

Adams, a Reluctant Dragon:

1-6-60

Won't Charge Tammany Tepee if Bob's In It

There are indications that the dragon picked by Stanley M. Isaacs to toss the Tammany Tiger out of City Hall in the Mayoralty election of 1961 is proving a reluctant one.

Councilman Isaacs last week named Francis W. H. Adams, an independent Democrat and former Police Commissioner, as his choice to head a Fusion ticket in 1961. It is also known that other Republican leaders, including Congressman John V. Lindsay and Bernard Newman, New York County Republican chairman, look kindly upon the idea of a coalition headed by Mr. Adams.

Mr. Isaacs expressed his views on the Mike Wallace interview program over WNTA-TV.

Mr. Isaacs, who represents Greenwich Village in the City Council and is the only Republican on that body, told The Voice,

following the broadcast: "I didn't mean that Adams is the candidate. I did mean that he is well-qualified." Others will "crop up as the election draws closer," he said.

"The people are certainly ready for Fusion," he declared. "They are tired of this administration. It is a slack and wasteful administration. They are suffering from it too much.

"People are tired of the neglect of important problems," he added. "This is particularly true in housing, where conditions are worse than they have been for many years."

Mr. Isaacs attributed the Mayor's failure to clean house in the Title I program to "the power, vigor, and importance of Commissioner Moses." He attributed Thomas K. Shanahan's continued presence on the Slum Clearance Committee as the result of his Tammany connections.

Mr. Adams sloughed off the councilman's statement of support, when he was called by The Voice, with the remark: "Save me from my friends!"

"I'm not going to run against

Village Voice 1/6/60

Bob Wagner—there's no question about that," he said. "It's quite unfair to attack the Mayor for having a bad administration. There is no question that there are areas of accomplishment.

"I think," he continued, "that if you evaluate his administration in any sensible way, whether by comparing it to other administrations or in relation to problems affecting the city, we have a good administration. And I have been watching city government for some 30 years."

He admitted, however, that the Title I situation "has probably not turned out so well."

A Liberal Party spokesman's reaction to Mr. Isaacs' statement was that "1960 comes before 1961." Jerry Coleman, an executive of the party, told The Voice: "We are not going to talk about it today, December 30, 1959."

Other Liberal Party sources indicated that there is a good deal of talk going on behind the scenes. The Liberals are especially anxious to know what role the Republicans will want to play in a combined anti-Tammany operation.

Lady Will Lead Anti-DeSapio Club in Village

The Village Independent Democrats, who have been insisting all along that women should not be relegated to that ante-room of politics known as the "ladies' auxiliary," proved last week to be even better than their word.

At the club's annual meeting on Tuesday evening they elected Carol Greitzer president. She succeeds the Reverend Howard R. Moody, pastor of Judson Church.

Four Ballots

It took four ballots to elect Mrs. Greitzer. She defeated Edward I. Koch, an attorney and member of the club's executive committee, who withdrew after the first ballot, and Lewis Robbins, a writer and a founding member of "Villagers for Stevenson." The latter organization became the Village Independent Democrats following the defeat of their candidate in 1956.

The Greitzer family has loomed large in the short history of the VID. Her husband, Herman, was the club's candidate in its initial fight to unseat Carmine DeSapio in 1957. He took an unexpectedly large 37 per cent of the Democratic vote even though the VID at the time had practically no outside support. His strong race provided in large part the stimulus to keep the VID together as a political club.

Old Fight

Mrs. Greitzer reminded the club of its role in her speech at the meeting. "We fought against DeSapio when no one else was interested. In this sense we are partly responsible for the existence of the Committee for Democratic Voters," she said. The committee, which is spearheading the Democratic reform movement in the city, is also known as the Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter committee.

Mrs. Greitzer, who was formerly an advertising executive, will lead the VID in its projected campaign to play a significant role in choosing the nominee for the State Assembly and the designees for the Democratic State Committee.

The club elected as vice presidents: Elinor Green, Don Davis, and Stanley Geller; William Spiro, treasurer; and Mary Frances Coleman and Micky Wolter, recording and corresponding secretaries, respectively.



MADAM PRESIDENT of the Village Independent Democrats **CAROL GREITZER** with daughter **ELIZABETH**, age 15 months. Voice: Gin Briggs

Inability to Maintain Party Discipline Found to Be Destroying His Influence

By LEO EGAN *TIMES* 3-28-60

Political power appears to be slipping out of Carmine G. De Sapio's hands in much the same way as les rois fainéants—the do-nothing kings—lost it more than a thousand years ago in France. And for the same reasons, basically.

Mr. De Sapio appears to have lost the power to enforce his

News Analysis

decisions, just as the French kings did. Lacking the capacity to enforce decisions, he is losing the power to maintain party discipline. A political machine of the type Mr. De Sapio heads was likened to an army by the late Edward J. Flynn in his book, "You Are The Boss." Mr. Flynn was the undisputed Democratic leader of the Bronx for more than a quarter of a century. He preceded Mr. De Sapio as the de facto Democratic boss of the city until his death in 1953.

"In any [political] organization, as in any army," Mr. Flynn wrote, "there must be discipline."

"It is essential that no one successfully challenge the decisions of the organization [meaning the boss]. Every challenge must be met head-on and beaten, if the organization itself is to survive."

The county leader or boss, in Mr. Flynn's judgment, must always have sufficient power to remove any subordinate district leader who dares to challenge him.

"I feel sure," he went on, "that should I express to them [the district captains] a desire to have a district leader removed, a new leader would be elected immediately."

Captains Spur Vote

District captains are the party functionaries responsible for getting out the vote in the various election districts into which Assembly districts are divided.

The district captains, directly or indirectly, usually choose the Assembly district leaders, who, in turn, choose the county chairman or leader.

Mr. Flynn explained that the county leader was able to influence the district captains primarily through his control of exempt governmental positions.

An exempt position is one that is not subject to Civil Service law. It is one that an elected official or one of his subordinates could fill with anyone of his choice.

"Thus not only my long association with the party, but my absolute control of exempt positions is a powerful influence in my control," Mr. Flynn wrote.

Over the years, Mr. De Sapio has lost control over an important number of exempt positions. Mayor Wagner, for instance, has been insisting on reserving the right to screen candidates for exempt appointments proposed by Mr. De Sapio.

Moreover, the Mayor is reported to be accepting recommendations from leaders of other counties within the city without first clearing them with Mr. De Sapio.

As a consequence Mr. De Sapio has been deprived of an important weapon for compelling the other county chairmen to respect his primacy in the city's Democratic hierarchy.

Because of Mr. De Sapio's

ruled pretty much as they pleased.

In Mr. De Sapio's empire, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and Borough President Jack have carved out a duchy for themselves in Harlem.

The so-called reform group has proclaimed what amounts to an earldom in the area east of Central Park. A somewhat smaller reform enclave has been created in the territory west of Central Park.

Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens and Staten Island continue to defer to Mr. De Sapio. But it is a nominal deference.

The groups in these four boroughs are content to let Mr. De Sapio act as their spokesman as long as they like what he says. But they no longer have any feeling that they should accept his position when it differs from their own.

It is strange that Mr. De Sapio continues to stand as a public symbol of the political machine boss after he has lost the power to command obedience.

In this respect he is like some feudal kings. It may be worth recalling that royalty returned to power when feudalism collapsed in its turn. But it took a long time.

weakness, other county leaders such as Representative Charles A. Buckley of the Bronx and City Council Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey of Brooklyn no longer hesitate to take issue with the Tammany leader.

This was an important factor in last week's passage of the controversial branch banking bill at Albany with Democratic votes.

Jack May Balk

A dispute between Mr. De Sapio and Borough President Hulan E. Jack of Manhattan may further curtail Mr. De Sapio's power.

The Borough President's office, until now, had been one of three major sources of exempt offices at Mr. De Sapio's disposal. The others, which Mr. De Sapio continues to hold, consist of non-judicial offices in the courts—clerks, secretaries to judges, law assistants, etc.—and the clerical and supervisory jobs in the Board of Elections.

The collapse of royal power in France after Charlemagne paved the way for the rise of feudalism.

Local lords, barons, counts and marquesses, often established domination over chunks of territory. While owing nominal allegiance to a king or the Holy Roman Emperor they

4-Way Fight Splits Ranks Of Democrats

By FRANK LYNN,

World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Reform Democrats who have, been battling each other as much as Tammany Hall lately, are at it again today.

Ironically, Tammany chief-tain Carmine G. De Sapio is involved in the latest reform feudin' and fussin' which revolves about the state committeeman and committeewoman berths in the 1st Assembly District. Mr. De Sapio is Democratic leader of the 1st AD South.

Four political clubs—Mr. De Sapio's Tamawa Club, the anti-De Sapio Village Independent Democrats and two clubs which generally manage to steer a middle course between the reformers and the regulars—are involved in the squabble. The latter two are the Tilden Democratic Club of the 1st AD Middle and the Murray Hill Citizens of the 1st AD North.

It was expected originally that the VID and the two middle-road clubs would agree on state committee candidates to succeed the incumbents, C. Leo Calarco and Margot Gayle, who will not seek reelection. Faced with this coalition, Mr. De Sapio was figured to go along with the other three clubs' choices.

Instead of a coalition, each club advanced its own candidates. At one point in the squabble, Lloyd K. Garrison, a top-ranking member of the reform Committee for Democratic Voters, tried to mediate the differences between the three clubs. However, his suggested solution was rejected.

The battle took a new twist yesterday when the VID designated its own state committee candidates, James Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf. The pair is expected to be definitely unacceptable to Mr. De Sapio. There were no cheers in the other two clubs either.

This squabble follows closely on a controversy involving several prospective reform candidates for the Democratic Congressional and state Senate nominations on the West Side. Mr. Garrison mediated this feud too and was more successful. William F. Ryan and Manfred Ohrenstein wound up as the reform candidates for the Congressional and state Senate nominations, respectively.

NY Times
3/28/60

World Telegram
& Sun
4/8/60

Dainty DeSapio Antagonist

Jumped Into Fire From Vassar

Staff Correspondent.

NEW YORK—White Sarah Schoenkoph, Vassar '57, was reading Machiavelli's "The Prince" for class. Carmine G. DeSapio was far from her mind.

But it took only three years in politics for the dainty Democrat to win a prominent place in the darkest thoughts of the man who holds the leash on the Tammy tiger.

A diminutive insurgent only five feet tall, she hopes to play

a feminine David to DeSapio's 6-foot-1-inch Goliath.

Other revolts at higher levels have loosened DeSapio's grip on the Democratic organization. But rocks slung in his own district at the instigation of the former South Orange, N.J., student of political science are the ones expected finally to topple the "giant."

Came Close

One of those responsible for his near-defeat last fall as a county committeeman, Sarah, a dark-haired, intense 24-year-old, has been selected to oppose the party leader's choice for state committeewoman from the 1st Assembly District.

Last year she was the only

Active Insurgent Ex-Jerseyan

paid professional running the campaign against DeSapio for the Village Independent Democrats. A firm believer that "politics can do things for people," she made the biggest money of her life, \$90 a week, rounding up votes to drive the Tammany chief from his county committee seat in the First Assembly District South.

The insurgent club grew from 210 active members a year ago to more than 700 today. After waging an intense campaign which burned up \$15,000, untold shoe leather and lung power, the VID mustered only 568 fewer votes than did DeSapio's entrenched Tamawa Club.

Record Turnout

There are now about 12,000 registered voters in the district and the turnout for September's primary—about 9,000—was the biggest in history for a single district.

DeSapio supporters point to the new apartments going up amid the century-old brick buildings in the south portion of the Village, always a center for families of Italian extraction. "I can tell you just where the votes that will beat him are going to come from," says one.

So does the VID. They're pushing elevator and doorbell buttons right now to line up the voters moving into the new apartments—Washington Square Village, 40 E. 9th St., 85 4th Ave—for the 1961 primary contest.

Atmosphere Differ

Sarah measures what she is sure will be a telling difference in the physical appearance of VID headquarters at 224 W. 4th St. and DeSapio's Tamawa Club nearby in 7th Ave. South.

"The VID is a messy place," she says, "full of posters, canvassing equipment and young people stamping and addressing envelopes."

At Tamawa, she observes, "lawyers in pinstripes stand around smoking cigars and talking in quiet groups. They're wedded to the status quo."

As a reform candidate with Charles Kinsolving of the Tilden Democratic Club in the campaign for the district state committee seats, she is pledged to oppose the "status quo" with vigor.

Meyner Campaigner

The girl who moved from a village, South Orange, to the Village, Greenwich, after graduation from Vassar is no novice in New Jersey politics either. She worked for Gov. Meyner's reelection in 1957 and had helped organize the Village Volunteers for Stevenson the year before. That effort produced Stevenson's only gain in votes over 1952 in a New Jersey community.

Also skier, collector of first-edition and finely bound books,



CARMINE G. DE SAPIO
David Is Feminine

and reporter for the weekly paper Village Voice, Sarah hasn't yet decided how high is up from a woman in politics. "Once you get involved," she says, "it difficult to extricate yourself."

STEVENSON AGAIN, LEHMAN EXPECTS

TIMES 4-18-60
He Predicts Democrats Will
Deadlock and Probably
Turn to Illinoisan

Former Senator Herbert H. Lehman predicted last night that the Democratic national convention would be deadlocked with the result that Adlai E. Stevenson again would be seriously considered for the Presidential nomination.

The 82-year-old New Yorker, who is slated to be a delegate, said a deadlock was "within the realm of probability—not just a possibility."

In reply to a question Mr. Lehman said a ticket headed by Mr. Stevenson with Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts as a Vice Presidential candidate "could develop and would be excellent."

During a television appearance and later interview, Mr. Lehman spoke kindly of all those now seeking the Presidential nomination and emphasized that he had not decided personally whom he would support.

'Many Good Candidates'

He contended that the party had "very many good candidates who can win in November." Mr. Lehman was interviewed by Lester Wolf on the WNTA-TV program, "Between the Lines."

The former Senator said he did not think religion would "play as important a part in the election as some people think," and he did not think "the prejudice, hatred and suspicion will be as great this year as it was in 1928."

As a leader in the campaign for Democratic party reform here, the former Senator said he did not think the battle would jeopardize party victory in the state in November.

"It will unify us," he declared, "in a party that is responsive as well as responsible to the people of the state."

Mr. Lehman ascribed Carmine DeSapio's rise as a power in New York State affairs to former Gov. W. Averell Harriman's abdication of his role as a political leader.

1960

DeSapio Joins 'Em Trying To Beat 'Em

By William H. Honan

Tammany leader Carmine G. DeSapio is going to try to beat the Village Independent Democrats by "joining" them.

This week Mr. DeSapio announced Tammany Hall support of two "liberals" as candidates for the State Committee in the First Assembly District.

One of the Tammany choices, Charles Kinsolving, had even been endorsed by the executive committee of the Village Independent Democrats two weeks ago as a potential committee candidate of the reform movement.

Besides Mr. Kinsolving, who is president of the Murray Hill Citizens Democratic Club, Tammany is supporting Eleanor Clark French, a vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

They will oppose VID candidates James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf in a primary election on June 7.

Explaining the Tammany slate, Millard L. Midonick and Margot Gayle, co-leaders of the Tilden Democratic Club, stated jointly:

Sees 'No Conflict'

"The choice of Mrs. French and Mr. Kinsolving, both members of the Murray Hill Club and not identified with the Tamawa Club led by Carmine DeSapio, removes the issue of Greenwich Village partisanship from contention in the primary election.

"Furthermore, since the organ-

ization candidates favor reform as earnestly as the previously announced candidates of the Village Independent Democrats, no conflict in principle exists."

Replying to this statement, VID president Carol Greitzer told The Villager "Mr. Kinsolving is not the anti-DeSapio candidate that he led us to believe he was."

"Our endorsement of him," she continued, "was not so much an endorsement of him personally as it was an endorsement of the so-called Garrison Proposal that we cooperate with other reform clubs."

Attacked by VID

Mr. Kinsolving was also attacked this week by VID candidates James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf. They called Mr. Kinsolving a "respectable front man" and declared that Mr. DeSapio had "sought respectability in his candidates to disguise the fact that this is his crucial fight for political survival."

"We do not believe," their joint statement continued, "that any Democrats dedicated to the defeat of bossism in our party will either be confused or permit themselves to be so manipulated."

Villager 4/21/60

2 State Committee Contests Seen in DeSapio District

POST 4-7-60
An all-out contest for Democratic State committeeman and committeewoman in Carmine DeSapio's 1st A.D. seemed assured today.

The Village Independent Democrats, who almost upset DeSapio's district leadership last year, voted to back James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf for the State committee posts.

DeSapio called a meeting tonight of district leaders in the

1st to consider a possible organization slate against the insurgents.

Lanigan was Gov. Harriman's campaign chief in the ill-fated 1958 gubernatorial race, when

Harriman's headquarters and those of DeSapio were barely on speaking terms. Lanigan has also been active in the local campaign for Sen. Humphrey for President.

On Staff of Weekly

Miss Schoenkopf is a reporter on the Village Voice, a weekly newspaper in Greenwich Village.

Tammany Hall was also trying today to iron out a prolonged dispute over the Assembly nomination in the East Side 8th A. D.

The James J. Farley Assn., regular organization in the north half of this district, has put forward Mary Bancroft, a

novelist. The New Democratic Club, in the south half, is backing Charles Leiber, an editor at Random House, book publishers.

4/7/60

* * *
BRIEFCASE—Charles Kinsolving, who is running on an anti-insurgent slate for state committee in DeSapio's 1st A.D., has sent letters to friends assuring them that he will not back DeSapio or State Chairman Prendergast for any party office . . . Kinsolving's running mate, Democratic State Vice Chairman Eleanor Clark French, has left for a 10-day European tour.

Robert Moses' soon-to-be-vacated spot on the City Planning Commission will go to a Brooklynite . . . Former City Housing Authority member Abraham Lindenbaum is the leading contender.

If there had been a second ballot Tuesday, Domestic Relations Justice Postel might not have won the Tammany designation for General Sessions Judge . . . the Irish, Harlem and reform blocs of district leaders, with a combined majority, were getting ready to support Municipal Court Justice Mangan.

POST 4/30/60

4/30/60

NY Post

A Reform Man Challenges Bklyn's Borough President

One way to get Brooklyn Borough President Cashmore irritated is to bring up the charges of waste and inefficiency in the offices of the Borough Presidents detailed in The Post last summer.

William A. Delano, a prominent Brooklyn attorney who is the Democratic reform movement's candidate for the Assembly for the 3d A.D., did just that at a Board of Estimate hearing.

The transcript of the proceedings, just released, tells the story.

Delano asked that a \$400,000 increase in the appropriations for the Borough Presidents' offices be withheld until a satisfactory explanation is given on how the \$6,700,000 already allocated is spent.

Delano based his complaint on The Post series, which detailed waste and inefficiency in the Borough President's offices costing the city millions each year. Mayor Wagner and the Borough Presidents have avoided comment on the Post charges.

Here are passages from the transcript:

"Now are you gentlemen aware and is the President of the Borough of Brooklyn aware," Delano said, "that the New York

Post last June charged that waste, absenteeism, inefficiency, overlap and unqualified personnel in the several Borough Works offices was costing New York City taxpayers somewhere between \$10,000,000 and \$25,000,000 a year?

"Mr. Cashmore," Delano added, "you have never taken the time to investigate and report on these most serious charges . . . We citizens and taxpayers of Brooklyn must object . . . to your proceeding into a new fiscal year without even considering or reporting on the allegations of waste and inefficiency in your office . . ." Delano said.

Heated Reply

Delano's charge brought a heated response from Cashmore.

Cashmore: Mr. Turpin, I want to tell you something: I have never heard of you, I have never heard of you in any activity in Brooklyn . . . This is nothing but a cheap political speech . . . You amount to nothing . . . No one has heard of you, under any circumstances . . .

Delano: Would you like to

know who I am, Mr. Cashmore? Cashmore: Mr. Turpin—

Delano: My name is Delano.

Cashmore: I know you very well, and I know where you come from and you don't have such an excellent reputation that I could enjoy. That's all I want to say to you . . . Mr. Mayor, let's get on with the budget . . .

Delano: I think, now, you are slurring my name sir.

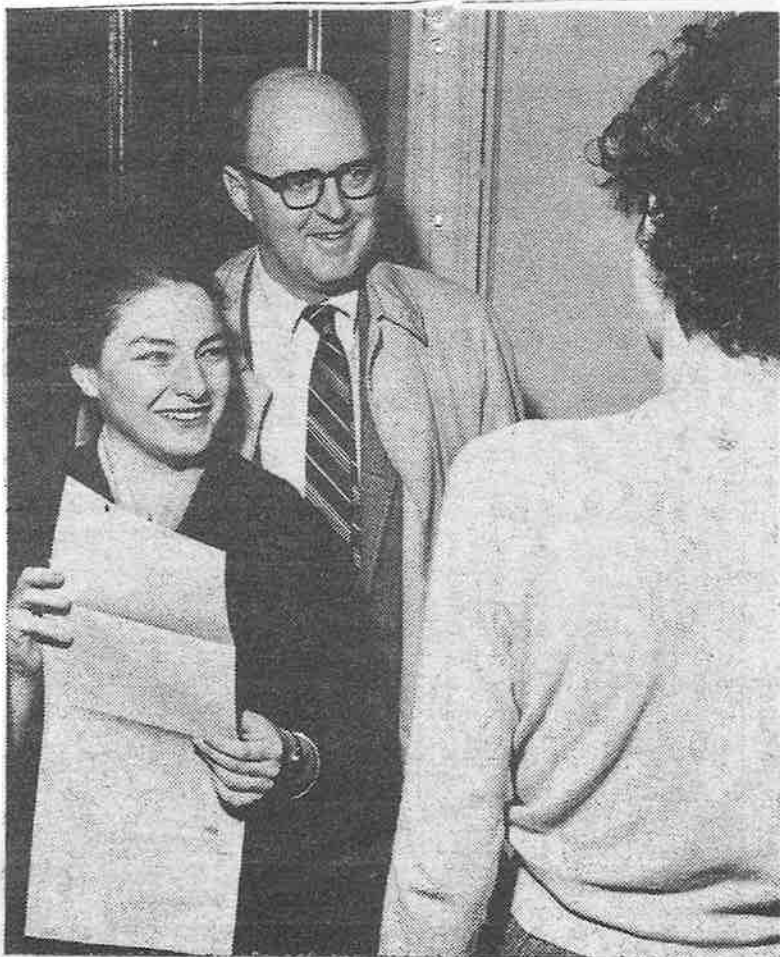
Cashmore: Mr. Turpin, you are not even —

Delano: You can't even pronounce my name, evidently. It is Delano.

Cashmore: No, it's Delano Turpin. See if you can get a—no one has ever heard of you, you have never written a letter . . . I am too much of an intense Brooklynite to tell you what I think of you . . .

Delano (in conclusion): I have made my point . . . Now I think you, as our Presidents of the various boroughs in this great city, must account to the citizen for the charges made last June in the New York Post.

4/24/60



Voice: Gin Briggs

THE PETITION SEASON IS ON. State committee candidates **SARAH SCHOENKOPF** and **JAMES LANIGAN** opened the political season for the Village Independent Democrats last Friday, when they called at the doors of local Democrats with petitions bearing their names.

VOICE 4-13-60

React to Middle-of-the-Roadism:

Insurgent Dems Put Ticket Into Race For Party Posts

by J. R. Goddard

The Village Independent Democrats last week reaffirmed their determination to push forward the battle for reform in the Democratic Party by fielding a pair of candidates for the Tammany leadership to shoot at.

In designating James Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf, both VID members, for the posts of state committeemen and committee-women in the First Assembly District, they rejected counsels of caution by other district clubs whose reform zeal has been moderated by their fear of irretrievably outraging Tammany Chief Carmine DeSapio.

In the early weeks of discussion on the committee posts, it was hoped by reform elements that VID and the First Assembly Dis-

trict's two middle-of-the-road reform clubs, Tilden and Murray Hill, would reach agreement on names to appear in the June primary.

Instead, the clubs nominated their own candidates. The resulting dispute was finally taken for mediation to Lloyd K. Garrison, a leading member of the New York Committee for Democratic Voters. After discussions with him, it appeared that Charles Kinsolving of the Murray Hill club, and a female member of the VID, probably Miss Schoenkopf, would be named.

This harmonious prospect was of short duration, however. While the Tildenites put aside the Garrison mediation effort and decided on a neutral position, the Murray Hill club adjudged Miss Schoenkopf unacceptable, which meant that she would not be carried on the club's designating petitions. The name of Murray Hill president Kinsolving would, however, appear on the petitions.

The Village insurgents, reacting to the Murray Hill decision, which

Continued from page 1
it believed was brought about by pro-DeSapio elements, in turn, rejected Kinsolving. The VID was especially displeased by reform-Democrat Kinsolving's willingness to go along with his club's neutral stand. Kinsolving had originally been strongly supported by the VID.

The VID then nominated Lanigan, an important younger figure in national Democratic circles.

Lanigan, a 41-year-old attorney, had served Averill Harriman while the latter was in a White House capacity, worked for Adlai Stevenson in both his Presidential campaigns, and is at present an executive member of the Committee for Democratic Voters. He lives with his wife Mary and three sons in Gramercy Park.

Lanigan was a founder and first president, for two terms, of the Tilden Democratic Club.

Miss Schoenkopf, a 24-year-old graduate of Vassar College, has been active in liberal Democratic politics since 1957. She began by working for Governor Meyner in her native New Jersey, then in 1958 became active in the reform movement in New York's First Assembly District, after moving to Greenwich Village.

She is best known for her key role as executive secretary in the 1959 VID campaign against the district leadership of DeSapio, which came within three percentage points of unseating Tammany's top man.

Because both candidates are VID members and closely associated with the aggressive reform movement in the city, it is possible that other clubs will advance candidates of their own. Mr. DeSapio's own Tamawa Club, in Greenwich Village, has indicated that it is searching for candidates to run against the VID, but some political observers doubt that DeSapio would want to put his shaky political prestige on the line, just before the Democratic national convention, to contest a relatively unimportant party post.

Village Voice

4/13/60

Ny Post 4/24/60

TENANTS BAR HALT OF EVICTION CASE

'Village' Group Turns Down
Court's Advice When Offer
of Funds Is Made

By JOHN SIBLEY

Sixteen families fighting eviction from their Greenwich Village tenement rejected yesterday a court proposal that they give up their court battle and accept their landlord's offer of more time to get out.

As the proceeding by the landlord, Martin Schulman, entered its second day in Municipal Court, Justice Lester Lazarus sent the jury from the courtroom.

Then, addressing the tenants of 40 and 42 MacDougal Street, Justice Lazarus said "it would be to your benefit" to abandon the case. If they lost, he explained, he would be obliged to sign an order forcing them to vacate by May 7.

The justice told them that Mr. Schulman had agreed to let them remain in the building until Aug. 7 if they dropped their action.

"You don't have to do it," Justice Lazarus said, "but if you take my advice you will." He then left the room himself to allow the tenants to consult with their lawyers.

The lawyers advised them that continuation of the action might be expensive, especially if it entailed an appeal. Then Miss Sarah Schoenkopf of the Village Independent Democrats offered to help raise funds for the tenants. Then they voted unanimously to carry on the fight, and the trial was resumed.

Lawyers in Politics

The tenants' lawyers include candidates of three political parties. They are Assemblyman William Passannante, Democrat; his Republican opponent, Gerald Ulman, and Leon Braun, Liberal candidate for the State Senate.

Other defense attorneys were Carey Vennema and Carl Hauptman, who conducted the examination. All were serving without compensation as members of the Save-the-Village Committee.

Mr. Schulman was represented by Jack Newton Lerner.

Both sides had agreed to base their arguments on the case of Mrs. Maria Parodi, a resident of the building for twenty-five years, and to let the decision apply to the other tenants.

A headline in The New York Times yesterday indicated erroneously that Mr. Schulman was the defendant in the case and that it was being held in Housing Court.

When the trial resumed, Mr. Schulman spent the rest of the day on the witness stand under cross-examination by Mr. Hauptman. The lawyer attempted to bring out evidence that the landlord neither intended to nor was financially capable of demolishing the building and

erecting a new one with more dwelling units.

To evict tenants for the purpose of rebuilding, an owner must meet both of those requirements to the satisfaction of the Temporary State Rent Commission.

On the basis of evidence he had presented to the Rent Commission, Mr. Schulman received eviction certificates earlier this year. Repeatedly throughout the trial Justice Lazarus said that he was bound by the certificates and could not entertain testimony regarding possible fraud by Mr. Schulman in applying for them.

Justice Lazarus said he would accept only evidence of changes in the landlord's intentions or

financial status since the certificates were issued.

Mr. Schulman was to have appeared in Housing Court today to answer a Fire Department summons charging violations in a building he owns at 15 Sheridan Square.

In The Backrooms

by OLIVER PILAT & EDWARD KATCHER

Tammany Boss DeSapio is trying a political maneuver so tricky that oldtimers in the Wigwam are afraid it may boomerang.

The purpose of the maneuver is to defeat an unusually strong insurgent state for State Committee in DeSapio's 1st A.D. This consists of James S. Lanigan, 41, a deputy national campaign director for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956, and Sarah Schoenkopf, a 24-year-old Vassar graduate who served as executive secretary of the Village Independent Democrats during its almost successful 1959 drive to unseat DeSapio as district leader of the 1st A. D. South.

After endless conferences, and the employment of blandishments, threats, pleas and promises, the Boss has put his own reform slate in the field. He is backing Democratic State Vice-Chairman Eleanor Clark French and Charles Kinsolving, president of the reform Murray Hill Citizens Club in the north third of the district.

The present State Committee members from the district are C. Leo Calarco, a lawyer from DeSapio's Tamawa Club, and Margot Gayle, a district co-leader from the middle-of-the road Tilden Club in the middle third of the district.

Mrs. Gayle could not be salvaged; she had been repudiated by her own club for being too close to DeSapio. But Tamawa was still behind Calarco, and it did not understand why he had to be dumped.

A delegation from Tamawa headed by George Tombini, DeSapio's uncle, made a grim last-minute visit to DeSapio to register protest. It suggested that DeSapio is making an unbelievable blunder by abandoning his own political base.

DeSapio responded by calling the first membership meeting of Tamawa in many months. There he presented the situation in the best possible light. Mrs. French had refused to run with Calarco, he explained; without her, he would not have a slate at all.

Before adjourning the meeting, DeSapio pulled his major surprise. From now on, he said, Calarco was to be "chief captain"—in effect, his own chief lieutenant.

Tamawa became more upset than ever. It had tried to ignore rumors that DeSapio was going to step down as district leader next year, in favor of Assemblyman Passannante or somebody else. Now it looked as though Calarco were the heir-apparent, and not a particularly strong one at that. Under the circumstances, whether Tamawa will do much work for a Kinsolving-French slate remains doubtful.

Certainly, DeSapio has created amazement in the reform ranks by pitting one group of its leaders against another. But even if his slate wins, which is not at all sure, he has lost prestige. If the Lanigan-Schoenkopf team wins, he will be doubly defeated.



CARMINE DE SAPIO

Ny Times
4/28/60

LOWER COURT
Decision
AL, THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1960.

DECISIONS.

First Judicial Department

APPELLATE DIVISION—SUPREME COURT—FIRST DEPARTMENT.
By BOTEIN, P.J.; BREITEL, RABIN, VALENTE AND STEVENS, JJ.

91. Matter of Seligmann (Seligmann)—Motion to have appeal added to the June, 1960, term calendar of this court granted, upon condition that the appellant serves and files a notice of argument for the June, 1960, term of this court on or before May

13, 1960. Resp
be served and
26, 1960. Order

APPELLATE I
COURT—FI

People,
dez—Order e
Matter
Fox Film Co
filed.

New York County

SUPREME COURT—SPECIAL TERM,
PART I.

By Mr. Justice Gold.

Matter of Greitzer (Power) —
Section 242-a of the Election Law enacted in 1954, empowered the Board of Elections "to adopt the use of voting machines for any primary election." Whether or not to avail itself of this power is a matter resting in the discretion of the board. The board has resolved to use voting machines for the 1960 primary elections wherever practical. This accords with the desire of the petitioner (petition, par. 7). Petitioner contends that the order in which the board intends to place the names of candidates on the face of the voting machine does not comply with the provisions of subdivision 2 of section 104 of the Election Law. That subdivision, however, applies only to paper ballots to be used at primary elections, in contradistinction to subdivision 1, which relates to non-primary elections, and deals with the order in which candidates' names shall appear "on the voting machines." Although section 242-a (supra) provides that "the provisions of this article shall be observed so far as applicable" when voting machines are used at primaries, the article referred to is article 9 of the Election Law. That article contains no provisions similar to those contained in section 104, subdivision 2 (supra), which is part of article 5 of the Election Law. Section 242-a (supra) in subdivision 7, provides that the Board of Elections "shall have the power to make all necessary or desirable provisions for such use" (namely, the use of voting machines at primaries). The resolution adopted by the board as to the order in which candidates' names are to be placed on the voting machine ballots, which petitioner attacks as violative of subdivision 2 of section 104 (supra) was within the discretion of the board to enact, in the absence of statutory provisions for voting machines similar to the provisions of subdivision 2 of section 104, relating to paper primary ballots. The respondents' affidavit points out that identical rules were adopted by the respondent board for the primary elections for the year 1959 and that the regulations are reasonable because they are designed to afford the voter an opportunity to cast his vote with the minimum confusion; further, that the employment of any other technique in slotting candidates would result in chaos and confusion. Motion denied and petition dismissed. Order filed.

Gresow v. Shattuck Derr Mining Corp.—Motion to dismiss counterclaim pursuant to stipulation.

ZONING CHANGE AIDS 'VILLAGE'

Measures Set Back Plans for High-Rent Apartments on Side Streets

PRESERVATION THE AIM

Speculators Unable to Build Under Restrictions and Old Houses Remain

By THOMAS W. ENNIS

Stringent zoning changes have set back plans for more high-rent apartment houses in Greenwich Village.

The purpose of the new regulations is to prevent large buildings from crowding out the old houses that line many of the side streets in the Village.

Builders and architects ruefully concede that this objective is being achieved. They say that, in view of high land and construction costs, the smaller space restrictions imposed under the new zoning would make apartment houses along the side streets unprofitable to the typical speculative builder.

The Department of Buildings has withdrawn its approval of plans for three new structures and an alteration project because they do not conform with the zoning changes. Approval will be reinstated if the plans are revised.

Site Coverage Reduced

At least one spacious and comfortable apartment house has been saved by the zoning. This building, at 44 West Ninth Street, was to be razed, according to a local real estate man, to make way for a larger structure. The plans were dropped because they were not possible under the new regulations.

The changes, approved by the Board of Estimate in March, reduce the site coverage heretofore permitted under the city's Zoning Code.

The area affected is bounded by Thirteenth Street, University Place, Washington Square East, Washington Square South, West Broadway, a line 100 feet north of Houston Street, a line 100 feet east of Hudson Street and Horatio Street.

Frontages along the main thoroughfares in the area are unaffected by the zoning changes if they do not exceed a depth of 100 feet on the side streets. The status quo was maintained there expressly to permit the construction of large buildings.

Groups Sought Changes

The changes followed recommendations made to the City Planning Commission by the zoning committee of the Washington Square Association, the Greenwich Village Association,

and the Greenwich Village Planning Board.

The rezoning was strongly supported by the Save the Village Committee, which has waged a persistent battle against a number of apartment house builders in the area.

The zoning changes will become part of the new Zoning Code for the entire city, which is expected to be adopted shortly by the Planning Commission. The final draft of the code is near completion.

Most of the Village side streets have been placed in a "D" zone, which reduces the bulk, or cubic content, of a building by about 25 per cent from what was formerly allowed.

able. The loss in area means a reduction in income, and this is what is troubling the builders.

Some twenty apartment houses are planned or are under construction in the Village. Most of the buildings in the planning stage will be unaffected by the new zoning because they will be erected along the avenues, according to H. I. Feldman, architect, whose firm has designed about eighteen of the structures.

However, a design for a twenty-story building, planned for a blockfront on the Avenue of the Americas, has been affected to an "extreme degree" by the zoning changes, according to Leo Stillman, the building's architect.

Because the building site, or the west side of the avenue, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, exceeds a depth of 100 feet, it becomes involved in the restrictions affecting the side streets. Owing to bulk limitations a twelve-story wing of the structure will have to be reduced to six stories, the architect says.

This building is one of the three whose plans will have to be revised to meet the new zoning regulations.

The other plans were for buildings to be erected at 37-39 West Twelfth Street, between Fifth Avenue and the Avenue of the Americas, and at 259 West Twelfth Street, between Greenwich Avenue and Eighth Avenue.

Alterations will have to be revised for the building at 29 West Twelfth Street, near Fifth Avenue.

NY Law Journal

NY Times 5/8/60

Heard Around CITY HALL

State Democrats Backing Drive To Prevent Stevenson Nomination

WTR 5-6-60



Heard Around City Hall, a weekly roundup of behind-the-scenes news, appears each Friday. Today's column was compiled by Frank Lynn, Dale Wright, Bard Lindeman, Henry Walter, Woody Klein and Thomas Furey.

New York Democratic leaders have quietly mapped out a "stop Stevenson" drive and are trying to persuade other big convention delegations to join it.

The strategy calls for delegation leaders to agree in advance on a candidate—either Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, or Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri—to avert a convention deadlock that would pave the way for the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson.

The New York leaders' prime objection to Mr. Stevenson lies in their belief that he would hurt, rather than help, local candidates for Congress and the Legislature.

Barring a major defeat in the West Virginia primary next Tuesday, Sen. Kennedy will have the support of most members of the New York delegation when the Los Angeles convention opens—but only for a few ballots.

If it then appears that Mr. Kennedy can't swing the Presidential nomination, the plan is for the state delegation to jump to the Symington camp.

Speaking of the convention, Brooklyn Democratic leader Joseph T. Sharkey doesn't plan to lead his followers personally into Los Angeles. "I wouldn't want to put 120 organization Democrats on one plane," he said this week. "There would be too many people praying the plane would go down. I can just see those 'reformers' rubbing their hands over the prospect."

As for Mr. Sharkey, he's taking a train.

Adlai Stevenson's son, John Fell Stevenson, has immed

into the local political wars. He's ringing doorbells for James Lanigan in the bitter "reformer" versus "reformer" fight for Democratic state committee berths in the 1st AD.

J. Clarence Davies, head of the new super housing agency, not only inherited all of the city's Title I troubles, but also the problem of what to do with Samuel Brooks. A key Robert Moses aide, Mr. Brooks was former director of the Slum Clearance Committee—an agency abolished because of its malodorous administration of the Title I housing program.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon wouldn't win any popularity contest in Queens Republican circles these days. Attorney General William P. Rogers, Mr. Nixon's closest political ally, still is sitting on Queens GOP chieftain Frank Kenna's recommendation to name Jacob Mishler to the Federal Court bench in the Eastern District, covering Brooklyn, Queens and Long Island. The last time Mr. Kenna submitted a name for a Federal berth, Mr. Rogers picked a Brooklynite, although political protocol dictated the selection of a Queens Republican.

On the subject of Queens politics, rebellious relatives of two city judges are making insurgent bids for district leaderships in the Wild West-like Queens Democratic primary. Matthew J. Troy Jr., son of the Special Sessions jurist, is in one of the battles and Harry Heller, brother of City Court Justice Louis Heller, is vying in another.

Inmates at the Hart Island workhouse will soon be watching baseball games from Ebbets Field seats. The seats, 2200 of them, were a gift from the Kratter Corp., which recently demolished the old Brooklyn ball park.

Harlem Democrat David Jones, slated to be named deputy corrections commissioner next week, has a political back-

ground that ought to please at least some of the many factions in his community. He's a brother-in-law of Republican General Sessions Judge Samuel R. Pierce and a member of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's Democratic Club.

TOMORROW: Read "Heard in Washington," weekly roundup of the capital scene by the Scripps-Howard Washington staff.

World Telegram & Sun
5/6/60

LEHMAN, GARRISON JOIN 1ST A. D. FIGHT

Former Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Lloyd K. Garrison took sides yesterday in the reform battle in Manhattan's First Assembly District, where the Committee for Democratic Voters they helped found is remaining neutral.

They said that, as individuals, they were supporting James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf for election to the Democratic State Committee.

"We believe that under the special circumstances pertaining in the First A. D., the election of Mr. Lanigan and Miss Schoenkopf would give the whole reform movement an invigorating forward impulse," they said in a joint statement.

An opposition slate, made up of Charles M. Kinsolving Jr. and Eleanor Clark French, Democratic state vice chairman, also claims the reform label.

However, one of these leaders, Mrs. Mary B. Reis of the Murray Hill Citizens Club in the First A. D. North, said yesterday that she considered herself neutral.

Many in the district believe that Mr. Lanigan, if elected, would be run by the Village Independent Democrats next year against Carmine G. De Sapio for the leadership of the First A. D. South.

NY Times
5/9/60

Village Democrats Favor Stevenson

Adlai E. Stevenson carried a Presidential preference poll among 10 per cent of the 16,000 enrolled Democrats in Greenwich Village, according to results announced yesterday by the insurgent Village Independent Democrats, 224 W. Fourth St. Mr. Stevenson polled 47 per cent of the vote among the 10 per cent reached, with Sen. John F. Kennedy second with 22 per cent; 15 per cent were "don't know" and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey was fourth with 7 per cent. Mrs. Carol Greitzer, club president, announced the totals.

Herald Tribune
5/11/60

2 REFORM SLATES VEX DEMOCRATS

Rivals for State Committee
in Manhattan's First A.D.
Engage in Bitter Race

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

The state committee race in Manhattan's First Assembly District poses a problem for reform Democrats. Whatever the outcome, they will win — and still lose.

Two reform slates, each anchored by a "name" candidate, are doing bitter battle there — so bitter, in fact, that the new York Committee for Democratic Voters, spearhead of the reform drive, has not ventured to take a stand in the race.

One slate is made up of Charles M. Kinsolving Jr., 33-year-old manager of plans development for the National Broadcasting Company, and Mrs. Eleanor Clark French, 51, vice chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

The other puts forward James S. Lanigan, a 41-year-old lawyer who was the assistant manager of Adlai E. Stevenson's Presidential campaigns in both 1952 and 1956, and Sarah Schoenkopf, a 25-year-old reporter for a Greenwich Village weekly who was active in the Stevenson campaign in New Jersey in 1956.

The Kinsolving-French ticket is the so-called "regular" slate. Two of the three clubs that controls designations in the district have reform status and their leaders back this slate. These are the Murray Hill Citizens and the Tilden Clubs.

Supported by De Sapio Club

But this slate also is supported by the Tamawa Club at the southern end of the district. Carmine G. De Sapio, the Tammany chieftain, is the leader of the club.

The Lanigan-Schoenkopf ticket was put in the race by the Village Independent Democrats, whose prime objective for the last three years has been to unseat Mr. De Sapio as leader in the First South.

The First Assembly District runs from Houston Street through Greenwich Village and Murray Hill to Fifty-fourth Street, generally east of Eighth Avenue and west of Third Avenue.

About two-thirds of the 25,000 Democratic votes that could be cast in the district in the June 7 primary are in the First Assembly District South, and there the campaigning is heaviest.

The Lanigan-Schoenkopf ticket says it is the "only anti-De Sapio slate in the field" and the Kinsolving-French ticket maintains it has the backing of reform elements that have achieved "responsible leadership status."

Opponents in State Committee Race



Mrs. Eleanor Clark French

James S. Lanigan

The New York Times

Petitions Spell 2 New Battles For DeSapio

By OLIVER PILAT

Tammany boss DeSapio was involved in two new battles in his political backyard today as the result of designating petitions filed before midnight last night with the Board of Elections.

In his own 1st AD, he produced 4,300 signatures for his State Committee's slate, Mrs. Eleanor Clark French and Charles Kinsolving, against approximately 2,500 signatures filed for the anti-DeSapio slate of James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf.

Meanwhile, his Assemblyman, William Assannante, faced a not-entirely-expected challenge for the Democratic nomination from Joseph M. Tocci, an exile from the boss' Tamawa Club.

Petition Facing Attack

Tocci filed 800 signatures for a race which requires 350. It is expected that the organization will try to knock him off the June 7 primary ballot by challenging his petition.

A similar challenge to DeSapio's State Committee slate may come from the Village Independent Democrats, insurgent club in the 1st AD, which is supporting Lanigan and Miss Schoenkopf.

VID officials pointed out today that DeSapio filed 5,800 signatures last year in his barely successful fight to retain district leadership of the 1st AD South. He received only 4,800 votes on Primary Day. On the other hand, VID filed only 2,100 signatures in 1959, and drew

4,300 votes for Charles M. McGuinness, its leadership candidate against DeSapio.

A Hard Battle

The relatively minor struggle over State Committee members in the 1st AD seemed to be straining both organization and anti-organization forces today.

The present State Committee members, C. Leo Calarco, a Tamawa Club captain, and Mrs. Margot Gayle, a female district leader in the 1st AD middle, were sidelined by DeSapio when he found they would stand no chance against the Lanigan-Schoenkopf team.

After many conferences, the boss induced Mrs. French, who is Democratic State Committee vice-chairman, and Charles Kinsolving, reform head of the Murray Hill Citizens Club in the North third of the district, to run as the regular slate.

Tocci 'In to Stay'

Dissatisfaction developed in Tamawa over the effort to fight reform with reform. Earlier this week, reports spread that a third anti-reform slate might be entered at the last minute. This did not materialize.

Meanwhile there has been mounting debate within the Democratic reform movement as to whether a stand should be taken between the Lanigan-Schoenkopf and French-Kinsolving slates.

NY Times
5/4/60

NY Post
5/4/60

PRIMARY BATTLES MUSHROOM HERE

Democrats Face 11 Contests
in Brooklyn, 21 in Queens
—Petition List Closes

By LEO EGAN

Primary contests for Democratic district leaderships in Brooklyn and Queens blossomed yesterday like dandelions after a spring rain.

Fights were in sight for eleven of the twenty-two Assembly District leadership in Brooklyn and for twenty-one of the twenty-eight zone leaderships in Queens when the deadline for filing designating petitions with the Board of Elections was reached.

Brooklyn has only one leader and one co-leader for each Assembly district. In Queens, Assembly Districts are subdivided into two or three zones, each with its own leader and co-leader.

A few more contests could develop today on the basis of petitions submitted by mail. The election law requires the board to treat mailed petitions on a par with those filed in person, if they were postmarked by midnight last night.

In Manhattan, Democratic district leaders are chosen in odd-numbered years, so none are at stake in this year's primary.

A fair crop of contests for Democratic nominations to public office and for places as delegates and alternates to the Democratic national convention were also in view for the June 7 primary.

The bitterest of the nomination contests involve Congressional and legislative seats to be filled by voters on Manhattan's West Side and in the southeast section of the Bronx.

Teller in Battle

Representative Ludwig Teller is being opposed for renomination in the Twentieth Congressional District, on the West Side, by William Pitts Ryan. Both are Democratic district leaders. Mr. Teller has the backing of Carmine G. De Sapio and the regular party organization, Mr. Ryan of former Senator Herbert H. Lehman and the "reform" faction.

In the Twenty-fifth Senate District, which covers much the same territory, Senator John H. Farrell is being challenged by Manfred Ohrenstein. Senator Farrell is the regular candidate and Mr. Ohrenstein the reform choice.

The main Bronx fight involves the Congressional nomination in the Twenty-third District, where Negro and Puerto Rican groups are fighting for a stronger voice in Democratic party affairs. Representative Jacob H. Gilbert is the regular choice in this district. His challenger is Mrs. Anna Hedgeman, a Negro who was formerly one of Mayor Wagner's assistants.

On the basis of petitions on file with the Board of Elections last night, Republicans will have three contests for district leaderships in Brooklyn and three in Queens. Republican contests were scheduled for

convention delegates in two Bronx Congressional districts.

No Liberal Contests

As usual, there were no contests slated for Liberal party nominations or for Liberal party offices.

Only three of the Brooklyn and three of the Queens Democratic leadership contests reflect the work of the Democratic reform group in the city. The others are power struggles between incumbents and insurgents. Any substantial number of victories for the insurgents could have important ramifications, since district leaders choose the county leaders and shape party policy.

Many of the Queens Democratic leadership contests are outgrowths of last year's bitter primary contest for the nomination for Borough President. This was won by Borough President John T. Clancy and resulted in the ouster of Robert Battipaglia as county leader.

Nine contests for slates of delegates and alternates to the Democratic national convention are in prospect. They involve nine of the twenty-two Congressional districts wholly within the city.

Following are the candidates nominated as delegates and alternates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions in primary petitions on file with the Board of Elections.

In both parties the enrolled members of the party in each Congressional district are entitled to elect two delegates and two alternates. If more names appear in the list below, contests are indicated in those districts:

DEMOCRATIC New York County

| Dist. | Delegates. | Alternates. |
|-------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 15. | J. Raymond Jones | Mark T. Southall |
| | Lloyd E. Dickens | Lillian M. Thompson |
| 17. | James A. Farley | S. Arthur Glick |
| | Thomas K. Finletter | Jean G. McCabe |
| 18. | Frank G. Rossetti | Antonio Mendez |
| | John J. Merli | Oscar S. Rosner |
| 19. | Ruth Donnelly | Frederick Terna |
| | Edwin E. Murphy | Jeanne Nelson |
| 20. | Bernard Nadel | Marie Lofaro |
| | Michael Bloom | Stephen J. Jarema |
| 21. | Curtis Roosevelt | Susan E. Harwig |
| | Leonard S. Walpert | John A. Flory |
| 22. | Stanley H. Lowell | Moses L. Kove |
| | S. Peter Straus | Alfred Norick |
| 23. | Dennis A. Canavan | Jack C. Glass |
| | Dora Simonetti | Samuel J. Nachwalter |

NY Times
5/4/60

Candidates in Primary

Following is a list of candidates for party nominations to public office for whom designating petitions had been filed with the Board of Elections up to last night's closing hour. In cases where more than one name was submitted for a single vacancy a primary contest is indicated. Incumbents are denoted by an asterisk.

NEW YORK COUNTY

| Republican | Democratic | Liberal |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| GENERAL SESSIONS JUDGE | | |
| George Postel | | |
| MUNICIPAL COURT JUSTICE | | |
| *Samuel R. Pierce Jr. | | Samuel R. Pierce Jr. |
| District. | | |
| 1. Patrick J. Picarello | *Wm. B. Sandler | Amos Basel |
| 2. Martin M. Zimbalist | Sidney Gold | Sidney Gold |
| 3. *Saul Price | *Saul Price | *Saul Price |
| 4. (Two vacancies.) | | |
| 5. *Maxwell Shapiro | *Maxwell Shapiro | George Horowitz |
| 6. Robert R. Rawlins | *Amos E. Bowman | *Amos E. Bowman |
| 7. William C. Stoute | Harrison S. Jackson | *Herman C. Stoute |
| 8. (Two vacancies.) | Cary C. Jones | |
| 9. *Herman C. Stoute | *Herman C. Stoute | |
| 10. Joseph A. Bailey | CONGRESS | |
| 11. *John V. Lindsay | *Adam C. Powell Jr. | Mabel Fuller |
| 12. Edward A. Bailey | Wm. J. vanden Heuvel | Wm. J. vanden Heuvel |
| 13. William F. Larkin | *A. E. Santangelo | Faustino L. Garcia |
| 14. Clarence C. Vam Bell | *Leonard Farbatstein | *Leonard Farbatstein |
| 15. Thomas H. Bartosz | *Ludwig Teller | *Ludwig Teller |
| 16. *MacNeil Mitchell | Wm. Pitts Ryan | |
| 17. Eugene McIntosh | *Herbert Zelenko | *Herbert Zelenko |
| 18. Irving Hamada | STATE SENATE | |
| 19. John W. Haggins | John Westergard | Leon Braun |
| 20. Meyer Licht | *James L. Watson | *James L. Watson |
| 21. Lester Baum | *John P. Morrissey | *John P. Morrissey |
| 22. Geraldine Rosenblum | *Joseph Zaretzki | *Joseph Zaretzki |
| 23. *Dorothy B. Lawrence | Peter Osman | *Joseph R. Marro |
| 24. *John R. Brook | *Joseph R. Marro | *John H. Farrell |
| 25. Richard C. Welden | *John H. Farrell | |
| 26. Herbert M. Hayes | ASSEMBLY | |
| 27. Emma Bowen | *Wm. F. Passannante | *Wm. F. Passannante |
| 28. Ruth V. Washington | Joseph M. Tocci | Ann McNamara |
| 29. Angel F. Rivera | *Louis De Salvo | *Francis W. Doherty |
| 30. Melvyn N. Thaler | *Francis W. Doherty | *Samuel A. Spiegel |
| 31. Carmelo T. Figueroa | *Samuel A. Spiegel | *Bentley Kassel |
| | *Bentley Kassel | Michael Cuevas |
| | *Joseph J. Welter | *Daniel M. Kelly |
| | Nelson Bengton | Ed Burnett |
| | *Daniel M. Kelly | |
| | Mary Bancroft | Alice Sachs |
| | Charles D. Lieber | Margaret M. Monahan |
| | Alice Sachs | *Lloyd E. Dickens |
| | *Martin J. Kelly Jr. | *Bessie Buchanan |
| | Marke Lane | *Orest V. Maresca |
| | *Lloyd E. Dickens | *Jose Ramon Lopez |
| | *Bessie Buchanan | |
| | *Orest V. Maresca | Nicholas Daffos |
| | *Jose Ramon Lopez | *Frank G. Rossetti |
| | Ivan A. Michael | |
| | *John J. Walsh | |
| | Wm. A. Kummer | |
| | *Frank G. Rossetti | |

BRONX COUNTY

| Republican | Democratic | Liberal |
|---------------------|------------|---------|
| COUNTY JUDGE | | |
| Hyman Korn | | |
| CONGRESS | | |
| *James C. Healey | | |
| *Jacob H. Gilbert | | |
| Anne Hedgeman | | |
| *Charles A. Buckley | | |
| Eugene L. Sugarman | | |
| STATE SENATE | | |
| *Harry Kraf | | |
| Arthur H. Liff | | |
| Ivan Warner | | |
| Joseph E. Marine | | |
| Lillian Gulker | | |
| Frank Perez | | |
| Herman Woskow | | |
| Rose Fromowitz | | |

Democratic Reform Wing Settles Rift

Post 5-6-60
By OLIVER PILAT

An issue which threatened to disrupt the reform wing of the Democratic Party was settled by compromise today.

After a series of closed meetings, the Committee for Democratic Voters has approved a plan under which two of its advisers, former Senator Lehman and Lloyd K. Garrison, will personally indorse an anti-organization slate for State Committee in Tammany boss De Sapio's 1st A. D.

This slate consists of James S. Lanigan, 41, who was an assistant national campaign manager for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956, and Sarah Schoenkopf, 24, Vassar graduate who served as executive secretary of the Village Independent Democrats in their nearly successful effort last year to defeat De Sapio for district leader.

No Stand By Committee

Under the compromise, however, the Committee for Democratic Voters itself will take no stand between the Lanigan-Schoenkopf slate and a De Sapio slate consisting of Charles Kinsolving and Mrs. Eleanor Clark French. Kinsolving is president of the middle-of-the-road Murray Hill Citizens Club and Mrs. French is Democratic state vice chairman.

Lanigan-Schoenkopf supporters had a clear majority at a meeting last night of about 40 of the 60 members of the CDV executive committee at the Hotel Roosevelt. In the interests of harmony, they did not force a showdown.

Irving M. Engel, who presided, read a letter from Lehman and Garrison asserting their determination to take individual action for the Lanigan-Schoenkopf slate.

Resolution Remains Tabled

Mel Kraft, vice-chairman of the VID, then declared he would not move to take up a resolution for formal committee support of Lanigan-Schoenkopf which had been tabled at a stormy previous meeting.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a third of the CDV advisers, may subsequently decide to join Lehman and Garrison in backing Lanigan and Miss Schoenkopf.

Under the compromise, neither Thomas K. Finletter nor former Police Commissioner Adams will support either slate.

Lehman and Garrison kept in touch with the meeting by phone. If any question had been raised about the propriety of their individual indorsements, they were prepared to come immediately to the meeting and fight for full committee support. The compromise made this unnecessary.

ASSEMBLY

1. Milton Hutner
2. Daniel H. Rogers
3. Alfred T. Correa
4. Norman Brandwein
5. Rubin Ramiel
6. John J. O'Grady
7. Donald Davidson
8. Margaret Ruggiero
9. James Cardinal
10. Charles A. Bailey
11. S. Sanford Seader
12. Marvin Lifshutz
13. George W. Harrington
14. Jos. N. Gramboi
15. Thomas E. Ferrandina
16. James J. Colonna
17. Arthur D. Sokolow

- *Donald J. Sullivan
- *Sidney H. Asch
- *Moses J. Epstein
- *Philip N. Torres
- *Melville E. Abrams
- *Nellie Lindsay
- *Mark T. Smith
- *Murray Lewinter
- *John T. Satriale
- *Alexander Chananau
- *William Kapelman
- *David Levy
- *Ferdinand J. Mondello
- *Aileen B. Ryan
- *Fred W. Eggert

- Gamaliel Reyes
- Leonard Feldman
- Max Sherry
- Clara Vasquez
- Solomon Cowan
- Hector Mathew
- Donald Merit
- Louis Dvorkin
- Lucy Sperber
- Frank Leif
- Peter Italiano
- Sidney Rudow

KINGS COUNTY

CONGRESS

8. Leon Nadrowski
9. Herman Sanders
10. Jerome P. Schneider
11. Seymour Besunder
12. *Francis E. Dorn
13. Gus Gail
14. Carlo G. Colavito
15. *John H. Ray

- *Victor L. Anfuso
- *Eugene J. Keogh
- *Edna F. Kelly
- *Emanuel Celler
- *Hugh L. Carey
- *Abraham J. Multer
- *John J. Rooney
- *John M. Murphy

- *Victor L. Anfuso
- *Eugene J. Keogh
- *Edna F. Kelly
- *Emanuel Celler
- *Philip Rachman
- *Abraham J. Multer
- *John J. Rooney
- *Timothy W. Costello

STATE SENATE

10. Michael C. Corci
11. Charles W. Greene
12. Raymond Radigan
13. Kevin C. Fogarty
14. *Wm. T. Conklin
15. Bert M. Fields
16. Maurice Brill
17. Wm. Berman
18. Edward C. Healy

- *Simon J. Liebowitz
- *Jerome G. Ambro
- *Walter E. Cooke
- *Jeremiah B. Bloom
- *Frank Composto
- *Charles F. De Martino
- *Frank J. Pino
- *Wm. Rosenblatt
- *Samuel L. Greenberg
- *Harry Gittleston

- *Simon J. Liebowitz
- *Walter E. Cooke
- *Jeremiah B. Bloom
- *Shirley Simmons
- *Frank J. Friedman
- *Frank J. Pino
- *Wm. Rosenblatt
- *Samuel L. Greenberg
- *Harry Gittleston

ASSEMBLY

1. Gerald C. Newman
2. Phil Silverman
3. *Harry Donnelly
4. John H. Gimbel
5. John Milza
6. John Crawford
7. Benjamin C. Amodeo
8. Edward J. Whitney
9. *Frank J. McMullen
10. Arthur J. P. Smith
11. Charles Behrman
12. *Luigi R. Marano
13. Henry A. Behr
14. George Popalarki
15. Bennett Gold
16. Melvyn N. Rothman
17. Alexander E. Harris
18. Thomas D. Amato
19. Albert J. Gennarelli
20. Vincent Buscemi
21. Leon Eitnerman
22. John Murman

- *Max M. Turshen
- *Samuel Bonom
- *Joseph J. Dowd
- *Wm. A. Delano
- *Harold W. Cohn
- *James V. Mistretta
- *Leonard E. Yosivein
- *Bertram L. Baker
- *Edward J. Robeson
- *Louis Kalish
- *Guy J. Mangano
- *Robt. F. Walsh
- *Marie M. Lambert
- *John J. Ryan
- *George A. Cincotta
- *Joseph N. Sclarra
- *Lawrence P. Murphy
- *Edward S. Lentol
- *James J. Amelia
- *Alfred A. Lama
- *Albert Stern
- *Robert Chasen
- *Irwin Brownstein
- *Charles Berkman
- *Samuel I. Berman
- *Thomas R. Jones
- *Stanley Steingut
- *Joseph Kottler
- *Wm. Weidberg
- *Joseph R. Corso
- *Anthony Aiello
- *Bertram L. Fodell
- *Anthony J. Travia

- *Max M. Turshen
- *Gerard M. Weisberg
- *M. Kenneth Boss
- *Harold W. Cohn
- *James L. Mistretta
- *Bertram L. Baker
- *Philip J. Casaiena
- *John J. Ryan
- *George A. Cincotta
- *Harry Sloman
- *Lawrence P. Murphy
- *Edward S. Lentol
- *Alfred A. Lama
- *Irwin Brownstein
- *Samuel I. Berman
- *Stanley Steingut
- *Joseph Kottler
- *Joseph R. Corso
- *Bertram L. Fodell
- *Anthony J. Travia

QUEENS COUNTY

CONGRESS

4. *Seymour Halpern
5. *Albert H. Bosch

- Bernard J. Helfat
- William Kincoy
- Joseph P. Addabbo
- Attilio W. Panzarella
- Herbert Rubin
- Domenic La Rosa
- *Lester Holtzman
- *James J. Delaney

- Soloman B. Marcus
- A. I. Goldstein
- *Lester Holtzman
- *James J. Delaney

STATE SENATE

5. Joseph J. Kunzeman
6. Joseph Licitra
7. Douglas A. Witschieban
8. Joseph Modugno
9. Gerard P. Simone

- *Jack E. Bronston
- *Jacob Cohn
- *Irving Mosberg
- *Edward J. Weber Jr.
- *Seymour R. Thaler
- *Thomas A. Duffy
- *Thomas J. Mackell

- Julian Gottlieb
- B. J. Taruskin
- *Seymour Thaler
- *Thomas A. Duffy
- *Thomas J. Mackell

ASSEMBLY

1. Glen D. Webster Jr.
2. Nathan Steiner
3. Charles Eckstein
4. Lucille Kittross
5. Rocco A. Picarone
6. Mordecai Bressler
7. Jay M. Lande
8. *John DiLeonardo
9. *Fred W. Preller
10. Nicholas J. Caputo
11. *Alfred D. Lerner
12. Sidney Schneider
13. *Anthony P. Savarese Jr.

- *Thomas LaFauci
- *William C. Brennan
- *Edward J. Devlin
- *Jules C. Sabbatino
- *Frank McGlynn Jr.
- *William C. Giaccio
- *Dante R. Cappa
- *Michael G. Rice
- *Frank A. Crimi
- *Patrick J. Gallagher
- *James G. Rowen Jr.
- *Louis J. Telcher
- *John J. Santucci
- *Walter E. Nicholson
- *Moses M. Weinstein
- *Michael Capanegro
- *John C. Gotimer
- *Louis Wallach

- *Thomas LaFauci
- *William C. Brennan
- *Marcia Steinberg
- *D. M. Blauwels
- *William G. Giaccio
- *Seymour Simmons
- *Moses M. Weinstein
- *Michael J. Capanegro
- *Martin Stein
- *Louis Wallach
- *Leonard Vaughn
- *Leonard Vaughn
- *J. Lewis Fox
- *Joseph Ventriglia

MUNICIPAL COURT JUSTICE

4. *Jenkin R. Hockert

- *Jenkin R. Hockert

RICHMOND COUNTY

CONGRESS

15. *John H. Ray
19. *John M. Marchi

- John M. Murphy
- STATE SENATE
- Ralph Di Iorio

- Timothy W. Costello
- George Maki

ASSEMBLY

1. *Edward J. Amann Jr.
2. *Lucio F. Russo

- Elaine A. Kovessy
- Philip Massa

- John Lawrence
- Silvestro Czzi

NY Times 5/4/60

NY Post 5/6/60

De Sapio and Insurgents Clash in West Side Contests



The New York Times May 30, 1960
Boundaries of the district

Posters on candidates for Democratic nominations in Twentieth Congressional District line fence on Park West Village site at Columbus Avenue and 100th Street. Carmine G. De Sapio, Tammany leader, is supporting Ludwig Teller, Congressional incumbent, and John H. Farrell for the State Senate. William P. Ryan and Manfred Ohrenstein are being backed for House and Senate by former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman and "reform" group.

The New York Times

DeSapio Haled to Court in Primary Challenge

By OLIVER PILAT

Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio has been subpoenaed to appear tomorrow morning before Supreme Court Justice Greenberg in a contest-of-residence election case.

The subpoena was served personally on DeSapio at his Tamawa Club, 88 Seventh Av. South, by Joseph M. Tocci, insurgent candidate for Assembly in the boss' own 1st A.D. He has several surprises in mind, Tocci says.

Assemblyman William Passanante, whom Tocci hopes to upset in the June 7 primary, secured an earlier order requiring Tocci to show cause why his name should not be stricken from the primary ballot for claiming falsely that 55 Charles St. is his address.

Blames DeSapio

Tocci, Tamawa captain from 1945 to 1958, struck back at DeSapio himself, whom he blamed for the legal attempt to knock him out of the race.

"For years," said Tocci today, at his campaign headquarters, 270 Sixth Av., "Tamawa used me as a captain, as a subscribing witness on petitions from the same Charles St. address."

Welcomes Opportunity

Tocci, 42, and secretary to the New York City Division of Veterans Affairs, pointed out that DeSapio, in lectures to university students, says "politics is everybody's business" and that "primary fights are healthy."

"When his friend, Passanante, gets in one, the boss tries

to squirm out of it by hook or crook," continued Tocci. "We surely welcome the opportunity to have DeSapio under oath for questioning by us for a change."

Under prompting from former Assemblyman Millard, Theodore, his campaign manager, Tocci revealed his secret weapon for to-

morrow's hearing.

"I am prepared," he said, "to show that some years ago, when DeSapio ran for district leader, he used 72 Barrow St. as his address—where his uncle, George Tombini, lived then and now—though DeSapio himself lived on Charlton St."

In another Assembly contest, in Harlem's 14th A.D., Ivan A. Michael said that he had broken with Borough President Jack because Jack "had me out there just as a puppet" to oppose Assemblyman Ramos Lopez in the primary.

Michael said Jack's New Deal

Democratic Club, from which he has resigned, will indorse Ramos Lopez instead at a meeting tomorrow night.

But Michael said he would enter the Democratic primary independently.

Jack declined comment until after the club's meeting.

Democrats in DeSapio District Urged to Unite Under the VID

By OLIVER PILAT

John Westergaard, a Democratic State Senatorial candidate, today urged all Democrats in Tammany Boss DeSapio's 1st A.D. to conduct a united campaign next fall through the anti-DeSapio Village Independent Democrats.

The VID is in DeSapio's 1st A.D. South, but it also carried the 1st A. D. Middle and 1st A. D. North for James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf, insurgent State Committee candidates, in Tuesday's primary.

Members of DeSapio's Tamawa Club, the Tilden Club (Middle 1st) and Murray Hill Citizens (1st North) should join VID "at the earliest possible moment," said Westergaard.

Otherwise, the Senatorial can-

didate asserted, "fragmentation of the district will continue to breed misunderstanding and lead to further expensive and time-consuming struggles over minor party posts."

Westergaard is one of the founders of the Murray Hill Citizens and an officer of the Tilden Club, both of which supported DeSapio's unsuccessful slate for State Committee.

In noting this, Westergaard

said there were "times when the good of the Democratic Party must be placed ahead of personal considerations."

Westergaard's demand for a solid, districtwide reform alignment in the 1st A.D. was the second major setback for DeSapio since the primary. On Saturday, the West Side Democratic Club, formerly pro-DeSapio, demanded his resignation and that of State Chairman Prendergast.

TV: Presidential Race

'World Wide 60' Reviews Candidates in 'Politics and Primaries' on N. B. C.

By JOHN P. SHANLEY

A ONE-HOUR survey of the race for the Presidency a month before convention time was shown Saturday night on "World Wide 60" over Channel 4. It offered an informative review of the activities of Democratic and Republican candidates during recent primary races.

The telecast, entitled "Politics and Primaries," provided revealing informal glimpses of several of the leading office-seekers, as they attempted to win the support of voters and delegates. The activities of the successful Democratic insurgent group in New York's Greenwich Village also was an interesting part of the presentation.

A scoreboard of the estimated number of delegates supporting the leading candidates was shown at the conclusion of the program. According to the findings of the National Broadcasting Company correspondents, the del-

egates votes currently stand as follows:

For the Democratic nomination, requiring 761 ballots; Senator John F. Kennedy, 698½; Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, 449; Senator Stuart Symington, 119; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, 68½, and Adlai E. Stevenson, 58.

Frank McGee, the program's moderator, noted that the estimate of Mr. Stevenson's support, at this time, was "meaningless," pointing out that the former Governor of Illinois might gain strength rapidly after early balloting at the Democratic convention.

In the Republican race, it was estimated that, with only 666 votes required for nomination, Vice President Nixon already had more than enough—at least 692, according to N. B. C. findings.

Chet Hagan was the program's producer, and Robert Priaulx its director. Network reporters participating were Sander Vanocur and Herb Kaplow.

Ny Post
5/18/60

Ny Post 6/13/60

Ny Times 6/13/60

5 IN RACES BACKED BY CITIZENS UNION

Justice Stoute, Rejected by
Tammany, and Democrats
for Legislature Endorsed

The Citizens Union advised enrolled Democrats yesterday to renominate Municipal Court Justice Herman C. Stoute, who has been refused redesignation by Tammany Hall.

Justice Stoute is one of five Manhattan and Brooklyn Democrats listed by the nonpartisan civic group as preferred over their opponents in the June 7 primary.

The others are Assemblyman William F. Passannante in the First Assembly District, Manhattan; State Senator Harry Gittleson in Brooklyn's Eighteenth Senatorial District, Marie M. Lambert for Assembly in the Ninth Assembly District, Brooklyn, and Assemblyman Joseph Kottler in the Nineteenth Assembly District, also in Brooklyn.

Milton M. Bergerman, chairman, said that the Citizens Union did not attempt to advise voters on most primary contests, as it did in the November elections, but that "it examines the primaries, however, and attempts to alert the voters of any party where it finds an outstanding choice in the public interest."

More Choices Due

"Other contests, some equally important, are still under investigation and further recommendations are expected before Primary Day," Mr. Bergerman said.

Justice Stoute, a Democrat, is unopposed for the Republican and Liberal nominations. He also has been endorsed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. The 69-year-old jurist, a Negro, received the Republican organization designation after he had been rejected by the Harlem Democratic leadership group headed by Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

Two seats are to be filled for the Municipal Court in the Tenth District, where Justice Stoute is on the bench. Tammany has designated Justice Amos E. Bowman, who has been sitting since eb. 2 by temporary appointment from Mayor Wagner and Harrison S. Jackson, who is Representative Powell's lawyer. Connie C. Jones is an independent candidate in the Democratic primary.

"Judge Stoute is completing a full term of highly satisfactory service and deserves the backing of all parties for reelection," the Citizens Union said.

For the second judgeship nomination, the group announced "no preference among the other three candidates."

Appraisals by Group

The Citizens Union's appraisal of the four other Democratic primary contests in which it listed preferences follows:

"William F. Passannante (incumbent) preferred to Joseph N. Tocci. Mr. Passannante has

6/6 Lehman Ousted As a Delegate

Attended Conventions Since '24;
De Sapio Wins, Vote Is 284-14

By Tom O'Hara

Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor and Senator, was rejected yesterday as a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention by a vote of 284 to 14 of the Democratic State Committee. By so acting the state committee, meeting in an often acrimonious session at the Hotel Biltmore, fol-

lowed the advice of Carmine G. De Sapio, national committeeman, who sat impassively on the dais, and Michael H. Prendergast, Democratic State Chairman, who presided and was re-elected chairman for another two-year term.

Denial of the honor to go to his party's convention (and Mr. Lehman has attended every one of them since 1924 except for the war year of 1944) placed Mr. De Sapio and Mr. Prendergast in the position of taking on what may be the biggest fight of their public careers. Mr. Lehman missed the 1944 convention, since he was then Director-General of the United National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Lehman Sees "Arrogance"

On hearing the news, which was not unexpected, Mr. Lehman, who is eighty-two, issued a statement from his home at 820 Park Ave. It read:

"The action of the State Committee is just another reflection of the shortsightedness and arrogance of the bosses. Obviously they were afraid for me to have any voice in the decisions of the New York delegation and of the national convention.

"They had the power to deny me a vote at the convention and they used it. Now it is their responsibility to justify it to the Democrats of this state and nation.

"I expect to be in Los Angeles as a Democrat and as a member of the National Democratic Advisory Council."

To a lesser extent Mrs. Continued on page 11, column 5

served his constituents intelligently for the last six sessions of the Legislature. He has displayed unusual initiative at Albany and unusual concern about all the practical problems of his community. His opponent, a lawyer who has spent most of his life in this district and is now secretary of the New York City Division of Veterans Affairs, has no comparable claim to support.

"Harry Gittleson (incumbent) preferred to Edward V. Gronet. Senator Gittleson is an influential and very intelligent legislator who has served well at Albany for the last twenty years. He is an effective debater and a consistent champion of civil liberties and social security. Mr. Gronet is an accountant and oil company employee whose experience includes fifteen years of radio broadcasting.

"Marie M. Lambert preferred to Robert F. Walsh. Miss Lambert is a dynamic and intelligent lawyer with a constructive outlook and an active interest in professional and community affairs. She has a good comprehension of state and city issues. Mr. Walsh, the candidate of the regular organization, is an investigator in the District Attorney's office.

"Joseph Kottler (incumbent) preferred to William Weidberg. Mr. Kottler is a conscientious and unusually well-qualified new Assemblyman with a valuable background in the District Attorney's office. Mr. Weidberg is a lawyer and former City Fusion worker who does not appear to have comparable qualifications."

NY Times
5/31/60

? 6/60

Middle-of-Road Reformism, Backs Lanigan, Schoenkopf

by Mary Perot Nichols



MR. LEHMAN



MISS SCHOENKOPF



MR. LANIGAN

Former Senator Herbert H. Lehman last Wednesday night delivered a passionate attack on middle-of-the-road reformism. In it he strongly urged the election of James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf to the Democratic State Committee.

Speaking in the auditorium of the Community Church on East 35th Street, he termed the election of the two insurgent candidates—both members of the Village Independent Democrats—"vitally and critically important for the cause of reform."

On Charles Kinsolving and Eleanor French, their opponents, he pinned the DeSapio label. He called it an "undeniable" fact that Mr. Kinsolving and Mrs. French "did have an understanding with Mr. DeSapio and now have his all-out support."

The octogenarian leader of the Democratic reformers insisted that the Tammany Chief is "not only the symbol of what is wrong with the Democratic organization, but the epitome of what is wrong."

He insisted, however, that the overthrow of Mr. DeSapio is neither the "sole" nor even the "chief object" of the reform movement. Mr. Lehman said:

"The primary goal of the reform movement is to change the nature as well as the present membership of the Tammany executive committee . . . and beyond that to change radically the entire political climate and atmosphere of this city . . . the atmosphere of scandal and erosion of public morals which has come to pervade New York as a direct consequence of Boss rule.

"The forces opposing Mr. Lanigan and Miss Schoenkopf are not willing to go this far. Some of them, I hear, are not willing to go at all, except backwards to the days of Bossism Triumphant and Unchallenged."

He scored the philosophy of the "gradualist" reformers. "I am opposed to any and all bosses—the good as well as the bad. I am opposed to the whole Tammany system, and to the whole concept of the party organization as a trad-

ing post for special favors in return for contributions and votes at election time."

Miss Schoenkopf, a 25-year-old Vassar graduate who was executive secretary of the VID in its campaign against Mr. DeSapio, told the rally that she and Mr. Lanigan had been accused of dividing the party in an election year."

"Of course, there is unity under a boss," Miss Schoenkopf said, "just as there is unity under Khrushchev and Franco." "But what kind of degraded unity do we buy at this price?"

"If we Democrats are to nominate and elect Adlai Stevenson, my personal choice, or another liberal candidate, we must first cure our party of the cancer of bossism which exists in New York State today."

Mr. Lanigan, who was one of the key organizers for Mr. Stevenson in the 1952 and 1956 campaigns, attacked the concept of "regular"—a disciplined unit in the Tammany organization.

"The concept 'regular' means you participate in this disciplined process. People with new ideas who want to do things differently

continued →

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are eliminated as troublesome," he said. Mr. Lanigan pointed out that Philadelphia had thrown off its old-fashioned political machine, as had other major cities around the country.

William Haddad, New York Post reporter, was another speaker at the rally. He lashed out at corruption in New York City.

Speaking of the series "The Shame of New York" by Gleason and Cook, Mr. Haddad said:

"The series has never been refuted by a responsible city official . . . To this day we still don't know why a gangster buddy of Frank Costello became a Tile I sponsor."

"The only way the city is going to be cleaned up is through the reform movement in the Democratic Party," he said.

Comedian Orson Bean entertained the crowd while they waited for the speakers. VID executive member Stanley Geller was chairman. The rally was organized by Rhoda Schwartz, a Murray Hill resident and dissenting member of the Murray Hill Citizens, the regular Democratic Club supporting Mrs. French and Mr. Kinsolving.

Lanigan-Schoenkopf

If you are a registered Democrat, The Village Voice hopes you will vote to elect Lanigan and Schoenkopf to the Democratic State Committee (First Assembly District) on June 7.

Apart from the fact that these two members of the Village Independent Democrats are excellent people, their victory would mark a set back for those "wheelers and dealers" among the more pallid reformers who would compromise their way to political power through a series of arrangements with the bosses of Tammany Hall.

This method of operation is not only dishonest but, we suspect, would be doomed to failure, even in more skilled hands.

A couple of months ago, a group of reform clubs made an arrangement with Carmine DeSapio to split this district's delegation to the Los Angeles convention. They were prepared to accept James A. Farley if DeSapio would accept Thomas K. Finletter.

The deal was consummated. The Village Independent Democrats was the only club that refused to carry Farley's name on its petitions. The VID is a Stevenson club and it violated their principles to support a man who, they suspected, was bitterly opposed to their candidate.

What has happened? Mr. Farley has projected himself onto the national scene as the chief spokesman of the anti-Stevenson movement. Through one of those deplorable "arrangements," Mr. Farley will represent you in Los Angeles.

What could have happened? If the reform clubs had cooperated with the Village Independent Democrats, we could have had a test of Stevenson strength, admittedly great in this district, on June 7. The people would have had the chance to vote for or against him in the primary. But the people were dealt out.

The same small group that bumbled into sending Farley to Los Angeles (many of them are passionate Stevenson supporters) are now opposing Jim Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf.

The clubhouse-machine vote will be at the polls in force on Tuesday. It will take an outpouring of independent Democrats to overcome it.

'DeSapio Is Not Issue,' French, Kinsolving Say

The regular organization candidates for the Democratic State Committee in the First Assembly District, Charles Kinsolving and Eleanor Clark French, scored their insurgent opponents for depicting them as candidates of Carmine DeSapio. They spoke on May 23 at the headquarters of the Murray Hill Citizens, an organization club, of which both are members.

Mrs. French accused James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf of having "muddled the issues and

been extremely untruthful in bringing the DeSapio name into this fight."

They both insisted that the Tammany Chief has nothing to do with the state committee. Mrs. French had earlier explained that Mr. DeSapio had not picked her to run, but that she had gone to him for backing.

Mrs. French, who is vice chairman of the Democratic State Committee, emphasized that reforms had already taken place within the state committee. She pointed out that an executive committee had been created which meets three times annually. The meetings should be stepped up to eight a year, she said.

"We also formed new women's groups around the state at the rate of two a month."

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TWO DE SAPIO MEN LOSE IN PRIMARY ON THE WEST SIDE

Teller and Farrell Defeated
by Ryan and Ohrenstein in
Victory for Reform Slate

DOHENY RESISTS SURGE

Wins by Narrow Margin for
Assembly—Most Other
Regulars Triumph

By LEO EGAN

Democratic reform leaders scored a smashing primary victory yesterday over candidates backed by Carmine G. De Sapio on Manhattan's West Side.

William F. Ryan, the reform faction's banner candidate, defeated Representative Ludwig Teller, who was seeking renomination in the Twentieth Congressional District, by a 7-to-5 margin.

At the same time, Manfred Ohrenstein, Mr. Ryan's running mate for the State Senate nomination, beat Senator John H. Farrell, the incumbent, by a margin of 4 to 3.

Assemblyman Francis W. Doheny, whose small district covers the lower third of the Congressional and Senate districts, was the only regular to escape defeat. He nosed out Joseph C. Donahue, his reform rival, by a razor-thin margin.

New Ouster Drive Seen

The Teller and Farrell defeats were a heavy blow to Carmine G. De Sapio's political prestige and are expected to provide new fuel for a reform drive to oust him as leader of Tammany Hall and as Democratic National Committeeman for New York.

Mr. Ryan and Mr. Ohrenstein had based their campaigns primarily on the claim that Representative Teller and Senator Farrell were "stooges" for Mr. De Sapio.

The reform candidates had the backing of former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas K. Finletter, former Air Force Secretary. All three

have been campaigning to bring about Mr. De Sapio's ouster as a political power.

The reform leaders have pictured Mr. De Sapio as a symbol of political bossism whose power represents a heavy liability for the Democratic party in the city and state.

On Manhattan's East Side, the reform faction scored two other victories as their candidates for Assembly nomination defeated the regulars in the Eighth and Tenth Assembly Districts.

Contests Conceded

In the other boroughs of the city, the reform-backed candidates failed to make much headway. All of them went down to defeat by organization choices, some by heavy margins.

Mr. De Sapio conceded the Teller and Farrell defeats an hour and a quarter after the polls closed. But he declined to view the results as a referendum on his own leadership.

"These are local contests reflecting the sentiments of the people of their respective communities," he said. "The outcome represents no more and no less a challenge to the leadership than in the past."

Commenting on his victory, Mr. Ryan said the vote showed that "Mr. De Sapio doesn't speak for the Democrats of New York."

Mr. Teller was unopposed for renomination in the Liberal primary. This means that Mr. Ryan will have two opponents in the November election—Morris Aarons, a Republican, and Mr. Teller as a Liberal.

In conceding defeat as a Democrat, Mr. Teller said he would wage a strong campaign as a Liberal.

Mr. Ohrenstein likewise will have two opponents, because Senator Farrell also was unopposed for the Liberal nomination.

Both Representative Teller and Senator Farrell are Democratic district leaders as well as office holders. Their defeats yesterday appeared to portend a challenge to their district leaderships next year.

3 Lose in Queens

Three incumbent Democratic district leaders in Queens went down to defeat in the primary. The others who faced primary challenges all appeared to have won.

Only one incumbent Democratic district leader was defeated in Brooklyn. He was Harry Morr in the Fifth District. He had had several close

calls in previous primaries.

The losers in Queens were Councilman Maurice T. O'Brien in Queens Village, Thomas Flynn of Bayside and John F. Dufficy in Woodhaven. Only Mr. O'Brien's district leadership was at stake, not his Council seat.

Herbert A. Koehler, the Queens Democratic leader, expressed himself as well pleased with the results in his county.

"Disunity has been wiped out," he said. "From now on Queens is on its way to becoming one of the strongest Democratic counties in the state."

The results in Queens were also highly pleasing to Mayor Wagner. He had publicly gone on record in favor of Mr. Koehler's continuation as country leader, a result that yesterday's vote made certain.

Harlem Team Victorious

In Harlem, the Democratic leadership team headed by Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and Borough President Hulan E. Jack succeeded in beating back six challenges to their leadership. In none of these challenges was the Democratic reform faction involved.

Commenting on the Harlem results, Representative Powell said they would spur a campaign for greater Negro representation in the city government and more political patronage for Negroes.

He named as special targets for this drive the Court of Special Sessions, which he said, now has no Negro members, and the guardianships and other appointments made by the Surrogate's Court. None of these appointments now go to Negroes, he contended.

Besides their West Side and East Side victories, the reform Democrats walked off with two seats on the Democratic State Committee in the First Assembly District, Mr. De Sapio's home territory.

The reform choices were James S. Lanigan and Mrs. Sarah Schoenkopf. They defeated Charles Kinsolving Jr. and Mrs. Eleanor Clark French, vice chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

"Next year we'll remove Mr. De Sapio as district leader," Mr. Lanigan predicted.

On the Republican side, three organization-backed candidates for district leaderships, two in Brooklyn and one in Queens, won easily.

In the Bronx, Republican insurgents were engaged in a nip-and-tuck struggle with the organization choices in the area within the Twenty-fourth Con-

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gressional District, but were losing heavily elsewhere. It did not appear likely that any would win.

Inroads Claimed

Although beaten in their contest to win a Democratic State Committee place in the Ninth Assembly District of the Bronx, reform groups claimed to have made deep inroads in parts of the district.

Among the casualties of their campaign was John F. Murray, a district leader, who was defeated for re-election to the county committee in his own district. He is expected to qualify for a place in another district so he can retain his district leadership.

In the state committee contest, Assemblyman William Kapelman, the organization choice, defeated David Levy, the reform choice, 5,753 to 3,348.

Upstate, organization candidates faced with primary challenges generally came through. Assemblyman Alonzo Waters of Orleans, who was opposed for renomination by his county organization, won nevertheless. State Senator Walter Van Wiggeren of Herkimer was hard-pressed, but won.

In Buffalo, Peter J. Crotty, the Erie County leader, beat back a series of challenges from insurgents.

Phillip C. Jessup and Joseph D. McGoldrick, reform-backed candidates for delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Brooklyn's Twelfth Congressional District were trailing far behind their regular organization rivals.

A Democratic attempt to win a Liberal endorsement for the party's Municipal Court candidate in Manhattan's First District by means of a write-in vote was unavailing. The Liberal leaders had decided to back the Republican choice for this office.

Polls were open in city districts where there were contests from 3 to 10 P. M. Elsewhere



William F. Ryan, who was nominated as the Democratic candidate in Twentieth Congressional District.

in the state, where a number of races for Republican and Democratic nominations were decided, the voting hours were noon to 9 P. M.

While the polls were open, all liquor sales were suspended. Many bars, grills and taverns remained completely closed during the voting hours.

For the first time, voting ma-

chines were used to record the votes in all districts that were open within the city. In a few Queens areas, the machines had to be supplemented with paper ballots to accommodate the names of all the candidates for minor party positions.

The first hour of voting brought a large number of complaints about delays in opening polling places and the malfunctioning of voting machines. But most of these were soon straightened out.

Both in the city and in the rest of the state, yesterday's voting resulted in the selection of full slates of Republican, Democratic and Liberal candidates for Congress, the State Senate and Assembly. They will run in the November election.

The primaries likewise resulted in the election of full slates of Republican and Democratic district delegates and alternates to the two national party conventions in July. Both parties will choose additional delegates at large when their state committees meet next week to reorganize.

Although there were a number of Democratic contests for positions as delegates and alternates, the political fortunes or popularity of none of the contenders for the Democratic Presidential nomination were at stake.

The same was true of the Republican party in the few instances where party choices for delegates were challenged.



Carmine G. De Sapio, Tammany chief, entering voting booth yesterday on Eighth Street near Fifth Avenue.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Harlem Democrat, at P. S. 139, 140th Street and Seventh Avenue.

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The New York Times

By OLIVER PILAT

The Democratic reform movement today scoffed at pleas for party unity by Tammany Boss DeSapio and pledged a continuing drive to remove him from power.

Encouraged by spectacular successes of William Fitts Ryan, Manfred Ohrenstein, Mark Lane and Charles D. Lieber, among others in yesterday's primary contests, former Senator Lehman, senior adviser of the Committee for Democratic Voters, suggested that DeSapio abandon his campaign to be redesignated next month as national committee-man.

Former Police Commissioner Adams, another adviser of the committee, was more blunt.

"I call upon Mr. DeSapio to resign," he said.

DeSapio refused to interpret the results as a reflection on his leadership. But he made a peace overture to the reform faction.

"We always welcome healthy agitation," he said. "We Democrats have never discouraged primaries."

"We Will Move Forward"

"I don't think it's a challenge to my leadership," DeSapio said of the insurgent victory. "This is just a demonstration of local activity. The enrolled Democrats have a right to make their own selections and we must adhere to their mandate."

"We will move forward and do everything heavenly possible to unify the party to get these candidates elected," he added.

But Ryan rejected the offer, declaring:

"Mr. DeSapio doesn't speak for the Democrats of New York."

And James S. Lanigan, victorious over a DeSapio-backed candidate in the race for the Democratic State Committee in the Tammany leader's home Greenwich Village area, predicted:

"Next year we'll remove Mr. DeSapio as district leader."

Other reformers asserted that DeSapio should at least be de-

prived of any control over the New York delegation to the July 11 Democratic national convention in Los Angeles.

What DeSapio Lost

The Boss lost a Congressional and State Senatorial nomination to reformers on Manhattan's West Side, as well as two Assembly nominations on the East Side.

Moreover, he could not swing his own 1st A.D. in two crucial contests, one with the Liberal Party, and one with the Village Independent Democrats, who almost deprived him of district leadership last year.

Chief winners for the Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter Committee for Democratic Voters were:

William Fitts Ryan, 37, former crusading Assistant District Attorney, who defeated Rep. Teller in the West Side 20th Congressional District. The vote: Ryan, 14,664; Teller, 10,659.

Manfred Ohrenstein, 35, a Ryan follower who upset State Sen. Farrell by a similar margin.

Mark Lane, 33, a LaGuardia-type lawyer-for-the-underdog, who beat Assemblyman Martin J. Kelly Jr. in Mayor Wagner's own 10th (Yorkville-Lower Harlem) A. D. The vote there was Lane, 4,437; Kelly, 3,903.

Charles D. Lieber, editor in a publishing house, who took the Democratic nomination for Assembly in the adjoining East



William Fitts Ryan (l) and Manfred Ohrenstein greet crowds at headquarters. Post Photo by Calvacca

Side 8th A.D., from Mary Bancroft, a novelist who had organization support. The Assemblyman in this district is Dorothy Bell Lawrence, a Republican.

3d A.D. Vote Close

Tammany also had a close call in the West Side 3d A. D., where Assemblyman Doheny won renomination over the opposition of Joseph C. Donahue, by a vote of 4,501 to 4,134.

DeSapio had tried a subtle maneuver against a reform slate for State Committee in the 1st A. D., consisting of James S. Lanigan, former campaign aide of Adlai Stevenson, and Sarah Schoenkopf, former executive secretary of the Village Independent Democrats.

A counter-reform slate consisting of State Vice-Chairman Eleanor Clark French and Charles M. Kinsolving Jr. won organization support. This slate lost to Lanigan-Schoenkopf yesterday by 400 votes out of 10,000 cast. Moreover, it lost in all three divisions of the 1st A. D., including the area cov-

ered by DeSapio's Tamawa Club.

Another DeSapio defeat occurred in the race for Municipal Court Justice in a downtown section including the 1st and 2d A. D.s.

The Tammany judicial choice there is William B. Sandler. The Liberal Party wanted to endorse Patrick J. Picariello, a labor lawyer designated by the Republicans, but Tammany secured enough signatures to permit a write-in vote for Sandler in the Liberal primary.

The Liberal Party repelled invaders by an impressive 248-to-3 vote. Picariello now has better than an even chance of election in November.

A Smashing Victory

Irving M. Engel, executive committee chairman of the Committee for Democratic Voters, today hailed the primary results as "a smashing victory."

"This is an indication that the present leadership of Tammany Hall no longer represents the Democrats of the city," he said.

Ryan called on the Mayor to take an immediate stand against DeSapio's control of the Manhattan Democratic organization. Up in Harlem, Rep. Powell raised a threat to support a GOP Presidential candidate this year and a fusion mayoral candidate next year unless new concessions were made by the city administration to Negro voters.

De Sapio's Position

The Mayor made no immediate comment.

Four Tammany district leaders, it was pointed out, however, could not carry their own districts yesterday against the reform movement. They were James J. Farley (no relation to James A. Farley) in the 8th A.D., Councilman Merli in the 10th, Councilman Okin in the 3d and Teller himself in the 5th.

Any conclusion among Tammany oldtimers that "the image of bossism" fastened on DeSapio can be blamed for the weakness of this quartet of ma-

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continued →

VICTORS SPURN DESAPIO BID

chine leaders might jeopardize his position in coming weeks.

Outside of Manhattan, the Committee for Democratic Voters secured sizeable votes for its candidates, but no outstanding victories.

Two Congressional insurgents supported by the committee—Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman in the Southeast Bronx and Herbert Rubin in South Queens—lost by substantial margins.

However, David Levy, running with committee support for Democratic leadership in the 9th (Mosholu Parkway) A. D., Bronx, won 100 of the 384 county committeemen there.

Frank McGlynn Jr., running for Assembly in the 4th A. D., Queens, lost to Jules Sabbatino, the organization choice, by vote of 3,563 to 5,474.

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West Side Story: The Amateurs Score

By HELEN DUDAR

It was, in the purest sense of the phrase, Amateur Night on the West Side last evening.

It was like Drake beating the Armada or a Golden Glover beating Johansson.

William Fitts Ryan, a ski-nosed, ruddy-skinned, extremely earnest Democratic rebel with a fanatically dedicated family and a crew of campaigners, walloped the machine against even unreasonable expectations.

The result, barring any more incredible developments in the solidly Democratic 20th C.D., was insurance of a term in Congress after the November elections, a bloody nose, politically speaking, for Tammany Leader DeSapio and harmless hysteria at Broadway and 89th St., Ryan's headquarters.

The first telephoned results early in the evening showed astonishingly lopsided district defeats against incumbent Rep. Ludwig Teller: 165-45; 108-26; 104-20.

With perhaps 20 of 189 districts in, a man tending one of the tally sheets pounded a counter that had

probably once held shirts and said in disbelief:

"We're winning—we're beating the machine."

At 11:15, a middle-aged man with a middle-European accent, who had been handing out Teller brochures two hours earlier, walked in, searching for a hand to shake. He finally firmly clasped one belonging to Jake Underhill, a former newspaperman who has been Ryan's campaign press secretary, and told him:

"I want you to know we are willing to work with you. I see younger people here and maybe there is something good in your fight. You won—Vox Populi. I am not a turncoat. This is a decision—this is America."

Underhill nodded sympathetically.

A half hour later, Ryan arrived, rumped, flushed and decorated with lipstick. He had spent the evening watching the tally at his district club, the Riverside, whose leadership he won in his first battle with Tammany three years ago.

By that time, although DeSapio had conceded,

there was still no word from Teller, and Ryan was reluctant to claim the election, but someone dragged him to the trimmings store entranceway and he began reading a statement.

Soon a big, black, chauffeured car drew up and the overflow crowd on the sidewalk set up a cheer. Out of it stepped Herbert Lehman, solemn-faced but with his dark eyes snapping. For this night, the 82-year-old former Governor and Senator had spent other nights speaking on street corners.

Ryan and Manfred Ohrenstein, the victorious insurgent candidate for State Senator, rushed to greet him, the latter exclaiming, "You did it, sir. You did it."

"No, I did not," Lehman said gently.

The party moved on shortly after to roomier quarters a little further uptown. And as the store was emptying, one small, round, undistinguished-looking man did a jig for no audience in particular, singing to himself, "We did it; we did it."

De Sapio's Power Shaken As Rebels Win 4 City Races



CARMINE DE SAPIO.

His Leadership Periled on Local, National Fronts

By FRANK LYNN,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Carmine G. De Sapio's political stock plummeted to a new low today following the stinging rebuke of his Tammany leadership in yesterday's primary election.

Four "reform" Democratic victories in six Manhattan primary contests where bossism was the prime issue, plus a stunning defeat for Mr. De Sapio in his home halliwick very possibly heralded the beginning of the end of the Tammany leader's 11-year reign.

Kiss of Death.

At the very least, the intra-party election established that De Sapio backing can be a kiss of death for Democratic candidates.

The primary also produced these political bombshells:

- Mayor Robert F. Wagner, whose indorsement of one regular organization candidate proved futile, must recognize that the "reformers" possess political power to be reckoned with or find himself on the firing line in next year's Mayoralty election.

- Mr. De Sapio's posts as Democratic national committeeman and Greenwich Village leader as well as his county leadership were jeopardized.

- The nosedive in Mr. De Sapio's political prestige ends any chance of his playing a "kingmaker" role at the national convention next month.

- The Tammany leader's primary poison proved to be meat for the Adam Clayton Powell-Hulan Jack Harlem "leadership team" which shut out its insurgent opponents.

- The "reform" Democrats didn't make a dent in the solid Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens Democratic organizations.

- Some half-dozen Tam-

many district leaders, who either failed to or just barely carried their districts for regular organization candidates are headed for trouble in next year's primary when district leaderships will be at stake.

- The Liberal party wound up red-faced as two Democrats who sported Liberal indorsements, were rebuked by their own party members and hence will run only on the Liberal ticket in November.

Tiger Tamed.

The straws that crushed the Tammany Tiger's back were the victories of William F. Ryan and Manfred Ohrenstein, reform contenders for Contenders for Congress and the State Senate, respectively, on the West Side and Charles D. Lieber and Mark Lane, reform Assembly candidates in the East Side's 8th and 10th Assembly Districts.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman campaigned furiously in both areas and successfully hung the De Sapio albatross on the neck of the regular organization candidates.

The renewed success of this strategy spurred the efforts of anti-De Sapio factions even within Tammany Hall. These foes of Mr. De Sapio asserted that he must go if Tammany candidates are to survive "reform" onslaughts.

No Successor.

Perhaps only the fact that the anti-De Sapio factions show no signs of agreeing on a successor stands between the Tammany leader and political oblivion.

Ironically, a casualty in yesterday primary, State Sen. John H. Farrell, had been mentioned as a possible successor but his defeat ended that possibility.

Another key to Mr. De Sapio's future is Mayor Wagner who will now find it even more difficult to steer a neutral course between the Tammany regulars and the triumphant reformers.

He has come under increasing fire from the rebels because of his refusal to join them. Their ire reached new heights when he indorsed Assemblyman Martin J. Kelly Jr. in the hot 10th AD battle.

For the second time in two years, Mr. DeSapio's Greenwich Village leadership was threatened as James S. Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf defeated Charles Kinsolving and Eleanor C. French for the state committee berths in the

1st AD.

The violently anti-DeSapio Village Independent Democrats supported the victors while Mr. DeSapio backed the losers. The reform Committee for Democratic Voters took no stand in the contest since all four candidates were considered acceptable.

Also shaken by the primary were the leaderships of such Tammany stalwarts as Councilman John J. Merli, the 10th AD North chieftain who has been described as Mr. De Sapio's heir apparent; Rep. Ludwig Teller of the 5th AD South. Councilman Louis Okin of the 3rd AD North. James J. Farley of the 8th AD North, John P. Morrissey of the 10th AD Middle, Eugene E. McManus of the 3rd AD Middle and Sen. Farrell, leader of the 3rd AD South.

Insurgents Beaten.

Strengthened by the primary results were the Harlem Democratic leaders who easily beat off insurgent challenges for two Municipal Court nominations and three Assembly designations.

Democrats in the Bronx beat off all rebel challenges while only one Brooklyn district leader, Harry P. Morr of the 5th Assembly district, was toppled in a strictly local contest.

An Assembly contest in the same district was so close that the voting machines were impounded. Both sides claimed victory.

In Queens, three zone leaders were defeated by local opponents but the losses are not expected to endanger Herbert Kohler's somewhat shaky county leadership. Also in Mr. Kohler's favor is that he has the support of Mayor Wagner.

Losing their leaderships were Thomas J. Flynn of the 8th AD, part A; Maurice T. O'Brien of the 9th AD, part A and John F. Dufficy of the 13th AD, part B.

The new leaders are Arthur J. Aronson, Matthew J. Troy Jr. and Arthur Grey, respectively.

In the only Republican leadership contest in Queens, former City Councilman Robert Barnes defeated Richard J. Powell in the 8th AD.

Despite their defeats in the primary, Rep. Teller and Sen. Farrell will be on the ballot this November by virtue of their Liberal indorsements. The chances of either translating the Liberal nomination into victory in November are extremely slim.

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Victorious Rebels Bid DeSapio Quit

By SANFORD E. STANTON

Insurgents who handed Tammany Leader Carmine DeSapio a severe beating in yesterday's primaries launched a new drive today designed to oust him from the Democratic hierarchy.

Former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, who with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and former Air Secretary Thomas K. Finletter led the rebels' successful campaign, said he hopes Mr. DeSapio will resign as national committeeman to avoid the battle that the insurgents plan.

The New York Committee for Democratic Voters — the insurgents' official name — succeeded in naming candidates for Congress and the State Senate in one West Side district and put over designees for Assembly in two East Side districts.

EMBARRASSING LOSS

But the most embarrassing defeat for Mr. DeSapio occurred in his own Greenwich Village home district. Two organization candidates for the

Democratic State Committee were badly beaten there.

The insurgents were less successful in their efforts to invade Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens.

Referring to the rebels' smashing triumph in Manhattan, Mr. Finletter early today told the N. Y. Journal-American:

"I think the main result of our tremendous victory in the primaries is that it is a perfect indication of a demand from within the party for reform.

"The support we received is proof that the reform we are spearheading is going to be permanent. The vitality of our drive is confirmed . . . to return the voice of the Democratic Party to the people.

"As far as 'going after' Mr. DeSapio's position as national committeeman I do not feel (and I speak for myself) that we could do that without negating the principle of 'self determination by the voters' we have fought for so hard.

"His ouster or permanency in that job is up to the voters themselves."

NOT CONCERNED

Mr. DeSapio took a less serious view of the primaries' results.

Although he conceded the defeat of organization candidates, he characterized the battles as "local contests reflecting the sentiments of the people in their respective communities."

The insurgents failed to elect any of their candidates as delegates to the national convention. This failure, Mr. DeSapio said, "left the national picture unchanged."

State Chairman Michael H. Prendergast also was believed secure in his position and likely to be reelected to another two-year term.

SLATE SET BACK

The organization candidates who fell under the battering of the Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter group were:

Rep. Ludwig Teller, the Democratic incumbent in the West Side's 20th Congressional

District. He was defeated by William Fitts Ryan by a 3-to-2 margin.

State Sen. John H. Farrell, in the 25th Senate District, lost to Manfred Ohrenstein, a young and politically unknown lawyer.

Assemblyman Martin J. Kelly Jr. was upset by Mark Lane in the 10th A. D.

The hardest personal setback for Mr. DeSapio came in the 1st A. D., his home grounds. Here James S. Kanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf, insurgent candidates, defeated Charles M. Kinsolving Jr. and Mrs. Eleanor Clark French for membership on the Democratic State Committee.

The Democratic organizations in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens overwhelmed the insurgent candidates.

In Brooklyn insurgent candidates for the Democratic national convention in six Congressional districts went down to defeat as did candidates for Senate and Assembly nominations.

Mayor Wagner, who chose to remain virtually neutral in the primary battling, broke even in the outcome.

He had gone all out in his support of Queens Democratic leader Herbert A. Kohler and Mr. Kohler's position is stronger than ever in consequence of the primary.

But in his venture into the Manhattan arena, the Mayor fared less successfully. He had endorsed Assemblyman Kelly, who was beat by the insurgent Mr. Lane.

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West Side Political Story: Ryan's Forces Jubilant

By **WOODY KLEIN**,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

William Fitts Ryan's enthusiastic reformers clung to their happy hero from the beginning to the victorious end early today.

Rep. Ludwig Teller's old-time guard kept his fenced off from most of his party workers in a closed room from the outset to the dismal, depressing end.

The difference between the Broadway headquarters of these two men—only 15 blocks apart—told the whole West Side political story.

The results: Mr. Ryan swamped Mr. Teller, 14,664 to 10,659.

Shuns Reporters.

Mr. Teller, the incumbent who was given a better-than-even chance of regaining his Congressional seat, remained shielded in his headquarters at Broadway and 73rd St. He even refused to see reporters who waited outside for more than an hour.

At Broadway and 89th St., inside a store-front meeting place, the ebullient Mr. Ryan, a tall, slender lawyer with a clipped manner of speech, mixed with his supporters. The animated crowd spilled out onto the street from inside the jam-packed street-level room.

Great Enthusiasm.

There was great enthusiasm inside. Cheers and shouts echoed out onto the street through a microphone as returns were announced every few minutes and chalked on a giant scoreboard.

Manfred Ohrenstein, who like Mr. Ryan is a lawyer and a former assistant district attorney, clasped hands with hundreds of smiling people milling about. The handsome, horn-rimmed Mr. Ohrenstein



WILLIAM RYAN



LUDWIG TELLER

beamed with delight at 10:30, only one-half hour after the polls closed.

"I think we'll make it. It looks good," the newly-elected 34-year-old candidate who unseated State Sen. John H. Farrell told the youthful, electric crowd.

Mr. Ohrenstein whipped Sen. Farrell by a count of 13,705 to 10,640.

Deafening Roar.

At 10:59 p.m. a deafening roar went up from the crowd as Allard K. Lowesteinn, Mr. Ryan's campaign manager, proclaimed victory. But the two reform candidates were a little more restrained. They waited until after midnight—after they had learned that Carmine DeSapio conceded defeat—to announce victory.

Mr. Ryan, dressed in a blue suit and bright red tie, barely had room to read a statement as friends—and relatives—shook his hand, kissed him, patted him on the back.

"There were two basic issues in the campaign," he said in staccato sentences. "First,

night former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman arrived with his wife.

Shouts of Thanks.

Mr. Ryan rushed out into the street to greet them. "Thank you, thank you," he shouted. "But for you we could not have made it."

Mr. Ryan's father, Bernard, presiding judge of the State Court of Claims, embraced Mr. Lehman as he, too, voiced his gratitude.

The 82-year-old former Governor and Senator was loudly applauded as he said: "This shows that the people of New York are not willing to be bossed. They want to be their own bosses."

Shortly after 1 a.m. Mr. Ryan and his family went to the FDR-Woodrow Wilson Independent Democratic Club on W. 96th St., where some 500 supporters staged a victory party. The evening was successful and complete.

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and Sun*

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Indicted Millionaire

Fortune Pope

THE oldest and by far the best known of the three sons of the late Generoso Pope is Fortune Pope. His father, who immigrated to this country from Italy in 1904 with \$4, multiplied it a million times by the time he died in 1950 at the age of 59. The oldest son, as part of the

consequence, is regarded by many in this country and by nearly everyone in Italy as the spokesman for the Italian-American community. This community is said to number 4,500,000 people and is the largest of all the national groupings in the country.

Mr. Pope is one of the ten richest men in the city, according to the estimate of one man who keeps track of such things. He is "incredibly wealthy," according to another.

"If you want to import Italian lace, or sell machinery to Italy, or just would like to have an appointment with the President of Italy while you're there on a visit," one of these men said, "Fortune Pope is the first person you go to see."

"I don't think he would have much trouble seeing the President, any governor, or any mayor within forty-eight hours after he had expressed a desire to do so," another man who knows Mr. Pope well said. "He would never think of asking them to do a business favor for him. But he wouldn't have to."

Calls Amount 'Minute'

Throughout his testimony before the State Commission of Investigation, which was studying the city's purchase of rock salt, Mr. Pope kept referring to the amount involved—about \$700,000—as "minute" in comparison with his other interests. It was in connection with the dealings in rock salt that Mr. Pope and his brother Anthony were indicted yesterday by a Federal grand jury.

The largest of his many interests is the Colonial Sand and Stone Company, his father's creation. It was, at the time of Generoso's death, the largest supplier of sand, gravel, concrete, stone and cinders to the city's construction industry. It does sales of about \$50,000,000 a year.

Anthony, who is the middle brother, spends most of his time with the affairs of this company. Fortune Pope spends most of his on the radio and publishing aspects of his empire. These include radio stations WHOM in this city, where he has his main office; WDOT in Burlington, Vt., and the newspapers Il Progresso - Italo - Americano and La Prensa.

Il Progresso, the oldest and most influential Italian-language newspaper in the country, was purchased by Mr. Pope's father in 1928.

Fortune and Anthony purchased the Spanish-language paper La Prensa this year. The brothers are said to not be on speaking terms with their youngest brother, Generoso Jr., who is the publisher of the weekly tabloid, The National Enquirer.

Mr. Pope was graduated



The New York Times

"Fortune Pope is the first person you go to see."

from Horace Mann School for Boys and from Columbia College, with the class of '39. As an undergraduate he was known as a "loner," did not mix in school affairs or seek many friends. He has not been active as an alumnus. In his forties, he is six feet, three inches tall and weighs about 205 pounds.

In 1942 he married Grace Perrotty. They were divorced ten years later in Reno. They have two children, Santina and Fortune Jr.

Like his father, Mr. Pope takes an active but behind-the-scenes role in New York City Democratic politics. His picture hung on the wall in the office of Joseph V. Spagna, the suspended Commissioner of Purchase. In 1958 Mr. Pope and Carmine G. De Sapio, leader of Tammany Hall, went on a pleasure trip to Italy together.

But his personal affairs are not well known. The Manhattan address given out by Federal officials yesterday is the apartment of his mother; he lives in Westchester County at an address not many know.

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Reform Democrats Wary

Just How and When to Unseat De Sapio Are Main Questions Confronting Them

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

The cry for Carmine G. De Sapio's political scalp again fills the air. It poses a serious problem for Democratic reform leaders who won another series of impressive victories over the Tammany organization in last week's primary. How to unseat Mr. De Sapio as New York County Democratic leader is not the big worry. That could be accomplished through wider opportunities for coalition opened by the primary returns. The real

question is whether the time is ripe to move against him.

Several considerations are involved. The selection of the right man to run against Mr. De Sapio is important. So is the nature of the coalition required to vote the change. Many would distrust—and so rule out—an alliance with the Harlem organization led by Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and J. Raymond Jones.

Yet the nub of the problem for reform leaders is whether the ouster of Mr. De Sapio at this time would produce a perhaps fatal letdown within reform ranks. They are too well aware that gains have not been fully consolidated; nor is the long-range objective of a more democratic party near attainment.

They appreciate also that—ironically—much of their problem derives from the success they have achieved in building up Mr. De Sapio as the symbol of bossism.

A Bitter-Sweet Success

Thus there is a bitter-sweet aftertaste to the reform victories of last Tuesday. These victories saw reform strengthen and expand its beachhead on the West Side, make highly significant inroads on the East Side and greatly enhance the stature of a number of their leaders.

The big West Side victories won by William Fitts Ryan for Congress in the Twentieth District and Manfred Ohrenstein for the State Senate in the Twenty-fifth District. Since these districts are normally safely Democratic, victory in November seems assured for these two men.

Mark Lane scored impressively in winning the Assembly nomination in the Tenth District on the upper East Side, another "safe" Democratic district. His running mates for the state committee—the Rev. Carlos Rios and Mrs. Mary Carmona—swept in with him.

The state committeeman unseated in this contest was John J. Merli, City Councilman and Democratic district leader. The importance of this victory in a district that extends to East Harlem lies in the fact that the

reform element needed considerable Puerto Rican and lower middle-class support to win.

In the Eighth Assembly District Charles D. Lieber scored for reform in the winning the party nomination for an Assembly seat that is usually Republican.

Mr. Ryan, Mr. Lane and James S. Lanigan, elected as State Committeeman in the First Assembly District, picked up stature individually with their victories. But the movement as a whole benefited from the fact that it seemed likely that its influence at the party level would grow on the basis of larger legislative representation.

If momentum can be maintained, the men who lead the reform movement believe that control of the county organization can be won in next year's primary. There will be at least a dozen contests in Manhattan for district leaderships. And district leaders name the county leaders. Mr. De Sapio undoubtedly will be challenged first at the district level by Mr. Lanigan. Mr. De Sapio narrowly averted defeat last year against a candidate less prominent.

Reform also will have a slate of candidates for the City Council, the Borough Presidency and perhaps even for Mayor. Mayor Wagner's effort to sit out intra-party warfare has cost him much of the reform support he once had. Reform candidates ran well last Tuesday in outlying boroughs although they scored no victories.

Outlook poor for losers

Members of the City Council like Mr. Merli and Louis Okin, a West Side leader who also failed to carry his district, stand in double jeopardy for 1961.

The 1961 election would seem to offer reform the opportunity both to advance and consolidate. Reform leaders, looking ahead to reapportionment losses for New York County in 1962, seek to deal in the matter from a position of strength.

Many reform gains could be vitiated if a county organization still in control of old line Democrats could tailor the drawing of new district lines to its taste. The county will lose seats in the State Legislature as well as Congress.

These are factors that reform leaders are weighing as they consider what should be done about Mr. De Sapio. They want to maintain their group's fighting posture through 1961.

Even though the movement is far from monolithic, something like a consensus is emerging.

The view that is taking hold seems to favor ousting Mr. De Sapio as Democratic national committeeman—this year, if possible. That would save an issue that many regard as the key one for 1961.

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Tammany Defeat Puts VID in Key Role

The defeat of Carmine DeSapio, which was predictable in last September's primary when he came within three percentage points of losing his local leadership, was for all intents and purposes consummated in the June 7 primary election.

The victory of the Village Independent Democrats in all three parts of the First Assembly District (Greenwich Village, Gramercy Park, and Murray Hill) also undoubtedly marked the end of attempts by semi-reform leaders to keep control of the district by engaging in coalitions with DeSapio. Unless District Leaders S. Arthur Glixon (Murray Hill) and Millard Midonick (Gramercy Park) can come to terms quickly with the all-out reform elements in their respective areas, their hold on the district leaderships will be even more tenuous than it is now.

No Position

In the state committee race, just passed, Midonick and his co-leader, Margot Gayle, supported and campaigned for Charles Kinsolving and Eleanor Clark French against the successful VID candidates, James Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf. Their club, Tilden, had voted to take no position. Glixon, supported by his club, the Murray Hill Citizens, also worked for Kinsolving and French. Mary Barrett Reis, his co-leader, declared herself neutral.

The first major local reaction to the changed political situation came this week in a statement by John Westergaard. Westergaard, Democratic State Senate candidate in this district, put forward a plea for an end to the "fragmentation" of the First Assembly District.

He suggested that reform-minded Democrats in the district's three clubs (including Tamawa) abandon their old ties and join with the Village Independent Democrats "to form a district-wide organization to run candidates for leadership in 1961."

United Front

In effect, Westergaard has asked for a united reform front

against Tammany Chief DeSapio and the jettisoning of the middle-of-the-road reform clubs in Gramercy Park and Murray Hill. He said:

"As a founding member of the Murray Hill Citizens and an officer of the Tilden Club, this recommendation may seem ungrateful in view of the fact that both clubs endorsed my nomination for the State Senate last March. There are times, however, when the good of the Democratic Party must be placed ahead of personal considerations."

The VID showing in the June 7 primary was all the more impressive because the club did not have the official backing of the Committee for Democratic Voters (Roosevelt - Lehman - Finletter group). Former Senator Lehman, however, campaigned vigorously, on his own, for the two VID candidates.

Despite the eminent respectability of Mrs. French and Kinsolving, their candidacies did not have the effect of winning votes away from the VID in the high-income areas where they had been expected to make some inroads.

As in last September's primary, two out of every three voters in the high-rent Washington Square-Fifth Avenue section supported the Village insurgents. Kinsolving and French made their best showing in the low-income South Village area, the traditional stronghold of Tammany Hall.

Came to Village

The French-Kinsolving ticket was supported by Assemblyman William F. Passannante, locally. Stanley Lowell, former Deputy Mayor, and Edward N. Costikyan, an uptown East Side district leader, came into the Village on the eve of the election to speak for the Tammany-backed ticket.

Beside the support of Senator Lehman, Lanigan and Schoenkopf

Primary Scoreboard

The over-all vote for James S. Lanigan of the Village Independent Democrats in the State Committee contest was 4957 (52.4%); Charles M. Kinsolving, Jr., his regular organization opponent, received 4592 (47.6%).

In the three divisions of the First Assembly District, the results were:

SOUTH (Greenwich Village)—

Lanigan 3641 (51%)
Kinsolving 3539 (49%)

MIDDLE (Gramercy Park)—

Lanigan 724 (60%)
Kinsolving 485 (40%)

NORTH (Murray Hill)—

Lanigan 592 (50%)
Kinsolving 568 (50%)

In Greenwich Village, the breakdown was as follows (figures in parentheses on Lanigan's line represent the VID percentage in last September's primary, and those on Kinsolving's represent the regular organization percentage in the same primary):

SOUTH VILLAGE—

Lanigan 30% (28%)
Kinsolving 70% (72%)

WEST VILLAGE—

Lanigan 50% (41%)
Kinsolving 50% (59%)

5th AVE.-WASHINGTON SQ.—

Lanigan 66% (65%)
Kinsolving 34% (35%)

In last September's primary, between DeSapio (Tammany) and McGuinness (VID), the VID was narrowly defeated in Greenwich Village with 47% of the vote. On June 7 the VID share of the total vote rose to 51%.

The vote for the female candidates, Sarah Schoenkopf (VID) and Eleanor Clark French (regular organization) varied only slightly from that of their male running mates.

probably won the Murray Hill district, specifically, through the grassroots organization developed by Mrs. Rhoda Schwartz. The VID was also backed by James Scheuer and Lloyd Garrison, a leading member of the Committee for Democratic Voters.

Village Voice 6/16/60

We have not lost the battle of Japan; but neither c...

DeSapio vs. Lehman

We have usually spoken of Carmine DeSapio as a more sorrowful than sinister figure. But his decision to bar Herbert Lehman as a convention delegate deserves only condemnation and contempt. It is the act of a bitter man who knows his political life is nearly over, and who has chosen to ruin because he cannot rule.

There was perhaps faint justification for the failure to select Mrs. Roosevelt as a delegate since she had indicated she had no desire to be chosen. A wiser leader, of course, would have urged her to change her mind. But in any case there was no shred of excuse for this insult to Mr. Lehman, the grand old man of Democratic liberalism in this state. DeSapio and his inept pawn, State Chairman Prendergast, have shown that they are small men, and that their capacity for snatching Democratic defeat out of the jaws of victory is almost limitless.

In the recent primaries there was a clear test of strength between Lehman and DeSapio, and Lehman won the key conflicts. On what conceivable ground except irrational private vindictiveness does DeSapio now dare to bar Lehman from the New York contingent?

Lehman will survive the rebuff. But the Democratic Presidential nominee, whoever he may be, has suffered a cruel blow from the desperate machine men who have disgraced themselves and their party. It would be the simple course of honor for men like Averell Harri-



LEHMAN

man and Mayor Wagner to refuse to accept their designations as delegates until and unless this affront to Herbert Lehman is reversed.

NY Post 6/12/60

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NY Times 6/17/60

LEHMAN IS DENIED DELEGATE'S ROLE BY STATE LEADERS

Meeting of Democrats Also
Rejects Mrs. Roosevelt for
National Convention

WAGNER'S PLEA IGNORED

Reform Movement Rebuffed
—Prendergast Cheered as
He Assails Opposition

By DOUGLAS DALES

The Democratic State Committee turned down Herbert H. Lehman yesterday as a delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention.

The rejection of the former United States Senator and Governor raised a new point of conflict between the leaders of the Democratic organization and the reform faction in which Mr. Lehman has played a leading role.

Efforts made by a small group of state committee members identified with the reform group to have Mr. Lehman's name substituted for another delegate failed, as did other moves they made to effect changes in the state leadership and organization rules.

Prendergast Re-elected

Michael H. Prendergast, who was re-elected state chairman, and Carmine G. De Sapio, national committeeman, who sat silently on the dais during the proceedings, were in complete control of the often tumultuous three-hour meeting.

While the meeting was in progress, Mayor Wagner disclosed at City Hall that he had urged state leaders to consider the names of Mr. Lehman and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, another leader of the reform group, for inclusion in the list of delegates at large. Mrs. Roosevelt's name was not brought up at the meeting.

Asked if he thought the bypassing of Mr. Lehman and Mrs. Roosevelt would hurt the Democratic party, the Mayor replied: "I have stated what I urged upon the committee and have no further comment."

Mayor Seen as Chairman

Later in the day, at a reception for Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Prendergast said he believed Mayor Wagner would "wind up as chairman of the delegation."

"He and the Governor [former Gov. W. Averell Harriman] have had a number of meetings on this," Mr. Prendergast said.

Mr. Harriman had appeared the likely chairman until Mr. Wagner publicly stated his availability for the post.

Except for 1944, when he was in Europe as director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Mr.

1960.

LEHMAN IS DENIED DELEGATE'S ROLE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

Lehman has been a delegate at large to every national convention since 1928.

The committee meeting, held at the Biltmore Hotel, wound up with an open declaration of war against the reform movement by Mr. Prendergast. He urged party workers to "fight fire with fire, propaganda with facts, slander with the truth, and if necessary, revert to the philosophy of our ancestors of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

"I am aroused," he declared, "aroused because I think and care too deeply for the Democratic party to see it harmed by a destructive force masquerading as a reform movement."

"And I am not going to stand idly by any longer and see good, able decent people forced into undeserved defeats in primaries and on Election Day because the electorate was confused, misguided and lied to, and our people slandered."

Mr. Prendergast received a standing ovation when he finished.

After the meeting, Senator Lehman issued a statement calling the action of the committee "just another reflection of the short-sightedness and arrogance of the bosses."

"Obviously," he said, "they were afraid for me to have any voice in the decisions of the New York delegation and of the national convention."

"Now it is their responsibility to justify their action to the Democrats of this state and nation," he asserted. "I will be in Los Angeles anyway as a Democrat and as a member of the National Advisory Council."

The state committee named fifty-four delegates at large and twenty-seven alternates at large. The delegates, who will have a half-vote each, included eleven chosen on a state-wide basis and forty-three selected on the basis of one from each Congressional District.

These delegates, together with the eighty-six delegates with full votes elected in the primary on June 7, will caucus in Albany on Thursday. The National Convention opens July 11.

Irving M. Engel, chairman of the executive committee of the New York Committee for Democratic Voters, which spearheads the reform movement, charged last night that the committee had sought "to punish Senator Lehman because he has fought victoriously and will continue to fight against the evils of the boss system in this state."

Although doomed to failure, the reform group advanced Lloyd K. Garrison, a law associate of Adlai E. Stevenson, for state chairman. Mr. Garrison received ten votes.

Mrs. Mae Gurevich of the

Bronx, a long-time volunteer at state headquarters, was elected vice chairman to replace Mrs. Eleanor Clark French, who earlier this week had severely criticized Mr. Prendergast.

Following is the list of delegates at large elected by the state committee.

Mayor Wagner.
Arthur Levitt, 34 Plaza Street, Brooklyn.
Monroe Goldwater, 200 East Sixty-sixth Street.
Raymond C. Deering, 320 East Forty-second Street.
Charles H. Kerrigan, Miller Place.
Raymond Corbett, 3609 Avenue L, Brooklyn.
Donald C. Bowes, Troy.
Mae Gurevich, 975 Walton Avenue, Bronx.
Michael H. Prendergast, Haverstraw.
Thomas J. Shanahan, 148 Beach 142d Street, Queens.
Edwin L. Weid Jr., 912 Fifth Avenue.
John I. Snyder Jr., Shelter Island.
John F. English, Syosset.
Rene A. Carreau, Merrick.
Joseph T. Sharkey, 275 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn.
John Cashmore, 90 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn.
Frank D. Gilligan, 567 Central Avenue, Brooklyn.
Charles Bugeja, 2117 East Thirty-seventh Street, Brooklyn.
James M. Daly, 4702 Sixth Avenue, Brooklyn.
James C. Healey, 1535 Undercliff Avenue, Bronx.
Charles A. Buckley, 21 West 192d Street, Bronx.
George B. DeLuca, 5414 Arlington Avenue, Bronx.
John J. Sullivan, 2033 McGraw Avenue, Bronx.
Stuart West, West Burlington.
Dr. John F. Burden, Oswego.
Ralph Webber, Chittenango.
John Fabrizi, Clifton Springs.
William M. Donnelly, Waverly.
Frederick R. Clark, Rochester.
Ellsworth Murray, Albion.
Frank A. Sedita, Buffalo.
Paul E. Fitzpatrick, Buffalo.
Peter J. Crotty, Buffalo.
Robert W. Prescott, Livonia.
John J. Lynch, 51 Clark Street, Brooklyn.
Aaron L. Jacoby, 15 Clark Street, Brooklyn.

Harold Fisher, 44 Butler Place, Brooklyn.
Adam Clayton Powell Jr., 435 Convent Avenue.
Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., 45 East Sixty-sixth Street.
James J. Farley, 205 East Seventy-second Street.
Michael Merkin, 575 Park Avenue.
Mortimer Feuer, 270 West End Avenue.
Frank S. Hogan, 404 Riverside Drive.
Charles W. Ryan, Albany.
D. Frank Sullivan, Glens Falls.
Frank D. O'Connor, 42-27 Elbertson Street, Queens.
Robert Battipaglia, 25-33 Thirtieth Drive, Queens.
Frank D. Doyle, 128-36 226th Street, Queens.
John T. Clancy, 34-46 Eighty-fifth Street, Queens.
Harlan Cleveland, Syracuse.
Julius S. Wikler, Mount Vernon.
Salvatore T. Gambino, Peekskill.
W. Averell Harriman, 16 East Eighty-first Street.
William A. Kelly, Kingston.

Following is the list of alternates at large selected for the convention:

Patrick J. Murphy, 33-05 157th Street, Queens.
Harry Halperin, 40 West Seventy-seventh Street.
Daniel P. Moynihan, Syracuse.
Joseph Love, 101 Central Park West.
Thomas J. Mackell, 63-25 Saunders Street, Queens.
Gore Vidal, Barrytown.
Dr. Pinia Crawford, Syracuse.
Philip J. Kaye, Snyder.
Anthony F. Tauriello, Buffalo.
Patrick J. McGroder Jr., Buffalo.
Dominick Baranello, Medford Station.
Kathryn Fitzgerald, Pilot Knob.
Abraham D. Beame, 1532 Carroll Street, Brooklyn.
Bertha Friedman, 2166 Eightieth Street, Brooklyn.
Phyllis A. Ughetta, 31 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn.
Abraham J. Multer, 1397 East Twenty-first Street, Brooklyn.
Anthony Salvati, Franklin Square.
Henry Rigall, Seaford.
Milton Weil, 1540 Pelham Parkway South, Bronx.
Harry Fischbach, 150 Central Park South.
Julia Crews, Scarsdale.
Isobel Powers, Rochester.
Henry Silverman, 222 East Thirty-fifth Street.
Harry Henshel, 25 Central Park West.
George Lederman, 80 East Eleventh Street.
Alfred E. Santangelo, 2109 First Avenue.
Ruth Schreiner, Albany.

Sun June 5, 1960

Dems Hold Primary Spotlight Here

By DICK LEE

New York Democrats will hold the spotlight in next Tuesday's party primaries which are to feature another showdown in the insurgent attempt to challenge Tammany Leader Carmine DeSapio's domination of the Democratic organization as the Presidential campaign draws nearer.

The Democratic primary will determine the standing of the New York delegation that will decide on presidential candidates at the Los Angeles convention but the real test for DeSapio will come in the 20th (West Side Manhattan) Congressional District.

There the insurgents are staking all on their fight against the renomination of DeSapio's Congressman Ludwig Teller, a 3d term Representative.

The all-out fight against the DeSapio party leadership has been made by the three insurgents—former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Air Secretary Thomas K.



Carmine DeSapio
Challenged at the polls

Finletter—in behalf of Rep. Teller's opponent, William Pitts Ryan. Ryan has an outside chance against the veteran Teller.

The Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter forces, who are presumed to favor the renomination of Adlai Stevenson, the twice defeated candidate for President, have apparently abandoned all hopes of challenging the DeSapio control of the New York delegation with its 114 votes. DeSapio undoubtedly will be able to deliver the bulk of the New York vote to Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts on the first ballot at Los Angeles.

"DeSapio Must Go"

However, the Lehman, Roosevelt-Finletter group, with its "DeSapio Must Go" slogan, has been using every contest in the Democratic primaries as a vehicle for its anti-DeSapio campaign. Even "neighborhood squabbles" over inconsequential state committee jobs were being built up as issues involving the DeSapio leadership.

In DeSapio's home Assembly district—the 1st—where the Tammany boss virtually washed his hands of a strictly local fight over state committee jobs, the Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter forces have gone all out to make it appear that the DeSapio leadership

is at stake in the contest. The 83-year-old Lehman and Mrs. Roosevelt, who is 75, have campaigned there as if Lehman were running for Senator once again.

The state committee contest is strictly one between two sets of reform groups within the 1st Assembly District—Charles Kinsolving Jr. and Eleanor Clark French of the north end of the district and James Lanigan and Sarah Schoenkopf of the south end. However, Lehman has been campaigning vigorously for Lanigan and Schoenkopf as "more anti-DeSapio" than the others.

In All 5 Boroughs

Over the five boroughs of the city it is much the same story—the Lehman-Roosevelt-Finletter insurgents jumping into neighborhood primary scraps and endorsing candidates wherever it seemed feasible.

Mayor Wagner, who has been trying to stay on the fence in the Democratic organization fight, finally showed his hand in the fight over a Democratic nomination for the Assembly in his home district, the 10th AD. He gave his endorsement to organization Assemblyman Martin J. Kelly's bid for renomination against the insurgent opposition.

"It's a fight against the former Vito Marcantonio American Laborites," was the way Kelly described the drive against the Yorkville reform Democrats.

Tuesday's primaries, featuring the Democratic struggles and only a few Republican contests, will keep the most of the city's 4,640 polling places open from 3 until 10 P.M. Under the new law relating to primary contests, 930 of the polling places—chiefly in Staten Island—will not be opened because there are no contests in any party.

However, the law relating to the closing of bars and liquor stores during primary election polling was not amended along with the election laws. The Staten Island bars and liquor stores will have to shut down during the polling hours just the same as if the polls were open there.

Democratic State chairman Michael H. Prendergast yesterday issued a call for the meeting of the newly elected state committee to be held here at the Hotel Biltmore at 2:30 P.M. Thursday, June 16. That meeting will elect committee officers and choose the delegates-at-large to the Democratic National Convention.

STATE DEMOCRATS BAR LEHMAN ROLE AS '60 DELEGATE

Mrs. Roosevelt Also Rejected
by Party Meeting in Rebuff
to Reform Movement

WAGNER PLEA IGNORED

Prendergast Is Cheered as
He Assails Those Who
Oppose Organization

By DOUGLAS DALES

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The rejection of the former United States Senator and Governor raised a new point of conflict between the leaders of the Democratic organization and the reform faction in which Mr. Lehman has played a leading role.

Efforts made by a small group of state committee members identified with the reform group to have Mr. Lehman's name substituted for another delegate failed, as did other moves they made to effect changes in the state leadership and organization rules.

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Michael H. Prendergast, who was re-elected state chairman, and Carmine G. De Sapio, national committeeman, who sat silently on the dais during the proceedings, were in complete control of the often tumultuous three-hour meeting.

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NY Daily News
6/5/60

NY Times
6/17/60

Democratic party, the Mayor replied: "I have stated what I urged upon the committee and have no further comment."

Began as Delegate in '28

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Delegates to Be Polled

Mr. De Sapio announced that the delegates would be polled on their preference for a Presidential candidate, but said this would be only for the purpose of providing "a tentative yardstick."

The caucus will also decide the chairmanship of the delegation, for which Mayor Wagner and former Gov. W. Averell Harriman are the chief contenders. Both were among the eleven delegates chosen yesterday on a state-wide basis.

The decision to reject both Mr. Lehman and Mrs. Roosevelt from the delegate list was announced by Mr. De Sapio and Mr. Prendergast after a luncheon of the sixty-two county chairmen and before the state committee convened at 3:20 P. M.

Irving M. Engel, chairman of the executive committee of the New York Committee for Democratic Voters, which spearheads the reform movement, charged last night that the



The New York Times (by Carl T. Gossett Jr.)

REJECT LEHMAN SELECTION: Monroe Goldwater, Democratic State Committee counsel, addressing committee meeting yesterday at Biltmore Hotel. Seated on dais, from left, are Carmine G. De Sapio, national committeeman; Mrs. Mae Gurevich, newly elected vice chairman, and Michael H. Prendergast, state chairman. Committee rejected selection of former Senator Herbert H. Lehman as delegate-at-large to the national convention.

Fusionists' Hopes Rise

Lehman Snub, Salt Case and Jack Trial Seen Arousing Independent Democrats

By LEO EGAN

Last week's Democratic rebuff to former Senator Herbert H. Lehman has sent hopes for a fusion victory in next year's municipal elections soaring.

Republicans and others who would form the core of an anti-Tammany coalition regard the incident as the sort of thing that could arouse independent-thinking Democrats throughout the city. Mayor Wagner's role in the incident weakened his prestige. He afterward dis-

closed publicly that he had opposed the rebuff. By so doing he confessed that his influence with those in control of the party machinery was so weak he could not alter their decision. Under the circumstances, his claim to being the leader of his party within the city rests on a shaky foundation.

Actually a great many Democrats are questioning the political wisdom of their state committee's action.

By refusing Mr. Lehman a place as a delegate at large to the party's national convention, the committee made it appear there was no room for dissent within the party organization. For a party that professes to have a broad base, such a policy is untenable. Dissent is the inevitable handmaiden of vi-

talities.

Mr. Lehman, before his voluntary retirement as a United States Senator, was one of the best vote-getters the Democratic party ever produced in New York.

According to the usually accepted code governing political action, he was entitled to be named as a convention delegate out of gratitude for past favors, regardless of any disagreements he might have with the present party leadership.

Small Price to Leaders

To have named Mr. Lehman a delegate would have meant the party leadership in the state would have lost control over one-half a vote out of the state's 114. It would have been a small price to avoid the impression that was created.

By failing to dissuade the party leaders, Mr. Wagner put himself in the same class that former Gov. W. Averell Harriman found himself in after the 1958 state convention at Buffalo.

Mr. Harriman's inability, as the party's top elected officeholder in the state, to dominate party decisions was a contributing factor to his defeat. Mr. Wagner's similar inability to dominate party policy-making within the city, where he holds the top elective office, would seem likely to impair his chances of re-election should he desire a third term.

The Lehman incident and Mr. Wagner's loss of prestige are not the only causes of the mounting optimism among those anxious for a fusion victory. Among other causes are the rock salt scandal, the Hulan E. Jack trial and the possibility of some Democratic reverses for local offices in the approaching election.

Purchase Commissioner Joseph V. Spagna's difficulties with the State Investigation Commission constitute a particularly heavy blow to the Wagner administration. The Mayor had been able to point out quickly when previous scandals erupted that either his administration had uncovered the wrongdoing itself or that those involved did not owe their offices to him.

In the rock salt case, unlike the meat short-weighting case in Brooklyn, it was not the city administration but a state agency that brought the facts to light. Moreover, Mr. Spagna is a direct appointee of the Mayor, not an elected official like Borough President Jack.

Some Posts in Jeopardy

Because of the dissension within the Democratic party, particularly in Manhattan, several local candidates are in jeopardy this fall.

They include George Postel, the candidate for General Sessions judge; William B. Sandler, candidate for the Municipal Court in the First District, which takes in lower Manhattan; Mark Lane, the Assembly candidate in Yorkville, where Mr. Wagner votes himself, and Joseph J. Weiser, the Assemblyman in the Stuyvesant Town area.

The defeat of any of these

would provide further encouragement for a fusion victory next year.

The lead in organizing a fusion campaign to take advantage of Democratic demoralization is being assumed by Bernard Newman, the New York County Republican chairman. For a month or more he has been making approaches to the Liberal party and to organizations interested in city activities, trying to form the nucleus of a fusion movement.

His thesis in these approaches has been that 1960 is the year for political planning and 1961 the year for political action. His aim quite obviously is to get next year's campaign under way immediately after this year's election.

He is convinced that the 1957 Republican defeat was attributable to a widespread belief that the party was offering only token opposition to the entrenched Democratic organization. He wants next year's ticket to offer a real challenge, and he thinks it can be done.

NY Times
6/20/60

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 1960



Herald Tribune photo by Ira Rosenberg

DEMOCRATS SEAT NEW VICE-CHAIRMAN—Carmine De Sapio (left) doing honors for Mrs. Mae Gurevich, of New York, while State Chairman Michael H. Prendergast looks on approvingly following elections yesterday at the Hotel Biltmore.

KENNEDY FACING NEW YORK SPLIT

7/18/60
Calls Wagner to Conference
on Increase in Tensions
Among State Leaders

By LEO EGAN

Special to The New York Times.

LOS ANGELES, July 17—Senator John F. Kennedy is facing a difficult and ticklish problem—how to keep all the divergent groups of his supporters in New York from working at cross-purposes.

The problem came to the fore as Mayor Wagner's relations with Carmine G. De Sapio, New York's National Committeeman, and Michael H. Prendergast, State Chairman, developed sharp new tensions during the Democratic National Convention last week.

In an effort to meet this challenge head-on, the Presidential candidate has invited Mayor Wagner to confer with him next week in Hyannis Port, Mass., on plans for the campaign in New York.

Director for Campaign

He may ask the Mayor to head a special campaign committee in New York with the understanding that the Mayor will designate a campaign director to handle day-to-day details while Mr. Wagner maintains over-all supervision of policy and strategy.

Several events before and during the convention brought the worsening of Mayor Wagner's relationship with the state's two top political leaders into sharp focus.

One took place on the floor of the convention Thursday night, just before Senator Lyndon B. Johnson's nomination for Vice President. A close friend of Mr. De Sapio, using the credentials and badge of an absent New York delegate, seated himself with the New York delegation. Mayor Wagner saw him and personally ordered him, to "get out and stay out."

At least a half-dozen other nondelegates were sitting in seats reserved for the New York delegates at the time, all using borrowed credentials, but none of these was disturbed by the Mayor. Mr. De Sapio's friends regard the incident as a deliberate attempt by the Mayor to embarrass the Tammany leader.

Another incident occurred before the convention opened. The bulk of the New York delegation was quartered at the Ambassador Hotel. Like many other Los Angeles hotels, the Ambassador consists of a main building and a series of interconnected bungalows separated from the main building by lawn.

Four Bungalows Reserved

Four of these bungalows had been reserved for the top Democrats in the New York delegation—one for Mr. De Sapio, one

for Mr. Prendergast, one for Mr. Wagner and one for former Gov. W. Averell Harriman. When the Mayor's representative saw the arrangement he said it would never do.

He gave up the Wagner bungalow, took a suite in the main building where the Mayor could confer with New York delegates

and another suite at the Beverly Hills Hotel, a \$5 taxi ride away, where the Mayor could sleep and confer with representatives of other states.

Sharp words are reported to have been exchanged between the Mayor and Mr. De Sapio on several occasions during the convention. Mr. Wagner is said to have objected to conferences that Mr. De Sapio and Mr. Prendergast were having with the heads of other state delegations. He is reported to have told them they had no right to speak for the New York delegation without consulting him, as he was chairman of the delegation.

The convention results provided both the Mayor and the De Sapio-Prendergast group with a basis for contending that they had been responsible for giving New York a more effective role this year than in any convention since 1948. That year, when the New York delegation was dominated by the late Edward J. Flynn of the Bronx, it had been a major factor in flattening the opposition to President Harry S. Truman.

Mr. Wagner had been among the foremost supporters of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington for the Vice-Presidential

nomination. His influence was important in obtaining Senator Jackson's election as National Chairman when the Vice-Presidential nomination went to Senator Johnson.

On the other hand, Mr. De

Sapio and Mr. Prendergast were important members of the "big state" bloc organized by Gov. David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania. This bloc played a key role in the choice of Senator Johnson for second place as well as in bringing about Senator Kennedy's own nomination on the first ballot.

Senator Kennedy's announcement yesterday that he intended to ask Adlai E. Stevenson to serve as one of two representatives as a liaison with the Administration on foreign policy developments during the campaign would have facilitated a solution of peculiar problems the nominee faces in New York and California. However, the White House rejection of any such intermediary may have brought the effort to a halt.

By making the designation, Senator Kennedy suggested that Mr. Stevenson, the political friend of ultra-liberal groups with demonstrated strength in the two states, would play a major role in his Administration.

Most of these groups have been cool to Mr. Kennedy. But to get their man into an important Administration post

they first have to make sure the Senator is elected.

Mr. Stevenson's designation had been strongly urged on Senator Kennedy by two representatives of the Liberal party of New York who attended the convention as observers. The two are Paul R. Hays, Liberal State Chairman, and Alex Rose, a vice chairman.

At a meeting with Senator Kennedy on Friday they told him that Mr. Stevenson's selection would do more than anything else to rally Liberal support to his cause. At the time the Senator was debating with himself whether he should designate anyone. He was concerned lest he inadvertently limit his right to criticize the Administration's handling of foreign policy.

Paradoxically, Mr. Stevenson's designation, with Representative Chester Bowles of Connecticut, to maintain liaison on foreign policy with the Eisenhower Administration might not have been politically possible had it not been for Senator Johnson's nomination for Vice President.

With the Texas Senator on the ticket, middle-of-the-road and conservative Democrats raised no objection to Mr. Ste-

venson's designation. It is unlikely that this would have been so if anyone else had been chosen.

However, ultra-liberals in New York retain all their objections to working in harness with Mr. De Sapio and Mr. Prendergast to bring about a Democratic victory.

This has been made abundantly clear to Mr. Kennedy, Mayor Wagner and others by former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Thomas K. Finletter, former Secretary of the Air Force, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. These three head the so-called Democratic reform forces in New York, which are committed to Mr. De Sapio's ouster as New York County Democratic leader.

At a luncheon conference with Senator Kennedy on Friday, Mr. Lehman is reported to have suggested Irving N. Engel, director of the Committee of Democratic Voters, as a possible New York manager of the Kennedy-Johnson campaign. But Mr. Engel is unacceptable to the regular organization—which must be depended upon to get voters registered and to the polls—because of his close association with the reform group.

NY Times

7/18/60

2 POPE BROTHERS INDICTED BY U. S.

Both Accused of Diverting
Funds From Concern in
Rock-Salt Operation

By DAVID ANDERSON

Fortune Pope and his brother Anthony were indicted yesterday by a special Federal grand jury on charges of corporate violations in the sale, transportation and delivery of rock salt.

The twelve-count indictment accused the brothers of siphoning assets of the Colonial Sand and Stone Company for the benefit of seven other companies wholly owned by the Pope family—a diversion estimated at more than \$375,000.

They concealed the operation, according to the grand jury, through false statements filed with the American Stock Exchange and the Securities and Exchange Commission, and in reports to 1,000 stockholders of Colonial. The alleged fraud was said to have been going on since the beginning of 1956.

City Inquiry Also On

The sale of the rock salt mentioned was studied by the State Investigation Commission and is now before District Attorney Frank S. Hogan as well as Controller Lawrence E. Gerosa. But the city inquiry, including testimony that New York was billed for \$176,599 worth of rock salt that it never got, did not otherwise figure in the Federal indictment.

The case against the Popes, developed over the last ten months, was the second criminal prosecution by the Government under Section 32 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934. This stresses the public's right to reliable information. The first case led to the conviction last January of Alexander L. Guterman, financier.

The first count charged that Anthony Pope, president, and Fortune Pope, executive vice president, of the Colonial Sand and Stone Company, had conspired to use the facilities, personnel and equipment of Colonial for the benefit of the following corporations owned and controlled by the Popes:

F. A. P. Contractors, Inc.; Forn Contractors, Inc.; Rona Contractors, Inc.; Anforth Contractors, Inc.; Empire Sand and Stone Corporation; Basic Industries, S. A., and Continental Enterprises, S. A., the last two being Panamanian. All were named as co-conspirators but not as defendants.

The indictment contended these companies were employed as "corporate devices, conduits and intermediaries" for the diversion of at least \$375,000 from Colonial and its stockholders "for the ultimate enrichment" of the politically prominent Popes.

It also contended that the brothers knowingly had submitted misleading statements on these operations to the American Stock Exchange, the S. E. C. and stockholders of Colonial. In the second count a false-registration statement for the issuance of Colonial stock in 1958 was alleged. The remainder of the counts covered similar practices said to

have been followed in proxy statements for annual meetings of stockholders from 1956 through 1960.

Eighteen overt acts were listed in the indictment, half of them involving allegedly fraudulent statements.

Typical of the untrue statements the Popes were said to have filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission was that of Nov. 26, 1958, concerning activities of Colonial. After enumerating various transactions, the statement read: "Each of these enterprises deals with the company on terms at least as advantageous to the company as those which would be available to it on the open market." This was disputed by the indictment.

It said that "the associates



INDICTED: Anthony Pope, president of Colonial Sand and Stone Company. He and his brother, Fortune Pope, were indicted for violating the securities laws.

of the defendants did not deal with Colonial Sand and Stone Company, Inc., on terms at least as advantageous to Colonial Sand and Stone Company, as those which would have been available to it on the open market, but in truth and in fact, these associates were used by the defendants as

corporate devices, conduits and intermediaries."

The purpose, it went on, was "to divert, and conceal the diversion of, business, monies and profits from Colonial Sand and Stone Company, Inc., and its stockholders for the benefit and enrichment of the said associates of the defendants and, ultimately, the said defendants."

The penalties for conviction under the indictment are a fine of \$10,000 or imprisonment for five years, or both, on the first count; \$5,000 and five years on the second, and \$10,000 and two years on each of the last ten counts.

When the grand jury handed up its finding to Federal Judge Edmund L. Palmieri, the foreman, Barnard Townsend, reported that the jurors had unanimously agreed to commend United States Attorney S. Hazard Gillespie Jr. and his assistant, Robert B. Fiske Jr.

"In our opinion this matter was presented to us with eminent fairness and meticulous care and in a completely objective approach to the problem involved," he read.

The court set next Wednesday at 10:30 A. M. for pleading by Fortune and Anthony Pope in the United States Court House on Foley Square.

On June 17 Fortune Pope testified before the State Investigation Commission that he could not recall ever having discussed rock salt with Purchase Commissioner Joseph V. Spagna, an old friend, although earlier testimony indicated he had.

Pope enterprises have handled sale deliveries to Sanitation Department depots and for the last two years have become the primary purchasers from mines in the Dominican Republic.

Anthony Pope was elected to the presidency of Colonial Sand and Stone Company ten years ago to fill the vacancy caused by the death of his father, Generoso Pope Sr. He was married in 1940 to the former Edith Ann Rao, an event marked by a Papal blessing and the presence of Gov. Herbert H. Lehman.

Mr. Pope is vice president of the Columbus Citizens Committee, founded by his father. He lives at 11 Dolma Road, Scarsdale, N. Y.

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Potomac Fever:

Underdog House Overloaded

By FLETCHER KNEBEL

NIXON'S "UNDERDOG" role is now counter-claimed by Kennedy. No election in history ever had so much room at the top.

Mississippi will have a choice of three Presidential votes, Kennedy, Nixon or Unpledged. Best bet is Unpledged. If elected, he vows to abolish the Supreme Court—and repeal the Battle of Shiloh.



KNEBEL

Capital punishment: The beating your paycheck takes.

First we had "Citizens for Nixon,"

then "Scholars for Nixon" and "Celebrities for Nixon." Next Nixon group: "Pollsters for Nixon."

Having boosted the pay of migratory workers in the minimum wage bill, Kennedy and Nixon will now migrate through 50 states looking for work.

Kennedy loses his voice. It's a plot. Kennedy hopes to become the nation's first silent candidate—and win in a landslide.

The Association of Gerontology says it doesn't know how to prevent people from aging. Women are more resourceful. Once they hit 40, they merely refuse to go any further.

Reform Democrats' Stand

Party Asked to Reflect Broad Base of Its Support

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The statement by Senator Kennedy's brother and campaign manager that the ground rules have been laid to insure participation in the forthcoming campaign by New York's regular and reform Democrats is symptomatic of what this writer feels is lacking in contemporary politics. What is lacking is candor and guts.

Many independent Democrats in the city and in the state feel that Messrs. De Sapio and Prendergast represent cynical and narrowly selfish interests. The crude brushing aside of Thomas Finletter in 1958 and the abortive attempt to punish former Governor Lehman recently personify the blind and unquestioning obedience demanded in return for nominal membership in the Democratic party.

To those who are fighting this undemocratic and unresponsive leadership, and to countless others observing this battle, a *modus vivendi* intended to get Senator Kennedy elected does not sit well. Senator Kennedy and his campaign manager should face up to what is right and just.

It is expedient, but not morally satisfying, to imply that the Senator will be on the side of right after he is elected. Truth, even when inconvenient, is immutable.

Obligations of Voters

Many inclined to vote for Democrats because they feel there is room for them within the party may not vote at all at the next election. It is the only way for independents to warn professional leaders that if there is not another "place" to go, the risks of relying on this dilemma are great. If all of us have the obligation to vote, we also have the concomitant obligation to have our respective parties reflect the broad base of its supporters.

Those of us, organized and unorganized, interested in opposing cynicism and abuse of trust do not believe this is the time for compromise. If Senator Kennedy wants the votes of the independent-minded, he will have to earn them by what he does and not by what he suggests he will do in the future. He should publicly demand of De Sapio and Prendergast the choice between the inclusion of the reform movement as a legitimate group within the party or their resignations.

G. B. FRANKLIN.

Larchmont, N. Y., Aug. 2, 1960.

San Francisco

The Might-Have-Beens of Adlai Stevenson

By JAMES RESTON

SAN FRANCISCO, July 19—Adlai Stevenson is free at last of the long anguish of Presidential politics, but he is still not entirely at peace.

He came here today from the Democratic convention in Los Angeles, relieved in one way that he escaped a third Presidential campaign, grateful for the enthusiastic support he did receive, but still wondering about the mysteries of American politics.

Did he let his supporters down? Did he underestimate his popular strength in the country? Why did his own State of Illinois not support its only Presidential nominee since Lincoln?

He is not complaining; just puzzling, as usual. In 1952 he did not want to be drafted and was. In 1960 he wanted to be drafted and was not.

What consoles him in all this is the obviously sincere expressions of sentiment and even affection by his backers in Los Angeles. But outside of this enthusiastic minority support the picture was more confused.

At the end, he finds himself once more at odds with the spirit of the professional politicians and, surprisingly, even with many of his old intellectual backers.

Too Much or Too Little?

The pros thought he should have gone much further than he did in seeking the nomination if he wanted to be considered. They told him they could not help him unless he made an open bid for the prize. This he refused to do, and yet his feeling is that each delegate at a Presidential convention should vote his conscience regardless of any declaration by the candidates themselves.

Even many of his intellectual friends thought he should have done more to fight for the nomination and, paradoxically, some of them thought he should have done less.

Thus, some of his old friends now in the Kennedy camp argued that, if he was not going to get all the way into the battle, he should have stayed all the way out.

Half-in, he seemed to the Kennedy backers a potential threat. Half-out, he seemed to his own supporters a reluctant and ineffective instrument in the convention struggle.

Nevertheless, he still has an extremely important role to play. The strategy of the Republicans in the campaign is to emphasize Vice President Nixon's familiarity with the Cabinet and National Security Council discussions of foreign affairs over the last seven and a half years.

In order to strengthen this strategy of experience, the expectation is that Nixon will choose as his running-mate Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who has been debating with the Russians at the United Nations since 1953, and has also

been a member of the Eisenhower Cabinet and the National Security Council.

Stevenson's Usefulness

The Republican argument will be that the conduct of foreign affairs is the central issue of the campaign and that the choice before the country is between the experienced Republicans and the inexperienced Democrats.

Stevenson's active support of Kennedy is widely regarded as a useful counter to this argument. He carries more weight in both the Allied and the Communist worlds than Kennedy, Nixon or Lodge. He is more experienced and more articulate in this field than either candidate, which is why Kennedy said during the primary campaign that he "assumed" any Democratic President would nominate Stevenson as Secretary of State.

There is, however, no commitment to Stevenson on this score and much will depend on the relations between the two men in the next few months.

Stevenson has agreed to serve with Representative Chester Bowles of Connecticut as Kennedy's liaison with the Eisenhower Administration during the campaign. He has arranged to consult with Kennedy at Hyannis Port, Mass., within the next three weeks.

His Presidential career, therefore, is at an end but his diplomatic career may just be beginning—and he has always been more at home in diplomacy than he was in politics.

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Candidates' Dilemma:

NY--A State Of Turmoil

By SANFORD E. STANTON

THE great political brains of the country are now in agonizing labor, striving to win the Presidential election for their candidate or party.

To an innocent bystander it would appear too little attention is being given to the fact that it is as easy to lose as to win elections.

New York quite rightly is called a pivotal State. But do Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Republican nominee, and Sen. John F. Kennedy, his Democratic opponent, know what is going on here?

Does the Vice President know that top targets of the New York Republicans are to retain control of the Legislature, increase the State's Congressional representation for their party, and lastly, so it seems, try to carry the State for Nixon.

If anyone is inclined to challenge this summary of objectives, reference to statements by the Governor, legislative leaders and county chairmen should prove convincing.

As an experienced politician, the Vice President must know that the aim of local leaders is to see the bottom men on the totem pole run ahead of the top of the ticket. It is their best alibi if things go wrong on Election Day.

Democratic Picture

It is more than possible that the New York picture is even muggier for Sen. Kennedy.

Consider the situation in which the Democratic Presidential nominee finds himself.

He entrusts his political fortunes in the State to the regular Democratic organization, which is entirely proper and professional.

Then what happens? A citizens' committee, which turns out to be little more than a haven for malcontents seeking to destroy the party organization, is set up for goodness knows what.

There is more to come. Political prima donnas who are old enough to know better say they will not work with the party machine and will have nothing to do with the citizens' committee except on their own terms.

Finally, there is an outfit calling itself the Liberal Party, having no place to go, it latches on to the Senator and says, he "belongs to us."

Sen. Kennedy is going to find out what this bowl of political mulligatawny means when he comes into New York on Sept. 14.

On that date he is due to

address the Women's Division of the State Committee at a luncheon. It may be expected that he will talk good straight Democratic Party principles to them.

But the same night he is due to speak at a meeting of the Liberal Party.

What can he say to them? He can't talk Democratic philosophy. They wouldn't understand. And for certain, he is not going to endorse political expediency, which is all they do understand.

The Senator authored a book called "Profiles in Courage." When the campaign is over, regardless of the result, he can add a new chapter, titled, "The Courage of Sen. John F. Kennedy in New York."

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40 NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1960

New York Post

FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN 1801

DOROTHY SCHIFF.....Publisher
JAMES A. WECHSLER.....Editor
PAUL RABY.....Executive Editor
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The New York Post is owned and published six days weekly by the New York Post Corporation: Dorothy Schiff, President; Harry Rosen, Vice President; Marvin Berger, Secretary; L. H. Cook, Treasurer.

Dr. Peale's Bad Medicine

Rev. Norman Vincent Peale and some 150 Protestant cohorts organized as a "National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom" have just held a Nixon revival meeting crudely camouflaged as "an intelligent approach to the religious issue on a high philosophical level." They have rendered a dubious service to Mr. Nixon and to the cause of religious tolerance.

The words are slicker but the spirit is full of the vulgar bigotry being voiced from Baptist pulpits in the South. Perhaps only larger experience in sophistry and in the art of positive thinking enables Dr. Peale's group to identify Sen. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev as fellow prisoners of their respective philosophical "systems."



PEALE

The keynote of their document is the charge that a Catholic President would be "under extreme pressure from the hierarchy of his Church" to follow its decrees in public affairs. This is a polite way of murmuring what the anti-Catholic fanatics cried out loud in 1928: that Rome will rule Washington if a Catholic is elected.

We have voiced critical reservations about Mr. Kennedy's candidacy on a number of issues. But we unreservedly reject and condemn the Peale attack. We believe that on the issue of the separation of church and state in political affairs, Kennedy has spoken out clearly and unequivocally, and with considerable daring. It is our own belief that as President he would be less vulnerable than Nixon to the pressures of such conservative Catholic dignitaries as Cardinal Spellman.

Dr. Peale, an avowed Nixon supporter, added a special note of sanctimony to a dreary exercise by observing that Nixon would "probably have disapproved" of the declaration if he had known it was being prepared. Surely, then, a decent respect for his candidate's alleged sensibilities should have persuaded Dr. Peale to stand mute.

"Take Care to Be Fair" was the motto under which the conference was held. It is a wry commentary on Dr. Peale's mirthlessness that he could release his proclamation of prejudice under that pious banner.

But what the group said about Kennedy may prove far less memorable than Dr. Peale's comment on Nixon. We quote from the Times report of his press conference:

Dr. Peale said that the Conference had not considered Vice President Nixon's Quaker faith but that "I don't know that he ever let it bother him."

This could be the unforgettable remark of the 1960 campaign.

A Tribute to Reinhold Niebuhr:
(Footnote to the Above)

Asked why liberal theologian Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr was not invited to the Conference, Dr. Peale replied: "If he were here, we'd never get anything done."

DeSapio Foes In Party Form Reform Group

By OLIVER PILAT

Fifteen Tammany district leaders opposed to continuance of Carmine DeSapio as boss today announced a "reform Democratic leadership caucus."

The move immediately aroused speculation as to a possible drive next month to change control in Tammany on the theory that DeSapio would be a handicap to carrying New York in November for the Democratic Presidential ticket.

The caucus named no chairman, and issued only a two-sentence statement:

"Our first order of business is the election of Sen. Kennedy as President. As Democratic leaders, we have already embarked on plans for a major effort to register voters in unprecedented numbers."

2 Secret Meetings

Agreement on the caucus was hammered out at two secret meetings earlier this week at the office of Jean P. J. (Jack) Baltzell, at Vision Magaine, 59th St. and Madison Av.

Alice Sachs, who shares Tammany district leadership with Baltzell in the silk-stocking 9th A.D., refused to comment today on the relationship between the new caucus and DeSapio. She said:

"The important thing is to let it be known that we are generally meeting as a caucus. We believe we can exert more influence that way."

From other sources, it was learned that no final decision on a drive to oust DeSapio before the fall election has been made by the caucus members.

2 Clubs Seek Ouster

Recent action by two clubs in DeSapio's 1st A.D., which had formerly tried to stay toward the middle of the road, cleared the way for organization of the caucus. The membership of the Tilden Club in the 1st A.D. Middle and the Murray Hill Citizens in the 1st A.D. North voted to push for the ouster, not only of DeSapio, but also of State Chairman Prendergast.

Millard Midonick and Margot Gayle of the Tilden club and Arthur Glixon and Mary Reis of the Murray Hill Citizens were among those signing the caucus announcement today. Others were:

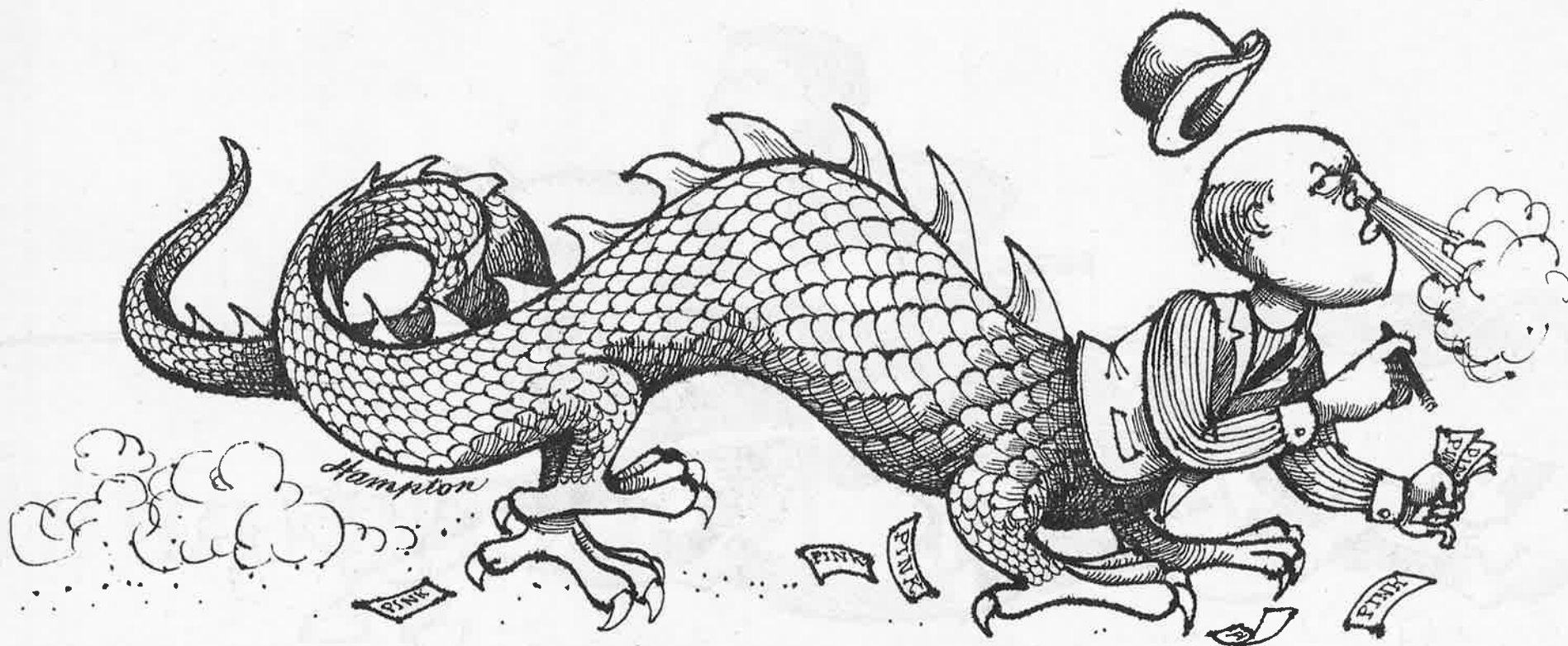
William Fitts Ryan and Shirley S. Kaye, 7th A. D.; Irving Wolfson and Catherine C. Hemenway, 5th A. D. North; Leonard N. Cohen and Estelle Karpf, 5th A. D. Middle; John Harrington, 10th A. D. South; Edward Costikyan and Jean McCabe, 8th A. D. South.



The gray-flannel politicos

New York City's insurgent Democratic clubs, whose members

Herald Tribune Magazine
8/28/60



make good

By LAWRENCE LADER

are more at home in art galleries than at clambakes, are surprisingly successful in bucking Tammany Hall.

ONE Sunday last summer 52 political workers from New York's Lexington Democratic Club piled into a chartered bus and drove to Connecticut — not for a day of Chowder and Marching Society revelry, a favorite occupation of old Tammany sports, but for an afternoon of Shakespeare at Stratford.

Such unorthodox behavior has been duplicated many times in the recent revolt of new clubs and political leaders against what they consider the symbol of New York bossism, Carmine De Sapio's Tammany Hall. One West Side club last fall devoted its premises for a whole month to an art exhibition that attracted over 2,000 constituents. Unlike the days when Tammany never let a dollar slip through its fingers, all sales went to the artists and their welfare association — not one penny to the club! And when the Greenwich Village Independent Democrats recently staged a children's treasure hunt centered on the area's historic buildings, its objective wasn't the indoctrination of a hundred potential voters but the promotion of a new zoning law through which the club's Samaritans aimed to protect Village antiquities from the real estate speculators.

This absorption in Shakespeare, art, and antiquities is a startling contrast to politicians like Tom Farley, who stashed away \$386,000 in his "little tin box" some 25 years ago, and Hyman Schorenstein, a Commissioner of Records who could neither read nor write. What makes the revolution particularly significant is that its leaders combine a good quota of idealism with hard-headed politics. They're licking Tammany at its own game — winning elections.

The New York County Democratic Committee, an erudite name for Tammany Hall, is controlled by regular clubs in 16 Assembly Districts. And in the past few years, eight new clubs have wrested power from the old bosses by defeating them in the

Democratic primaries. This feat takes political savvy and inexhaustible energy, for the odds heavily favor the existing machine. Last fall, for example, the Yorkville Democratic Club overthrew a Tammany stronghold, the Cherokee Club, which had dominated the district for 70 years.

Not all these rebels can be labeled reform clubs in the sense that they're committed to the policies of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, former Senator Herbert Lehman, and Thomas Finletter against De Sapio. But they unanimously oppose bossism in New York politics. Above all, they're dedicated to complete democracy and majority rule within their own clubs.

A force in the campaign

This factor alone has already had an impact on the national campaign. For Senator Lehman and the reform movement early this month won an important concession from De Sapio and Michael Prendergast, Democratic state chairman. Instead of working under control of Tammany and the regular organization, they'll run their own drive for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket through an independent citizens' committee — a plan engineered by Senator Kennedy, which demonstrates his recognition of the reform movement as a major factor in New York City politics. Anthony Akers, who's run for Congress three times with heavy backing of the insurgents, heads the committee.

In the old Tammany clubs the boss system has been polished and perfected like a Broadway production for over a hundred years. Orders are transmitted from Tammany Hall to the Leaders in each Assembly District. At a meeting not long ago in James J. Farley's club on East 62nd Street (a son of Tin Box Farley, but no relation to the former Postmaster General), I watched them carried out. It was a routine "pink slip" meeting, paper slips

having been handed previously to the party faithful who popped up automatically to read nominations and motions and were followed by similar puppets who dutifully seconded them according to their written orders. A few dissidents seeking the floor were ignored by the chairman. When one tried to speak, he was gavelled down as out of order. The whole meeting, not a cue missed, took exactly 10½ minutes. By contrast, members of the new rebel clubs guard their rights fanatically.

Except for the fledgling reform clubs in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens that haven't yet defeated the incumbent machines, this revolt has been confined to Manhattan. And except for an upsurge of young liberals behind Congressman John Lindsay on the East Side, it's hardly touched New York's Republicans.

The new clubs symbolize both a revolt of youth and a new breed of politician. Most Leaders are under 40 — Leonard Cohen in the 5th Assembly District, for example, having been elected at 32. They generally belong to the professions, lawyers predominating, in contrast to the old bosses who favored the ownership of local bars where their constituents could gather. Fifty years back, it's said, when a messenger rushed into a meeting of the old Board of Aldermen, shouting, "Alderman, your saloon is on fire," everyone in the room rushed for the door.

A Tammany stalwart named William J. Connolly got himself on the wrong side of the law a few years back by buying his bar with money loaned him by the Municipal Court judge whom Connolly had helped elect. His club was overthrown by the New Democratic Club whose Leader is Edward Costikyan, a lawyer — and even *more* insulting, from Tammany's point of view, an accomplished musician.

For as a further note on this revolution, if

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Tammany's social life was best represented by Tin Box Farley's annual Central Park picnic that drew 30,000 neighbors to his flowing beer kegs, the new order pursues more sophisticated outlets. Christmas, for example, is celebrated at the New Democratic Club with a 20-piece orchestra and a 70-voice oratorio. One trumpet is played by Traffic Commissioner T. T. Wiley, an oboe by his daughter. And fittingly enough, the whole concert is directed by Costikyan!

Hard-working college men

The old bosses, particularly the Irish, were ferociously proud of their neighborhood racial roots and often established lengthy personal dynasties. Dennis Mahon in the 5th A.D. ruled 10 years as Alderman and 26 as Leader before his recent defeat. Yet new Leaders like Ryan and John T. Harrington in Yorkville can boast the same local links — with marked differences. Both are young and college-educated. Ryan is a lawyer. Harrington makes a fetish of conservative tweeds. And they're vigorously democratic politicians, Harrington campaigning for the recent school-bond amendment by buttonholing constituents every Saturday in supermarkets and on doorsteps — a show of plebeian legwork that horrified the Tammany faithful, who prefer pulling strings from the back office of their clubs.

If a few clubs seem overloaded with gray-flannel politicians, they've generally achieved a remarkable economic and social balance. The Riverside Democrats have a large contingent of Columbia professors. At the same time, their list of eight officers includes a tailor, cook, and union official, two of the eight being Negroes. The president of the Yorkville Democrats is a lawyer, but the majority of its officers and executive board are white-collar or

manual workers. By virtue of encompassing the Fifth and Park Avenue districts, the Lexington Club is the No. 1 center of patrician politics. Yet when a blue-blooded member not long ago checked his hat at one of the city's most exclusive social clubs, the attendant turned out to be an associate on the Lexington's executive board making a few dollars on the side.

Since these new politicians are sworn enemies of the graft and plunder that built Tammany, and rarely get a crack at city jobs even if they want them, just what rewards come their way? "Most of us are in it for the love of the game," explains one club president. "If you're not having fun, you won't last long."

Part of the fun, undoubtedly, is the crusade against what they consider Tammany sin. For this generation came out of two recent wars with a passion not only to improve local government but to bring purity and light to the labyrinths of New York politics. "This club naturally doesn't pay its captains with money," a young worker explained, "but it pays something we need even more — the chance to stand up and talk and know that someone's listening to your ideas."

Above all, the new clubs give their members strong identification with a homogeneous group. And identification in many cases means boy-meets-girl. The Lexington Club with hundreds of single members is one of the city's most fruitful mating grounds, at least 12 couples, including one current Leader, having met there. With glamour always a political asset, the Lexington can count on occasional visits from the undulant actress, Tina Louise, and a good quota of models; one was Margot Moore, a devoted, stair-climbing election district captain until she was nabbed by Hollywood.

The Village Democrats and Riverside Democrats, among others, have racked up at least two

interclub marriages. No Democratic club, however, has been able to equal the record of one Republican woman who married an East Side District Leader, divorced him, and then ran against him for the Leadership and won!

If marriage isn't always the final outcome, most new clubs offer ample machinery for pursuit. A few years ago the Lexington initiated charter plane trips to Europe at bargain rates — an outing that proved so successful that two other clubs have adopted similar jaunts. More than one young Republican has been spotted recently shopping around for Democratic membership, ostensibly for the sole purpose of finding flights that best fit his summer vacation.

A mansion pulls them in

The Lexington has also pioneered in such catalytic agents as Hudson River boat rides and a regular picnic at the luxurious Long Island estate of Mrs. Marshall Field. Its most successful fundraising party was run at the home of another socialite member, Mrs. Marietta Tree. "Everyone wanted to see the house," one officer explained in reference to the club's sophisticated tastes. This may also explain the club's one great blunder — when it failed to sell half its tickets for an outing at a Yankee-Red Sox ball game.

The social aspects of the new clubs are obviously a political asset in the recruitment of workers. "Our club has the prettiest girls in town," one Leader said proudly. On the other hand, mingling has its obstacles. "The kind of men and women who join a club just to meet the opposite sex don't last long," another Leader explained. "When they run out of prospects here, they switch to another club."

The social whirl has also become such a potent

— Please turn to page 20

vote-getting weapon, particularly in apartment-house areas, that some recent primary fights have been labeled "*kaffee-klatsch* campaigns." A candidate addressing 30 to 50 people, gathered over highballs, has a mellowed and captive audience. What's more, apartment dwellers seem to like meeting their neighbors and candidates face-to-face. Mrs. Katherine Hemenway, a comely brunette who was candidate for female District Leader of the Franklin D. Roosevelt-Woodrow Wilson Democrats last fall, attended two or three parties a night for almost two months. Such social devotion was a major factor in her club's remarkable two-to-one victory on its first try over the Tammany wheel horse, Dennis Mahon.

The new clubs have been further strengthened by a feminine revolt against the old Tammany system that still relegates women to virtual feudal status. In most Tammany districts they can neither hold office nor regular club membership, but are conveniently segregated in a separate Ladies' Auxiliary that's allowed to enter the sacred masculine premises a few times a month.

A vote for Mommy!

In its primary fight against the Cherokee Club, the Yorkville Democrats focused on this discrimination with a special parade on the anniversary of the national women's-suffrage amendment. Women and children, dressed in suffragette style, and carrying indignant placards, marched on the Cherokee. One child's placard demanded: "My Mommy Can Vote for U.S. President. Why Can't She Vote in the Cherokee Club?" The Yorkville Democrats rubbed in the point further by electing as president a 30-year-old lawyer, Elaine Fensterwald Perlman, one of the few women in the city now holding that office.

The Cherokee clubhouse itself is a stark symbol of this vanishing system. Built 70 years ago from Tammany spoils, it's a grandiose redstone Victorian hulk on East 79th Street, valued at about \$250,000. Since its defeat, however, the Cherokee's four floors

of wood-paneled luxury, resplendent chandeliers, pool tables, card tables, and bar are a meaningless shell. The Yorkville Democrats, by contrast, ran their campaign on a shoestring, like most insurgent clubs, from a dingy First Avenue store. Even after victory, when the club moved to a slightly larger basement, the first months' rent could be paid only by a loan from its members.

But the most drastic contrast between old and new is the passionate devotion of these eight clubs to community welfare. The old Tammany system always operated through individual constituents — a bag of coal for a needy widow, a watchman's job for an unemployed father. The new clubs still perform such services, but their vistas have broadened. They're virtually social service agencies, direct heirs of the New Deal tradition in reshaping their small worlds.

They fight fanatically for public housing — the Yorkville Democrats appearing before city agencies in at least two dozen hearings in the past year, while the old Cherokee Club never attended one. They've been amazingly successful organizing tenant groups against eviction. Clubs in depressed areas, particularly the Riverside Democrats, maintain housing committees that go out almost every night to check landlord violations and badger the appropriate authorities until they're corrected.

They continually champion civic movements — the Village Democrats rousing its neighbors to demand the closing of Washington Square to traffic, the New Democratic Club campaigning against smoke pollution from a nearby power plant.

They're often watchdogs over community health. Almost half the clubs run their own polio clinics for free shots, with doctors and nurses recruited from the membership. The Riverside Democrats conducted a "sight

clinic" two nights a week for over a year.

Their tender care encompasses community beauty — one West Side club convincing landlords to plant new trees, and raising money for box-planting. Another club has organized a Big Sweep — one day on which its whole membership will go out with brooms and pails to clean the neighborhood.

Every new club works with its public schools, staffing after-hours community centers or, like the Lexington, establishing a special committee to find jobs, provide summer-camp scholarships, and teach such subjects as art and music in the "600 school" for problem children located in its area, and then turning the project over to the proper authorities once it's running smoothly.

Above all, the new clubs are zealots for public forums and lectures. Month after month they flock to hear Senators and international seers, but local problems are the prime drawing card. A debate on narcotics in Greenwich Village packed the hall of the Independent Democrats. "It's better than a Chautauqua circuit," one member asserts. "I've learned more at the club than I did at college."

Tammany changes its spots

The most significant result of this revolution is the impact of the new clubs on Tammany Hall. Politically, De Sapio has good cause for nervousness. For the June 7 primary has already demonstrated that the reform movement on the West Side of Manhattan and in at least the 8th and 10th Assembly Districts of the East Side can soundly lick some of his staunchest supporters among the old Leaders. Next year's primary, if not a combination of blocs before

then, could bring his downfall.

In social terms, moreover, many of the old Tammany bosses are beginning to see practical political wisdom in these young rebels. Tammany clubs on Washington Heights and the Lower East Side have developed their own extensive programs of community service. They recently surprised a number of new clubs by borrowing copies of their constitutions as models for their own changes. But the most surprising phenomenon is taking place at meetings of the County Executive Committee. "It was never more than a puppet show, with pink slips handed down from De Sapio and everyone nodding dutifully," one Leader describes it. "But after watching the new clubs in action, the old wheel horses are beginning to get up and talk. One of them even *argued* with Carmine last week. They even seem to *like* the idea!"

Herald Tribune

Magazine

8/28/60



Mean, Nasty

MAX LERNER

The charm of American politics is that behind toothy grins which grace the campaign photographs there is a lethal instinct for the jugular which would be at home in the jungle.

The attack on Sen. Kennedy by two Protestant church groups, on the ground that he might breach the wall of separation of church and state, is a portent of how the great tide of the Presidential campaign is moving. Right now I venture that the question of Kennedy's religion has become the central emotional issue of the election.

You get it not just in the South but in every part of the nation, not just on the level of the illiterate bigots but also on an intellectual level of reasoned analysis of the world position of Catholicism. It has to be met and settled, right now in this campaign, once and for all—or else America will be in for internal trouble in the years ahead.

* * *

If any reader wants the chore of going back to some pre-convention columns of mine he will find that I worried about this explosive power in Kennedy's candidacy. I said that the religious opposition to Kennedy had deeper roots than most of us thought. But even with this premonition I am surprised at how deep and gnarled and crooked the roots are.

There is no doubt that the problem of throwing the Presidency open to all three of the major religions in America—Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant—would have had to be settled at some point in our history. The sad fact is that it is having to be settled exactly now, at a time when nothing should be allowed to obscure the major problem of war and peace—the dangers of nuclear war, the threatening decline of America's world position.

Here is the nub of the mischief which the attacks on Kennedy's religion are causing. It is bad enough that they sharpen the religious divisions within American society. What may be even worse is that they muddy the great question of our generation: whether America will be able to develop the strength and talent of leadership to save itself and save world freedom.

I wouldn't want Kennedy either to be beaten or to win on the wave of religious emotionalism. He should be judged by what vision he has of the American future, and whether he has the skill and wisdom to move toward it. Yet I fear that if the election were held next week the question of America's destiny would count for little, and the question of the Vatican and its stand—and of Kennedy's father and his past record—might be what would swing it.

* * *

Objectively the problem of Kennedy's faith and family falls into three parts. One concerns all the questions of the separation of church and state. I think I can match my own past concern with this issue against any man's. Yet I say that insofar as it is humanly possible to make his position positive on separation, Kennedy has done so. Even the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, who heads one of the groups of ministers attacking Kennedy, ought to recognize the power of positive thinking in Kennedy's statements on this issue.

The second concerns the positions that the Catholic hierarchy in America has taken on concrete social problems. The stands it has taken on birth control, on public education, on censorship are issues on which liberals have fought and will continue to fight it. There is no earthly reason—or heavenly—why the struggle should not be continued under Kennedy as President, without disadvantage. In fact, in terms of political realism, a Kennedy administration might be less likely to yield to Catholic pressure than one like Nixon's which would have to woo the Catholic voters.

The third concerns Kennedy's father, and the charge that he made anti-Semitic remarks once to the Nazi ambassador in London. The only evidence is the ambassador's own dispatch to his government, and it comes under the legal head of a self-serving declaration. But surely it is an idle thing to debate. What counts about a man is not the faith or family into which he was born, both of which were not of his will and beyond his control. What counts is what he has made of himself, and what his own positions have been and are.

* * *

Once you start judging a man by the label of his religious or ethnic group, you have started on a road whose ending leads into pitch darkness. The Jews were the victims of that brand of thinking under the Nazis, and they suffer from it now in Arab countries and policies, and under communism. In America there has been an unbroken web of freedom, in the sense that the freedoms of each minority have been tied with the freedoms of the others. It would be folly to allow any part of that web to be broken now.

That is why this mean and nasty issue of a man's religion should be swept away where it belongs—into the garbage can of American history. And those who count on profiting politically from it belong with the sweepings.

Ny Post

9/9/60



The Lord's Anointed

MURRAY KEMPTON

Wednesday's Bull from Poling, Peale and Billy Graham's father-in-law on the menace of the Papacy come November is one of the most heartening events in American culture since Archie Moore got his rights.

For one thing these fellows have reintroduced religion as a subject of controversy. And, with that, they have made themselves legitimate subjects of controversy. They are no longer entitled to unquestioning respect because they have been ordained.

It is a cardinal article of the American faith that it is automatically a good thing to have preachers around and that everyone should go to some church or other. As a result we have been afflicted with a state religion which is so diluted as to be no religion at all and whose true conviction was abstracted neatly by Peale when he said of the Quaker birth of his candidate, Richard Nixon: "I don't know that he ever let it bother him."

The priests of this empty temple have been granted immunity from criticism because they are presumed agents of some god or other. Peale and Poling are, in point of fact, Republican leg men. Poling once ran for mayor of Philadelphia as candidate of a Republican machine as noisome as anything Chicago ever produced. Peale goes on television for the Republicans every national election.

* * *

The lower Protestantism they represent is, of course, a Republican faith almost by definition. Billy Graham, having arrived at the eminence of Pope of the lower Protestantism, is above political partisanship; Dr. L. Nelson Bell, his father-in-law, said yesterday that Graham will endorse no candidate, even though all his friends are pressing him to come out for Nixon.

But Graham certainly prays Republican; he has prayed in the White House and Gettysburg with the President and totes his good friend the Vice President around to Bible conferences.

The most detached summation of Graham's "sermons" is in William G. McLoughlin Jr.'s

"Billy Graham, Revivalist in a Secular Age." In 1953, Joe McCarthy's year, Graham thanked "God for men who . . . go loyally on in their work of exposing the pinks, the lavenders, and the reds." His sermons in 1952 referred repeatedly to the mess in Washington; he once called the Truman Administration "cowardly." He compared President Eisenhower's "unleash Chiang Kai-shek" speech to the Sermon on the Mount. He has said: "We are caught in the web of the United Nations." He has described the Garden of Eden as a paradise where there "are no union dues, no labor leaders, no snakes, no disease."

Are we to describe these as religious propositions?

He has attacked Supreme Court decisions against compulsory religious education in the schools:

"I disagree with the Supreme Court's decision in the McCollum case. Our forefathers gave us freedom of religion, not freedom from religion. Unless we bring God into the classroom and make him the Center of our education we are not preparing our young people for their roles in a Christian society."

Are we to accept this as a doctrine of the separation of church and state?

* * *

Graham's views on politics may be taken as a fair sample of the temporal philosophy of men like Peale and Poling. They amount to a declaration that the Republican Party is the embodiment of Holy Writ.

What is sickening in this attitude is its hypocrisy. These men come before us demanding that we apply to the Roncallis and the Spellmans a perfectly proper rule which Poling and Peale themselves violate whenever they please.

These people are not bigoted. How can people who think they own America be described as bigots? Dr. Bell said yesterday that some of his warmest friends are Roman Catholics.

I think, with luck, I can protect myself against the Jesuits, but God defend me from the lower Protestants.

Ny Post
9/9/60

DEMOCRATIC CLUB ASKS A SHAKE-UP

Non-reform West Side Unit
Urges Ouster of De Sapio
and Prendergast

The West Side Democratic Club called last night for the ouster of Michael H. Prendergast as state Democratic chairman and Carmine G. de Sapio, as county chairman.

The club is the official Democratic organization in the middle section of the Fifth Assembly District, which runs along the West Side from Seventy-fourth to Ninety-first Street.

It is not affiliated with the so-called "reform" movement in the Democratic party led by former Gov. Herbert Lehman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas K. Finletter, former Air Force Secretary.

In last Tuesday's primary, the club supported Representative Ludwig Teller, who was defeated by William Fitts Ryan for the Democratic nomination in the Twentieth Congressional District.

Mr. Ryan was backed by the

Roosevelt - Lehman - Finletter forces and ran as an anti-De Sapio candidate.

The president of the West Side Democratic Club is Assemblyman Bentley Kassal. The leaders are Leonard Cohen and Miss Estelle Karp.

The club began as an insurgent organization and won the recognition of Mr. De Sapio as the regular organization in 1953. Until yesterday it had sided with him against the reform movement.

It became the first regular organization club to break with Mr. De Sapio since the primary, and to announce support of the demand of the reform leaders for his resignation.

"De Sapio may have been the best county chairman we've had in a long time," Mr. Kassal said last night. "But we can't carry him on our back any more. The handwriting is clear on the wall. This we can't ignore."

The club's position was made public in the form of a resolution by its officers.

Slocum Survivors to Meet


The General Slocum Survivors will hold a memorial service tomorrow at 3:30 P. M. in the Lutheran Cemetery, Middle Village, Queens. On June 15, 1904, the steamer General Slocum burned off Hell Gate and 1,031 persons lost their lives.

3 11/6/60

Politics Is for People— Not the “Big”

Condensed from an address to the Commonwealth Club of California

GEORGE ROMNEY *President of American Motors Corp.*

OME YEARS ago, Justice Louis Brandeis declared, “It is not good for us that we should ever lose the fighting quality, the stamina and the courage to battle for what we want when we are entitled to it.”

Today, I think we have lost a great deal of that “fighting quality.” The majority of our people have few flaming interests that they are willing to struggle for. In larger and larger numbers the individual is being engulfed in vast power groups. In politics he is renouncing direct, active participation and transferring his rights of citizenship to the corporation or the union which concerns itself with his economic interest. This substitution of economic for political citizenship could be the doom of our way of life.

The rights of citizenship must be exercised by individuals—not by big labor, big business or big government

In the American Revolution we fought against the power concentration that made our liberty and independence impossible. The weak state of the original Confederation reflected the people’s fear of concentrated authority. The Constitution itself, while providing for a strong central government, bristles with safeguards against excessive power held in the hands of a few. Jefferson’s theory of democracy defeated Hamilton and his ideas of a dominant federal government; Jackson defeated the Bank of the United States; Teddy Roosevelt defeated the trusts; Franklin Roosevelt divided the power of big finance and big

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business—in part curbing the power of the business barons, but also helping create barons of unionism. This whole problem of concentrated power we are ignoring today.

Any time we permit a few men in labor or a few men in industry to reach the point where they can shut down a basic industry, cripple the economy and adversely affect the public interest—as in last year's steel strike—we have a condition completely contrary to the spirit of America. I think that is an excessive concentration of private economic power. I am not seeking increased government regulation. Quite the contrary. But we do need to modernize our vague, outmoded inconsistent labor laws and anti-trust laws, which at present permit or foster labor monopolies and massive coalitions of industrial power. For it is the collision between these two excessive forces that is confronting us with the necessity for government intervention to protect the people—and the end result of that will be some form of totalitarianism.

Concentration of power ought to be fought wherever it exists, or the individual will be smashed. And that includes concentration in the form of a highly centralized government. Certainly big societies, especially those in competition with other big societies, need strong (even big) governments along with strong (even big) unions and corporations. But their power can and must be dispersed, with the ultimate control in the hands of the people. This will

be impossible unless we recognize that it is morally wrong for either unions or corporations to get into politics.

There is little difference in principle between the present excessive political influence of unions and the earlier excessive political influence of business. One is as wrong as the other. Both are obstacles to political freedom, economic justice and individual rights. I believe we must prohibit business organizations and unions from political activity and expenditures, direct or indirect. What right have they to use the funds of stockholders or members to support specific candidates or issues? What right has either to create an atmosphere wherein a member's or employee's economic status can possibly be thought to depend on his political views and convictions?

I believe that corporate officials and union officials should participate in political affairs—but personally, as individuals. They should take every possible step to assure members and employees that this is a personal right not to be abridged in any manner. Each individual must speak for himself, directed by what *he* believes in. Of course, to be effective he must combine his energies with the energies of others, but through the instrument of a political party, not through his corporation or his union.

Unfortunately, our political parties have allowed themselves, to a large extent, to become the captives of dominant economic groups. In



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Michigan, for example, one party is largely under the control of big labor, while the other is largely in the hands of big business.

To combat this, we are developing a nonpartisan citizens' program identified as Citizens for Michigan, made up of individuals acting for themselves. We hope to create an influence greater than that of these minority economic groups. The success of our program can provide the basis for releasing the political parties from their captivity and restoring to the people these necessary instruments for self-government.

There are three important things we must do to stop the drift toward increasingly massive centralized government.

One, make certain, by modernized law, that power outside government is dispersed and kept dispersed, so that big government is not needed to hold it in check.

Two, improve the character of state governments and modernize the smaller governmental units, such as the parish or the county.

Three, revive the feeling that people can participate effectively in control of the government. For greater exercise of citizenship is an essential factor in America's future.

The most effective means of doing this would be for the political parties to reject economic power-group participation and reach out for the citizens. The give-a-dollar-to-the-party-of-your-choice campaigns would be more effective with a give-an-hour campaign. Widely publicized open-forum meetings would put excitement and opportunity back into the political arena at the local level; people are not going to participate if they have no opportunity to choose anything but the word that is passed from the smoke-filled room. We need to bring our political parties and the people together, if our democratic system is to continue to be truly representative.

Today, the individual citizen must fight for his citizenship, or he will find himself enslaved by the power groups—or by an all-powerful state that is exercising his inalienable rights on the premise that it must protect him from the excesses of the power groups. This is the age-old struggle to keep power in any form from becoming excessive. The American Revolution was not a distant explosion, from which the dust has long since settled. It is a continuing process, and we should never forget it.



HERE'S a trick that's reportedly sweeping business lunch meetings in Los Angeles: Instead of reaching for the check, each person puts his credit card in the middle of the table, face down. Then they call the waiter over, and he picks out the card of the guy who is to foot the tab.

—Saul Wernick, quoted by Cedric Adams in *Minneapolis Star*