Magruder is still trying to reach Murray Chotiner to find out why reports are still being prepared after the October 31 deadline. In light of the Attorney General's view that all of this material is manufactured, Magruder will be sure that no more payments are made.
November 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER
RE: Chapman's Friend Reports

Discussions were held separately with McGovern, Harris and Gene McCarthy, the fringe candidates.

All three were either bitter, pretended outrage or were snide about Humphrey, Jackson and Lindsay. Both McGovern and Harris were very careful when Ted Kennedy's name emerged in the conversations. They were, succinctly, "respectful." McCarthy referred to Ted Kennedy as: "the barefoot boy with balls of brass and an intellect of the same metal."

I asked McGovern why it was that after 10 months of open announcement and moving around the country, he showed that he stood still in the polls. McGovern: "I just don't accept these weekly or regular results. Who conducts them? I started off just about worse than anyone else in the identification field. I'd guess that Fred Harris was better known. This takes hard work, constant application."

But didn't Ted Kennedy show well in Democratic polls, as published? McGovern: "Ted is very well known. Come off it. Where the polls are wrong in his case, in my view, is that I don't believe that he will be a candidate."

He declared that he was confident that he could beat Jackson and Harris and that "McCarthy is only a passing problem. I think, in the end, Gene would see things my way. He is a difficult and a proud man."

On Humphrey? McGovern: "Hubert is playing just the kind of role you'd expect from a boss like Daley. He is being very rough and his people are playing it rough. It will not do him any credit and only leave him more embittered than he is. Hubert is really sore at Muskie and he is playing it rough all the way around."

How is he doing that? McGovern: "He tells people with me now who were once in '68 with him that they better shape up and get on his
side. His staffers pass that word along all the time. This con­
tains an implied threat and I don't like it. Nobody else does."

He, McGovern, seems to have money to spend? McGovern: "We've been
lucky with many small contributors, thousands of them. We spend
less. Ours is a lean operation."

It didn't seem so to me, I said. McGovern: "Match it with Muskie's.
Then see what Hubert has lined up for him -- even Jackson. Mine is
pretty lean all right."

What did he think would happen if Humphrey or Jackson got the upper
hand and got to be serious contenders? McGovern: "No question,
there'd be a walkout." How about Muskie going all the way? McGovern:
"I don't believe that will happen. I look for him to fade quickly
after, say, April -- beginning of May. But you insist on an answer
if he is No. 1. No, I don't believe there'd be any walkout as there
would with Hubert or Jackson. Maybe they will. But Muskie and others
could work something out."

Fred Harris almost frothed at the mouth at the mention of Humphrey's
and Jackson's names. He called Hubert "old scar-tissue" and Jackson
he termed: "The candidate from Mars -- the God of War." Harris'
excesses in bad-mouthing the others made McGovern seem mild, by com­
parison. I kept after him: Where was his constituency? Harris:
"It is beginning to form. You ought to see the letters that flow
into my office." Where was the money coming from? Harris: "It's
hard to get. People are laying back. I've already piled up debts.
We fly on the seat of our pants."

McGovern said just about the same. Harris: "George is much better
off, on the matter of money and being able to get it. We get what you
may call pittances. But we have lots of earnest supporters and volun­
teers." What if Muskie went all the way? Harris: "I don't see it.
It's iffy, but I'll speculate that if Ed goes all the way, as you pro­
pose the hypothesis, something may happen along the way -- an accom­
modation. But never with the Jacksons of this world or Hubert."

How about Ted Kennedy? Harris thought briefly and said, I believe,
honestly: "If Ted indicates in any concrete way that he wants the
nomination, all of us better just go about whatever other business
we have, it's all over." Then he added: "In my book, Ted Kennedy
doesn't want the nomination."

Gene McCarthy, in a world-weary attitude, dismissed all the other
Democrats, no matter their names. They simply weren't worthy of
nomination, let alone election, he said. Was there any way he'd work out a deal with any of them? "There's no way; I repeat no way." How about the 4th Party suggestion, headed by him? McCarthy played it coy. He said: "I'm consulting friends. I'll probably see what primaries I should test. I don't want to commit myself about this now. Let's see at the New Year."

I mentioned to McCarthy that none of the other aspirants seemed to take him seriously; that most never even bothered to mention him. After repeating this a couple of times, he answered huffily: "Let me tell you, they all wonder what I'm going to do and most of them want me to support them. I'll just keep them guessing and they'll see what I can do!"

None of the candidates contacted in this review had a good word for Lindsay. They all sneered or sniffed. McCarthy called him "perpetual laughing boy who had the brains bred out of him."

On the outcome of local elections November 2, comments were predictably mournful about Rizzo's win in Philadelphia, Perk's in Cleveland. Harris said he was sorry that Charles Evers got such a bad beating in Mississippi. The others, including McCarthy, were rather non-committal on it.

Only Scoop Jackson called Rizzo and congratulated him. Jackson had been the only one of the candidates who openly endorsed Rizzo. He patently feels he has a due bill to cash in at primary time in Pennsylvania.

Jackson, as we have noted, will plunge into preparations for the primaries in New Hampshire. Around November 15, Norman Kreisman -- one of his brain trust and close to John Salter -- goes to New Hampshire and sets up in Manchester. He will keep an eye on organizational activity and arrange for a couple of co-chairmen in the state.

CC: H. R. Haldeman