

**The original documents are located in Box C51, folder “Presidential Handwriting, 10/26/1976” of the Presidential Handwriting File 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. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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.

UNCLASSIFIED

VZCZCAFA005

OO WTEI

DE WTE #5492 2972331

O 232339Z OCT 76

FM JACK MARSH

TO DICK CHENEY

ZEM

UNCLAS WH61302

MEMORANDUM FOR : DICK CHENEY

FROM : DAVE GERGEN

FOSTER CHANNOCK

SUBJECT: THE CARTER DOCTRINE

IN ORDER TO BUILD MOMENTUM DURING THE COMING WEEK, WE NEED TO PUT CARTER ON THE DEFENSIVE AND KEEP HIM THERE. THE CONSENSUS BACK HERE IS THAT HIS FAUX PAS ON THE YUGOSLAVIAN ISSUE GIVES US A SOLID OPENING ON FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT IS WHERE WE SHOULD PRESS THE ATTACK.

THAT BELIEF IS FORTIFIED BY TEETER'S RESULTS ON THE PEACE ISSUE AND BY THE LATEST YANKELOVICH FINDINGS (RELEASED TODAY) SHOWING THAT CARTER HOLDS AN EDGE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT THE PRESIDENT HAS BETTER THAN A 2-1 MARGIN ON HANDLING FOREIGN POLICY.

THE POINT IS NOT THAT CARTER HAS COMMITTED A BLUNDER ON YUGOSLAVIA BECAUSE HE SAYS HE WON'T SEND IN U.S. TROOPS; WE ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO YOUR CONCERN THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN'T BE RATTLING SABERS AGAINST THE SOVIETS. RATHER, THE POINT IS THAT ACROSS-THE-BOARD ON FOREIGN POLICY, CARTER IS ENUNCIATING VIEWS THAT WOULD THREATEN WORLD STABILITY:

- THE DEFENSE CUTBACKS;
- THE B-1 BOMBER;
- PULLOUT OF TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA;
- REDUCTION OF U.S. PRESENCE IN EUROPE;
- TELEGRAPHING OUR PUNCHES IN YUGOSLAVIA;
- TELEGRAPHING OUR POLICY IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER OIL EMBARGO;
- AND PROMISING A QUICK FREEZE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE VERIFICATION SYSTEM (RUMMY HIT THIS IN AN INTERVIEW RELEASED TODAY).

WHAT WE HAVE, IN EFFECT, IS THE EMERGENCE OF A "CARTER DOCTRINE" AND TO ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE MAIN CONTOURS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY OVER THE LAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY, IT IS SCARY AS HELL.

END OF PAGE 01

UNCLASSIFIED

WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT HAK AND BAKER BOTH  
HIT THIS ITEM IN THEIR SUNDAY TV TALK SHOWS TOMORROW  
AND THAT OTHER MAJOR ADVOCATES SUCH AS BOB DOLE FOLLOW-UP  
EARLY THIS COMING WEEK. IF THE SPARKS START ANY KIND  
OF FIRE, IT IS GREGG'S BELIEF THAT THE PRESIDENT  
OUGHT TO TAKE IT ON FRONTALLY (WITH A WELL-PREPARED TEXT).

THE POINT OF THE ATTACK SHOULD BE THAT CARTER HAS  
SHOWN HE IS DANGEROUSLY NAIVE ABOUT FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY;  
HIS POLICIES COULD QUICKLY JEOPARDIZE WORLD STABILITY;  
SO THAT HE SHOULD BE CALLED ON TO:

-- TELL US NOW WHO HIS SECRETARIES OF STATE AND  
DEFENSE WOULD BE SO THAT WE CAN ADEQUATELY ASSESS  
THE DIRECTIONS OF HIS POLICIES!

-- ADMIT A MISTAKE ON YUGOSLAVIA!

-- PROVIDE REASSURANCES TO OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE  
AND JAPAN THAT HE WON'T TURN THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN.

CARTER IS LESS AND LESS CREDIBLE ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE  
ISSUES, AND WE SHOULDN'T LET HIM OFF THE HOOK.

CC. JIM CAVANAUGH  
BILL WYLAND  
JERRY JONES

0488  
#2522

Welcome to Calif  
specific statement about prior content  
movement - Calif looks good - going to win  
Reasons why P should be elected - Carter  
shouldn't -



NNNN