

BUCKLEY:

In New York, there are not two political parties, as in normal states, but four/ political parties. There is no disagreement that the Liberal Party is the Leftward most of these parties, or that the Conservative Party is the Rightward most. But there is running dispute over whether the Democratic Party is to the to Left or/the Right of the Republican Party. It appears to depend largely on who is heading the ticket. For instance, when Mr. John Lindsay ran as a Republican in 1965, his campaign literature identified him as quotes the most Liberal of all the candidates. There are, of course, mainstream Republicans in New York State, and I have the names of one or two of them in my notes. We have here tonight the co-founder and the State Chairman of the Conservative Party of New York, Mr. Daniel J. Mahoney, who was born in 1931, graduated Magna cum Laude from St. Bonaventure's and took his law degree at Columbia, Before joining the Coast Guard, He is now a partner in the law firm of Wormser and Koch, and has five children; lives in Mt. Vernon, New York, and has brought about a revolution in New York politics. In 1962 Mr. Mahoney and his brother-in-law, Mr. ~~KKK~~ Kieran O'Dougherty, founded the Conservative Party in reaction against the intimidation of the

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Republican Party by the Liberal Party. It was generally assumed that the Liberal Party would go smoke pot in the fever swamps of the Radical Right and live entirely unnoticed. Instead, in four years, the Conservative support of Mr. John Marchi undoubtedly influenced the Republican rejection of Mr. Lindsay as a candidate for reelection. I should like to add parenthetically that the producer of this program, the Emmy Award-winning Mr. Steibel, issued an invitation to the Liberal Party to send a spokesman here to exchange opinions with Mr. Mahoney, but the Liberals declined. Perhaps they ~~xxx~~ feared that what happened to Mr. Roosevelt would happen to them. I should like to begin by asking Mr. Mahoney whether he believes that other states should start third parties, or fourth parties.

MA:

I don't think so, Mr. Buckley. It seems to me at this point in time that the swing~~ing~~ in the National Republican Party is to the Right. ~~As~~ As a matter of fact, ~~there's~~ there's a recently published book -- a very sound book in my judgment -- "The Emerging Republican <sup>M</sup>ajority", by Mr. Kevin Phillips, who ~~xxxxx~~ <sup>is</sup> was a Special Assistant to the Attorney General, and Special Assistant to the Attorney General, /was a ~~xxxxxx~~ Assistant to the Attorney General when he was running the Nixon campaign last year, in which he argues that the Republican Party is going to be fed in the foreseeable future on a

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national coalition embracing Conservative groups within New York City, and in areas in the Northeast that are Conservative suburbs, the South, the Heartland, and the Far West, in terms of which there's

BU: Does all that mean that the Conservative Party should liquidate New York State? (LAUGHTER)

MA: No, that's a different question. We have uh, he also acknowledges that the Northeast is gonna stay Liberal, and, of course, to some degree in any event, but I think that's being moderated considerably; but New York is a special problem. You have had a third party on the Left in New York since 1936~~xx~~ and going back 'way before ~~xxxx~~ that, but in a present institutional form ~~xxxxx~~ since 1936; and I think the Conservative Party is essential to keep the two-party system honest in New York State, but I wouldn't recommend it around the Nation for that purpose.

BU: Well, what I've never wholly understood about that particular reasoning is that it seems to depend on the fact that the Liberals in New York stole a base by founding their own party, which proceeded to have leverage on the two main parties. Along ~~thx~~ came the Conservative Party to neutralize that leverage. But meanwhile, we admit, do we not, that there was a period during which that leverage was effective. Now, this

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would seem to suggest that the initiative taken by New York Liberals, twenty years ago, paid off,,for a considerable period, why shouldn't , by the same token, Conservatives, seeking to emulate that initiative, found their own parties, at least up until the time when they in turn are neutralized by Leftwing parties?

MA:

Well, it's true that the Liberal Party had that effect under the political conditions pertaining in New York State at that time. They had that effect, which ~~was~~ really wasn't all that necessary, because the Democratic Party was already over there with them, anyway; but <sup>about</sup> there were special factors, special problems, ~~xxxxx~~ who controled the Democratic Party, and whether certain union groups and so forth wanted to play ball with groups that controled the Democratic Party. They got on the line in terms of very substantial White House support during the Roosevelt days, very handsome treasuries, very powerful union backing, and they had an awful going for them in terms of the institutionalization of New York politics. Now, I just don't see that kind of thing being repeated around the country in the case of Conservative Parties that would form today. I think that around the country, there would be a general sense of satisfaction with the Republican Party on the part of Conservatives, and especially a general sense of



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satisfaction with the present trend and movement of the Republican Party.

BU: Well, would you go so far then as to say that if in New York State the Liberal Party were liquidate, ~~they~~ <sup>there</sup> would still be reason for the Conservative Party to continue or would you consider that its principal raison d'etre had been repealed?

MA: I don't think so, I think at this point the Conservative Party has become a very important part of the fabric of New York politics. I think we also are in a position where we are tied in with the National Republican Party, very extensively, and at this point you might still have the problem of somebody like Nelson Rockefeller coming along with 200-million dollars or so to spend on a political hobby and a run-off in the Republican Party. It wouldn't be that easy if we were around.

BU: Uh, huh. Well, uh, is it then your purpose as the head of the Conservative Party in New York State to continue to ~~xxxx~~ increase the ~~xxx~~ size of the Conservative vote, as far as you can, or would you consider that the moment will sometime come when you have to decide whether to try to attempt to become one of the two major parties or to continue to be primarily a party designed to influence one of the standing parties?

MA: Well, it's awfully hard to look that far into the

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future. At this point,

BU: What's happening? (LAUGHTER)

MA: What's happening at this point is that the Conservative Party is playing a more cooperative role with important elements of the New York Republican Party, the legislative leadership, for example. We played a role in the New York Primary, in which John Marchi became the Republican nominee. So, at this point, it's not <sup>in</sup> so much a matter of the growth ~~of~~ the vote, as a different use of the vote that we've built up. And we've now come to a point where the major parties in New York State realize that we're not going to go away, that we are attracting a following, and that the time has come to see whether they can talk to us and do business with us in the way that they have with the Liberal Party over the years. And at this juncture, I think, the keeping, what use is being made of the influence we have now <sup>is</sup> rather than to what extent ~~has~~ our absolute vote increasing.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Although, I should point out as chairman of the party that in the period from 1962 to 1969 our <sup>grown</sup> vote has ~~grown~~ from 140,000 to 1,140,000, which is one whale of a growth, and we don't think we're at the end of that road, but

BU: It's sort of like inflation. (LAUGHTER).

MA: Yeah. Precisely.

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BU: Well, ~~xx~~ do you believe that Governor Rockefeller made a ~~xxxx~~ strategic error when he declined to recognize the existence of the party back in 1962, or, if you had been in his shoes, would you have attempted exactly what he did attempt, which was to, as I say, to proceed as though the Conservative Party didn't exist, and to instruct all sort of paid up members of the Republican Party to ignore you?

MA: Well, I think that was probably the right judgment in 1962. I think he was a bit reactionary in the pace in which he adjusted to our growth. I think there was a time in which he could have taken a more realistic view of the matter between say 1962 and 1968.

BU: Well, purely now as an exercise in political judgment, at what point do you think that Governor Rockefeller ought to have seen the direction in which things were headed, and might he, had he done so, substantially affected his own career?

MA: Well, there were, the ~~xxx~~ <sup>die</sup> was pretty much cast, <sup>should</sup> I think, through 1966, when he ran for election. There were no conceivable circumstances under which we could have accorded him our nomination or he could have asked for it, <sup>disparity,</sup> Because there was just too much of a ~~disparity~~ <sup>disparity</sup>. However, I think he hurt himself nationally in 1968 when he said that the Conservative Party could not

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put the Nixon, the Republican electors for Nixon and Agnew on the Conservative line, ~~which~~ because at this and point the primary party ~~is~~/interest was the Republican nominee for President of the United States. And I think that, and this is not just Governor Rockefeller, but the entire Republican state leadership, at that point, put itself in a very bad light with other talked Republicans and ~~talks~~ in the same language that they were using in ~~1962~~ 1962: this is an alien, ~~interloper~~ interloping force. Well, this alien, interloping force was at that time delivering to the Republican Party control of the State Legislature. So, he was just a little bit out of date.

BU: Well, what does he seek nationally from the Republican Party? You say he hurt himself nationally, he had already lost the nomination. So, what is it that he was afraid that the National Republican Party could do to him?

MA: <sup>wanta,</sup> Well, I don't ~~know~~ I just think that he is the governor ~~of~~ of a major state, he obviously, he's probably I think the senior Republican governor in the country, and he's interested in the goodwill of fellow Republicans. He's certainly taken on a very arduous Latin American <sup>stay</sup> tour, out of a desire to be, ~~stand~~ on good terms with the Republican National administrations. I think this is, his interest in a compatibility with the National

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Republican Party would have dictated a different course. Under the circumstances, it was utterly futile to try and snub us. As you know, our candidate for the Senate in 1968 got 1,150,000 votes, so, you know, he hardly did us any terrible damage with that course.

BREAK

BU: Uh, Mr. Mahoney, would you ~~wx~~ be willing to describe the circumstances that would bring you to endorse Governor Rockefeller for governor in 1970? (LAUGHTER)

MA: I doubt it would take long. I can't conceive of any, <sup>this:</sup> at this point. I would say/that the

BU: Well, suppose he went to Lourdes, or something?

MA: I would say that the history between the Conservative Party and Governor Rockefeller is ~~xx~~ such, and his <sup>possibility</sup> public career is such, that this isn't a ~~possible~~ that we would realistically consider, unless he came to us and said, you know, he'd had a change of heart, and so forth and so on,

BU: Are you the forgiving type? (LAUGHTER).

MA: We might under those circumstances, but I don't think that he's the suppliant ~~xx~~ type that leads to that particular supplication; so, I don't think that there's any, I mean, and I'm not saying that, I'm not trying to be nasty, I mean, in terms of his own integrity, I don't think that in terms of the role ~~xx~~ he's played within

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the Republican Party, in terms of the role he's played as a governor, and it's a role with which we've disagreed; but nonetheless, he's been that picture and played that kind of role for a great many years, now, and I just don't see him coming around and saying, you know, fellows, what I said about you in 1968

was a rash moment of weakness, and really what I think is, and then, <sup>would</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>me for</sup> you consider/the endorsement?

~~And~~ And, obviously, nobody goes running after people with ~~for~~/political endorsements. You have to have at least an expression of interest. So, I don't really see any likelihood of this being on anybody's agenda. Now,

BU:

Well, now, what about the Republican~~s~~ running for statewide office, who, let's say, is ideologically flexible? And asks himself, if I approach Mr. Mahoney <sup>a</sup> for ~~an~~ ~~the~~/Conservative Party endorsement, and get it, I'm going to lose a certain number of Liberals who will react against the fact of my having been thus endorsed, now, how would such a person likely weigh what he stands to gain against what he stands to lose, at this moment in New York politics?

MA:

Well, there's an enormous amount of flux in New York politics, right now. My own instinct is that we are moving into a time when there is a lot of movement towards a Conservative alternative on the part of a great

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many Democrats. And, something that's not brand new, but that has been going on for a period of years. My own feeling ~~xxx~~ is that, what I would call a mainstream Republican, a Republican who thought in terms of the leadership of the, let's say the present leadership ~~xx~~ of the State Legislature, let's, just to ~~xx~~ type it, who was attractive, articulate, and a vigorous campaigner, could carry a statewide election in this state. Now, I don't think that was true ten years ago, but I do think it's true now. And anybody who is performing as a mainstream Republican in the Republican Party that is presently taking shape in New York State, would, I think, be very interested in the Conservative Party endorsement.

BU:

Umhm. Well, if this is correct, and if Mr. Rockefeller is a shrewd politician, as it is generally assumed that he is, then does, doesn't this suggest that he has no possibility at all of being reelected in 1970?

MA:

Well, it's too early to say that. I think it's, an awful lot depends on what the Liberal Party does. I mean, if they resurrect Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and take half a million votes ~~xx~~ away from-- I mean, I don't envision this, as a ~~possibility~~ possibility, but just for example--if the Liberal Party ended taking a half-million votes away from the Democratic candidate, and if the



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Democratic candidate was divided all over the place, as they have a habit of being, any time an important ~~election~~ election comes up, you can envision circumstances in which Governor Rockefeller would have a shot at being reelected. I do think that right now in he is not ~~ax~~very strong ~~shape~~ shape.

BU: Can you envision ~~xxxxxx~~ circumstances in which ~~xxxxx~~ Senator ~~Goodell~~ Goodell could be reelected?

MA: That's much harder. Well, I would say this: I can't presently envision circumstances in which Senator Goodell would be renominated. (APPLAUSE) There, by which I mean to say, very frankly, that I had a talk, last week, with an important Republican in New York State, who said that as of now he couldn't name a County leader in New York State who would support Senator Goodell for renomination.

BU: Why? Why are they sore at him?

MA: Pardon me?

BU: Why are they sore at him?

MA: Well, he, he started with a constituency of one, he was appointed by Governor Rockefeller; and ~~the~~ I think he's eroded his base (LAUGHTER). He, the uh, he, the first thing he did when he was nominated was to take off after the Republican presidential nominee all through 1968, then in 1969, he spent his time

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swiping either at the Republican state leadership, excuse me, the Republican Senate leadership, Senator Dirksen, and or at the White House, or, more recently, declaring that he would support Mayor Lindsay on the Liberal line, rather ~~exactly~~ than the <sup>general</sup> nominee of the Republican Party. So, I think that there's a ~~general~~ feeling that he just feels no obligation to the Republican Party.

BU: Or vice versa.

MA: As Senator Marchi said, he seems to feel that he's been anointed to the Senate, and that's not the ~~proper~~ process, which I think ~~he~~ he'll find out next year.

BU: Well, considering that his background is Conservative, <sup>was</sup> and his performance ~~is~~ Conservative, and yet he did apparently swing so sharply towards Liberalism, after his appointment a year ago, does that suggest that he simply misread the

MA: I think he did. I think that uh

BU: Well, he's had time to veer back, hasn't he?

MA: Yes. I, well, he, I think his

BU: Or is his rudder sort of stuck?

MA: I think that's a good analysis. I would guess that if you could have sat with ~~Senator~~ Senator Goodell on Primary night, this last year, that you would have found utter amazement on his part at the Lindsay loss.

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Although, on the other hand, it's hard to understand why, if he thought Lindsay was going to win, he spent so much time explaining how he was going to support Lindsay after he lost. But, I do feel that he's been heavily influenced by Senator Javitts, who explained to Senator Keating, who is an upstate Republican of basically Moderate to Conservative bent, how he could only succeed in statewide New York politics as a very Liberal Republican, he persuaded Senator Keating of that, and I think he's persuaded Senator Goodell of that; and I think that they ~~xxx~~ both have simply, all ideologists have missed the trend in New York politics, national politics. and in ~~National politics~~

BU: Well, before we turn to the mayoralty election, let me ask you this: what planks of the Conservative Party of New York State ~~would~~ do you think would embarrass the typical Republican? Out over the country. What is it that makes the Conservative Party the object of the workaday anathemas of New York Liberals, which, however, it seems to exempt the national party from the same anathemas?

MA: Well, really, I don't think that our platform and program is that much different from the platform and program ~~xxxxxx~~ (BOTH TALKING)

BU: Are you in favor of repealing Social Security?

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MA: No.

BU: Oh, or bombing Moscow?

MA: No. Uh, the, as a matter of fact, I was on a program a few weeks ago, when somebody asked me, a Liberal had commentator, who ~~wax~~ apparently worked up more heat than light on the ~~subject~~ question of my appearance; and he asked me why we had opposed the enactment of Social Security. And I pointed out to him that Social Security was enacted some 30 years before we came into existence. I think that there's uh, there has been a feeling, an effort to depict the Conservative Party as 'way off to the Right. But, of course, you don't get the kind of vote we've gotten -- over 15% of the statewide vote -- if you're in that kind of position.

BU: Why is that? Can't you have 15% of the people who are 'way over to the Right?

MA: I don't think so. I think George Wallace found that out in New York State. And he got one-third of the vote we did in New York State, in ~~Nx~~ 1968. I think that in terms of the uh, if you talk, for instance, to the legislative leadership of the Republican Party, with whom we've worked and worked in a very tight majority, to whose maintenance we were essential, ~~wx~~ they would tell you that the Conservative Party takes a

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strong position, but by no means a doctrinaire,  
dogmatic or an unrealistic

BU: What is the most controversial plank in the Conservative  
Party?

MA: Well, the one that I can't get any of our county  
chairmen to reprint in their literature is the one for  
the abolition of rent control. They tell me that the  
State party is welcome to that position but they're  
not gonna pass it around in Queens.

BU: Yeah. Well, that's very interesting. Yeah. What  
about integration?

MA: I, well, actually, well, for instance, the, I remember  
back in ~~xxx~~ '63, the Conservative Party came out within  
24 hours of Commissioner Allen's edict that he was  
going to have compulsory bussing in New York State  
anywhere that there wasn't, anywhere that there was  
more than the 50% minority enrollment in the public  
school. We came out and said we were against that.  
And a lot of people thought that, politically, we had  
made a terrible blunder, and that we were going to be  
tagged as racist. We came out on the position ~~xxxx~~ on  
the basis that we thought it was just plain, a very  
wrong-headed position for him to be in. It now develops  
that over the course of the years, literally/ everybody  
has ended up taking the position that we took, to the

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extent that the legislatures passed a bill which the governor has  
~~signed~~ signed, which essentially adopts our position.

Now, there has been an effort to depict the Conservative Party as anti-Negro, racist, anti-integrationist, and it is not true, and I think it is being generally recognized that it is not true. But I would say if you had to, not on an issue-by-issue basis, but if you had to pick out the one thing that they say about us, ,you know, which where they/throw a ~~xx~~ mudball, and some of the mud sticks, that's the one we have to cope with a lot.

BU: Well, surely there are racists in ~~xxxx~~ New York -- you don't deny their existence --

MA: Yeah, I ~~xx~~ agree.

BU: and they would probably back your candidates, wouldn't they?

MA: Yes, I would say that there would be, when you think in terms of three or four people competing for six or seven million votes. There would be a situation where there might be racists who'd say the Conservative Party most  
a /appeals to me, as in 1965, or there might be a situation where Communists would say, of the available choices, I favor John Lindsay. But that is not saying that we are racists, or he is a Communist. We have at the operational level, unsparingly discouraged any people of that nature from any role in the party, and have ~~even~~

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been very successful in

BU: Have you ever had a situation in which the control of a unit of the Conservative Party was jeopardized by the kooks?

MA:q well, it ~~walks~~ We've, /~~that~~ depends on how you define, because if you would, if you're talking about people who are, you know, an attempt at a take-over by people who are outright racists, I would say that there's never been anything that's ~~be~~ built up the kind of momentum that could seriously go ~~down~~ after any important unit of the Conservative Party. We're talking about situations where there have been people who ~~have taken~~ take a more rigidly Rightist attitude ~~than~~ than the Party does, who tend to be terribly exacting in their judgment on the question of endorsement. Now, this fellow, you know, that Goldwater isn't a real Conservative, he's a member of that Metro-government, or some damn thing. Uh, in that kind of area, I would say we have had challenges. Almost all of which we have repelled.

BU: Now, does the strength of the leadership of a party the size of yours depend, as is the case in other, with other parties, on a certain amount of patronage?

MA: Not so far.

BU: Have you created any judges, or that kind of thing?

MA: Uh, no, to date, the party has not had any significant



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element of patronage. The uh

BU: Can you fix a parking ticket? (LAUGHTER)

MA: Oh, I haven't tried, but I don't think I can. We, uh, to date, there hasn't been anything of that nature at all. The party has been run really on the basis of persuasion, which can on occasion be very ~~time-~~ consuming, ~~xx~~, but I think it's a sounder approach.

BU: Well, now, the Liberal Party, as I understand it, has a fairly orthodox and rather open patronage situation with Mayor Lindsay, is that correct?

MA: That's right.

BU: Well, can you ~~xxx~~ describe it?

MA: Uh, the word is that they have about a third, ~~now~~ that this is what was committed to them in 1965, ~~and~~ in return for their support of Mayor Lindsay. Now, you don't, you know, one of the things that's funny in politics is patronage because the Liberals claim they haven't got any, the Reform Democrats when they're negotiating with the Mayor, say they ~~xxxxxxx~~ don't have any, and the Republicans to whom I've talked, say they never got any either. So, on the basis of listening to the interested parties, you just conclude that the city government has not been staffed over the last four years. But I do believe that the Liberal party's patronage role in the city administration has

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They,  
been very substantial, ~~and~~/of course, do have a  
deputy mayor, their state chairman~~xxxx~~ resigned to  
become deputy mayor, Mr. Costello.

BU: Would you consider that patronage?

MA: Uh, yes, but

BU: It depends on whether one wants to be deputy mayor.

MA: That's right. That's right. I don't regard patronage  
I mean,  
in that sense,/I don't think there's anything terribly  
invidious about what the Liberal ~~px~~ Party has obtained  
from Mayor Lindsay. They supported him, they played  
a very important role in his election, and I think

BU: You mean the sacrifice of supporting him?

MA: ~~Thxxx~~ That's right, I think it's normal that they'd  
the  
participate in/city government. I am just pointing  
out the fact that they do participate inthat government  
very substantially, and there's all, the word is around  
that the Liberal Party got some state patronage as  
a result of Mr. Roosevelt's Independent race in 1966;  
although this is hotly denied by all the alleged  
participants.

BU: Uh, huh, well, do you believe that a certain amount  
of patronage is necessary to lubricate ~~xxxx~~ most  
parties, but not yours?

MA: Perhaps ~~xxxx~~ most parties, it's very helpful. But we  
have, you see, the thing is in the Conservative Party,

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we have very ideologically committed people. When the party started in 1962, there wasn't a soul ~~that~~ <sup>who</sup> went out and got all those petitions all over the, New York State, who got them on the basis that they were gonna, hoped to get a job somewhere. Now, the ~~ax~~ basic problem is that there comes a time, there comes a time when, given a certain element of growth in a party, given a certain amount of success in its political patronage ~~xxxxxxxx~~ fortunes, /comes its way, and our problem is not to seek patronage, but when and if it does come, to make sure that it doesn't impair, the Conservative Party getting involved in this government or that government, and there's no other way to have your impact, an ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ideological impact in the government, day to day, to make sure that involvement when and as it comes <sup>basic</sup> doesn't impair or impede the ~~basic~~ ideological motivation from ~~the~~ which the party started; because if we ended up just being a job-dispensing machine, why, there'd be an awful lot of people who started ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> thing in 1962 would have a terrible feeling ~~xxxx~~ of disappointment, including ~~xxx~~ myself.

BREAK

BU:

Well, Mr. Mahoney, let's get down to the current campaign for the mayoralty of New York where Mr. Lindsay will be facing a Democratic Proccacino and

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a Conservative Republican, Mr. Marchi. Now, the  
said  
New York Times ~~says~~, very shortly after the victory by  
Mr. Marchi over Mr. Lindsay, that one thing was  
absolutely ~~wasn't~~ certain and that is that Mr. Marchi  
couldn't win. Why did they say that?

MA: Well, I think that they were indulging in ideological  
predilection. I'm sure that you could go back to  
1964 and find equally confident predictions by the  
New York Times about the probability that Senator  
Goldwater would be nominated for President of the  
United States. It's a kind of, it's a kind of cultural  
backlag, they just don't seem to stay up with these  
things. By which, I don't mean to say that Senator  
technician,

BU: Are you speaking as an advocate or a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ now?

MA: Both. You know, when you get to the New York Times,  
I can't completely stop being an advocate; but on the  
when you  
other hand, ~~xxxx~~ look at the numbers. Let's take,  
for instance, the 1965 mayoralty race. Now, if you  
the  
just started and looked at the numbers in/1965  
you'd  
mayoralty race, ~~xxx~~ find that Senator Marchi has two  
lines, the Republican and Conservative lines. And  
Mayor  
Proccacino has the Democratic line, and ~~xxxxxx~~ Lindsay  
now has the Liberal line. Now, in ~~xx~~ 1965, the combined  
Republican and Conservative lines were 160,000 more  
votes

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than the Democratic line. That doesn't mean that Senator Marchi is a sure winner. It does mean that somebody who surveys the records, the morning of June 18th right after the primary, might stop and say well, Senator Marchi, if 1965 form held fast would end up 160,000 votes ahead of Proccacino, with Lindsay running a very poor third. Now, you can start from there, and, say, aw, but it's not 1965, you have to make this adjustment and you have to make that adjustment. But you have to make an awful lot of adjustments to reach the position that of the three candidates, Marchi, the one who starts 160,000 votes ahead of everybody else is the only one who doesn't have a chance. So, I think that there is certain amount of wishful thinking on the part of the New York Times, and it wouldn't be the first time.

BU: Is it a mistake, or did you fail to include in the Liberal votes in '65?

MA: No, well, the Liberal votes, no. What I'm saying is that you have the Liberal, if you take the Liberal line, of course, Lindsay's ~~has~~ got the Liberal line. If you just take the Democratic line vote, a million and fifty, and then you take the Republican vote of about 850,000 plus the Conservative vote, ~~2450~~ 340,000, I hope my arithmetic hasn't gone awry; but when you

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total those two lines and say that Lindsay is on, of course, Lindsay's on the Liberal line, so that's taken out of the Democratic column, when you total the two Republican and Conservative lines in '65, set them over the Democratic line, you will have 160,000 for vote edge, ~~xx~~/that combination over the Democratic nominee.  
~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

BU: And your point is that the various erosions, such as they are, for instance, Liberal Republicans to Lindsay,

MA: Yeah, sure.

BU: and uh Conservative Republicans to Marchi, and so on and so forth, are not going to be such as to upset that majority?

MA: Well, I think Marchi is going to be the next Mayor of New York City. I can see people making a different argument. I can see people saying well, now, you ~~ix~~ haven't at all accounted for this factor or that factor, the only people I make starting out on the New York Times, is that to start with this basic numerical <sup>that</sup> set-up and say ~~xxxxxx~~/Marchi is the one guy without a chance, uh, indicates some ideological predisposition on the matter. But I think that Senator Marchi will win. Now, obviously, he has two sources of erosion, two major sources of erosion, and one is that there are gonna be Liberal Republicans who voted the Republican

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line in 1965 who are gonna go Mayor Lindsay in 1969. The other is that the Conservative ~~ma~~ vote, the Conservative line and the Conservative Republican vote ~~xxxxxx~~ why, uh, Senator Marchi has the problem of holding that against the attraction which Comptroller Proccacino is going to set up.

BU: I was going to ask you, is there in <sup>this</sup> a particular year, an extraordinary bond between <sup>Democrats</sup> ~~Democrat~~ and Republicans, i.e., a common desire to replace the encumbunt?

MA: I think that is the uh

BU: I think that is a little confusing, isn't it? Because suppose the first day that, let's say, the New York Daily News poll comes out and it shows that what is imminently there is a reelection of Mr. Lindsay as a result of formalistic quarrels among his opponents, might, therefore, a certain movement begin from let's say Marchi to Proccacino, or even vice versa, if the disadvantage imbalance should prove to the ~~xxxxxx~~ of Mr. Proccacino?

MA: I think that's, yeah, I think that's definitely likely to happen at some point in time, there an awful lot of people in New York City -- and this is not a, this is not basically an ideological problem, I mean the Liberal Democrats who find Lindsay totally compatible



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in ~~xxx~~ terms of ideology are

BU: Didn't they say in the Village Voice, last week, that  
~~xxxxx~~ he's surrounded by young Twits (?) ?

MA: Yeah, well (LAUGHTER), well, the problem they run into  
is that all compatibility aside, he hasn't been a very  
good mayor, in terms of running a city, and there are  
an awful lot of people who just don't want four more  
years of Mayor Lindsay being mayor. And I do think  
that when they, when the political things~~xx~~starts to  
pan out, and people start to see that Marchi is the  
~~xxx~~ strong challenger, or Proccacino is the strong  
challenger, there's gonna be a terrific flow towards  
one of those candidates of people who wanna make sure  
that their vote can stop Lindsay. My own feeling is  
that Senator Marchi is going to stand up better as a  
major candidate over the long haul than Mr. Proccacino  
is.

BU: I see. I think we should go to the panel. (LAUGHTER)  
Mr. Greenfield is an aide to Mayor Lindsay, and

GR: Thank you for that marvelous introduction. I hate to  
interrupt this love feast between the state shairman  
of the Conservatêve Party and the not only a candidate  
of it, butthe brother of another one. Let me first  
congratulate Mr. Mahoney in his arithmêtic for doing  
something that four years haven't done, which is to

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lump together those who support William F. Buckley and John Lindsay, is a yeoman~~xx~~ feat.

MA: I said there'd have to be adjustments.

GR: Yes, uh, that's one way to put it.

(UNINTELLIGIBLE)

MA: Think How lovable ~~xxxxxx~~ (LAUGHTER)

GR: Yes. Well, you may, you guys may do it again for the Mayor. You did it once before, for which we're eternally grateful. Let me not do what I'm supposed to do and, you know, hurl inanimate objects back and forth, and ask you about one specific aspect of the law and order issue which everybody's talking about, and which both Mr. Marchi and Mr. Proccacino have probably running for them as an issue. Something struck me and that was that Ronald Reagan was elected in California two and a half years ago, I guess, as a law and order candidate. I think that's, I mean that was an issue, I'm not trying to be nasty or twitish about it, and for instance he used as one of the examples of lawlessness ~~thaxx~~ the campus disorder issue. Now, in the two and a half years since 1966, I think it is genuinely fair to say that there has been more disorder on the college campuses in California than in any of the time~~xx~~ since before he came to office. And yet, his popularity among the people who were most worried about that issue is higher than it was when he was

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elected, primarily, I suppose, because he's taken a strong stand against it. Now, this is what's interesting to me. He hasn't controlled it, he hasn't stopped it, it has increased; and yet, what I think has ~~happened~~ happened, and I'd like to get your reaction, ~~xxxxxx~~ is the sense that what people are looking for, perhaps, <sup>or</sup> at least in part, is not so ~~much~~ much a man who, in fact, deals with the problem, but who expresses the same sense of outrage as his, as some of his constituents. Do you think that's unfair or misleading?

MA: Yeah, that is unfair.

GR: Okay.

MA: I think that there has been an enormous trend, a national trend of this disorder, from which California has not been exempt. ~~xx~~ I think things would have been much worse under say a Governor Lindsay of California, (LAUGHTER) than they were under Governor Reagan.

GR: But, that's interesting.

MA: Because of this difference in attitude.

GR: But that's interesting, because I mean again, you know,

I realize that I'm one in ~~xxxx~~ a sea, ~~xxx~~ here, but

(VOICE: AW!)

I would maintain, /sorry, another fish heard from.

Another fish heard from. I would really maintain that in fact there's been more disorder on the California

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campuses, whatever the attitudes, in fact, more disorder there thanon ~~xxx~~ college campuses of New York City. It just, in ~~xxx~~ measuring disorder, whatever you wanta say about how good or bad a job they've done as administrators, I really think that's a fair statement. And I'm wondering

MA: Well, I'm, you're isolating the college campuses. I would say that the educational situation in New York City under ~~My~~ Mayor Lindsay has broken down almost uniquely. I mean, they at least, the public schools were closed

BU: Well, I think there wasn't so much campus disorder  
is all  
in New York ~~was~~/because/the schools were ~~xx~~ closed.

(LAUGHTER)

MA: That does cut it down.

GR: That's funny, but it's not true. Now, you know, you did have San Francisco State closed for months, and ~~xxxx~~ you had Berkeley in absolute turmoil. And you

BU: Excuse me, at San Francisco State the strike was broken.

GR: After, but after, you see, that's what my ~~xxxx~~ point is, you see, after months ~~xxx~~ and months of agitation  
it wasn't,

BU: Oh, no,/on the contrary, on the contrary, Hayakawa kept San Francisco State open, is that correct, Mr. Coyne?

CO: Yes, it is.

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GR: ~~XXXX~~ In name only. You know,

MA: Well, there's a big difference, there's a big difference. I ~~think~~ think it's very important that the school that they did maintain classes. I think that it's impossible to exempt any place, Columbia or any place else from the assault, it's getting, the question is with the attitude ~~by~~ which it's met by the public authorities in charge. ~~xx~~ And I do think that Governor Reagan, I think, let me put it this way, I don't think that Hayakawa would have been able to keep San Francisco hadn't authority State open if he ~~hadn't had~~ had a public ~~authority~~ behind him in the person of Governor Reagan, who ~~was~~ is really very ~~xxx~~ strong on this issue.

GR: Willing to send in police when asked for?

MA: Yeah, that's right.

BREAK

BU: Uh, Miss Duffy.

DU: Well, I don't know if I've been influenced by too much Kennedyism or something, around the United States, I believe, I believe the Times quoted Teddy Kennedy as having kamikaze charisma, but in terms of Senator Marchi, do you think that he would be able to develop sufficiently as a candidate and appeal to the general populace in order to gain more votes than Proccacino?

MA: Yes. I would say this. Senator Marchi does not

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, as a  
come on strong as an individual/candidate. He is a  
very thoughtful, and terribly fair man. There was a,  
he's apparently gotten a bunch of letters from, at the  
close of every legislative session from ~~Mayor~~ Mayor  
Lindsay telling, expressing Mayor Lindsay's viewpoint  
that Senator Marchi has a, done a wonderful job for the  
city, in his, Senator Marchi's, role as ~~General~~ Chairman  
the Standing Committee of  
of/New York City Affairs, and I just absolutely begged  
him to read one of those letters on a TV debate with  
Mayor Lindsay, and he said oh, that wouldn't be fair.  
Now, he is not a combative ~~dx~~ kind of fellow. He was  
written up in the New York Times, when he announced  
his candidacy as a man with a reputation for integrity  
and extreme hard work. He is a very knowledgeable  
man. He knows the problems of the city, and he is very  
deeply committed with respect to them. I think that  
over a four-month period, during which there will be  
very major exposure that the depth, the solidity, the  
knowledge is going to come over, and that he is going  
to look to people, all ideology aside, as a man with  
the capacity to cope with some of the problems we have.  
I know in the New York State Legislature, he has the  
reputation, I remember ~~Senator~~ Senate Majority Leader,  
Walter Mahoney, when he was up there, saying to me that  
when they had a special session on the Liquor Law which

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was a ~~xxxx~~ terribly hot issue at the time, it just  
if  
~~xxx~~ looked as ~~though~~ there wasn't anywhere the  
Republicans could go that wouldn't just tear them apart,  
the guy they gave that problem to was John Marchi.  
He was the fellow that put it together, because the  
feeling was that everybody in Albany knew that whatever  
Marchi did there wouldn't be any political axe to grind.  
I do think that this the real integrity and depth and  
knowledge of this man is going to come over and that  
as the campaign wears on against a man, Mario  
Proccacino, who appeals on much the same issues that  
Marchi does, but in a much more simplistic kind of way,  
and on the other hand, Mayor Lindsay, who is a terribly  
glamorous fellow, but not an awfully good mayor, that  
Marchi ~~xxxx~~ is gonna look very good.

BU:

Mr. Coyne?

(LAUGHTER)

CO:

I guess that answers one of my questions./ I did hear  
someone rather highly placed in the Conservative movement  
say that Senator Marchi is ~~xxxxxx~~ our Eugene McCarthy.  
And there is some concern that he might not be  
campaigning as hard as he should be.

MA:

Oh, he campaigns awfully hard. It's just, he was as  
a matter of fact, he really, but, oh, I'll tell you the  
kind of thing he won't do. He didn't campaign at all  
until the legislative session was over. We couldn't



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even get him to New York City to announce his candidacy, he said there's business on up here, and I'll  
thanks,  
announce it from my office, ~~xxxx~~ but once he came down he campaigned very hard.

CO: Do you have specific problems in getting things about Senator Marchi into the press? Prominently featured?

MA: Yeah, I think so. Although, it was much harder before. He is now, after all, the only person who ever beat John Lindsay, that I know of, in an elective contest. So, he's much ~~xx~~ bigger news than he was. We've had serious problems in the past, and continuing problems, in terms of getting out ~~xx~~ some of the things that he has to say. I think it's fair to say, I think Mr. Greenfield won't think I'm being unduly combative or partisan, if I say that Mayor Lindsay has a very friendly press in New York City and that the day after, as a matter of fact, the day after the primary, they had a big thing on Mayor Lindsay reading poetry behind city, behind the Public Library

BU: What would you have done? (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE)

~~xxx~~ Mr. Greenfield.

GR: Well, let me ask you/then. A lot of your support comes from people who are now discovering to be this alienated Middle-class, Lower Middle-class, white working class, whatever you want to call it, people who traditionally

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vote Democratic, that you are now fed up to here, ~~in~~ in  
the  
~~xxxxxx~~ words~~xx~~ of an anonymous statesman, ~~xxxxxx~~

MA: Nixon.

GR: Oh, yes, Richard Nixon. ~~xxxx~~ That's right, with  
violence and lawlessness.

MA: As they should be.

GR: As they should be, right.

MA: Do you have a grudge against him?

GR: No, no, no ~~Richard's~~ grudge against Richard Nixon,  
he ~~hasn't~~ hasn't done anything. (LAUGHTER) Now,  
what, are you at all concerned that, if I'm not mistaken,  
your  
one of your/natural basis of outlook as a Conservative  
strong  
would be a very ~~strong~~ defense posture in the country.  
Now, what happens when the white working class discovers  
that in New York City, Mr. <sup>D</sup>uckley's figures in a news-  
~~xxxx~~ paper column to the contrary, these are the  
figures, that \$2,000 of taxes from ~~the~~ every family in  
New York, on the average, goes to the Military-Industrial  
Complex?

BU: He'd get mad at the Communists, wouldn't he?

GR: No, no. I doubt that. (LAUGHTER) No. You see, the  
Communists don't account for 20-billion dollars of  
missiles since 1950 that are non-functional. That's  
bad, bad contract, bad systems

MA: q Well, you know that MacNamara, he's ~~(UNINTELLIGIBLE)~~  
(UNINTELLIGIBLE)

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~~XXX~~ (LAUGHTER)

GR: in  
No, ~~xxxx~~ 1950, Robert MacNamara was not Secretary of Defense.

~~MAX~~ ~~Max had xxxxxxxx~~ (UNINTELLIGIBLE) (ALL TALKING)

GR: And between '52 and '60, in fact, it was Charlie Wilson, wasn't it? During most of those years, a good Conservative.

MA: A portion of them.

GR: Yes. And don't you think that that might, quite seriously, ~~xxxx~~ have you seen any (UNINTELLIGIBLE - BOTH TALKING SIMULTANEOUSLY)

MA: No, I think that there is a general feeling, ~~that~~ <sup>now</sup> there negotiated may have been this or that ~~badly implemented~~ <sup>have</sup> or implemented ~~negotiated~~ <sup>have</sup> procurement contract. I don't ~~know~~ the expertise to know, and I'm sure that your candidate doesn't have the expertise to know, either.

GR: ~~xxxx~~ Former (?) Budget Bureau Examiners is where the information comes from, who do have expertise.

MA: <sup>very much</sup>  
Well, no, they don't have/expertise on whether we've been buying good or bad missiles, but the, I think that there's a general feeling that, especially in terms of just the cold war's continuance, you see ~~that~~ very recently, in terms of whether ~~you~~ you want to look at Vietnam, or ~~xxxxxxx~~ Czechoslovakia, why, you know very well that we have a very major international menace, that's

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a continuing problem, and I think that these people, ~~xxx~~ as all other people reason, are aware that we simply have to be girded in such a way as to be able to cope with that problem. I don't think that the average person <sup>accepts</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ the basic cop-out, that we can't run the cities because we can't cope with the problems of the cities because we have a large defense budget, on any kind of a basis of analyzing the total resources that are available to the United States of America, after the defense problems are met, we have plenty of money left to cope at least as well as any nation or any society has ever coped with our basic problems. And our basic problems, of course, are very different(?)  
BREAK

BU: Miss Duffy.

DU: Uh, in terms of ideology, is the New York Conservative Party Conservative to the extent that they would wish the 15% figure that you quoted earlier votes for New York State to be from ultra-Rightwing, or do they prefer having it as some backlash, et cetera.

MA: Well, I don't think it's ultra-Rightwing or backlash. I think it's, as a matter of fact, I think that our vote potential in terms of the number of people in the State ~~and~~ the ~~xxx~~ percentage of people who agree with positions that the Conservative Party has taken is much greater than 15%. We get 15% after you erode away everything that

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we lose for not being able to spend any considerable amount of money on a campaign, and everything we lose for all the people who say well, gee, I really agree with them, but I'm throwing my vote away voting for a third party candidate. So, when you weigh those factors in and figure out what we get with the resources we bring~~xxxx~~ in and that don't-waste-your-vote syndrome, why, I think that we are away up, well, let's take 1968 for example, I think that we easily could have, uh, on the basis ~~xxx~~ just, if you just took a poll, what our Senate candidate was saying, and what the Democratic candidate was saying and ~~xx~~ what the Republican candidate was saying, that we would have, that we could have won on just an issue poll, not in the sense of perhaps the majority but certainly in the sense of getting 40 or 45% of the vote.

BU: Mr. Coyne.

CO: I'm, a minor point, I assume that one of your purposes in the Conservative Party is to bring out people, perhaps people who have scurried off into the fields of Liberalism back to the other Republican mainstream. Do you have any hope of bringing some of these cuckoos back? The Birchers, for instance?

MA: I, well, I would say this. I think that the Conservative, uh, you have a spectrum on the Right and on the

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trends

Left that kind of ~~xxxxx~~ off into the outer darkness, at a certain point. I do think that what has happened is that the Conservative Party in New York State, conservative candidates of the major parties in other areas around the country have demonstrated that the Conservative position can be meaningfully relevant to 20th Century American politics, and that this is tending to bring a lot of people away from the areas, you know, we never did impeach Earl Warren, he retired. And I think that people are beginning to trend in the direction of doing the things that are more politically meaningful. And when you get into that thinking, of doing things that are more politically meaningful, you also get ~~xx~~ to a point, I believe, of ~~moderating~~ moderating viewpoints that underlie your political commitment. And, Bob, so, I do think we're having that effect.

BU: Mr. Greenfield?

GR: Uh, speculation, now. Let's assume that, this is gonna tear Mr. Buckley's heart out. Let's assume I'm right about one thing, and that, in fact, what happens in the next three years,

BU: (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

GR: I know. (LAUGHTER) (UNINTELLIGIBLE) Let's assume that in the next three years, some of the trends that have most distressed Americans, whatever their ideology,

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at  
continue, despite Mr. Nixon's speeches ~~xx that~~ missile  
silos and other controversial places, let's just say  
that the war does go on at a high level of violence.  
Let's assume that there is continuing disorder on the  
college campus, for whatever reason, let's assume that  
inflation goes on, and then, let's assume that a man  
like Ronald Reagan in ~~xx~~ 1972 decides to challenge the  
President. Can you see circumstances under which the  
Conservative Party, with Mr. Nixon trying to occupy  
a broad middle ground, on which the Conservative Party  
would support a dump Nixon movement?

MA: I don't anticipate a dump Nixon movement. And I  
therefore don't anticipate

BU: Now, that doesn't answer the question. (LAUGHTER).

GR: Thank you.

BU: The question is do you see circumstances under which  
you would?

MA: Under which if there were, we would?

BU: Yeah.

MA: I, if there, I would say this, if there were you would  
suppose that for somebody like Governor Reagan to set  
out to dump President Nixon, he would have to be very  
sorely provoked. And if he were that sorely provoked,  
I assume that the provocation would be such that we'd  
be ~~xx~~ at least tempted to review the situation. But

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I don't anticipate Governor Reagan being that sorely provoked.

BU: Is that reassuring? ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (LAUGHTER)

GR: That's not the, uh, neither of those choices sets my heart a-panting, but I, it's just that, you see, without an being/ideological combatants ~~about~~ about it, for the moment, I have a sense in which despite the rhetoric of Richard Nixon and the stern deploring about, that his approach, such as it is, or is not, which is the key, is really not going to ~~not~~ meet these basic issues, because I don't think he has any real sense of what can be done about the roots of them. And I have a feeling that the same frustrations that have brought about a law and order trend in the country may and continue ~~to~~/affect every incumbent, not just Johnson and

MA: there's I think ~~xxxx~~ a degree to which these trends are beyond the reach of a, ~~xx~~ I think, political figure. But I think it's also true that what's ~~happening~~ happening is that an area of permissive in which, an error ~~is~~ rather of permissiveness in which Liberal political figures have played a very heavy role is now taking its toll. And I think that on that that President Nixon stands on fundamentally on our side rather than on your side. I ~~think~~ think that's what's got you so



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upset about ~~xxx~~ him. And I don't anticipate a situation in which he will be so ineffective ~~xxxx~~ at coping with these problems, that there will be a general repudiation. I do anticipate a situation in which neither he nor anybody else can completely control the flow of these events.

BU:

Thank you very much, Mr. Mahoney, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, good evening.

(APPLAUSE)

THEME

END OF TAPE