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June 23, 1980

To: Tony Dolan
From: Richard S. Williamson
Re: Carter Administration's Record

I have reviewed your material regarding the Carter record which you prepared for Bill Casey.

Overall I think that the materials you put together are excellent. I think it is an excellent overview from which we can proceed in developing the specific thrusts and tone for the material to use against President Carter and his "failed presidency". The following are some specifics you might wish to consider..

1. (p. 3)--Your discussion of Griffin Bell is substantively correct. However, it may be a weak case to start your discussion. Right or wrong, Griffin Bell is viewed as a pretty - ? good and able Attorney General by the national press core. Did the ABA do a rating prior to his confirmation? If so, this should be included in your attack of him. Furthermore, on p. 4 you mention Griffin Bell's membership in discriminatory social groups. I suggest this might warrant further emphasis.

2. (p. 8)--In your discussion of the Marston case you mention that the Administration took out three pages in sending material to the U.S. Senate which it requested on this matter.

can write it...

It is my understanding that the person responsible for this was Phil Jordon, Special Assistant to Attorney General Bell. Phil Jordon came with Griffin Bell from Kirbo's law firm to the Department of Justice. Your summation of the Marston case and the quote from the Philadelphia Inquirer is particularly good. Hard hitting stuff. Excellent!

- add

3. (p. 11)--I think there is more to the Vesco matter than you bring out in your discussion. It seems to me that the Carter reference warrants further discussion. Was there fire under the smoke?

add note from President

4. (p. 13)--You make the following statement about the Lance affair, he was "engaged in wholesale violations of the banking laws." In light of his acquittal on all but three counts of the charges brought against him, don't you think the language too strong?

not in context "serious"

No who ever want counts does

5. (p. 14)--I think there is far more to the alleged abuse of the 1976 Carter campaign with respect to the ad agency's funding and the Carter warehouse. Do you think it would be possible to further develop this question.

what?

6. I think more can be developed on General Jones as a political general. This should be done by talking with a number of Members of Congress who had contact with him during his recent confirmation for second term as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. Furthermore, I think some good quotes should be used regarding the Panama Canal in any discussion of General Jones' politicalization and his prostitution in behalf of the

what? pretty good

15. (p. 42-48)--Your discussion of Bert Lance is excellent!

16. (p. 49)--The use and explanation of the staff at the White House is a hot point. I think it should be discussed and handled much better. *sure?*

17. (p. 54-56)--Your discussion of taxes is excellent! There should be more. I think you should especially hit the increase in social security taxes. This is a hot issue with the lower middle class. *didn't el?*

18. (p. 58)--In your discussion of inflation you say that Carter blames the "oil sheiks" not his own policies. In this discussion your phraseology could be used to point out that both Germany and Japan are more dependent on foreign oil than the United States but nonetheless have a far lower rate of inflation than does the U.S. under the Carter policies. *of*

Furthermore, I think there should be a major discussion of the Vance resignation and its implications of the Carter administration's politicalization of foreign policy decision-making. I will put together my thoughts to you in a separate memorandum on this matter.

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June 24, 1980

To: Tony Dolan
From: Richard S. Williamson
Re: Vance Resignation

I believe that the resignation of Cyrus Vance from the Carter Administration is one of the most important events of the Carter presidency. While it is not something which can be fully exploited in an open and direct manner, I feel that it raises fundamental questions which should be forced to the front of the consciousness of thoughtful political reporters.

Cyrus Vance is the penultimate establishment figure. Many many years ago he set his sights on becoming Secretary of State. He succeeded in this venture by studiously avoiding ever demonstrating any profiles in courage.

This man groveled within the establishment. He suffered many humiliations. He was selected as Secretary of State, in my opinion, in part because Carter felt there was no fear of him ever publicly breaking with the President. During his tenure as Secretary of State he suffered not only humiliations at the hands of Brzezinski but of the White House itself. There was constant public focus on Brzezinski at the expense of Vance. Vance publicly was rebuked for losing policy battles with the

National Security Advisor. Most dramatically, he was asked to fall on the sword in behalf of Carter when the United States cast its vote against Israel at the United Nations some months ago. (Parenthetically, Richard Nixon made an interesting statement at that time. He said that if he had asked Henry Kissinger to similarly take the blame for some of his blunders that Kissinger would have resigned.) Vance's tenure as a Senate aide, as an officer in the Defense Department during the Johnson era and during his years as Carter's Secretary of State reveal a man willing to suffer personal humiliation. Nonetheless, he has been a man of establishment "moral fiber".

I do not think he resigned solely due to the military action in Iran. Furthermore, I think the timing and manner of his resignation was calculated in part to be harmful to Jimmy Carter at a point of his greatest political vulnerability.

I think the record will show that Cyrus Vance resigned for deep moral reasons. He felt that Jimmy Carter and his Georgia wahoos in the White House had so politicalized foreign policy decision-making that on all critical points of foreign policy the determinate factor was domestic politics and not the best interest of either the free world or the United States. I think he alluded to this in his Harvard speech after his resignation.

I think that this is one of the most damning aspects of the Carter Administration. Furthermore, I think it is an issue wherein we can use Cyrus Vance against Jimmy Carter with great effectiveness.