

Revamps Organization

McCloskey Focuses on New Hampshire

WASHINGTON — Congressman Pete McCloskey's Presidential primary campaign and Republican youth drive has overcome its immediate financial crisis, plowed through the blizzard of its own unfortunate press releases, and laid the groundwork for a breakthrough in New Hampshire when the real snow falls this winter.

During one period in late summer, the campaign had reached the point where close friends of the candidate urged him to withdraw and McCloskey was forced to borrow \$3000 on his own name to pay his workers in Oregon. But now he has raised enough to carry him through the next couple of months — and to attempt broad-based fund raising efforts for New Hampshire.

He has also finished his book for Random House, outlining his campaign themes of peace in Vietnam, truth in government, independence for the judiciary, and maintenance of the Republican tradition in civil rights. In a recent speech he broached a new theme in at-

tacking businesses that would rather "compete in Washington than in the marketplace."

The Administration, meanwhile, perhaps prompted by a warning from Kevin Phillips to take the



campaign seriously, has dispatched Buffalo Congressman Jack Kemp to Manchester to accuse McCloskey of "lying about Laos." Calling on his combat experience as an AFL quarterback, Kemp concluded during a visit to the country that the Americans there were all just referees.

More damaging to the McCloskey case and campaign was the President's move to send Henry Kissinger to Peking. A Presidential decision, in conjunction with the China trip, to stop the bombing and accelerate troop withdrawals, however, would be a victory for the Congressman.

Until then he will continue his effort to make personal contact with every Republican in New Hampshire, where he will spend 58 days between now and March — and to register as many new young Republican voters as possible in that state and across the country. Everywhere he goes the Congressman points out the dire arithmetic of the continuing 3-1 Democratic landslide of current youth registration.

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1971 ELECTION PREVIEWES

Will Blacks Beat Rizzo?

PHILADELPHIA — Can a tall WASP find happiness as the Republican mayor of a large Eastern metropolis?

For those who feel John Lindsay was not tall enough — or was fatally flawed by fusion — the 6'7" Thatcher Longstreth is given a good chance to renew the test as an unadulterated and fully qualified Republican, who looks down on almost all native Philadelphians this side of Wilt Chamberlain (one of his supporters).

His opponent, former Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, tries to maintain a tough image while waging a chicken-hearted campaign, in which he appears in public rarely and only behind a phalanx of bodyguards. Meanwhile, Longstreth moves throughout the city without entourage and this summer shook

some 70,000 hands.

As Longstreth provides a test of Republicanism, therefore, Rizzo should provide a related test for Democrats — whether black Democrats in particular will cross party lines when their party slaps them in the face. This question gains added significance after Edmund Muskie's exclusion of blacks from consideration for the vice presidency.

Although Longstreth lacks natural rapport in the ghetto, he has as good credentials in the black community as any white running for city-wide office in the U.S. If blacks won't turn out for him against Rizzo, any national Democrat can take them for granted against Nixon.

The Philadelphia voting elector-

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Emberton Close in Ky.

LOUISVILLE — An imaginative young gubernatorial candidate is giving Republicans here the hope that the high tradition of John Sherman Cooper will continue strong after the Senator's retirement.

Tom Emberton, appointed to the State's Public Service Commission by Governor Louie Nunn, whom he served as Administrative Assistant, has been campaigning hard for removal of the regressive 5 percent sales tax on food, imposition of a new severance tax on coal, gas and oil extraction, and complete financial disclosure by candidates.

Emberton's campaign headquarters is awaiting with lively interest

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People in Politics

● **Richard Poff's** withdrawal as a possibility for the Supreme Court came in spite of his almost solid support from Senate Republicans. He had previously been recommended for the post by Ripon, and he is by far the highest ranking Southern Republican congressman in the Ripon ratings. Although about half the Senate Democrats were committed to vote against him, his major problem was said not to be his abysmal civil rights record ("a political necessity," he maintains) but the likelihood that his law practice involved him in Congressional conflicts of interest, allegedly analogous to those that disqualified Clement Haynsworth. The ABA committee was reported unwilling to give him a top rating. If such is the case, there are very few congressmen without inherited wealth who could pass muster; and a serious question arises whether technical conflicts of interest outside of the judiciary should be regarded as prohibitive.

● Meanwhile the President should be commended for his reported offer of the post to Senator **Edward Brooke**; and for once again passing over the lowest Ripon-rated Southern Republican, **Albert Watson** of South Carolina, for appointment to the U.S. Military Court of Appeals, the highest military tribunal. Chosen in an exemplary appointment was **Robert Duncan**, 44, a black Republican from Cleveland and member of the Ohio Supreme Court, who formerly served as Deputy Attorney General under **William Saxbe**. Saxbe and **Robert Taft Jr.** were his chief Senate sponsors.

● **Dump Agnew Dept.** The Vice President himself has joined those denying Senator **Edmund Muskie's** contention that a black vice presidential candidate is "not electable." "I think ... that Senator Brooke of Massachusetts could be elected vice president." Agnew is quoted as saying.

● The Wednesday Club of Republican Senators late last month held a meeting in Washington between four of their number and a group of Republican business leaders and intellectuals to discuss economic and foreign problems. Senators **Brooke**, **Hatfield**, **Javits** and **Taft** were chosen to assure ideological and regional representation of the 16-member group. Perhaps a White House staffer got the point when he said, "That was the first time progressive Republicans have organized for leverage without Nelson Rockefeller running for President." The meeting might be seen as a warning that Nixon cannot deal with moderates through the Governor alone.

● **From the Mailroom:** Ripon received a letter from **Martha Mitchell** recently. Not a personal note, but an appeal for "Project Appreciation." Project Appreciation is "organized by Young Americans for Freedom. . . . (it) distributes thousands of Appreciation Kits to wounded Vietnam veterans in hospitals. These kits are filled with personal items (toothpaste, pens, writing paper, etc.)." An accompanying brochure clarifies the "etc." "Added specially to the kit," it reads, is **Barry Goldwater's** *Conscience of a Conservative*, as well as **Human Events**, **Battle Line**, **National Review**, and **New Guard**, all publications that have suspended support for Nixon. We wonder why the wife of the President's past and future campaign manager should be soliciting for the project of an anti-Nixon group? And why, if YAF wants to give out propaganda to the troops, must they sneak it in among "appreciative" toiletries? And if they wish to distribute sacred texts why do they not at least include a Bible? When is the Administration going to disavow and prohibit — rather than implicitly promote — such partisan exploitation of the Vietnam wounded?

● Senator **Norris Cotton** (R-N.H.) at last has had enough of the Vietnam War. Although he responded to the Cambodia invasion by telling friends in New Hampshire that "the SOB has lost us the 1970 elections" — and was said to be contemplating support for **Hatfield-McGovern** — until now he voted against all efforts to impose a withdrawal deadline. His recent decision to support the Mansfield deadline resolution suggests the difficulty Nixon would encounter if he attempts any further expansion of the war.

● **Pittsburgh moderates** — in both parties — are angered and mystified over the September 17 visit to Pittsburgh by Nixon's number two "law-and-order" man, Deputy Attorney General **Richard Kleindienst**. **Kleindienst** gave an effusive speech endorsing the re-election of right-wing Republican District Attorney **Bob Duggan**. The effect was to put the United States Department of Justice "seal of approval" on a law

enforcement operation which is something of a laughing stock in Allegheny County. Not only is the District Attorney ineffective, but Justice has long had his office under active investigation for possible racket connections, as **Kleindienst** well knew when he planned his trip here. Just two days prior to this fundraising speech one of D.A. **Duggan's** former "racket-busting" detectives had been indicted for lying to the Federal Grand Jury. In all, eleven county detectives have taken the Fifth Amendment to questions concerning payoffs and bribes, apparently with **Duggan's** blessing. The United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, **Richard L. Thornburgh**, a Republican, appears to have no intention of slowing up the investigation.

● **Bruce K. Chapman**, a former Ripon national director, **Advance** magazine publisher, and author of books on Republican politics and for the volunteer military, is given a good chance to win a seat on the Seattle City Council. Running at large, he ran second in a preliminary race behind a Democrat associated with Mayor **Wes Uhlman** (who tells friends he fears **Chapman's** political potential) and ahead of a conservative incumbent. In the runoff **Chapman** is expected to get the support of Seattle's principal newspapers, but to win he needs money to counteract an anticipated advertising blitz by the Democrats under **Uhlman**. (His campaign address is 308 Columbia St., Seattle, Washington 98104.)

● In an interesting contest in Erie County, N.Y., Buffalo Mayor **Frank Sedita** is running for County Executive with Democratic and Liberal support against **Edward V. Regan**, a young and energetic former City Councilman, picked last year by Governor **Rockefeller** to be his running mate for State Comptroller. This thankless race against the invincible **Arthur Levitt** (whom **Rockefeller** as much as endorsed) led to a falling out between **Regan** and the governor. So when **Regan** started to move to get the Republican nomination for County Executive this summer, a couple of **Rockefeller** agents reportedly appeared in Buffalo to try to get the nomination for a local civic leader, **William Hassett**. Their efforts fell through as **Regan** forced this issue by accepting the Conservative Party line on the ballot. **Hassett** withdrew from the race, obviating the need for a primary, and in late September State Chairman **Charles Lanigan** flew to Buffalo to present the governor's endorsement to **Regan** and try to patch things up.

● After giving up his seat in Congress to run for governor (he didn't get the nomination) Conservative Republican **Donald R. (Buz) Lukens** is back as "leader of the conservative opposition" in the Ohio State Senate. On the subject of welfare, **Lukens** recently had this to say: "There are a lot of welfare recipients living on \$4,600 or \$3,200 a year. . . . I've lived on that much. When I ran for Congress I was out of work for nine months, and you can live on that. It's not uncomfortable." It seems **Lukens** is a bachelor and lived with his mother during the period in question.

● Governor **John J. Gilligan** has a red face. He was chairman of the Democratic-controlled board charged with reapportioning the Ohio state legislature. In late September — after eight months of deliberation — the board submitted a plan and adjourned sine die. Upon closer inspection, the plan was found to contain 36 errors — the most glaring was the omission of an entire county (**Guernsey**). The state's chief elections officer, Secretary of State **Ted W. Brown**, a Republican was legally unable to correct the plan, even though **Gilligan** humbly asked him to do so. The matter rests — an embarrassment to **Gilligan** — and probably must go to the courts.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

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Cahill Helps N. J. Races

NEWARK — The returns of this year's elections in New Jersey should give some hints as to the health of the GOP in the industrial East.

Generally recognized as the nation's most urban state, New Jersey was cited by the 1970 census as America's most densely populated as well. Historically, the Garden State and its 17 electoral votes have been important to national candidates. Only two men this century became President without carrying New Jersey and it was the only large northeastern state carried by Nixon.

The opening of this year's campaign (in which the entire state legislature will be selected) shows the Republicans at an advantage, with 3-to-1 majorities in the Senate and Assembly and with a very popular Governor in William T. Cahill, credited for successful state lottery, welfare reform, mass (and football Giant) transit programs.

Vote of Confidence

Aware of Cahill's successes, Republican politicians have sought to make this year's election a vote of confidence for the governor. However, the governor will not *personally* be on the ballot, and a Bucci poll released in mid-September reported that despite the governor's popularity, the Democratic party held a 14-point lead over the GOP in the voters' preference.

Moreover, an extraordinarily low level of voter interest (due in part to the prolonged strike at the state's largest newspaper, the *Newark News*) has made it very difficult for Republican legislators to publicize their accomplishments.

The GOP should benefit from the recent trials and corruption convictions of leading urban Democrats (despite the fact that some Republicans have been caught in the net as well). However, the GOP will suffer from a loss of experience. Many competent legislators including Senate Majority Leader Harry Sears are not seeking reelection.

Democratic Inroads

Democratic inroads are expected in Essex, Union, Camden, Middlesex and Passaic Counties. The Democrats have countered the Republican strategy by focusing on national rather than state issues, hoping to repeat their success in the 1970 campaign, in which Democratic Senator Harrison Williams beat Republican Nelson Gross by 250,000 votes and swept Democrats throughout the state into local office.

But should the Republicans retain significant control of the legislature, the voters will have given their governor the support he had requested; should they win a slight majority or lose control, national rather than state issues will have been on the voters' minds.

Heinz Favored For Congress

PITTSBURGH — Backed by the Pickle Workers Union and Ripon endorsed, John Heinz is expected to win the 18th Congressional District here.

It will be closer for Heinz than it used to be for the long-time-incumbent Republican Robert Corbett who used to overcome by far a slight Democratic registration edge. Heinz may have a bit too much inherited wealth to suit the District, largely middle and lower-middle class suburbs north and east of Pittsburgh, but, to compensate, voters appear to incline favorably towards the Administration and Heinz' opponent, Democrat John Connelly, has lacked issues.

Once the victor, Heinz may have his District pulled out from under him next year. The 1970 census showed that Pennsylvania must lose two Congressional seats — and one will probably be subtracted from Allegheny County.

The death of the progressive 27th District (South and Southwest Allegheny County) Congressman James G. Fulton, however, means Heinz will never be forced into an intra-party showdown with a popular 26-year incumbent. If another Republican wins Fulton's seat (Governor Shapp will probably designate April 25 for the special election) Heinz can claim to be the "senior GOP congressman" from Allegheny County.

LONGSTRETH from page 1

ate breaks down roughly — and factiously — as 30 percent black, 20 percent Jewish, 15 percent white Protestant, and 35 percent white Catholic; also, because Philadelphia boasts the only surviving Republican big city machine, the city is only 5 to 3 Democratic. Assuming Rizzo sweeps the lower income whites and Longstreth runs well in Jewish and white Protestant areas and holds his own among middle income Republican Catholics, the black vote will decide. Indications are that the Republican will win some three-fourths of this group, so Democratic leaders are working hard to hold down the turnout.

Endorsements

Longstreth has been endorsed by the Black Political Forum, containing most key black political leaders, and by the flamboyant former NAACP head Cecil Moore, as well as by every liberal Democratic organization in the city.

Nonetheless Republican officials are united behind him and if he wins, Longstreth has a chance to make Philadelphia a major power center of progressive Republicanism, something Lindsay never

achieved in New York. Stumping for him are Senators Scott and Schweiker, and campaign chairmen city Controller Tom Gola and Arlen Specter, the upward mobile city DA, who won almost half the vote against Mayor Tate in 1967.

A major final drive is contemplated by the Longstreth organization. Meanwhile Rizzo has retreated to the last ditch of backlash politics and seems to be trying to hide in it, while Longstreth attempts to shake every hand in Philadelphia. Rizzo's low profile, in fact, has become a major problem, since the limited coverage Rizzo receives is extended by the press to the Longstreth effort under the "equal time" doctrine. Perhaps the Republican's best hope lies in the twenty \$100 jalopies purchased by his organization for service in black areas on election day.

EMBERTON from page 1

the financial disclosure of the Democratic candidate, Lieutenant Governor Wendell Ford, who has maintained a lucrative insurance business and has opposed the severance tax on gas and oil.

A recent telephone poll in Jeffer-

son County (Louisville) indicated a Ford lead of 36 percent to 31 with more than 25 percent undecided; but Emberton spokesmen indicate that street surveys show the Republican in the lead.

A disturbing note, however, is the overwhelming advantage the more conservative Ford maintains among Louisville blacks, who gave large majorities to Republicans like Cooper, former Senator Thruston Morton, and the late former Mayor William O. Cowger. Cowger, who enacted the first public accommodations law in a Southern city, even managed to deliver a heavy black vote to Louie Nunn in 1963 when he was running a backlash campaign for Governor.

But Democrat Governor Edward Breathitt enacted a number of sweeping civil rights initiatives that moved blacks to the Democrats. Cowger's death two weeks ago thus symbolized a significant problem in Emberton's campaign, which must win Jefferson to prevail.

Emberton will benefit from a Democratic split opened during a bitter primary fight between Ford and Bert Combs, who had the support of the courthouse organization.

Vermont After Prouty

MONTPELIER — Robert T. Stafford's appointment to the Senate following the death of Winston Prouty brought a strong moderate voice to Washington — probably for years to come — and left a babel of candidates here to succeed him as the state's Congressman.

Among the Republican exhibits are State Senator John Alden, a 35 year old former YAF officer and Goldwater campaigner who now styles himself as "the Ralph Nader of Vermont"; and Secretary of State Richard C. Thomas, who had already submitted his resignation in order to receive a Prouty patronage appointment, when the Senator's death forced him to find another way to Washington.

The Republican front runner for the November 16 primary now appears to be Richard W. Mallary, 42, a former speaker of the House, State Senator, and Commissioner of Administration. A dairy farmer with an honors degree from Dartmouth College, Mallary was a Rockefeller delegate to the 1968 convention, but is viewed by some as conservative because of his close association with Governor Deane Davis (who also favored Rockefeller in 1968, but has a conserva-

tive image in the state.)

Mallary's strengths include distinguished service in several high positions and strong reputation for intelligence and integrity. On the negative side is his very low-keyed style.

State Senator Alden, an insurance salesman from Woodstock, has made much of his leadership on such issues as the grading of eggs and the prohibition of mailing unsolicited credit cards. These post 1968 activities, and his backing of liberal Lt. Governor Thomas L. Hayes against Davis in the 1970 primary, have given Alden a liberal



Senator Robert Stafford

image, which he is now busily trying to erase, while not alluding to his earlier Goldwater service.

A right wing fourth candidate will probably hurt Mallary in conservative Lamoille County. He is State Senator Fred Westphal. No one believes the voters will prefer Westphal, at least not the voters of any recent century, but he will vigorously air his views.

Alden has sprung off to an active start with full page ads in the state's papers, and has recruited Speaker of the House Walter "Peanut" Kennedy as campaign manager. Kennedy, whose popularity seems to be waning, may accelerate his slide by support for Alden.

Since there will be only one real contest on the special primary ballot, only the most interested voters will come to the polls in an off year. The candidate who is best able to draw on organizational strength will probably emerge the winner, and Mallary seems to fill that bill. There is little likelihood that any of the Democratic candidates could pose a serious threat to Mallary in the January finale.

The Democrats have four aspirants to the seat, sharing the probably forlorn hope that the normally Republican majority will not materialize in a special midwinter election. The leader may be Burlington probate judge J. William O'Brien, who sees smut and abortion as the most pressing national issues.

Capra Builds New Coalition

NEW HAVEN — Former Ripon NGB member Paul Capra is given an even chance of defeating the conservative, machine-tied incumbent Mayor, Bartholomew Guida. Two years ago, Capra came within an ace of upsetting Guida, losing by only 1698 votes out of more than 40,000 cast. Since 1969, the 32-year-old Yale graduate has drastically reformed the city's GOP.

Capra plans to win by capturing majorities in constituencies which many state and national Republicans appear to have written off, including the young, the blacks and the Puerto Ricans.

The young — especially Yale students — have not registered heavily. But Capra people were never counting on thousands of student votes and the hundreds that have registered are termed an "extra dividend."

Three Puerto Ricans are on the GOP ticket for alderman, and Luis Garcia-Abrines is running city-wide for Registrar of Vital Statistics. Capra volunteers have helped over 500 Puerto Ricans register this fall and expect nearly all to vote Republican.

Blacks are more open than usual to Republican initiatives because of the ruthless manner in which Democratic Town Chairman Arthur Barbieri's political machine squelched black leader Hank Parker's primary challenge on September 22. Parker lost 9000+ to 7500. He has so far endorsed neither Capra nor Guida, but most of his supporters will vote for Capra. In 1969 Capra won about 45 percent of blacks.

Capra's greatest liability is his strong Republican party affiliation in a city where registered Democrats outnumber Republican by 6—1. Despite the unpopularity of Nixon and Governor Meskill in New Haven (a recent Guida ad labelled Capra "Meskill's man in New Haven"), Capra is closer to becoming mayor than any Republican since 1953.

McCLOSKEY *from page 1*

To carry his message more efficiently after the long delayed resignation of Campaign Manager Robin Schmidt, McCloskey has cut 14 people off his staff in Washington, where he is relying increasingly on volunteers, and hired new staff in the primary states. Schmidt moved to Cambridge to join McCloskey intimate Charles U. Daley as a high Harvard official.

New Campaign Manager is Alvin E. Toffel, a quietly decisive veteran of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, who is working closely with his deputy Chris Topping and New Hampshire Campaign Manager Michael Brewer. Contrary to reports in the right wing press, all are staunch Republicans and they reflect the overwhelmingly Republican orientation of the campaign, signified both by McCloskey's registration efforts and by his statement that he won't leave the party "unless they throw me out."

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