

**The original documents are located in Box 28, folder “Second Debate, 10/6/76: Rehearsal Notes” 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 Michael Raoul-Duval donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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.

Qs for today

21

AJO

① Nuclear Proliferation

② Conventional forces

③ China

✓ ④ What benefits of Detent have  
accrued to Americans  
• Out Traded on detent (Schlesinger  
Chung)

✓ ⑤ Arab Boycott

⑥ Human Rights

⑦ Korea

✓ ⑧ Grain Sales / embargos  
Hemp - Hawkins



✓ ⑨ All Voluntary Army - Compulsory Nat. Serv.

⑩ Defense cut by Carter — can  
be done by re-imposing draft.

Paulie Fredrick

Richard Valariani

Max Frankel

Henry Trewitt

Walter Givens  
SSA-1434



Pauline Franklin

Richard Valerius

Max Franklin

Henry Tennant

Walter Pincus  
223-7429



2.15  
5

20.

*Ford is in jail until such suit may be filed*

*two days*

GOOD EVEN LADIES & GENTLEMEN  
LIVE FROM THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS  
IN SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA THIS IS  
THE 2ND IN A SERIES OF 1976 PRESIDENTIAL  
DEBATES, .. TONIGHTS DEBATE WILL DEAL  
WITH NATIONAL DEFENSE & FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OUR PANELISTS WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY  
FOR A FOLD UP QUESTION "IF NECESSARY"

(Between Pres. GERALD R. FORD & THE FORMER GOV OF GEORGIA  
JIMMY CARTER)

SUIT & TIE - ?

12345

(1) || <sup>45</sup>

repressive action

1.	9.
2.	10.
3.	11.
4.	12.
5.	13.
6.	14.
7.	15.
8.	

(2) ||

3. |||||

4.

5.

6.



human

POSITION - POSSESSION?

"T.V. PROGRAM" / TELEVISSED DEBATE



2 international monetary problem  
raise serious foreign policy  
for us

internal  
public  
expenditure  
w/

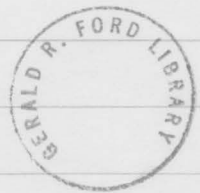
• Britain's pound sterling  
is in trouble and  
its continued devaluation  
would adversely impact  
the world monetary  
system

• Italy's economy is in  
very serious condition

---

> any aid to Italy if Communist in  
govt?

M any aid to Britain if no  
social reforms?



## QUESTIONS

Mr. President, how can you advocate a strong national defense when Russia has a much larger conventional force, and the Warsaw Pact has more conventional forces than NATO?

Mr. President, don't arms sales encourage growth of the military in foreign countries and therefore contribute to military dictatorships or takeovers?

Shouldn't we be working to disarm countries rather than arm them when governments change so quickly and maniacs sometimes take power?

What are the benefits of detente which have accrued to the United States?

What are you doing to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to small countries which might act in an irresponsible manner?

Why are you against sanctions for companies which collaborate in the Arab Boycott of Jewish firms?





Rehearsal  
2nd debate

-3-

What action, if any, should we take to prevent the inclusion of Communists in the governments of Italy and France?



How can we even consider intervening in the internal politics of our allies?

Should we not welcome and encourage the movement of Communist parties in Western Europe away from the Soviet Union?

MR

Do we agree with Chancellor Schmidt (ex-Chancellor?) that the U.S., Germany, France, and Britain will not participate in a loan rescue operation to Italy if Communists are included in the Italian government?

F.U.

When are we going to stop bailing out the cost of Britain's disastrous experiment with socialism?

Why do we maintain forces in Western Europe when such forces would quickly and easily be overwhelmed by any Soviet attack?

#### MIDDLE EAST

Why have we consistently forced Israel to take risks in negotiations with the Arab states, without reciprocating moves from the Arabs?

Why do we not recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to their own homeland on the West Bank?

Would the U.S. support making Jerusalem an international city? If not, what is the solution to the problem of Jerusalem?

Sentiment aside, does the U.S. have any national interest in defending Israel?

#### TRADE

What do you intend to do about the trade deficit with Japan? How can we prevent the Japanese from deliberately undervaluing the yen?

Oil

What steps will we take to break another Arab oil embargo if one should occur?

Reichley

POSSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS  
(most of which will already have occurred to you)



AFRICA

Q What sort of guarantees can the U.S. give that minority rights in Rhodesia would be protected once the black majority has taken control of the government?

What would be the U.S. reaction to a massacre of whites in Rhodesia?

Why has the administration not put more pressure on Congress to repeal the Byrd amendment?

F.U. —

Why do we not invoke economic sanctions against South Africa -- specifically, why do we not prohibit further investment by U. S. corporations?

Why did we not align ourselves in Angola at an early stage with the native forces that were struggling to throw off Portuguese rule?

Why did we get ourselves into the situation in Angola in which we were identified as allies of South Africa, attempting to restore a disguised form of colonialist rule?

Would not intervention in Angola have placed us in the same kind of trap in which we were caught in Vietnam?

LATIN AMERICA

✓ F.Q.

Why have we not cut off all aid to the brutal Chilean dictatorship?

Why do we tolerate the standing threat posed to our vital interests by the Castro government in Cuba? At least, why do we not act to prevent Castro from exporting revolution?

When are we going to begin to move toward normalization of our relations with Cuba?

✓ F.Q.

Why do we persist in ignoring the needs and interests of our nearest neighbors, the countries of Latin America?

Are you prepared to give up U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal? Is the U.S. sovereign in the Canal Zone? Is the Canal Zone, as Ronald Reagan has said, a part of the U. S., just like Alaska?

Is the Canal defensible against guerilla attack?

#### FAR EAST

When are we going to abandon the fiction of recognizing Taiwan as the government of China?

Why do we not unequivocally commit ourselves to continuing to recognize our longstanding friend and ally, Nationalist China, as the legitimate government of China?

F U }  
In general, how can we deceive ourselves into believing that we can "normalize" our relations with Communist governments, when they are dedicated to destroying us? }

Do you stand behind the plank in the Republican platform that promises that we "will continue to support the freedom and independence of our friend and ally, the Republic of China"?

Why have we not put a stop to the development of nuclear weapons by the Nationalists on Taiwan?

Why are we not getting our ground forces out of Korea, where our interests and capability are both limited?

#### EUROPE

Why do we not bring pressure on Turkey to withdraw from the occupation of Greek communities in Cyprus, and to make restitution for atrocities committed against the Cypriot people?

Do you support the aspirations for freedom and national independence of the Lithuanian, Estonian, and Ukranian peoples?

Does the United States tacitly recognize a Soviet "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe?

Why did we agree at Helsinki to perpetuating the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe, in return for some verbal commitments which the Soviets have already made clear they do not intend to keep?



Why have we allowed ourselves to become more dependent on the Arabs for oil than we were before the embargo?

Would you agree to trying to work out an overall agreement with the developing countries controlling the prices of all commodities, including oil?

THIRD WORLD

*and the needs of the so-called third world*

✓ How can the U.S. pretend to support human rights when we give military and economic aid to such totalitarian dictatorships as those governing South Korea, Chile, and Brazil?

*claim of support for L.D.C.'s according to Assad*

① The U.S. has five percent of the world's population but consumes more than 30 percent of its resources. How can this possibly be justified?



② Why does the U.S. devote a lower percentage of its GNP to foreign aid than almost any other developed country?

*FEU*

Are we prepared to accept slower economic growth for ourselves during the rest of this century in order to help the poorer nations of the world catch up with the developed nations?

Would you support development of an international treaty -- not a "code" -- to eliminate unfair business practices by multi-national corporations?

DEFENSE

Why do we spend 6.1 percent of our GNP for defense, when Britain spends only 5 percent, France only 4 percent, West Germany only 3.6 percent, and Japan only 1 percent?

Despite all of our domestic needs and problems, the percentage of our federal budget devoted to defense has again begun to rise. Aren't we running the risk of bankrupting our economy, as George Humphrey warned we would if we spent too heavily on defense?

Can you honestly pretend that there is not \$5 billion of fat in the defense budget?

Why have we allowed the Soviet Union to get ahead of us in submarines?

What response do you plan to the Soviets' current lead in nuclear missiles?

UNITED NATIONS

Doesn't the vote by the UN equating Zionism with racism give clear proof that the UN has become simply a rubber stamp for our enemies -- so shouldn't we at least reduce our financial support of UN activities?

What possible purpose is served by keeping Vietnam and North Korea out of the UN?



✓ Answer to every ~~from~~ Carter Attack.

① We Are At Peace - the  
ultimate success of our  
foreign and defense policies; and

② Mr. Carter, if elected, would  
go into office as the most  
inexperienced President in  
foreign and defense affairs  
since the late 1800s.



Barley - P must be prepared to take  
a slap at Carter in answer  
to every Q  
and  
Rebuttal

e.g. - Foreign Aid - Cite fact that Carter  
wants to double

(DAVE: getting exact #s.)

- HAK Q - P should ask who will  
be your Sec. State + Sec. Def.

- Sonnenfeldt doctrine: no mention  
in Demo. Platform of  
R.F.E. ~~is~~ ~~the~~ good  
political point

\* - Oil Embargo - None since I've  
been President

\* Re: Carter's statement he'll impose economic  
sanctions on Arabs if embargo.

→ P's don't lay out their cards before negotiations  
when dealing with an adversary.

Q - What are your foreign policy + national security goals for the next 4 years + how do you think they differ from ~~Governor Carter's~~?

→ would be advised if Gov. Carter wins the election

Q - World Food Conf 1974  
- no cooperation from OPEC countries

Q - Defense spending Carter \$ 5-7 billion  
your congressional recommendations.





Mr. Carter's ~~fast~~ attitude  
(on defense) <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ as antique  
as the B-52s he thinks are  
adequate.



\* For P \* Q+A on <sup>China</sup> Nuclear bomb fall out in Pa.

for P Foreign Policy defense statement,  
in ~~off~~ both Platforms.  
P. wants both Platforms

S. PRC - ROC.

D. Military Sales

S. Sornentfeldt doctrine

D. Nuclear non-proliferation

Fu - response to Carter

I have indicated "to  
President of  
S. Korea

S - Morality in Govt.

D - R/U - Hammi rot re S. Korea

D - benefits of detente

S (F/U) - what specifically?

?  
(we) think

D - HAK running foreign policy

S - another Odomburg

D -



H ~~1~~ Morality - G.O.P. Platform



D ~~2~~ Third world

No  
Follow up

H ~~3~~ B-1

D ~~4~~ Arab Oil embargo

H ~~5~~ Soviets - relations cooling  
DETANT

D ~~6~~ PRC / ROC (Quemoy / Matsu)

H ~~7~~ Arms Sales

D ~~8~~ Latin America

H ~~9~~ defense Spending (\$5-76 cut)

D ~~10~~ Who runs foreign policy  
you OR HAK (SECRETLY)

file  
2nd debate  
Rehearsal

H (11) Sonnenfeldt Doctrine

D (12) ~~AFRICA~~ CIA <sup>+ FBI</sup> abuses

need legislation

morality - of Chile / Kurds

H (13) KOREA

~~no  
follow up~~

D (14) ~~Multi-National Corporation~~  
Bail out Govt. of Italy

(15)

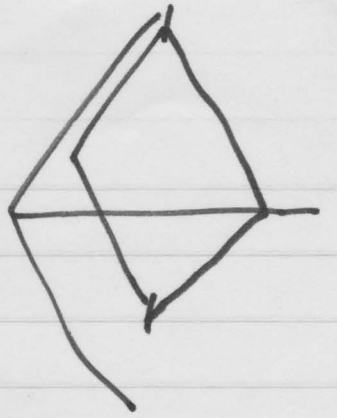


(16) UN - P rpt. to Cong. - UN  
Zionism .

(17)

(18) AFRICA

Third World



① more dependent on  
the when you  
took office

Carter

② Economic

Retaliation if

another oil Embargo.



③ if another  
Arab-Israeli  
war Boycott ??

① LAST Debate Quemoy + MATSU

② Recently last US. troops pulled  
out

③ since PRC + Taiwan have  
rejected 2-China policy -

can't we ultimately going to  
have to abandon the fiction  
of recognizing ~~PRC~~ Taiwan as the  
govt. of China?

Wednesday

2:

The President

• no changes in format

(Leave it alone)

BAKER  
P.B.S.

Jeff

Bob

✓ Carter anti-Communist line  
very hard



✓ have Russians keep their  
agreement SALT Helsinki

✓ Don't stress defense SPENDING

(I read YANKOLOVICH study)

# 5 main areas + lines we  
will take

Bob  
or Mary Beth Pfc

Call Baker guidance to HAK Hilton-  
Head

Over

x How do you define the national security of the US - strictly in military terms + watching USSR missile or missile or

Site  
Revised  
2nd Debate

① What <sup>specific</sup> benefits - if any - have Americans received ~~to~~ from detent?

Haven't we been out traded?

② Bills to impose tough penalties ~~why did~~ ~~white~~ ~~the~~ on companies that cooperate with the Arab inspired boycott against business with Jewish connections ~~did~~ ~~that~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ were defeated in the closing hours of this Congress. There are persistent reports that your Administration lobbyist worked against them. If such a bill to ~~Officials of~~ Your Administration is not opposed such bills in the past. Would you have signed <sup>an anti Arab</sup> ~~such~~ ~~bill~~ ~~had~~ ~~it~~ ~~reached~~ ~~your~~ ~~desk~~?

Boycott

Gov. Carter charges that  
③ Your trade policies have produced conflicting results + hardships on both consumers and farmers. For example he said just last week that "Every ~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> Nixon, Ford + Butz have imposed a new export embargo it has caused permanent damage to our export market."

What is your policy on export embargoes + import quotas?

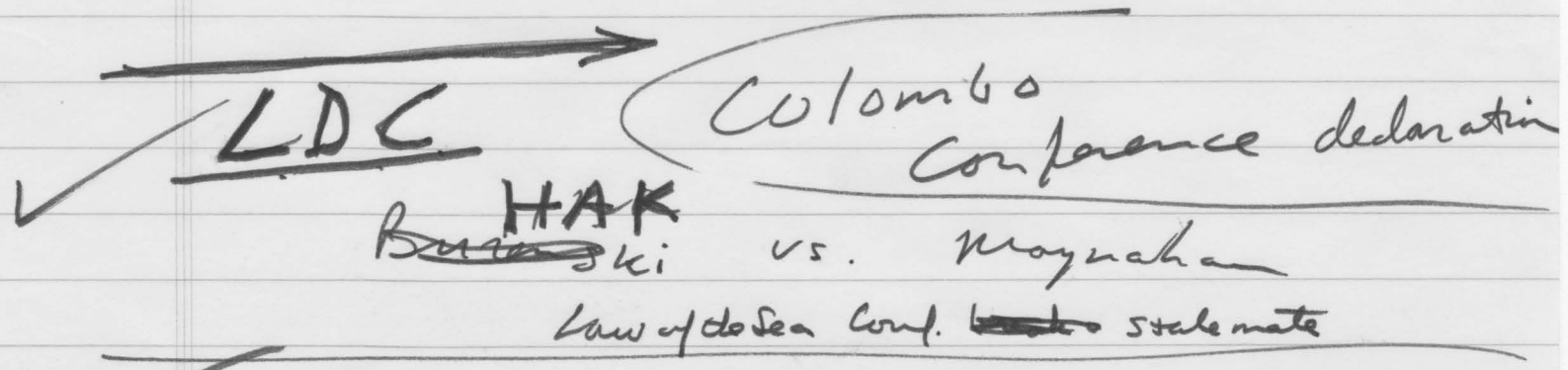


Bernard  
Swartzman

In your <sup>+ see K</sup> speeches, you seem to see the most foreign policy issues ~~in the~~ ~~context of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relationship~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ ~~U.S.~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~USSR.~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~context~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~relationship~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ ~~U.S.~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~USSR.~~ in a context created by the bilateral relationship bet. the U.S and the USSR.

Mr Carter has given the impression that he would de-emphasize the bipolar approach + pay more attention to the rest of the world.

Do you <sup>view this</sup> ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~major~~ ~~difference~~ ~~in~~ ~~emphasis~~ ~~between~~ ~~yourself~~ ~~and~~ ~~Mr. C.~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~major~~ ~~difference~~ ~~bet.~~ ~~yourself~~ ~~and~~ ~~Mr. C.~~ + If so ~~why~~ ~~do~~ ~~you~~ ~~think~~ ~~your~~ ~~approach~~ ~~is~~ ~~better~~ ~~than~~ ~~Mr. Carter's~~ ??



Should U.S. put more pressure on their allies such as South Korea + the Philippines to end their repressive policies & + should we maintain military alliances w/ nations that imprison citizens solely for their political actions?



~~How do~~

How do you define the national security of the U.S.?

~~Questions have been raised~~

Strictly in military terms requiring us to match the Soviets missile for missile or does it <sup>can mean</sup> ~~demand~~ that American influence + prestige <sup>can</sup> be maintained <sup>it can mean that</sup> all over the world OR <sup>should</sup> only direct threats to the US <sup>should arise</sup> ~~cause~~ <sup>of our</sup> concern + involvement? ↗

National Security means different things to different people. It can be defined

NG Follow-up



## Arab Boycott

✓ \* Criminal penalties re:  
bribery payments by U.S.  
Corps. abroad.



✓ C.I.A. intervention in Chile  
to overthrow Allende  
resulted in death of  
Col. Schneider.

•-----•  
✓ Sec Kleepe proposal to  
seek unilateral legislation  
permitting

---