## Richard Nixon Presidential Library White House Special Files Collection Folder List

| Box Number | Folder Number | Document Date | Document Type | Document Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36 | 9 | 08/22/1968 | Memo | Whitaker to Haldeman re: Nixon appearance at Graham Crusade in Pittsburgh. 1 page. |
| 36 | 9 | 09/12/1968 | Other Document | Handwritten note (Haldeman?) regarding message from Marty Polner about arranging un off the record, unpublicized Nixon meeting with leaders of Jewish groups. 1 page. |
| 36 | 9 | n.d. | Memo | Bell to Buchanan re: Kevin Phillips and his ideas for scheduling and coordinating campaign appearances. Includes notes, his biography and introductory letter. 4 pags. |
| 36 | 9 | n.d. | Other Document | copy of envelope marked "Haldeman Confidential Files for Campaign". 1 page. |
| 36 | 9 | n.d. | Memo | Buchanan to Haldeman re: report on the Citizen's group and aide to Agnew, with attachments. 3 pages. |
| 36 | 9 | n.d. | Memo | John Sears to Rose Mary Woods re: Course of the campaign during the first three weeks. 8 pages. |

Box Number Folder Number Document Date Document Type Document Description
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36

36
9
10/04/1968
Memo

Memo

Jim Miller to Peter Flanigan re: Agnew - Bay Bridge land and executive assembly fund. 5 pages.

Buchanan to Haldeman re: Issues with Agnew, his campaign staff, and how it is affecting Nixon's campaign. 4 pages.

Safire to Nixon re: revitalizing the campaign. 3 pages.

Haldeman memorandum of conversation with Pat Hitt, regarding status of HHH campaign from inside informant. Duplicate. 4 pages.

MEMORANDUM
AUGUST 22, 1968

FROM: JOHN WHITAKER
RE: BILLY GRAHAM - PITTSBURGH

Sunday, September 8 - Pittsburgh Stadium, 3 pom.
Local contact: Charles Riggs who is setting up the Graham Crusade in Pittsburgh. Graham will be staying at the Hilton Hotel. His Saturday night event begins at $7: 30$ so RN arrival should be no later than 6 pom. at the airport, because many people who want to attend RN's airport arrival would also want to go to Graham's meeting.

Graham is flattered that we are considering not conflicting with his event Saturday evening. Graham's conversation with RN indicates that the format of the Sunday meeting would simply be that RN would attend Graham's service in the Pittsburgh Stadium which lasts from $3-4: 30$ and would sit in a prominent position but not on the platform. Graham would refer to him with kind words but, of course, not ask RN to speak.

Graham -talked to Mark Hatfield at RN's suggestion. Hatfield is presently at his mother's home (503) 646-4510 and Hatfield is delighted to attend the Graham Pittsburgh Stadium meeting with RN but Graham wants RN to call Hatfield to confirm this.

Graham said that $R N$ had asked him to let him know Hatfield reaction (which was favorable) and then to make sure that RN called him.

$8 \mid 12 / 68$
Meneqe from illasty Polan.
He an anange an of the reead uppublisized foce to fare mesticy with the leader of all majo fawich gres. fo anytime except the furvich holidap of Sept $16,23,24$.
there laders would Lit 1 o repat bach to their grpe after wotq. with Niron.

Mrpe vicluded.
Onevien feurich Cayress
" 11 Cominitue
Bini Birth (?)
fewich Wan Vetrem.
National Cominil of frwish Women
Haddona
2 conut Ong of Omerion Latior 2 invil ouq; of amizeo Jarih haba Commithe.
thealen of each religion sect.
Poma will be ted here Wad. of can he readred at Law fime.


I've read this guy's book with great interest. In terms of a grasp of national voting patterns and issue identification, right down to county level, I doubt if anybody in the country knows more.

In my opinion, Phillips would be extremely useful in the following areas:

1. Scheduling. Where RN should go, where the $\mathrm{v}-\mathrm{p}$ candidate would do the most good. Also where pro-RN campaigners (e. g., Kirk and Thurmond in the South, Dirksen in the Midwest, etc.) would be most helpful.
2. Deciding whet issues to emphasize in which cities, towns, and counties, in terms not only of candidate appearance but also of literature, redio/TV, etc.
3. Coordination with local and congressional candidates. In what areas would identification of RN with the local candidate help, where would it hurt.
4. Counseling of local GOP candidates and campaigners. It is my guess that Phillips knows more than most congressional candidates about their own districts. He already knows most of the GOP House incumbents or their staffs. He knows enough about the voting records of Democratic incumbents, together with the aspects of their voting records which are vulnerable back home, to give very useful advice to Republican challengers across the country. In exchange for this kind of help, local candidates would be more inclined to push RN in their speeches and appearances.


Farly $30^{\circ} \mathrm{K}$
Work for Poul Fiwo acib.
Dove same bork for house Rguel.

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- PB. ray the retume.

Washington
June 19, 1968

Dear Mr. Buchanan:
Apropos our phone conversation of yesterday, I am enclosing some material to spell out my background - and what it is I think that I could do in the campaign = preparatory to our getting together Friday afternoon.

I don't ant to send a lot of useless junk, so I am structuring the enclosures as follows: 1) Voting research; 2) policy and program research; 3) Campaign; and 4) Speechwriting. I have some background in each, and I would like a position where I could operate to the best advantange of the campaign. The enclosures will give you an idea of what I have done.

My chief expertise, I think, is on voting pattems。My book, AMERTCAN VOTING PATTERNS - THE EMERGING REPUBLIGAN MAJORITY, will be published next spring. $\overline{A B}$ Hermann has read it and could give you a general reference (I worked as his assistant one summer). My editor - at Arlington House - is David Franke. Ilam in the process of revising this book, but I am enclosing a shorter version which lacks the overwhelming detail of the big book but which will give you the structure quickly. The enclosed book ETECTION 1968 is not being used for anything at this date, even tho my contract on the big book allows this short one to be put out first. George Hinrnan has read this book and deplored it; I will show you the letter. I suspect his dislike should commend the book to you.

As far as people connected with your campaign who z could give me references, I enclose a letter from Maurice Stans and I expect that Congressman Bill Brock could vouch for my background in urban and East-West trade legislation.

On Friday afternoon, with your indulgence, I will try to sketch how the details and trend analysis of my big voting book can be used to locate where the gains of November will be - or will not be; and also to show the issues which must be raised to elicit success

Looking forward to talking with you,
yours sincerely,


Kevin P. Phillips
Ass. I will ring you up early, fiches
cretrieong you op arne to topping
$\qquad$ an goring to be leaving him, but I would like to keep my agprech quiet at presets.

Kevin Price Phillips Born: New York City, Nov。30, 1940 Unmarried
Residence: 103 G St., S.W., Washington D.C。 (legally resident in New York)
Telephone: (202) 347-6814
Position: Administrative and Legislative Assistant to Representative Paul A. Fino,
Chairman of the New York Republican House delegation and Chairman of the Bronx Republican County Committee
Education: Bronx High School of Science, 1957; Colgate University, A.B. 1961 (Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa, National Merit Scholar, High Honors in
Political Science); University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1959-1960 (First Class
Certificates in Economics); Harvard Law School, LL.B. 1964 (Bureau of National
Affairs Prize for academic performance, 1964).
Admitted to Practice Law: New York (1965) and the District of Columbia (1967)
Member, New York State Bar Association, 1965 to date.
Employment: Summers 1957-59, Research Department, Warwick and Legler Advertising,
New York City; Summer 1961, Legislative Assistant to Rep. Fino; Surmer 1962,
Assistant to the Director of Political Organization, the Republican National
Committee, Washington; Summer 1963, Management Intern, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C.i Sept. 1964 to date, Administrative and Legislative Assistant to Rep. Fino.
Political: Sundry youth activities; Intern, Republican National Committee, 1961; Legislative Assistant to Rep. Fino, summer 1961; Assistant to the Director of Political Ofganization, Republican National Committee, Summer 1962; Consultant to the Mass achusetts Republican Gubernatorial Campaign Committee, 1962; Consultant to Massachusetts Republican State Committee, 1963-64; Administrative Assistant to Rep. Fino, 1964 to date; Member, Westchester Republican Club of the 80 th Assembly District, 1963 to date; Staff aide, Republican Co-ordinating Committee Task Force on Federal Fiscal and Monetary Policy, 1965; Chief Bronx GOP draftsman, New York legislative (1964 and 1965) and congressional (1968) reapportionment; Chairman and Campaign Manager, Fino congressional campaign, 1966. Delegate, Judicial District Convention, 1967.

Legal/Legislative: Viz Congressman Fino's position as second-ranking Republican on the House Banking and Currency Committee (and Housing Subcommittee thereof), detailed legislative liaison, memo-writing and bill-drafting work on the following: 1965 , 1966 and 1968 omnibus housing bills (especially rent subsidies, demonstration cities, metropolitan planning, etc), mass transit, Bank Merger Act, Bank Holding Company Act, Truth-in-Lending, Commodity Exchange Act, International Coffee Agreement, Participation Sales Act, Export-Import Bank charter and extensions, East-West trade, proposed Foreign Banking Control Act. General legislative drafting.
Triting and Publications: Author of American Voting Patterns - The Emerging Republican Majority, to be published by Arlington House in the spring of 1969; presently completing and revising book tentatively entitled Cities in Crisis - A Legislative History of the Urban Great Society; hope to eventually weave large mass of materials recently collected into a work on the law and structure of multi-national banking.
Languages: poor French, negligible Russian
Hobbies: Hiking; traveling; American, British and Naval History


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MEMO TO BOB HAIDEMAN
From Buchanan

Attached a report for your perusal onthe Citizens thing and on the aide to Agnew.

August 27, 1968

Pat,
Attached is what I have been able, without obvious prying, to find out about Charlie Bressler.

Gov. Agnew has made some other appointments -
Jim Miller - competent \& Able
Louise Gore - Republican Chairman for the Nixon-Agnew. Good solid Nixon supporter going back to 1960.

Don Kendall - Executive Director under Louise Gore. AA to Ray Bliss. Solid Rockefeller man. Do not expect much from him. Wife is Bobbi Kendall - Chairman of Montgomery County Republican Central Committe. Do not expect much from her or the Central Committee. Ex--they had a tent at the Montgomery County Fair last week. Tent was loaded with Gude \& Mathias material (both endorsed Rockefeller) and virtually no Nixon material except what my U.C.N. tent gave them. We handed out several thousand pieces of Nixon material a day and they gave out Gude \& Mathias material (especially interesting considering her husband's position).
I was advised by many people (including precinct chairmen and a couple of Centrail Committeemen that if Nixon was nominated, not to expect the Montgomery County Central Committee to do an awful lot for Nixon. This appears to be coming true. Their primary interest appears to be in Gude \& Mathias.

Charles Bressler--
Has been sued at least 3 or 4 times Ex--building contrary to existing zoning etc.

School board bought ground from him which was undesirable for schools (implied that it was the only way Bressler could unload the property)

Petition was brought to Agnew (when he was elected Gov.) by Prince Georges residents to prevent him from appointing Bressler to a liason post between the state and federal government.

Has reputation for having powerful political friends and word most often used about him was "slick".

Impression, gained by a lawyer I talked to from briefs, was that some of the suits had validity but were not filed in time. He won his cases but believe one or two are still under appeal.

* Complete file on Bressler can be obtained from the Publisher
of the Greenbelt News, a paper printed in Greenbelt, Md.
* Most prevalent reaction to his appointment - humor.

THFRF ARE VERY FEW CAVPAIGN MATERIALS OF ANY DESCRIPTION IN THE STATES• WHERFVER YOU GO，THE WALLACR BUMPER STRIPS ARF UERY BUCH IN EVIDENCE AND ONE SEES NONE OR NEXT TO NONE MENTIONING RN．－PEOPLE COMPLAIN VARIOUSLY THAT THFY HAVE EI THER SUBMITTED AN ORDER AND HEARD NOTHEING OR THAT THE PROCESS OF PURCHASING THEM FBOM THE NATIONAAL OFFICE IS NOT SATISFACTORY．

UNLESS THE REPUBLICAN STATE ORGANIZATIUNS GET THESE MATERIALS WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEFKS，WE＇LL BEGIN TO RUN INTO PROBLEMS IN IHE STATE LEVEL．

I＇M SURF THEKF ARE PFOPLLE WORKING ON THIS，BUT I THOUGHT I＇D BRINGG IT TO YOUR ATTENTION•

11．ACHOSS THE COUNTRY，OUR PARTY HAS TAKEN GREAT SOLIGE FROM THE DFMOCRATIC DIVISION AND GETTING A LITMLE OVERLY CUNFIDENT BECAUSE OF IT．

NO MATTER HOW SMALL，THE DEMOCRATS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME PIROGRESS AND RECOVER SOME KIND OF UNITY．WHEN THIS OCCURS SOME OF THE REPUBLICANS WILL GET A LITTLE DISHEARTENED．WE MUST DO ALL WECAN TO ANTICIPATE THIS REUNIFICATION SO THAT WE DON＇T SUFFER FROM A LET DOWN．

111．THERE ARE VARIOUS COMPLICATIONS．AS ALWAYS ABOUT THE CITIZENS OPERATION IN THE FOLLOWING REGARD：〔ISELECTION OF REPUBLICANS TO HOLD HIGH OFFICE IN THE CITIZENS OPFRATION：（2）PROGRAMS WHICH CANNOT BE STARTED SINCE THE REMAINING SIX WEEKS OF THE CAMPAIGN DOESN＂T PROVIDE ENTUGH TIME TO BRING THEM TO CONCLUSION BFFORE ELECTIUN；3）IN SOME OF OUR SURFH STATES，WHERE CITIZEN GROUPS ARE COORDINATED INTO THE CAMPAIGN BY THE LOCAL PARTY，AS AN ORDINARY PROCEDURE，COMPLAINTA THAT THE CITIZENS AREETRYING TO START AN UNECESSAARYSECOND EFFORT．

2v．GOOD OBSERVATSONS．
A－－－UNITY HAD HELD UP FANTASTICALLY WEILL ASIDE FROM A LITTLE
INCIDENTAL BITCHING，THERE SEEMS TO BE NO PROBLEM IN HOLDING THE PARTY TOGEPHER DURING THE NEXT SIX WEEKS．
B－－－EUELYONE FEELS THAT RN HAS PERFORMED ADMI RABLY AND THAT
HE IS DOING＂JUST GREAT．＂
C－－－MOST PEOPLE SEEM INTERESTED IN HELPING KN SPEND HIS TIME WISFIX
ND ALTHOUGH THEY＇D ALL CERTAINAYLIKE TO HOUE HIM UISIT THEIR STATES， NONE ARE DEMANDING IT AND VERY FEW DEEM I T IMPERATIUE．

D－－－IN ALMOST EUERY STATE TTHE DENOCRAATS ARE BADLY DIVIDED IN ADDITION WALLACE SEEMS TO BE HURIING THE DEMOCRATS MUCHI WORSE THAN HE＇S HURTING US．
E－－AGNEW FAS GENERALLY IMPIRESSED MOST OF THE PARTY PEOPLF：HE COWES
INTO TOWN AND THEY DON＇T EXPECT MUCH OF HIM BECAUSE HE ISN＇T WFLL KNOWN，BUT BY THE TIME HE LEAVES AFTER HAVING DONE A GOOD JUB，THE LOCALS HAUE A FEELING HE TURNS OUT BETIER THAN THEX EXPECT．

AGNEU VISIT WENT, WELL THERE - GOOD CROWD, GOOD CHEERS. THE LOGALS MAINTAIN THAT MUSKEI has BEEN ELECTED DURING HIS CAREER BY MANY REPUBEICANS IN THIS STATE WHERE REPUBLICANS OUTNUMBER THE dEMOCRATS SO REpublicans have been responsible for electing him. this year, THE HOPE AND EXPECTATION IS THAT THESE PEOPLE WILL STAY WITH RN ON THE NATIONAL TICKET. THERE IS A STRONG HOMETOUN BOY FEELING, HOWEVER, WHICH WE DON'T DISCOUNT. THE PORTLAND CONGRESSI ONAL DISTRICT LOOKS GOOD, but in the other one, there is only a chance.

SN - 3 VERMONT
SEEMS A SURE BET. GOUERNOR'S RACE LOOKS LIKE CLOSF, VICTORY FOR THE REPUBLICANS. STAFFORD, AIKEN ARE OK.

SN - 4 NEW HAMPSHIRE
SURE BET; COTTON, OK. BOTH CONGRESSMEN OK. (WMMN \& CLEVELAND) GOVERNORSHIP WILL BE AA TIGHT BACE BUT REPUBLICANS BETTER UNIFIED THAN THEY HAVE BEEN SINCE BKIDGES DIED.

LH ~ 4 MASSACHUSETTS
DEYOCRATS BADLY SPLIT IN THREE DIRECTIONS (KENNEDY WING HUMPHREYITES, HUMPHRPY-WALLACE, MCCARTHYITES.) POLLS WOULD NOW SHOW IT ABOIT 50-50 FOR NOUEMBER, BUT DEVOCRATS BOUND TO GET A LITLLE BETTEK BACK THAN WHERE THEY NRE. WILL NOT PICK OP KNY CONGRSSSIONAL SEATS BUT WILL, HOLD THE FIUE THAT WE HAVE. IF HHH CONTINUES TO DO AS INCREDIBLY BADLY AS HE HAS IN THE FIRST TWO WEEKS. NASSACHUSETTS MIGHT DESERVE A LITTLE EXTRA ATTENTION. WITHOUT. THIS, THE DEMOCRATS WILL PROBMBLY BEAT US.

SH - 4 RHODE I SLAND
STILL JUST TOO MANY DENOCRATS ALTHOUGH IF MASSACHUSEYYS SHOULD FOR SOME REASON GET STRONG FOR US, THIS SHOULD HELP US IN RHODE ISLAND.

## U- 8 CONNECTICUT

LOCALSUERY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR CHANCES BUT THIS IS MAINLY LBECAUSE OF LARGE SPLIT IN THE DEVOCRATIC PARTY HARTFORD PAPER PREDICTS A NIXON VICTORE OF 65, OOO. POLL IN THE CND DISTRICT (NEW LONDON) SHOWS RN $48 \%$ HHH $38 \%$ WALLACE $13 \%$ ALSO SHOWS MAKIANI LOSING 32-56\%. THIS 'IS ENCOURAGING FOR RN BUT REMEMBER CONNECTICUT HAS A PARTY LEVER WHICHH CONTRIBUTES TREMENDOUSLY TO STKAIGHT TICKET VOTING LOCAL FEELING IS THAT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL TICKET

WILL CARRY LOWER CANDIDATES BECAUSE OF THIS; THE PRINCIPAL MAY WELL OPERATE IN REVERSE, HOWEVER, AS MARIANI FIGURE INDICATES. MAY HAVE ONE HOUSE SEAT IN THE 4TH DISTRICT. (FAIRFIELD COUNTY)

U - 43 NEW YORK
HERE AGAIN, DEMOCRATS BADLY SPLIT, BUT OF COURSE, THEY OUT REGISTER REPUBLICANS 2 TO 1. RACE SHAPES UP AS EXTREMLY CLOSE AND PROBALBY WILL BE DECIDED MORE ON HOW WELL WE HOLD OUR PRESENT MOMENTUM THAN ANYTHING ELSE RELATIVELY LITTLE FRICTION BETWEEN THE REGULAR PARTY AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN REGARD TU THE NATIONAL RACE BUT IT WILL HURT US A LITTLE IN SOME AREAS. WALLACE LOOKS TO HURT THE DEMOCRATS RATHER THAN US. SHOULD PICK UP SOME CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, PROBALY ABOUT FOUR (5TH, LONG ISLAND; 28TH, POUGHKEEPSIE, 39TH, SUBURBAN BUFFALO; AND POSSIBLE THE 27TH, WEST SIDE OF THE HUDSON RIVER) MIGHT ALSO PICK UP THE 34TH, SYRACUSE, SINCE CANDIDATE IS A GOOD DEAL BETTER THAN THEY PUT UP IN *6G. JAVITS WILL BE REELECTED WITH EASE.

PARTY SILLLं ISN'T WORTH A DAMN EXCEPT BY A COUNTY TO COUNTX BASTS. STRONG FEELING FOR RN THERE, HOWEVER, WHICH HOPEFULLY $r$

- WILL carry us through. Strong possibility of pocking up i seat IN 9TH, BERHEN COUNTY. ALSO A FAIK CHANCE HOWARD'S DISTRICT. DEMOCRATS UERY DIVIDED WHICH IS HELPING. WALLACE HURTING DEMOCRATS AMONG BLUE COLLAR WORKERS.

LN - 29 PENNSYLUANIA
PARTY UERY UNIFIED AND RUNNING SMOOTHLY. REGISTRATION DRIVE NOW COMPLETE AND SHOWS A SMALL STATE-WIDE ADVANTAGE FOR REPUBLICANS INCLUDING A GAIN OF 65,000 (35\% TOTAL) IN PHILADELPHIA. ACCORDING TO LAST POLL TAKEN BETWEEN THE TWO CONVENTIONS, RN LEADS HHH BY A point. FeEling is that the next poll show a gain of about 5 or 6 POINTS FOR RN BECAUSE OF DEMOGRATIC DIVISIONS. ON THE BASIS OF THE LAST POLL, RN WAS RUNNING AGEAD OF HIS ' 60 TOTALS IN the OUTState regions to the extennt that he could lose philadelphia by AS MUCH AS 300,000 VOTES AND STILL WIN STATE-WIDE. PRESENT EXPECTATIONS ARE THAT HE MAY LOSE PHILADELPHIA BY 175,000. IT IS RFPORTED THAT DEMOCRATS ARE LOSING INTEREST IN THE NATIONAL GACF: AND GETTING SGARED BY CLANETS SENATE SEAT. ALTHOUGH THE POLLS SHU A Strong lead for clarke over schaeiker. doubt that we will. fick up any congressional seats since ruining a bad candidatein the 24TH DISTRICT 8ERIE MIGHT LUCK OUT AND GET THE PHILADELLPHIA DISTRICT ( 5 TH )

## LN - delaware

DEMOCRATS SPLIT, WALLACE TAKING VOTES FROM UF IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE STATE but WE LOOK PRETTY GOOD in WI ILMiNgTON. GUBERNATORIAL RACE WILL BE A HORSE RACE BUT WE HAVE SLIGHT EDGE. WE HOLD CONGRESSIONS SEAT WITH NO TBOUBLE.

LH - 10 MARYLAND
WALLAGE DRAWING VOTES FROM US ON THE, EAST SHORE WHICH ALTHOUGH REGISTERRED DEMOGRATS NORMALLY GO FOR US IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION. WE AARE A LITTLE BETTER OFF IN THE SUBURBAN WASHINGTON AREA THAN WE WERE IN ' 60 bUT NOT QUITE ENOUGH. DEMOGRATS SHOULD BE ABLE TO HOLD THEIR NOBMAL MARGINS IN BALTIMORE AL THOUGH THERE WILL BE SOME SLIPAGE. HERE AGAIN IF HHH CONTINUES TO DO POORly It might make A difference but at the moment he is a little ahead. W

SENATE RACE HARD TO FIGURE AND wOULD HAVE TO BE RATED AS EUEN AT THE MOMENT. BSENATE RACE MATHAIS US BREWSTEK) WILL HOLD CONGRESSIONAL SEATS WE HAVE AND MAY PICK ONE UP IN TTHE 5TH 8PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY)

ThE SOUTH
SN - 12 Virginia
Every thing running smoothly, we benefit from the demociratic diuision In NORFOLK AREA AND SHOULD CUT SUBSTANTIALLY INTO NORMAL MABGINS FOR US. WALLACE DRAWING RED-NECK VOTES ALONG NORTH CAROLINA BORDER BUT FEW OF THEESE VOTES HAVE EVER VOTED REPUBLICAN. MIGHT PICK UP A CONGRESSMAN IF RN'S TOTAL IS BIG ENOUGH PROBABLY IN THE 7 TH DISTRICT. 8STAUNTON)

LW - 13 NORTH CAROLINA r
WALLACE HURTING US BADLY VEST OF RALEIGH, TAKING MANY VOTES• HURTING THE NEMOCRATS BADLY EASt OF THERE, THE FEELING IS THAT A POLL TAKEN NOW WOULD Show Wallace Winning by a narrow margin statewide. PROBLEM IS TO GET BACK THE VOTES HE'S TAKEN WEST OF RALEIGH. HHH RUNNING A PDOR 3RD AND DEMOCRATS PRETTY WILLL GEVEN UP ON HIM. GUBERNATORIAL RACE DOESN7T LOOK GOUD AT THE MENENT BUT GARDNER HAS A DEG ENT GHANGE OF GETTING A SIGNIFICANT NUNBER OF WALLACE VOTES IN THE EAST PART OF THE STATE AND THEREFORE DOES HAVE TO dO AS WELL AS WE dO in THE WFST END OF THE STATE. MIGHT ALSO PICK UP THE NEW 8TH DISTRICT WHERE THERE IS NO INCUMBENT DEMOCRAT.

LW - 8 SOUTH CAROLINA
AOLL TODAY WOULD SHOW WALLACE WINNING, BUT LOCAL CAMPAIGN URGANIZATION IS UNDERTAKING STRONG CAMPAIGN MEASURES USing THURMOND, MARK CLARK, BOBBY RICHARDSON, ETC., TO BEAT THE THURMOND DEMOCRATS BACK INTO LINE.
this should have some effect, but at the momeint you'd have to geve It TO WALLACE. CHANCE TO PICK UP A CONGRESSIONAL SEAT IN THE

- THiRD DISTRICT (ANDERSON) SENATE RACE HARD TO FIGURE BECAUSE OF WALLACE FACTOR (PARKER US HOLLINGS ) DEMOCRRATS PRETTY WILL GIUEN UP ON HHH CONCENTRASTING ON LOCAL TICKET.-- COME EVIDENGE THEY'RE HELPING WALLAGE.

SW- 12 - GEORGIA
CONDITIONS MIGHT CHANGE, BUT SAFE FOR WALLACE AT THE MOMENT EVEN WITH THE DEMOCRATIG SWITCH THE OTHER DAY. SHOULD HOLD TWO CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, HOWEVER.

LN - 14 - FLORIDA
STILL HAVING A PROBLEM WITH WALLACE VOTERS SOUTH OF JACKSUNVILLE WHERE HE IS TAKING SOME VOTES FKOM US, BUT SO FAR NOT ENOUGH TO beAT US. TAKING MANY vOTES FROM THE DEMOCRATS ALONG THE GEORGIA, ALABAMA BORDERS AND THE PANHANDLE. EALLACE WOULD PROBABLY RUN 2ND IN FLORIDA TODAY. SENATE RACE LOOKS BETTER AND BETTER FOR GURNEY (GURNEY US COLLINS) SHOULD BE ABLE TO HOLD THE 3 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS AND POSSIBLY PICK UP ONE IN THE 12TH (THOMPSON US FASCELLE).

SW 10 ALABAMA
JUST NO CHANCE, MAY BE ABLE TO HOLD ONTO 3 CONGRESSMEN, HOWEVER.
SW - 10 louisiana
No CHANCE
LN - 11 TENNESSEE
WALLACE HAD GOOD STRENGTH in tenNessee AND we must get some votes
BACK FROM HIM, BUT SITUATION LOOKS RELATIUELY GOOD. AS WE EXPECTED, HF. IS DRAHING VOTES IN THE WEST PART OF THE STATE AND ALSO IN THE NORMALSY REPUBLICAN AREA IN THE EAST. A VISIT BY RN IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE StATE WILL BE VERY HELPFUL, HOWEVER. SHOULD HOLD ALL. FOUR OF THE CONGRESSIONAL SEATS AND MIGHT PICK UP ONE IN THE
7TH BUT THIS IS A LONG SHOT BECAUSE OF REDISTRICTING.

LN - g KENTUCKY
ORGANIZATION FUNCTIONING WELL. LOUISVILLE SHOULD PHOVIDE A GARGIA FOR RN. WALLACE SHOULD COME IN ZND AND BEARS WATCHING WILL HOLD THE 3 CQVGRESSIONAI SEATS WE KAVE NO LIKELIFOODD OF PICKING UP ANY MORE. SENATE BACE BCOOK US PEDEND SHOWS COOK LEADING AT THE: MOMENT.
LW - 6 ARKANSAS
IRN IN SECOND SPOT AT THE MOMENT BUR LOSING A GREAT NUMBER OF VOTES TO WALLACE IF AND WHEN ROCKEFELLER CAN DELIVER THE NEGRO VOTE TO • RN AND RN CAN HELP ROCKEFELLER WITH THE WALLACE VOTE, BOTH SHOULD WIN, BUT IF THE ELECTION WELRE HEILD TODAY, IT WOUID BF WALLACE. SEANTOR FULLBRIGHS IN REAL TROUBLE RUNNING ABOUT NECK AND NECK WITH A REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE. WILL HOLD FAMMERRSCHMIDT'S DISTRICT (3RD- FT. SMITH) BUT THE REST ARE LONG SHOTS. THE STATE REQUIRES A VISIT BY RN.

SH - 7 WEST VIRGINIA
ONLY PLACE IN THE COUNTRY WHERE THE POVERTY PROGRAM IS SO POPULAR. DFMOCRATS WON" T CARIRY IT AS MUCH AS THEY'D LIKE TO BUT STILL LOOKS LIKE A SAFE BET• IF HHH CONTINUES TO DO POORLY IT MIGHT CHANGE. GUBERNATORIAL RACE AN EUEN BET. SHOULD HOLD MOORE'S VACATED HOUSE SEAT, BUT OTHERS ARE A LONG SHOT.

LN - 25 TEXAS
WALLACE DRAWING SOME SIGNIFICANT VOTE FROM US, BUT SONFAIR WE ARE STILL. AHEAD. HHH CAMPAIGN IN CHAOS AND UNABLE TO EVEN FIND STATE CHAIRWAN. GUBERNATORIAL RACE WILL HOLD FOR THE DEMOCRATS WI TH NO TROUBLE. SHOULD HOLD THE 3 HOUSE SEATS WE HAVE AND HAVE THE POSSIBMMJGE

## MIDDLE WEST

LN - $260 H 10$
WALLACE LIIKS AS THOUGH HE'LL GET ON THE BALLOT THROUGH COURT AION. HE WILL DRAW VOTES SOUTH OF COLUMBUS FROM US AND NORTH OF THFRE FROM THE DEMOCRATS. OUR STRENGTH HOLDS UP WELL THOUGH. HHH CAMPAIGN A REAL SHAMBLES BFCAUSE OF SPLIT AND DRAIN BY WALLACE. SHOULD HOLD ALL 19 HOUSE SEATS BUT WON7T PICK UP ANY. SENATE RACE (SAXBE US GILLIGAN) IS A HORSE RACE AT THE MOMENT, BUT GULLIGAN HAVING TROUBLE GETTING MONEY FROM UNIONS BECAUSE OF HIS DOVE STAND AND SAXBE, ALTHOUGH UNATTRACTIVE SHOULD BENEFIT FROM THE TOP OF THE TICKET.

SN- 23 INDIANA
RN SHOULD WIN BY ALMOST AS MUCH AS IN ' 60 WITH WALLACE, DKAINING VOTES FROM LAKE COUNTY (ERIE) WILL HOLD ALL 6 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, POSSIBLY PICKING UP TWO MORE S3RD -SOUTH BEND AND THE 5TH ANDERSON GUBERNATORIAL RACE LOOKS FAIRLY SAFE FOR WHITCOMB. SENATE RACE BRUCKELHAUS VS BAYH ) WILL BE VERY GLOSE.

LN - 21 MICHIGAN
WALLACE TAKING LARGE NUMBER OF VOTES FROM WHI TE UNI IN MEMBERS WHO NORMALLY GO DEMOCRATIG. REPUBLICANS UNIFIED AND GOING STRONG• SHOULD HOLD ALL 12 HOUSEE SEATS ALTHOUGH ESCH'S (ZND DISIRICT ANN ARBOR) AND RUPPE'S (I2TH DISTRICT UPPER PENINSULA) ARE A LITMLE SOFT•

SN "- -26 HLLINOIS
$r$
WALLACE HURTING THE DENOCRATS WORSE THAN THE REPUBLICANS. DALY SEEMS UNINTERESTED IN THE NATIONAL TICKET. PROBALBY WILL BE CONTENT TO HOLD ONT HIS OWN PUWER BASE. DIRKSEN MAY WELL WIN WITH AS MUCH AS 60-65\% of the vote. ogilvie narrovly ahead at the moment and gaining. WILLL HOLD 12 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS ... SHOULD PICK UP HOELLENS THIS TIME (11TH)SN - 12 WISCONSIN
democrats hopelessliy divided because of mccarthy victory in the
PRIMARY• WALLACE ALSO DRAINING yotes FROM MILWAUKEE. KNOWLES:
WILL BE REELECTED EASILY. SENAATE RACE (LEONARD US NELSON) FINDS LEONARD BEHIND ALTHOUGH HE CANSTILL COME OUT AND WIN. WILL HOLD 7 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, BUT WON'T PICK UP ANY.

SN - 9 IONA
RN SHOULD ROLL UP A LARGE MARGIN HERE. DEMOCRATTS DON'T EUEN SEEM TO BE BOTHERING WITH THE DEMOCRATIC RACE. RAY SHOULD WIN THE GOUERNORSHIP. SEANTE RAACE SHOULD DEPEND ON HOW LARGE NIXON'S MARGIN IS. (STANLEY US HUGHES.) WILL HOLD ALL 5 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, MIGHT PICK UP ONE IN THE 2ND 8CEDAR RAPIDS) LTHOUGH RILEY RUNNUNG BEHIND AT THE MOMENT.

Lh - 10 MINNESOTA
DEMOCRATS HAVE DISASTROUS SPLIT WHICH SHONS NO SIGN OF HEALING. POLLS SLOW RN LEADING NOW, BUT NARROWLY. IF THIS IS STILL REFLECTED IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, IT MAY BE WORTH A UISIT. YOU HAVE TO FIGURE AT THE MOMENT THAT HHH CAN PULL BACK ENOUGH OF HIS FARM-LABOR GROUP TO SALVAGE THE SITUATION AS A HONE-TOWN BOY. WILL HOLD ALL 5 CONGRESSIONAL SEATS AND HAVE AN OUTSIDE CHANCE OF PICKING UP THE 5TH district: (minneapolis) becauise of a local split in the demochatic

ARTY.
SN - 4 NORTH DAKOTA
; ONLY THING IN DOUBT IS JUST HOW MUCH RN WILL WIN BY. SENATOR YOUND SHOULD BE REELECTED OVERWHELMINGLY AND NEITHER OF THE TWO hoUse seats are in any danger. gubernatorial race could go republican IF RN CARRIES THE STATE BY ENOUGH.

SN - 4 SOUTH DAKOTA
HERE AGAIN ONLY THING IN DOUB'T IS THE MABGIN. LAST POLL ON THE SENATE RACE (GUBBRED US MGGOUERN) SHOWED GUBBRED LOSING BY a POINTS (48-46, $6 \%$ UNDECIDED) THIS IS A GAIN FOR GUBBRED OVER THE LAST pOLL OF 16 POINTS. NEITTER OF THE TWO HOUSE SEATS IS IN ANY DANGER.

SN - 5 NEBRASKA
SHOULD GO ALMOST 7O\% FOR RN. DEMOCRATS ARENTT EVEN TRYING. THREE CONGRESSMEN IN NO DANGER.

SN - 7 KANSAS
RN SHOULD POLL IN THE HIGH $50^{\circ}$ S' HERE. BOB DOLE WILL WIN THE SENASORIAL ELECTION EASILY. GUBERINATORIAL RACE WILL DEPEND ON NIXON'S MARGIN. NONE OF THE 5 CONGRESSIONAL RACES IN ANY TROUBLE

U AC masudurs
WALLACE DRAWING VOTES FROB EVERYBODY NND DIFFICULT 10 SEE WFO IT WLLC HURT MOST. HE'S TAKING THEM FROM US IN THE SOUTHWEST PART OF THE STATE AND DEMOCRATS LEAD IN THE SOUTHEASTERN PART OF THE STATE AND ABE ALREADY NANDING ODT TICKET-SPLITTING PKOPAGANDDA (WALLACE-HEALRNS-HEAGLETON) BUl GURTIS STILL NOT IN BAD SHAPE. LITTLE HOPE ON THE GUBERIVATORIAL RACE, HOWEVER. SHOULD HOLD TWO HOUSE'SEATS ALTHOUGH THE 2ND (SUBURBAN ST. LOUIS) IS A LITTLE LESS SAFE NOW THAT CURTIS HAS VACATED IT.

SN - 8 OKLAHOMA
RN WON7T WIN BY AS BUG A MARGIN AS HE DID IN ' GO, BUT STILL HAS A SOLID MARGIN. TROUBLE IS WALLACE BELLMON LEMDING IN IHE SENATE: RACE AND GAINING EVERY DAX. IF JIM SMITH CAN GET REELECTED, WE SHOULD PICK UP A HOUSE SEAT IN THE NEW 6TH DISTRICT. (NORTHWEST.)

FAR WEST
SN - 4 MONTANA
RN WILL WIN BY MORE THAN HE DID IN '6O. SODE WALLACE SENTIMENT, BUT INSIGNIFICANT. DEMOCRATS NOT FUEN INTERESTED IN NATIONAL RACE. BABCOCK IN REAL TROUBLE -- BOTH BECAUSE OF RAISING TAXES ON PERSONAL PROPERTY. PROBABLY WILL PICK UP HOUSE SEAT IN IST DISTRICT. (WESTERN MONTAIVA)

SN - 5 COCLRADO
DEMOCRATS SPLIT BADLY. REPLUBLICANS FOR THE $1 S T$ IME IN \&
YEARS WORKING VERY WELL TOGETHER. RN DOING WELL 8VERY) IN THE CITY OF DENVER WHICH OF COURSE IS THE KEY DOVINICK WILL BE REELECTED EASILY. SHOULD PICK UP A HOUSE SEAT IN THE. $44 T H$ DI STRICTSOUTHFASTERN COLORADO.

SN - 3 WYOMING RN WILL WIN BIGGER THAN HE DID IN ' 60 ; JOHN WOLD WILL WIN THE HOUSE SEAT WITH NO TROUBLE.

SN - 4 IDAHO
PARTY WORKING VERY WELL TOGETHER. DEMOCRATS MOSTLY CONCERNED WI TH TRYING TO KEEP CHURCH'S SENATORIAL. SEAT. SHNATORIAL RACE (HANSEN US GHURCH) WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE SIZE OF RN'S MAJORITY. RITHT NOW, IT IS ABOUT AN EUEN RACE NEITHER CONGTESSIONAL SEAT IN ANY DANGER.
$\mathrm{SN}-4 \mathrm{UTAH}$
KN WILL WIN BIGGER THAN 60 ALTHOUGH SOME MEMBERS OF THE CEURCH FLITRING A LITTLE WITH WALLACE SEN. BENNETT. WILL BE REELECTED EASILY AS WILS THE TWO CONGRESSMEN.

LN - 4 NEW MEXICO
MORE WALLACE SENTIMENT HERE THAN THERE OUGHT TO BE, BUT DEMUCRATS BADLY SPLIT - CARGO PKOBALBY WILL GET REELECTED. MAY PICK UP A CONGRESSIONAL SEAT IN THE NORTHERN DI STRICT WHERE WE"RE RUNNING A SPANISH-ANERICAN FOR A CHANGE IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT, ED FOREMAN RUNNING HARD BUT WON'T BE ABLE TO MAKE IT UNLESS WE DO VERY WELL IN THE STATE.
$S N=5$ ARIZONA
RN WILL CARRY BIG WITH NO PROBLFM. GOLDWATERS RACE WILL BE CLOSE BUT HE WILL WIN EASILY. WILL HOLD THE TWO CONGRESSIONAL SEATS BUT DON"T HADE ANY CHANCE OF GETTING ANOTHER.

LN - 40 CALIFORNI $\cap$
DEMOGRATS JUST CAN'T SOLUE THIER INTERNAL PROBLENS. WI TH WALLACE HURTING US IN SOUTHERN CALIFORIVIA, BUT SO FAR NOT SO MUCH THAT UE STILL ARENTT IN THE LEAD. SENATE RACE (RAFFERTY US CRANSTON) WILL BE A PROBLEM SINCE RAFEERTY SEEMS DETERMINED TO : STAY AT THE EXTREME RIGHT WING. HE SHOULD BE MOVING TOWARD THE MIDDLE SINCE CRANSTON ISNTT MUCH OF A CUNDIDATE WHERE RAFFERTY SHOULD PULI UP. MAY PICK UP A GONGRESSIONAL SEAT IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY. ALIA THH REPUBLICAN INCUMBENTS LOOK SECURE.

SNSN - 6 OREGON
DEMOCRATS TOO INVOLVED IN TRYING TO SAVE MORSE'S SENATE SEAT TO OWRRY ABOUT HHH. MORSE GETTING HELP FROM THE LUMBER INDUSTRY BECAUSE OF FAVORABLE LEGISLATURE THAT IS HURTING PACOUIN. ON THE OTHER HAND, PACQUIN GETTING GOOD SUPPORT FROM THE DUNGAN DEMOCRATS. RACE WILL BE DETERMINED BY RN'S MARGIN. WILL HOLO THE TWO CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, BUT WON'T PICK UP ANY.

LN - 9 WASHTNGTON
STILL DEEP TROUBLE WITHIN THE REPUBLIGAN PARTY, BUT DON'T SEEV TO BE BEFLECTING THE NATIONAL, RACE YET• GOVERNOR EVANS GOING VERY WELL AMONG THE DEMOCRATS, BUT NOT DOING WELL IN THE REPUBLIGAN AREAS. RN'S CAMPAIGNING SHOULD HELP HERE, THOUGH• NO HOPE IN THE SENATE RACE WILL HOLD THE TWO CONGRESSIONAL SEATS WE HAVE, AND MIGHT PICK UP ONE IN THE 2ND (OUTSIDE SEATTLE)

SN - 3 ALASKA
MAIL POLL TALEN IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS SHOWED THE FOLLOWING RESULTS: RN $63 \%$ HHH $30 \%$ WALLACE $77 \%$ RASWUSSEN SHOULD CAPTURE THE SENATE SEAT FAIRLY EASILY SINCE PEOPLE ARE BEING ENCOURAGED TO WRI TE IN GRUENING'S NAME THUS SPLITTING THE DEMOCRATIG VOTE P PELLOCK HAVING A LITTLE TROUBLE IN HIS CONGRESSIONAL RACE BUT SHOULD COME THROUGH.

## LH - 4 HAWAII

INOUYE'S RACE IS HURTING US HERE SINCE JAPANESE MINORITY GILE VOTE AS A BLOCK FOR HIM AND THIS SHOULD HELP HHH. SITUATION NOT UNSAVEABLE, HOWEVER, SINCE STRONG FEELING ON THE ISLAANDS ABOUT THE WAR. MIGHT PICK UP A CONGRESSIONAL SEAT SINCE BLAISDELL IS VERY POPULAR IN HONOLULU AND SHOULD CARRY, THE CITY DEMOCRATS WLLL HOLD THE OTHER ONE.

SH - 3 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
NO CHANCE
ENDD OF TTIS ONE BUT MOREE TO COME


## MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan
FROM: Jim Miller
RE: Agnew - Bay Bridge land and Executive Assembly fund.
A. Bay Bridge Land

On June 31, 1965, while Governor Agnew was the County Executive of Baltimore County, and prior to the time that he announced his candidacy for the Republican nomimation for Governor of Maryland, he purchased a $1 / 9$ th interest in a tract of land in Anne-Arundel County, Maryland near the Revel Highway. This property was under the jurisdiction of the governing body of Anne-Arrundel County and in no way came under the jurisdiction or influence of the official duties then being exercised by Spiro Agnew.

The next session of the General Assembly of Maryland, which commenced in January of 1966 , and ended on March 31, 1966, adopted a bill calling for the construction of a bridge crossing the Chesapeake Bay parallel to the existing Chesapeake Bay bridge. The land, an interest in which had been acquired prior thereto by Ted Agnew, is near the existing Chesapeake Bay bridge. Generally speaking, the bill which was adopted by the 1956 session of the General Assembly was opposed by the Republican members of the General Assembly and was pushed by the Democratic administration of Governor J. Millard Tawes.

Several months after the 1956 session of the General Assembly ended, Ted Agnew announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for Governor of Maryland.

On July 6, 1965 , before the primary, Ted Agnew voluntarily made public a list of his assets at that time, which, of course, included the one-ninth interest in the aforesaid land. He stated shortly thereafter and before the primary that in the event he was nominated for Governor he would place his interest in said land in an irrevocable trust, and that the trustee would be directed to sell the land with any profit on the same going to charity. This statement on Agnew's part, he stated, was made to avoid any possibility of a conflict. of interest since the bill, calling for the construction of a parallel bay bridge, which had been passed by the General Assembly in 1966 session, had been placed on referendum and was an issue to be voted on in November 1966 election.

Ted Agnew was nominated by the Republican party in September 1966 primary, and, in that month, he and his wife transferred the land to the Maryland National Bank, as trustee under an irrevocable trust agreement. The trust agreement provided that the bank was to sell Agnew's interest in the land at a private sale within one year of the date of the trust agreement and, in the event that no private sale could be consummated, the trustee was to sell the land at a pubic auction. In either event, under the trustee agreement any profit on the sale was to be paid to charity.

In November 1966 Ted Agnew was elected Governor of Maryland and the bill calling for the construction of the parallel bay bridge was defeated on referendum.

In the 1967 session of the General Assembly the State Roads Commission again pressed for a bill authorizing construction of the parallel bay bridge. A bill was passed in the General Assembly which authorized the construction of three crossings of the bay,
one of which was a crossing parallel to the existing bay bridge.
No buyer having been found at private sale by the Maryland National Bank, trustee for the aforesaid land, the trustee on October 13, 1967 advertised a public sale of the Agnew interest in papers of general circulation in Baltimore City and in Annapolis. The sale was widely publicized and reporters of the news media were present at the time of the public sale. Anyone who wished to bid on the Agnew interest in the land was invited to do so but there was only one bid at the sale which was held on October 31, 1967. The owners of the other eight-ninths interest in the land made the only bid which was in amount of $\$ 13,200.00$ and which resulted in a small loss to Governor Agnew.

In summary, all of the facts concerning the acquisition and the ownership of Ted Agnew of an interest in this land was disclosed by him prior to his election and he had voluntarily, prior to his election for Governor, divested himself of any control over the land.

These facts were placed in the Congressional Record by Congressman Rogers Morton on December 6, 1967, Page H-16392.
B. Executive Assembly Fund

Approximately a year after the election of Governor Agnew, Governor of Maryland, the Republican State Central Committee created a fund raising group known as the "Executive Assembly". A payment of $\$ 1,000.00$ to a special fund of the Republican State Central Committee of Maryland was required for membership in the Executive Assembly.

A sum total of $\$ 28,500$ was collected, one person having failed to give the remaining balance on his pledge.

All monies collected were deposited in a special account of Republican State Central Committee of Maryland, and all disoursements were made by the treasurer or sub-treasurer of the Republican State Central Committee of Maryland. No money in said fund was used for the candidacy of any person in an election.

A total of $\$ 10,464.08$ was dispersed from said fund. The dispersements were as follows:
5.16 Checkbook
89.57 Hotel room and miscellaneous expenditures for the Governor at the Republican Governors Platform Hearing.
615.50 Re-imbursement to Alexander Lankler for dinner expenses for Executive Assembly members.

1,500.00 Payment to James Diggs, Caterer for two dinner meetings of Executive Assembly members and guests at Government House in Annapolis.
164.27 Payment to St. Regis - Sheraton for Governor and Staff hotel accomodations and meeting of Republican leaders -New York.

2,500.00 Transfer to general account of Republican State Central Committee of Maryland.

1,956.27 Payment to Robert Goodman Agency for services in designing a seal for the Executive Assembly, printing stationary, cards, etc.
786.20 Payment to National Airlines for transportation of Governor and staff to Republican National Convention.
780.00. Reimbursement to Republican State Central Committee for airline transportation of Governor and staff


The balance of $\$ 18,035.92$ in the fund is being transferred to a fund to be used for the National Campaign this year and will be reported under the appropriate fair election practice act at the proper time.

Pursuant to an opinion by the Maryland Attorney Generai (a Democrat), the collection and disbursement of this money has not been reported under the Maryland fair election practice act since none of said funds have been used to date in an election campaign or for the candidacy of any candidate or proposition.

The above facts have been public knowledge for some time. James Truitt of Newsweek magazine was given this information in detail by George White several weeks ago. It was my understanding that Truitt verified the Attorney General's opinion by direct conversation with Robert Sweeney, one of the assistants to the Attorney General.

October 13, 1968.
TO:
FROM:
HAJDEMAN/MITCHEL工
BUCHANAN


The Agnew staff is wholly inadequate for a national campaign or for an effective Vice President of the United States. It is close to a total loss with George White perhaps the only salvageable member. They lack any grasp of national issues; they lack any knowledge of what a vice presidential candidate should be doing. If they did know, most of them would not be up to the mark -- in particular the "press secretary," Herb Thompson.

The de-celeration, in shifting from the Nixon tour to the Agnew tour is so dramatic as to send one flying through the windshield. There are two typewriters on the plane -- and they only get in the way of the stewardesses rushing whiskey to the journalists. No work is done on the plane -- I did not observe much being done at the stops. One night when we stayed up until about midnight to get the New York Times summary, we came close to provoking a mutiny among the secretaries.

Again, these people are loyal and dedicated to their Governor; but they don't belong in the National league. The Governor himself is a personable fellow, who comes across quite well at rallies, who handles hecklers
excellently, who makes a first-rate appearance on television, and who programs as well as any candidate I have seen。 Given 300 to 500 words, he weaves them right into his speech -- and he delivers his material in a soft-spoken manner that I find at least quite effective. On local television he is first rate. He is a decided asset to the campaign.

His weaknesses include his candor, his làck of information on national issues, and his lack of sophistication in areas of sensitivity, his unawareness of how an effective national candidate should work his staff to the greatest benefit.

His operation is an effective low-keyed thing on the Governor's part -- but it is simply not the professional juggernaut we run on the $R N$ plane -- with deadlines met and with copy constantly pouring out. When I arrived there last week, Steve Hess was basically turning out some pedestrian co-ordinating committee-type stuff, on call from the candidate. In confidence, White told me that the Governor is not comfortable with Hess' material and prefers some of the nut-cutting stuff he received later in the week.

Agnew himself is deeply loyal to RN, deeply appreciative that RN did not call and chew him out when he punted a few, willing to do about anything RN asks, on cue. BUCHANAN'S RECOMMENDATIONS
I) RN should make irregular calls to Agnew to keep his confidence up -- and to let him know he has RN's full backing
and that RN understands that the press is out to give him a screwing.
2) Since Agnew is going to be made increasingly the target of the HHH operation -- with Agnew being portrayed as something of a boob, who is RN's first mistake, and who would be a dangerous man a heartbeat away -- Agnew ought to be getting out some substantive in-depth stuff that de facto repudiates that argument。 (I don't say Agnew should get off the offensive, but he should be dropping some thoughtful pieces which make the national press sit up and take notice and give the lie of the allegations about him.
3) The TV people might give:. some thought to having Agnew put, full face, on national TV spots. He himself and his appearance are the best arguments we: have against the kind of attack that is going to be mounted.
4) Keep in the back of our minds the possibility of an Agnew Nationwide TV appearance, for some of the same purposes as the RN Fund speech -- apologizing pro vita sua -- if the attacks on Agnew get rough which I think they well might.
5) Do not try to revamp their operation now with three weeks to go. Agnew would see it as a vote of no confidence. It would shake them up, and him up -- and we should go down to the wire with the team in the same shape it is in now.
6) My own thinking is that Buchanan can be helpful
to Agnew by giving him something of a briefing each morning, by writing materials for him, by acting as liaison with the RN plane who can feed stuff through me to the Governor. I get along well with the staff over there; I represent no threat to any of them; they want help; George White recognizes that they need help. And since this is the front where the attack is going to come, it needs a bit of beefing up -- without sending them someone or some group which would lead them to believe we didn't think they could cut it themselves.
7) Agnew is feeling badly about the attacks on him as the weak link in the chain -- and RN personally ought to attend to this problem and keep his confidence. up。

The press needs to manufacture a new trend
keep up interest the campaign. They are bored with:
(a) Nixon's smooth campaign, and.
(b) Humphreys no-longer-surprising weakness

Therefor, we can expect, a rash of stories in the coming week on
(a) how Nixon evades the Diet nam Issue, how lie is running a bland campaign, how ho refuses to be drawn into debate;
(b) how the new Humphrey has become his own man at last; admiring descriptions of the scrappy underdog; the return of the McCarthy troops.

We can also expect a Harris or Quale poll next week showing a Humphrey move upward at Nixon's expense; also a Wallace move up at Nixon's expense, since this would be hard to check against Gallup. Thus, Humphrey would have "momentum" which would feed the need of the coluninists.

To counter this, we should give the press a fresh theme to write about concerning the Nixon campaign. Some new strategy, zong since planned, now being reveal od so as to win going away.

Important that this newlymrevealed strategy be stressed as prempla need, so as not bo be interpreted as a reaction to tavex a real or phony Humphrey "upsurge".

Our "secret" strategy to be revealed now:
Cont coparign tome ad t actwity's
On October 12 (Columbus $D_{a y}$ ) Stage Three of our rocket is launched 1 "Tass, I nay $^{\prime}$ (Stage One was February to Convention; Stage Two was August to mid-October.)

Reason for the stratery: we do not want to win the way Kennedy won in 7.,60, losing ground rapidly toward the end. We want to win going away so as to reaffirm the mandate.

Reason for the timing: (a) a three week drive can be sustained at an intensive level, per $F D R^{\prime}$ s "highest note on the scale " theory;
(b) World series is out of the way:
(c) The swing voter does not make up his mind until. the last three weeks.
(d) Congressional session ends, focusing 2.11 political news on the campaign and freeing up all big guns to echo standard bearer's themes;
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(a) Scranton NATO trip timed for arrival back Oct 9, with big Nixon foeeign-affairs speech on global strategy set for a lew days afterward.
(b) Nix on longtime history of aiming at "peaking" just before election.
(c) Televisoh advertising time purchases, made long before, sharply increasing in frequency in this peric d.
Stage Three intensifiaation of activity:
(a) End the honeymoon of making it easy for the press. Continue all courtesios and solicitude, but make tho days
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``` by ataftors and surrofales, a stroan of pholy hamombs that require stories, no more restrul wockends.
(b) some intensification of RN's schedule is planned; the idea is to exaggerate this, pointing out that you are "rested" for the all-out final effort. Appearance of running hard and earnest is better at this stage than appearance of relaxed confidence.
Stage Three intensification of tone:
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(a) Refer to Humphrey by name and call attention to fact that you are no longer just calling him "my opponent"; cite "Humphrey failures", "Humphrey the Dawk", "High Cost of Humphrey".
(b) Sharpen Wallace approach: comment on some of his old wild staternents, deplore nuclear trigger-happiness target in LeMay, hit often on collusion with Humphrey
(o) launch radio and bv opot advorbiathe: orampiph in fimble aimed at "a voto for Whlitaco io a voto for llmmanay" anat publioise this campaign in tho North.

Stage Phree Special Projects:
(a) the Garden Rally in New York, not undertaken in 1260 .
(b) the two hour election eve telethon--announce foon.
(c) Possible gathering of surrogates and Apnew October 15, with Nixon to breif on special assignmentes in butble ptatone.
(d) Colorful whang of pace with railroact whislestop sen


Summary:
This memo is aimed at appearance rather than substance.
I susgest that we pre-package "interpretation" of what we already $16 \operatorname{la}^{\prime \prime}$
plan to do anyway. In that way, we buzid interest in what is coming up; we show a gradd design; we hold focus on our eampaign rather than have it shift to the always more interesting underdog campaign.

End, specifically, we do this at a moment that Humphrey neeos most to show how his own fortunes are changing.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
1
I talked with Pat Fit on Saturday and she
flayed the following information from her friend who is working close to O'Brien:

He says they no longer give a dam what McCarthy
does -- whether he comes out or doesn't come out for them.
They feel that HHH's speech accomplished so much for them that they don't care about McCarthy or Unruh.

In the last week there has been just a dramatic change in the morale as a result of that speech. They have taken in around $\$ 200,000$ - they only spent $\$ 70,000$, so they are elated.

LBJ has promised them he will go all the way with them -- anything in the world they want. Lady Bird is going to be very active all over the country.

They have bought five hours of national television time between now and the election with an option for another 2-1/2 hours.

Their figuring is that we will concentrate on the last two weeks. They plan to use considerable part of this TV time within the next week to ten days so they can come up while they think we will be "coasting." They are, of course, also reserving time so they will be able to do whatever they need to do. (Let's have Shakespeare find out what time they have).

Timing is a vital part of their strategy. They figure we will slow down for a couple of weeks and this will give them a chance to go up in the polls.

Another thing -- they are leaking polls favorable to us -- they are counting on these favorable poils to make us cocky -- and start our workers thinking we have it made.

A case in point -- they had a man in Comnecticut leak a poll to the press showing that Republicans were ahead by 120,000 votes. This is not a true poll -- just something they put out. They plan to do this in state after state to lull us into over-confidence. They are trying to plant figures in all of the key states.

They claim that they have registered 250,000
Democrats in California in the last two weeks.
They feel that their Vietnam speech changed the whole coloration of this campaign. They feel it was extremely successful.

They are working with polls -- in Ohio they have a poll that shows HHH 41/ RN 38 (this is a Quayle poll and they say this is a conservative estimate of their strength).

Mail reaction has been very heavy to the HHH speech.
Radical change in morale.
They are really functioning now as a campaign
operation for the first time.

They are confident that they will come in with a strong finish in their campaign.

They have also re-assessed their strategy because they have had two good days with HHH in the South. Tennessee and one other state -- they are now taking a big second look at North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland. They are writing off Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

They feel they can carry Florida and Muskie reported to O'Brien that West Virginia is in the bag.

There is something very peculiar going on in California -- they think they are going to carry California. There is something odd here.

They also expect to carry: New York, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio. Feel they have a fighting chance in Illinois. They write off Wisconsin. They feel they probably will carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusects. HHH has an hour on October 11th $-1 / 2$ of that hour are shots done from the convention and $1 / 2$ hour of it is stuff they taped in his office.

McCarthy has time on October 8th.
They are jubiliant over Agnew.
NOTE: He said that the O'Brien level of the HHH
campaign gets regular reports on RN from Secret Service. Direct pipeline from SS to O'Brien - evidently everything they overhear everything that is done - etc.

Pat Hitt called back Saturday evening to say
she had just been told that the Democrats had polled Florida
and that as of October lst it was: Wallace 37/ Nixon 33/
Humphrey 22 -- Undeciced 8.
(They paid $\$ 28,000$ for the poll so that would probably give us an idea of how thoroughly they went into the state).

