

**Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

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MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK HOWARD  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached are the reports that were sent to Mr. Haldeman and me from Chapman's friend who was with Humphrey in California. Chapman's friend is now with McGovern.

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HHH QUOTES ON MCGOVERN

EXCLUSIVE OF NEWS RELEASES AND ADS

On May 29, in Los Angeles, Chapman's Friend had a 20-minute personal talk with HHH. Referring to McGovern, HHH said: "He is playing in a civics class with theory. McGovern is unrealistic. Who would pass his programs in the Congress? He has been a Senator long enough to know that almost all of these programs would never get out of committee.

"If he was left to talk and negotiate with world leaders, he would get all flustered, be totally on the defensive and we would have a man who would be almost mum and on the defensive.

"His welfare proposals are a school boy's dreams -- nothing real in any of them."

When asked if he (HHH) would support McGovern if McGovern was nominated, HHH replied: "Let's wait about that." When asked if McGovern would support him, HHH replied: "You can put that kind of support in the corner of your eye."

On May 29, Humphrey attacked McGovern for big spending. In Los Angeles he said, "If he (McGovern) wants to be Mr. Clean, let him come clean. He is spending money like water and using tremendous advertising leverage. Where is it coming from?"

Three times that day, at various meetings in Los Angeles, HHH referred to the huge spending programs of McGovern and

carried that point right down to the very last day before the primary at places like Cantor's restaurant -- a big Jewish center -- where he hammered on the high cost of the McGovern effort.

On May 29, in Fresno and Sacramento, HHH called McGovern a "fool." It was an adaptation of a Scoop Jackson thesis that McGovern is "not a liberal, but a fool."

On the debate Tuesday, May 30, on NBC, which really was a discussion because of the network's ground rules, Humphrey apologized for calling McGovern a "fool." He said it was a misintrepretation. However, he did say McGovern was a "fool" as pointed out, at least four times the previous day.

Chapman's Friend asked HHH what he thought of McGovern's stand on international affairs. Humphrey replied, "He ought to get himself up-to-date. I do not think there is a major portion of his (Nixon) visit that can be criticized." HHH kept making reference to this throughout the state from San Francisco to Sacramento, to Oxnard and Ventura, as he campaigned.

Chapman's Friend asked him, In your opinion, what do you think McGovern knows about foreign affairs? HHH replied: "I think I know a lot more with my previous experience in foreign affairs than McGovern. This trip (President's trip to USSR) and the one to China cannot be downgraded to refer only to Vietnam.

"And, who knows what the outcome in Vietnam will be as a result of Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union?"

Throughout the state as he campaigned -- and as we all know, HHH is a tireless campaigner -- he kept saying, "McGovern just doesn't have a clue about the difference between joblessness and welfare. You cannot make a flat statement about the two things. He (McGovern) doesn't know the first thing about the realities in this country."

Humphrey said that if McGovern means to link the issues together, "Why doesn't he come out and say he wants a whole welfare state for the United States. At least that is candor even if it does not make sense for this country."

In attacking McGovern's \$1,000 per person welfare proposal, Humphrey at almost every labor meeting and in most other type crowds arranged for him, kept saying that McGovern's welfare program, if approved, would cost the taxpayers an additional \$115 billion. He said he got help in estimating these figures from the Senate Finance Committee.

"Why doesn't McGovern check on the reports as compiled by the Senate Finance Committee to learn exactly what this all will cost?" Humphrey said.

In the last week before the primary, HHH insisted on attacking McGovern for being wishy-washy at best on aid to

Israel. He cited McGovern's voting record on assistance to Israel and said, "He (McGovern) has voted against essential aid to Israel. At the same time, he did vote for assistance to South Vietnam which he claims he opposed years before anybody else did."

The McGovern anti-Israel position and his contradictory votes on Vietnam were employed regularly by HHH in the last six days of his campaign throughout the state and especially in Los Angeles.

On June 1, in San Bernadino, Bakersfield and San Francisco, HHH slugged at McGovern's welfare program and his defense cuts. In Watts he told a crowd of elderly Blacks that "McGovern's proposals on welfare are hypocrisy. It is not new politics, it's old politics with promises that are not kept."

At the same meeting, HHH said, "In any case (meaning if he did not get the nomination), I will remain a Senator. I will oppose vigorously the McGovern welfare plan and I will oppose his ideas for defense cuts."

Before a labor meeting in Ventura, Humphrey said McGovern's proposed defense cuts would simultaneously make us a second class power and increase unemployment, especially in California.

Referring to defense and McGovern's program for sharp reductions, HHH told a group of Rabbis in Beverly Hills "When McGovern voted against military credits, he also voted against credits for Israel."

In Burlingame, California, at a labor rally on June 3, HHH said, "McGovern speaks to you with a forked tongue." He also said, "McGovern is a false friend of working families in California."

Up and down the state that day HHH attacked McGovern for having professors who prepare pamphlets that are meaningless and who take no legislative positions. He also stressed that McGovern is spending tons of money and using "slicksters and Madison Avenue advertising people."

The Field poll first leaked and then brought out as a public pronouncement really clobbered the HHH camp on June 1. This is the poll that showed McGovern ahead of Humphrey by 46% to 26%.

In Bakersfield, HHH when questioned about the results said "This is baloney. The Gallop Poll shows me leading all Democrats in the West. This Field poll was a telephone canvass of about 800 people. I don't buy it."

Chapman's Friend asked HHH, What if you get beaten in California? HHH replied: "I continue right through to the Convention." He repeated this right to the end.

At Riverside before a labor meeting, HHH attacked McGovern personally again on his welfare program. He said, "I want to say again that the McGovern scheme is wrong. I will have nothing

to do with it and I want to repeat, if I don't get the nomination, I will remain a Senator and oppose this scheme."

At this point, HHH started to refer to McGovern's welfare proposal as a "scheme."

HHH is using the line that he has stood up for you (minorities); McGovern is a "Johnny come lately."

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RANDOM OBSERVATIONS  
OF CHAPMAN'S FRIEND IN CALIFORNIA  
RE HHH - MCGOVERN

Humphrey began to go on the attack against McGovern in California, singling him out by name, with the televised debate on May 28.

He kept the attack up by name with speeches, many off the cuff remarks, but later incorporated them into text.

One of the main themes he used in the last week before the primary before union groups and with older people -- including Blacks and minority groups -- was that they would be short changed by McGovern's \$1,000 per person welfare proposal. HHH hit hard repeatedly, before aerospace workers and other defense workers, about McGovern's defense reductions which he said would cost California workers thousands of jobs.

In discussing the HHH campaign strategy the last week before the primary, the media following HHH, began to throw goading questions. Some of it had been suggested by Chapman's Friend in open and in semi-private talks with Humphrey. This included more specifics on where he disagreed with McGovern on welfare, on defense spending and on the President's trip to the Soviet Union. Chapman's Friend asked HHH, in reference to



President Nixon's speech to the Russian people, how he (HHH) saw its impact. HHH replied that it cut a lot of ground from under the Democrats in foreign affairs.

Up and down the state in the last week, when either questioned about the President's trip or when making direct reference to it himself, HHH observed that "If the Nixon achievements -- in arms limitation and in some accommodation with the USSR -- is successful, it will help him (Nixon) a little at the ballot box, but I am all for that because of its greater meaning to us and to the world."

Earlier, Jack Chestnut, Campaign Manager for HHH, issued a statement in Los Angeles charging McGovern with violating the agreement entered into by all Democratic candidates earlier in the year. Chestnut said that the agreement provided that a candidate can spend up to \$413,000 campaigning in California on television and radio. There also was supposed to be a contingency fund of about 5% or approximately \$50,000.

Chestnut accused McGovern of exceeding this amount and said that McGovern would spend some \$900,000 to 1.2 million dollars in California.

Humphrey, under media questioning, later said in effect that this series of charges by Chestnut were accurate in his belief, but that he did not know what could be done, if anything could ever be done about it.

In San Francisco, Humphrey was gracious in his remarks about the President's report to the Congress. HHH repeated what he had said earlier that "the agreements are a very considerable achievement. If this means the President gets extra help at the ballot box, it is a fair price to pay."

Another Chestnut statement was issued attacking McGovern's spending and saying, "We are convinced that candidates cannot be sold like cereal."

Chestnut may have had some prescience. He said "Humphrey is overcoming the gap. We will not permit the reckless expenditures of unlimited funds to becloud the issues. We again ask Senator McGovern to disclose the details of his campaign expenditures in California just as Senator Humphrey did. If he did not have anything to hide, he would have made that disclosure by now.

"It is interesting that in the early days of these primaries, he campaigned as a man with open books and attacked Senator Muskie and others for not releasing their financial details as early as he did. Today he prefers to keep the voters of California in the dark."

On June 3, in San Francisco, Mayor Alioto accompanied HHH everywhere he went. At an early morning press conference Quenton Kopp, California State Chairman for Scoop Jackson, was trotted out to urge voters to cast ballots for HHH. Kopp said he is

staying loose until the Convention to see what Jackson would do, but in this primary he urged voters to support Humphrey.

Chapman's Friend had dinner in Los Angeles with an old colleague, Richard Dougherty, now a hired gun for McGovern. Dougherty was in a somewhat euphoric state. Dougherty is a novelist and had been very close to Bobby Kennedy. He also for some years worked for the New York Herald Tribune and most recently for the Los Angeles Times. He went on board with McGovern a couple of months ago. He is a special adviser to McGovern on the media, political planning, and briefs McGovern on questions and answers like Presidential briefings before major press conferences.

Dougherty told Chapman's Friend that the McGovern board of strategy knew everything in advance of what HHH was going to do and planned to say. He suggested this probably was normal procedure because McGovern was HHH's opposition and that they (McGovern camp) had infiltrated the Humphrey setup.

"That is not all of it," said Dougherty boastfully. "We get a lot of information out of that headquarters set up at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue." What kind, Chapman's Friend asked? Dougherty replied: "Oh, position papers -- all kinds of information."

Obviously this may be a boast given impetus by the arrogance of the McGovern camp. However, having set their lines down throughout the country with organization, there may be more than a germ of truth in the Dougherty boast.

HHH continued his anti-McGovern slugging to the end. He made a trip to Chinatown in San Francisco, emphasizing that McGovern is not good for the minorities. This was a theme he repeated in Oakland with Blacks, in San Diego with other groups and then in Hollywood with Jewish groups.

The McGovern camp kept planting rumors and reports that Congressman Wilbur Mills could well be their number 2 choice. In San Francisco the day that HHH was there but had left earlier, McGovern -- as we know now -- met with Mills.

Mills has since told Chapman's Friend and others that the number 2 offer did not arise in discussions with McGovern. Nobody seems to believe this and Chapman's Friend asked Mills why he ever bothered to meet with McGovern. Mills said that he happened to be in San Francisco on a little campaigning for himself and that McGovern had asked for the meeting and it was held.

Mills has, in the recent past, been rather close to Scoop Jackson. He is quite aware of Jackson's efforts in a stop McGovern move, but said he did not think it could really take off. The Mills role puzzled Humphrey, who said, "I understand the

tactics of trying to get Wilbur on McGovern's side, but as of this point I don't think it can be done."

Humphrey on the evening of the primary acknowledged the massive organization of the McGovern volunteers and said, "I guess we all underestimated its effect terribly."

One of the major contributors and national finance chairman, Max Kimelman, is worthy of more inquiry. Kimelman is better known as the slum lord of the Virgin Islands and he almost induced former Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, to give him limitless concessions at a major airport in the Virgin Islands. The background of that incident should be brought up-to-date..

Long before Hubert Humphrey entered the competition for the Democratic nomination, he was out-gunned, out-spent and out-flanked in California. While, for example, he concentrated last February in Florida, the McGovern forces kept building organization and funds in California.

This slowly dawned on the HHH board of strategy as it saw Humphrey out-maneuvered even in areas he felt were his -- Blacks, Chicanos and Jews as well as labor.

In desperation, therefore, the Humphrey camp went over to the direct attack on McGovern.

It was much too late. Humphrey's style also is not chemically suited to the kind of slugging needed to chip away at the

plastic populist image created by the McGovern camp. Humphrey simply cannot retain a real or fancied sulk. Thus, he apologized on the NBC "debate" for having earlier called McGovern several times a "fool."

When his own task force, led by Campaign Manager, Jack Chestnut, warned him that he better stick to an all-out offense, HHH began to spray in all directions. Hence:

He belted McGovern on the proposal to give everyone \$1,000; the McGovern proposal to drastically reduce defense budgets and repeatedly charged McGovern with being a false friend of labor.

The futility of organized labor (AFL-CIO) to do much for HHH has been one of the great setbacks for Humphrey in California. Labor may only be able to provide some money but it cannot deliver the troops, i.e., votes and organization in California -- or other states as Michigan.

As with the Humphrey Presidential campaign in 1968, his efforts in California were totally punctuated this time with disorganization, faulty strategy and unbelievable tardiness. He muffed big audiences to chat and shake hands with small ones. His staff was incapable of getting him anywhere on time. Chestnut warned him repeatedly of this dangerous failure but HHH only smiled and said not to worry. The rest of his staff simply shrugged.

The McGovern crowd has become smugly super-confident. Some of their hired hands -- Frank Mankiewicz, Pierre Salinger and

Dick Dougherty -- boast they had a minimum of 50,000 volunteers in California. These volunteers charged up and down the state, getting to people.

Moreover, they claim that they can dispose of a national total of volunteers of the same zealotry that comes to a minimum of 350,000. In addition, these same sources contend that by the time McGovern is nominated, they will build on an organization of a million zealots.

To all comers, they also plant the suggestion and rumor that Wilbur Mills could well be the Vice Presidential candidate with McGovern. The point to that is that the McGovern camp believes its true believers will swallow anyone McGovern selects because his heart and motives are so pure. They even say that, if necessary, George Wallace could be put on the ticket and nobody will defect.

In his present euphoria, Mankiewicz thinks aloud that he could be Attorney General should McGovern be elected. Salinger even thinks of himself as a Secretary of State or at worst, a new and special roving Ambassador with a direct pipeline to the White House. All of them hold Humphrey in amused contempt.

Some remarks:

"Poor old Hubert, doesn't know what state he's in; let alone the country;" or "This is his last hurrah but it should be called a squeak."

Once HHH began to openly expose the inequities and costliness of the McGovern welfare program, the McGovern camp began to behave in the old-style Kennedy manner. From Mankiewicz down, they talked of "getting even" with that "foolish, old man." Humphrey was obviously on to something but his exploitation was erratic.

His criticism did not evoke widespread encouragement. Blacks and Chicanos seemed indifferent. Younger Blacks and Chicanos appeared openly pro-McGovern -- as did nearly all youth of assorted affluence and education. HHH could not make a dent among students. He soon gave up.

But Humphrey always remained easily accessible. This was not so with McGovern. He was sealed off, except for press conferences, personal (big crowd) appearances. Mankiewicz and Dougherty in particular watched him like a hawk -- they acted as if they were latter-day Bernard Shaws in making a new Pygmalion.

When tagged in TV questions-and-answers, McGovern seemed uneasy about his welfare stances and protested too much about the wisdom of his defense slashes. Humphrey, at Chestnut's constant goading, hit McGovern regularly the last week on McGovern's voting record that showed NO from job protection, to protection of Israel; safeguarding middle income families, civil rights, taxes.

To re-emphasize McGovern's fuzziness and what HHH called his "fiscal irresponsibility," the Humphrey camp took out full page



ads in major newspapers across the state. The impact, however, seems to have been only marginal. McGovern was knocked off balance but most voters didn't appear to care.

The volunteers -- and I spoke to about a dozen in various parts of the state -- ignored the HHH criticism. They pointed up the "newness" of McGovern, his appeal for "trust" and his desire to assure participation for all the electorate. The volunteers went around as evangelists, talking over and around the issues. They appeared mainly successful.

The political intelligence apparatus of HHH was spotty, at best. It hardly knew what the McGovern camp was up to and was usually saved by labor's inquisitors planted among McGovern groups seeking labor support. This is principally how Chestnut learned of the spending violations by the McGovern people.

On the other hand, the McGovern team had very successfully infiltrated the HHH camp. Dougherty, in an expansively charitable mood, said: "Some of those boys (in Humphrey's camp) have been doing well for us. In the campaign, we'll make it up to them -- they'll have jobs."

Ted Van Dyk, who was one of Humphrey's principal aides in the 1968 campaign, was very conspicuously at McGovern's side. He went over to McGovern some time ago. Van Dyk told me that: "Hubert should not have tried this again. He's over the hill." Van Dyk added that he could call almost every shot Humphrey made -- well in advance.

Jack Chestnut obviously has tried to sidetrack as much of that infiltration and duplicity as he can. He shook up much of the remaining holdovers within the Humphrey entourage. Granted not much was left but there was some residue.

Nevertheless, HHH's long-time contacts in labor, among Blacks and Jews were providing the McGovern camp with about as much information about Humphrey's intentions as they did Humphrey, about McGovern. The McGovern camp, by comparison, was rather fool proof at this stage.

That's also how McGovern stole a march by going down to the Democratic Governors' conference in Houston much earlier than HHH. Humphrey had tipped off his Houston plans for Wednesday June 7. The McGovern strategists quickly decided to head to Houston on Monday, June 5, after a brief stay in New Mexico. HHH on Sunday, June 4, decided he'd wait in Los Angeles until the outcome of the California primary was certain.

The McGovern strategy, even after being rattled by direct charges of HHH that will be used in the campaign, has been to try and remain aloof -- at least in California. Salinger told me on primary night that "there isn't any need to dignify Hubert in debates anymore."

How about HHH's accusations that McGovern is a "fool;" that he doesn't even know how much his welfare program will cost; that McGovern speaks to "workers with a forked tongue?" Salinger just

shrugged and said: "We'll work that out in the necessary time."

I asked Humphrey about McGovern's speaking style -- slow, somewhat sonorous and, in effect, room-clearing. Humphrey's reply: "George never tried as far as I know, to do anything to improve his speaking style. I suppose that's why he could never get many people to listen to him in the Senate. I understand that some of his staffers some time ago suggested that he take some speech lessons and he said, 'no.' Well, he has an able staff and they line things up for him so that he isn't compelled to acquire a distinctive oratorical attitude."

During a late interval on primary night, I asked Humphrey if he thought McGovern could beat Nixon. Humphrey: "Well, of course, we are pre-supposing he gets the nomination. Quite seriously, between us and off-the-record, I just don't know. I'm also as puzzled as are lots of people about how George came this far and goes strong. From a different side, we also see how George Wallace has done. It's all very baffling. To come back and try and answer your question, if he is the nominee, I just don't know. I'm thinking of the shock he has given lots of us until now. It could be more shocks. Boy, that organization his people have put together. You know, I think the last time such an organization was assembled and it was in a different time, was under old FDR."

The primary results, of course, were much closer than the Field and other polls predicted. It also caused HHH to chortle happily but Humphrey's inclination is to seek any ray of sunshine. Over at the McGovern camp, Salinger and Dougherty said the win was "solid" -- and it was -- yet hardly the landslide predicted earlier.

Dougherty thought: "It could have been the early polls showing us so far ahead that lots of people didn't bother to vote." I noted that he and others in the McGovern entourage seemed both annoyed and discomfited with the actual results. Salinger may have had a substantive point when he told me that the write-in for Wallace "was damned disturbing." A write-in took enormous trouble.

While Humphrey tried hard to whip up his team, lots of steam has obviously gone out. The McGovern camp attitude was mingled annoyance that the outcome wasn't much bigger and a definitive strain of elitism. "This is the way (McGovern's) and we'll show those guys who think they can even hold us up or make us look a little silly," Dougherty said.

The McGovern people were patently unhappy over the reception by the Democratic Governors in Houston. They were most unhappy over published and aired reports of a straw vote by the Governors showing only 3 who believed McGovern could win their states in the national election.

In addition, they are aware of Senator Scoop Jackson's discussions, beginning May 15, for a stop-McGovern move. Jackson spoke to nearly every border and southern Governor, urging a coalition be put together. His blocking back has been Governor Jimmie Carter of Georgia.

Within the media, an interesting development is taking form. McGovern started with a majority in his favor. It is still large but tapering off. Reason: Complaints of arrogance in the camp, an elitist attitude and Mankiewicz's growing position as a total ideologue, refusing to talk with someone who expresses the slightest doubts about McGovern and the McGovern programs.

HHH came out better in the second debate because he had the facts and figures on welfare, which was the main topic. HHH kept saying that McGovern's program would cost the taxpayers an additional \$115 billion. McGovern stubbed his toe on a lot of things. On the whole, the program was boring and at least 1/2 hour too long, because of the ground rules.

HHH is a "one man band" basically, and suffers from lack of money. McGovern seems to have money running out of his ears. McGovern's press headquarters, for instance, had an all night bar and buffet. On the other hand, HHH's press headquarters was a small room with only one phone and a pitcher of water.

The press travelling with HHH have to pay for everything in cash on the spot, such as plane fares, etc. In 1968 they were billed after the trips. McGovern's operation is much more loose.

HHH was at a Town Hall meeting in Los Angeles. The crowd was sparse. The meetings at Town Hall usually gather around 350 to 400 people, but HHH only drew about 150.

A dinner was set up for McGovern in Beverly Hills with members of the Black Community. 500 places were set, but only 120 people showed. HHH does have a stronger following among the Black Community.

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