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TO: George Bush  
FROM: Eddie Mahe, Jr.  
SUBJECT: Virginia and New Jersey Gubernatorial Races

VIRGINIA

A scientific survey taken in early July showed Mills Godwin ahead at that time but many people doubt that will still be true when we get the initial results of the survey now in the field. These results are not expected until October 10th. There are many reasons why there has been erosion but the dominant one, and the one responsible for most of the other problems, is the attitude of the candidate. This is true in many ways. His unwillingness to absolutely identify as a Republican is causing some real problems and will undoubtedly cause some erosion in base vote. It's not felt so much that Republicans will vote for Howell as it is that they just won't vote.

His insistence on controlling most of the campaign functions either directly or with people who have little or no professional expertise at the job they are attempting to fill has resulted in a most amateurish operation - resulting in poor research, poor scheduling, and constantly poor exposure in the press. The result has been the portrayal of a man very much on the defensive and somewhat out of touch with today's times. An additional problem in the campaign area is an arbitrary limit of $625,000 that has been set on campaign expenditures which rules out several very necessary programs.
Most of the above is contradicted by our opponent's campaign which appears to be a highly professional, well-organized, well-funded effort that undoubtedly has the momentum at this point. All this is being brought about in no small amount by the maximum support and involvement of organized labor at all levels of the campaign.

In spite of all the above, hopefully, the race can still be won. First, 60% of all Virginians see themselves as more conservative than Howell, so, if this fact can be capitalized on, and if Republicans can be pulled to the polls, then victory may still be possible.

Even though the budget is somewhat less than desirable, a solid hard-hitting media package has been prepared under the direction of George Young and Associates of Los Angeles. This includes over 600,000 pieces of rifle shot direct mail. We can be sure of the quality and directness of the media campaign.

A surrogate operation is getting underway using the state's Republican congressman and others in an attempt to back Howell down somewhat and maybe, if we are really lucky and Godwin doesn't give him any more ammunition, we might even get him on the defensive.

Finally, working with the Republican Party of Virginia, the RNC is attempting to get a field operation underway which will, at the least, utilize the pre-existing available resources together with what volunteers can be recruited and put together some kind of election day pulling effort and, at the very best, if the Godwin campaign will provide some funding, will put together a highly professional saturation effort to absolutely maximize both Republican vote and friendly Democratic vote in all the 18 target areas around the state.
NEW JERSEY

The initial survey done in this State also showed our candidate in the lead but most knowledgeable observers attributed that lead mostly to the superior name identification of Sandman. Many people think that as Bryne’s name ID has increased he has slipped into the lead but a Pucchi poll leaked to the press last week supposedly showed Sandman still maintaining a six point lead. Although a Quale poll is quoted as showing Sandman down 42 to 27 it would seem we still have a chance to win. In any event, the campaign hopefully has gone through its worst period.

The first problem, and of course the opportunity to run, was caused by the defeat of Governor Cahill in the primary. The state chairman and 19 of 21 county chairman supported the Governor in the primary and many of these people have since departed the organization. This turnover was complicated by the fact that the Sandman people spent at least the first 30 days after the primary celebrating their victory rather than gearing up for the general. The complete changeover of party personnel at the state level coupled with the fact that the people introduced into the campaign at the operational level are all very inexperienced has resulted in organizational chaos. Planning has been either poor or non existent. Almost any decision that was made was countermanded by someone else who seemingly had equal status. The amateur problem was compounded by the retention of a press secretary who, while he had good technical skills, understood nothing about what was involved in the press operations of a major campaign. Finally, the campaign is suffering from a real financial crunch with insufficient bucks being raised and, if this situation is not quickly alleviated, then all might be lost no matter what else is done. There is a
feeling of confidence that the overall strategy of the campaign is sound and
that the media will totally support that strategy as both are under the control
of Cliff White and Associates of New York.

Our situation in New Jersey is greatly aided by the fact that the campaign
of our opponent has seemed to have at least as many if not more problems than
has ours. The over-whelming presence of organized labor suggests that ultimately
they might get it straightened out though.

Since the campaign is extremely cooperative in every way with the RNC, we
are undertaking a major involvement in the campaign in an attempt to shore up
those areas of greatest weakness, except finances, and hopefully, will pull
the organization into shape for a massive election day effort.

The need to win both races remains paramount, and at this point, both
would seem to be winnable.