the Soviets did not dominate Eastern Europe. Bruno also said it was not true that the US doesn't sell arms to communist countries because they are sold to Yugoslavia.

Both candidates outdid each other on support for Israel, Bruno said.

Kraft mentioned emphatically the President missed many opportunities to defend his record and come on strong. He was too concerned with dates and therefore let Carter slip in the punches. Kraft and Bruno agreed Ford conveyed a presidential image.

Newman said both men were more forceful and sarcastic than in the first debate. Both, however, looked at times as though they were straining to remember memorized answers.

Jimmy Carter was not responsive to many questions particularly the first question. All reporters agreed.

Tom Brokaw said Ford's comments on Eastern Europe will produce two dangerous results: an image of naivete and an area for the Carter forces to exploit, which is just what the White House did not want.

Both candidates probably consolidated a little basic support, but probably gained few new votes, Bruno and Kraft agreed.

Kraft said perhaps Carter, in his opinion, came out somewhat ahead, but Bruno said he felt Ford did slightly better.

Edwin Newman said the debates are serving a very useful purpose and that Americans are proving to be well informed, careful and not fooled. Today Show 10/7

CBS Reporters Assess Second Debate

The President and Jimmy Carter in their second debate were "To a certain degree, ... using a different vocabulary to enunciate essentially the mainlines of foreign policy," Bernard Kalb said today.

Bruce Morton agreed that both Ford and Carter were "pretty close together" on the main issues and that there was merely a difference in style.

Ed Bradley said that Carter was definitely stronger in terms of style than he was in the last debate. He was more relaxed, aggressive and "lost the differential air" to Ford he had had. Carter came out against Ford in his opening statement, and did a "very good job" of presenting all his issues throughout the debate, Rabel noted.

Bernard Kalb stated that Carter was "thrusting and cutting" while Ford kept his stand rather than cutting any new ground.

The CBS reporters acknowledged that Ford made a major political mistake in his remarks about Eastern Europe. Bob Schieffer said Ford can say "Adios, Milwaukee" with his statement that those countries are not under Communist domination. -- CBS Morning News, 10/7/76

Reaction Harsh Among Poles, Lithuanians

Stanley Michalak of Chicago says President Ford is "a fool" if he considers Poland free of Russian domination. Thomas Johnson of Cleveland says "I think he's fulla . . ."

After the second televised debate between Ford and Jimmy Carter, reactions were quick and bitter to Ford's description of several eastern European countries as "independent" of the Soviet Union.

Michalak, an engineer whose parents immigrated to Chicago from Warsaw, was angered by the remarks.

"The man's a fool if he thinks Poland is free of Russian control," he said. "I don't think anybody who thinks Eastern Europe is free has any business being President of the United States. He sold out eastern Europe in Helsinki, then comes on TV and says Eastern Europe is free. He's a liar or an idiot."

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee and Professor of Economics at Georgetown University in Washington, said he was "shocked to hear President Ford state and even try to defend this preposterous statement. . ."

"In my judgment and that of millions of Americans that statement was incredible," he added.

None of the early reaction upheld that view, however, and Gen. Brent Scowcroft told reporters the Russians have four divisions of troops in Poland -- although he said that did not contradict the President's thesis.

Mrs. Rose Wozjehowicz of Chicago said Ford was "very wrong."

"It's not true," she said. "Poland is little Russia. Everything is Russia, Russia. There is no more Poland. Only the name, the Polish language, but no Poland."

One recent Polish immigrant, asking not to be identified, spoke in Polish:

"Nobody is free from Russia . . . and the people in Poland who are praying that someday they will be free again, they have to count on the United States to speak for them. What he said was not what they feel."

Many Lithuanian-Americans, quite vocal in opposition to the Helsinki Pact, also seemed stunned by Ford's statement.

"He's damn crazy," said Vytautas Lapinskas, a Chicago resident. "He's up there talking about how free we are. And he says eastern Europe is free. I wonder if he even knows what the word means."

Jeanne Kraukas, a Chicago college student, charged that Ford has "already sold out Lithuania and all of Eastern Europe and now he's just saying it's okay, they're free from Russia. Well that's bull... He's done more for Soviet communism than Lenin." UPI 10-7-76

'We Are Expecting to Add to the Collection Before Nov. 2'



Farmers, Defense Workers Watch Debates

NBC presented the reaction of two different groups of people to the Carter-Ford debates Wednesday night.

A group of farmers viewing the debates in Minnesota were unanimous in their disappointment that neither the President nor Jimmy Carter said anything about grain exports.

One man commented that President Ford in the past has tried to take credit for the first export but the farmers made no money on it. The farmers had wished their favorite police show had been shown instead.

Viewing the debates with a group of defense plant workers, NBC heard the following comments:

- If Carter is President, he'll put people back to work at Lockheed.
- Ford was better, more positive, he identified the B-1 bomber issue and Carter still avoids the issues.
- Both men did well, much better than the reporters who questioned them.
- Carter will cut defense budget so how can we have a strong defense.
- Carter makes one think of a man locked out of a house trying to find any window he can to get in. Today Show 10/7/76



Panamanian Ambassador: Carter Would
Raise Price on Treaty

The Panamanian ambassador to the United States said Carter "has raised the price tag" for a new treaty between the two countries.

"If he (Carter) is elected it would be up to the people and the government of Panama to decide if they are prepared to pay that price. We would have liked President Ford to be more definite and precise in his own intentions," said Ambassador Nicolas Gonzalez-Revilla. AP 10/7/76

The Second Presidential Debate

Last night's presidential debate was an encounter in which an adept challenger could score points by focusing on what he considers the mishandling of certain incidents or develop-

tion. He emphasized repeatedly that the nation is at peace, that American diplomacy is currently triumphant in the Middle East and increasingly effective in southern Africa. But

Harris Survey

Mondale more help than Dole

By Louis Harris

SEN. WALTER MONDALE is helping Jimmy Carter more in this election than Sen. Robert Dole is helping Gerald Ford, according to the voters.

When asked to choose between Mon-

THE FACT that voters prefer Mondale to Dole is probably due to the way they perceive the personalities of the two candidates as they have campaigned around the country. Undoubtedly a handicap for Dole was the specula-



V-P impact: Mondale rated stronger 'where it counts'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Monitor soundings indicate that Democratic vice-presidential candidate Walter Mondale is turning out to be a major plus for Jimmy Car-

where his lead over the President may be so wide that he is able to absorb the drain that comes from having a Northern liberal as his running mate.

Yet, in the end, Senator Mondale could "be the difference" in Mr. Carter's losing several Southern states - such as Texas, Louisiana,

UPI Survey: GOP to Pick Up Only One New Governor

Republicans who hold less than one-third of the Nation's statehouse, appear likely to pick up only one governorship in the Nov. 2 elections, a United Press International Survey showed today.

The assessment of prospects in the 14 states electing governors this year was based on available polls and political estimates from UPI bureaus.

It showed Republicans capturing three statehouses now held by Democrats, and Democrats ousting the GOP in two, with one state rated as a tossup.

The biggest state expected to turn over is Illinois, where Republican James Thompson holds a strong lead over Democrat Michael Howlett.

Other Republican gains expected this year are in Delaware, where Rep. Pierre Dupont is favored to oust Democratic Gov. Sherman Tribbit, who has had woes with his prison system in his first term; and Utah, where GOP Attorney General Vernon Romney leads Democrat Scott Matheson for the seat of retiring Gov. Calvin Rampton.

The Democrats are expected to cut their losses with wins in North Carolina, where Democratic Lt. Gov. James Hunt leads David Flaherty, and West Virginia, where Democrat Jay Rockefeller is believed the front-runner against former Gov. Cecil Underwood.

New Hampshire, where Republican Gov. Meldrim Thomson is challenged by Democratic State Sen. Harry Spanos, is regarded as a tossup race.

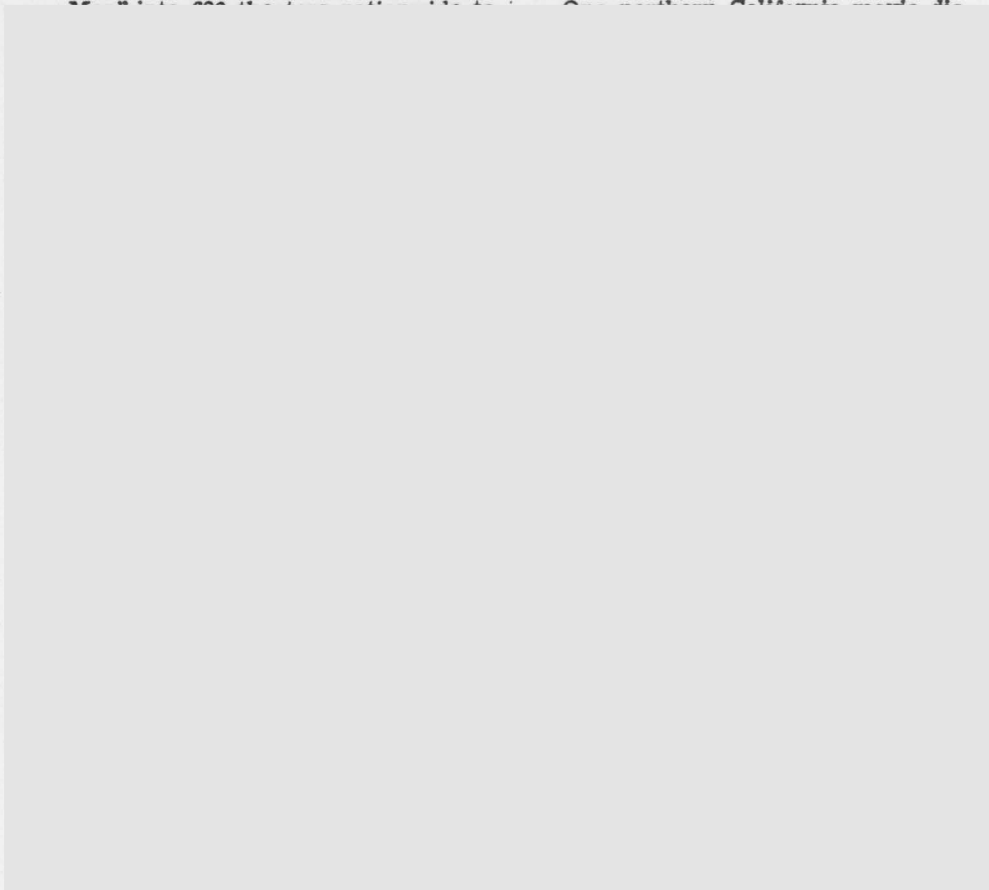
States where Republicans are believed safe are Indiana, Missouri and Washington, where King County (Seattle) executive John Spellman appears to be ahead of Democrat Dixie Lee Ray.

Democrats are leading for seats they already hold in Arkansas, Montana, North Dakota, Rhode Island and Vermont, where Secretary of State Stella Hackel is in line to become the nation's second woman Governor in her contest with Richard Snelling. UPI 10-7-76

Pre-Election Showings Of 'President's Men'

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (UPI)—Warner Bros. has booked the politically sensitive movie "All The President's

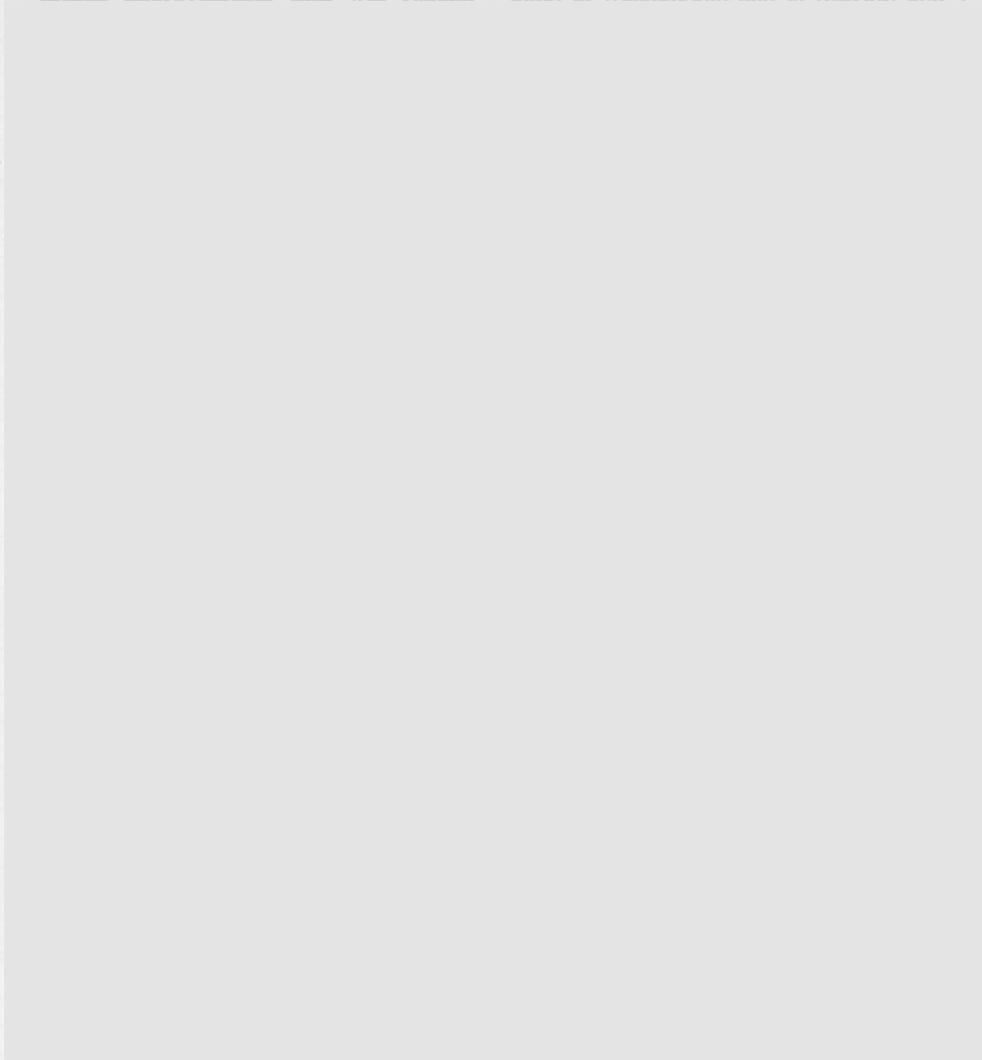
said, until Oct. 20 in preparation for the "second break" of the Watergate picture.



The GAO's 20/20 hindsight

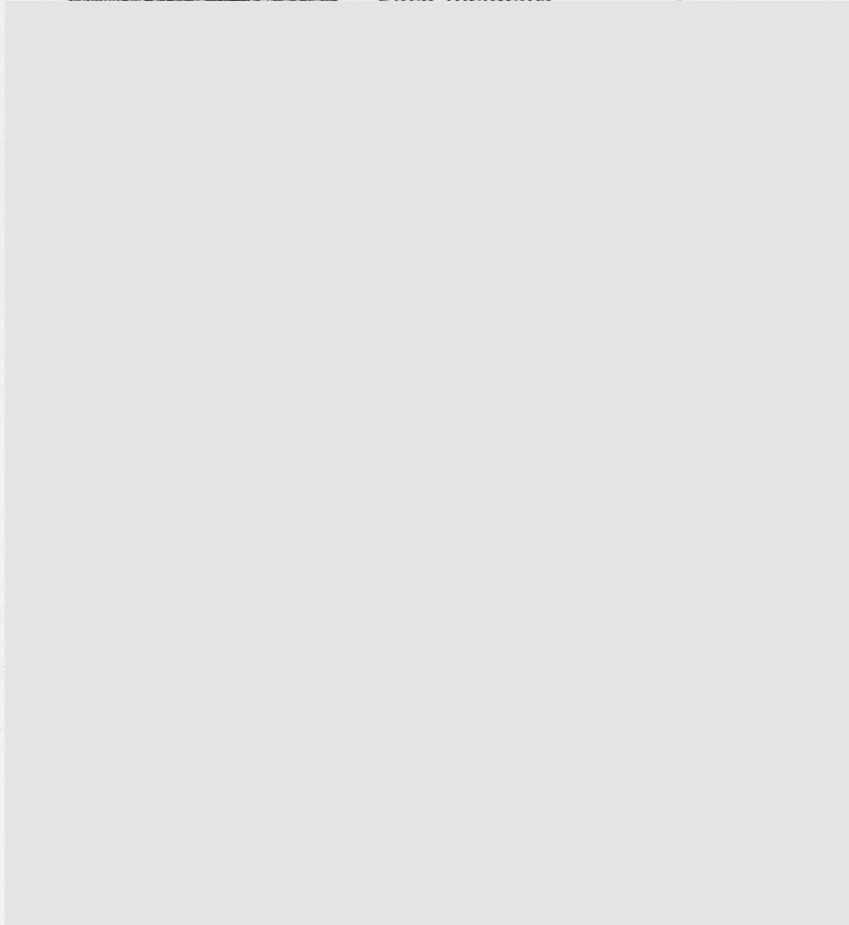
The General Accounting Office is an agency of Congress. When it examines federal spending programs and recommends improvements that will reduce

had been trying frantically to establish communication with Cambodia through Mainland Chinese representatives in Peking, in Washington, and in Ottawa, and



DELAYED-ACTION CHARGE

A congressional panel has waited until the near end of the presidential campaign to release a General Accounting Office study questioning President Ford's handling of the Mayaguez incident.



NSC Held Up Mayaguez

Jack Anderson Thursday accused the White House of holding up the release of the GAO report charging President Ford with mishandling the Mayaguez incident saying that it had now come out "at the worst possible time for Mr. Ford-- on the eve of the election. "

According to Anderson, although the report was completed last July and the Pentagon was willing to release it at that time, the National Security Council stamped the report "secret" because it "came down hard on Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger." Anderson added, "You see, they (Ford and Kissinger) run the National Security Council. "

Challenging the President's remarks in Wednesday night's debate, that the White House had not held up the release of the report, Anderson said that the GAO delivered a copy of the report to the wrong committee, and "it might have leaked out last July, but the aide who received the secret study nervously called the GAO and had it retrieved. "

Anderson also cited another snag in the Ford campaign in what he termed, "a major Watergate issue that's never really been resolved," and said that the President has been charged with helping to blick an early investigation of Watergate in 1972 when he was then House Republican Leader.
Good Morning America 10-7-76

Carter Turns A Corner

By Anthony Lewis

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 6—The most striking aspect of the second Presidential debate was the temper of Jimmy Carter: tough, assured, confi-

Third, some Democrats who have been uneasy about Mr. Carter have begun remembering what the alternative is. American liberals have a self-destructive genius for demanding perfection from their own side and for-

Mr. Ford lost some of his protected status in the run-up to the second debate. The Earl Butz affair put him on a spot where he could not get by on generalities and photo opportunities. He had to do something, and he was so slow and

Giving in to the Boycou

The disgraceful failure of Congress to enact a judicious law protecting American business from the Arab boycott of Israel has penalized those states such as New York and Maryland

gress is also very much in order.

Both the House and the Senate passed sensible amendments to the Export Administration Act that would have publicized any compliance

Fighting the Boycott

The Export Administration Act, which declared it to be the policy of the United States to oppose "restrictive trade practices and boycotts fostered or imposed by

which the foreign country regards as an enemy, a right which this country insists upon for itself. However, the United States has both the obligation and

Commerce Department Confused
on Boycott List

President Ford promised that the names of American companies which aided in the Arab boycott of Israel will be released Thursday by the Commerce Department.

However, a Commerce Committee spokesman said it was the Department's understanding that Ford did not mean he would release the names of companies that have participated in the boycott in the past -- only those companies that do so in the future.

Department spokesman Horace Webb said last night that they had expected to release the names later on but not today. (CBS) 10-7-76



News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary

Leading The News...

FOR THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1976

DEBATE SUPPLEMENT

Page

DEBATES

Roper: 40% Say Carter Won	UPI, PBS	1
Ford Hits Carter on Fuzziness	AP, UPI, NBC, CBS	1, 2
HAK Has No Comment	UPI	2
Ford, Carter Differ in Style, Not Substance	AP, UPI, Networks	2-4



DEBATES

1

Roper: 40% Say Carter Won

The Roper poll indicated Wednesday night that 40 percent of those polled thought Jimmy Carter won his second debate with President Ford. Thirty percent favored Ford and 30 percent called it a draw.

Among Carter supporters, 65 percent favored Carter, 16 percent favored Ford and 19 percent considered it a draw.

Among Ford supporters, 56 percent thought Ford won, 10 percent Carter and 34 percent said it was a draw.

Those who before the debate said they had not decided who they would vote for also favored Carter with 33 percent, 25 percent favored Ford and 42 percent called it a tie. UPI, PBS -- (10/6/76)

Ford Hits Carter on Fuzziness

President Ford said Wednesday that Jimmy Carter's answers to questions about foreign policy and defense were "very general," and added he hoped that more efforts would be made to "pin him down" on the issues before the election. (UPI)

Carter said President Ford "was on the defensive" because "he had a horrible administration to defend." (NBC)

Ford left the theater about 10 minutes after the second nationally televised debate ended, and appeared pleased with his hour and a half performance. But when asked how he fared, Ford replied, "Oh, I think we did alright."

Before leaving the theater, Ford shook hands with Carter, exchanged smiles and said, "I'll see you in Williamsburg" -- site of the third and final debate Oct. 22.

Asked how he scored the debate, Ford told reporters, "I'm not the best one to pass judgment on that. I felt comfortable. I answered the questions specifically. I feel very good about tonight. Just as I did after the first one." (NBC)

Ron Nessen said the Ford camp would ask for a change in the debate format because of Carter's dodging of questions. The change, Nessen said, would require the candidates to stick to question topics during their rebuttals.

Nessen said the Ford camp was "puzzled... but elated, because we believe it was a TKO on the first round because he (Carter) never got into the subject of the debate." (CBS)

Roger Mudd and Walter Cronkite agreed that Carter avoided answering questions during the debate. (CBS)

Ford campaign manager James Baker said the President's aides are "very happy," adding that he expects the margin to increase in Ford's favor following the second debate. Asked why, Baker said the President was "in command, self-assured, decisive, forceful, thoroughly knowledgeable, and answered the questions," while Carter was "fuzzy in many areas" and "somewhat political in his answers." (CBS)

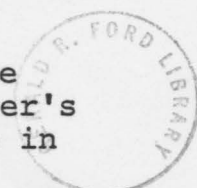
Stuart Eisenstadt, however, said the Carter camp is also "completely elated," adding that Carter made all the points he wanted. (CBS) AP,UPI,NBC,CBS -- (10/6/76)

HAK Has No Comment

Secretary Kissinger watched the debate on foreign and defense policy between President Ford and Jimmy Carter, but had no immediate comment.

Before the debate began, he warned: "If they take my name in vain too often I will demand equal time."

He had little basis for complaint. Kissinger's name was mentioned only sparingly. One newsman noted Kissinger's name was brought up 15 times during the 90-minute debate in San Francisco. UPI -- (10/6/76)



Ford, Carter Differ in Style, Not Substance

With no major foreign policy issue facing the nation, reporters agreed Wednesday that the differences between President Ford and Jimmy Carter were mainly differences of style not substance.

Journalists avoided picking a winner in the second presidential debate, but many cautioned that President Ford's statement that Eastern Europe is not dominated by the Soviets may hurt him politically.

Roger Mudd and Eric Sevareid agreed that Wednesday's foreign policy debate was considerably more interesting than the first debate on domestic issues. Both agreed that the pace was quicker, the participants more relaxed, and the mood more combative. (CBS)

"Mr. Carter seemed more like a lightweight boxer this evening, moving rapidly, always moving and jabbing," Mudd said. "He struck hard and early in the debate, calling Mr. Kissinger the President of the United States in the area of foreign policy, not Mr. Ford. With no foreign policy record of his own to defend, Mr. Carter, of course, was able to move very rapidly, and constantly express dissatisfaction with the present state of foreign policy. (CBS)

"The President was more like the defending champion carrying a record to defend, slightly slower to move, but always in apparent control," Mudd said. "He seemed more conservative in his general approach to foreign policy -- more traditional." (CBS)

Scoring the debate as a boxing match, Harry Reasoner gave Carter 42 points and Ford 35. The maximum score for each question was five.

Richard Valeriani said Carter "put the President on the defensive, and kept him on the defensive through much of the debate." (NBC)

Sam Donaldson, who said Carter came on like a house of fire -- attacking from the very beginning -- said this debate will help him maintain what he believes is a new resurgence in his campaign. (ABC)

George Will said it was a "very good night" for Carter. "He has regained a sense of where the country is on the issues... His performance was much better... The President looked sluggish. He looked outflanked on the issues." (WTOP)

Carl Rowan, however, disagreed, saying he thought Ford's "presidential aura" came through, and added to his credibility. Rowan also said that former Defense Secretary Schlesinger's apparent conservative impact on Carter will disapoint many liberals. (WTOP)

Hal Bruno of Newsweek said Carter showed an understanding of the issues, but did not convince him that he could handle foreign policy. Bruno said the President was successful in his defense of administration actions. (PBS)

Tom Jarriel said the President continued to come across as very cool and firm. He said that when an incumbent president speaks on foreign policy, it is like the American flag -- people salute it. (ABC)

On the same note, Howard K. Smith said President Ford made a "successful defense of a foreign policy that is a net success." (ABC)

But Jim Hoge of the Chicago Sun-Times said the debate gave "no new reasons for the public to become inspired" about the election. Hoge added the debate produced no surprises for foreigners who have followed the campaign. (PBS)

Marvin Kalb said that the two men appeared to agree on a great many issues, including China, Vietnam, Panama and Israel. But Kalb noted that they broke on the questions of U.S. arms shipments to Saudi Arabia and Iran, and the American boycott

of U.S. firms supporting the Arab boycott of Israel. (CBS)

Kalb reported that the President's announcement that he would ask the Commerce Department to provide a list of the firms supporting the Arab boycott came as a surprise to department officials. (CBS)

Tom Jarriel said the announcement demonstrated the advantages of incumbency. (ABC)

Bob Schieffer said that Carter did not, as hoped by the Ford camp, make any serious blunders, but the President did. Schieffer said he was "astonished" at the President's explanation of the Helsinki Pact. (CBS)

"I don't think I've ever heard anybody say that the Soviet Union is not dominant in Eastern Europe, and that's not going to sit well with Polish Americans, or with other ethnic groups." Schieffer added that Ford's political advisors may remember this night as the night Ford "kissed off the Polish vote." (CBS)

Kalb, Sevareid (CBS), Howard K. Smith (ABC), Valeriani and David Brinkley (NBC) agreed that Ford's comments on Eastern Europe may prove a costly mistake. Brinkley went so far as to suggest that Ford may have meant Western Europe. (networks)

Valeriani said Ford made a mistake including the Poles and the Romanians in the list, but was right about the Yugoslavs. Valeriani said the President was so eager to get off the "Helsinki hook" that he "went too far." (NBC)

Other "extreme" and "demagogic" statements by the candidates included Carter's calling Israel an ally, and Ford calling Iran an ally, Sevareid said. He added that Carter's saying we overthrew the Allende government in Chile is the "most extreme statement that any responsible person I think has made about what we tried to do there." Sevareid also criticized Carter's argument that the U.S. tried to start another Vietnam in Angola. (CBS)

Reporters noted that Carter focused on the need for morality in foreign policy. But Sevareid questioned the meaning of that concept. "It has to be more than just words, rhetoric, a tone. Ford has answered the most moral thing is to get peace in the world -- as we have been trying to do in the Mideast, South Africa, Bangladesh and the sub-Sahara." (CBS) AP, UPI, Networks -- (10/6/76)

