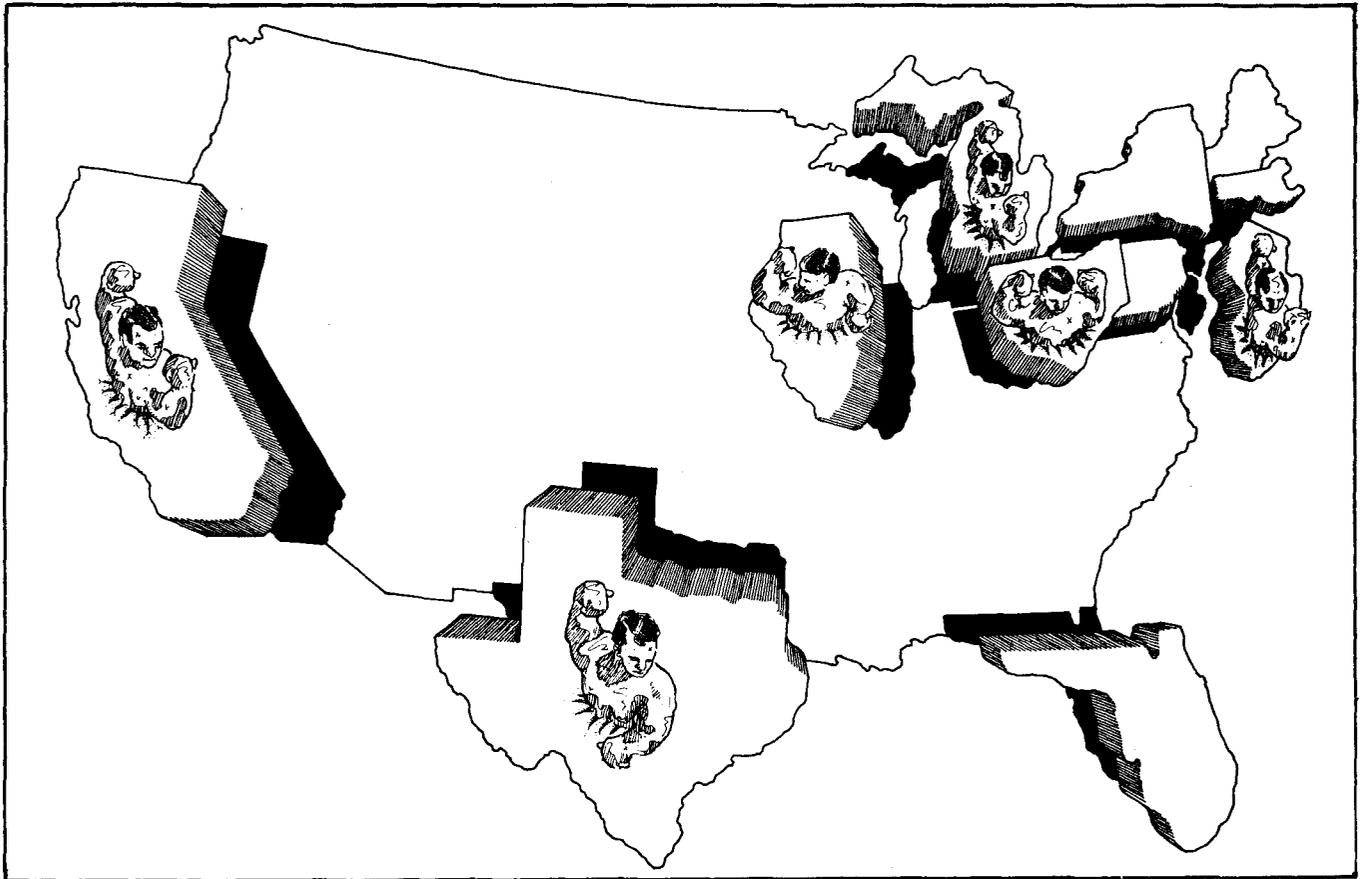


GEORGE MCGOVERN FACES a fight in November, but his prospects are not nearly so glum as the columnists make them out to be. According to a common theory the election will be decided by the vote

The Democrats: a winning strategy?

Wallace vote in November.

But the outcome in the other six megastates is uncertain. What follows is a brief resumé of recent political events in these states which may have some bearing in the forthcoming elec-



in six large states—New Jersey, Ohio, Texas, California, Illinois, and Michigan—with the vote in Florida, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania playing an important role.

These “megastates,” as Neal Peirce called them in his book, *The Megastates of America*, cast 56 percent of the popular vote for President in 1968. When united they have never failed to decide a Presidential election, and their combined electoral strength is but 11 votes shy of an electoral college majority. In 1968, the loss of only one megastate would have deprived Nixon of victory.

A prominent theory among political reporters holds that this year Nixon can be expected to sweep the South, mountain states and probably take the farm belt states. By tradition the President can pretty much be expected to

win in Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Indiana, Oregon; he has a good chance in Wisconsin, and in Delaware.

For their part, the Democrats probably can win Connecticut, Washington, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Maryland, West Virginia and South Dakota, if historic voting patterns hold true. In all, according to the theory, the Democrats will come out at best with 80 to 90 electoral votes among the smaller states. The Republicans, however, will not win sufficient electoral votes in their small state sweep to win the election. This leaves the vote in the 10 megastates as crucial. Of these McGovern, again on historical precedent, should take Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. Florida is ceded to Nixon—it is normally a Republican state in Presidential elections—and it is presumed Nixon will get the cross-over

tion. And at any rate the information can serve as a background guide for following the ensuing machinations.

- Michigan, with 21 electoral votes, was Democratic during Presidential elections in the last decade, although the margins in 1960 and 1968 were relatively slim. The busing issue has apparently changed political opinion drastically in Nixon's favor. In early 1971 polls showed Muskie leading Nixon 63–21 percent. Since busing became an issue, Nixon moved up in the polls, and in recent months he has enjoyed a slight lead over McGovern.

The Democrats' chief hope here is to neutralize busing and play up the economy. That is what the state attorney general Frank Kelley will try to do in his race for the Senate against Robert Griffin. But Nixon will do eve-

rything possible to keep busing alive, even to the point of dispatching federal representatives to Michigan to help citizens fight off court orders requiring busing.

- New Jersey, with 17 electoral votes, was the only big eastern state Nixon carried in 1968 (Nixon, 1.3 million; Humphrey, 1.2 million). McGovern is given a good chance to carry New Jersey this year. Governor Cahill, who has a reputation as a progressive Republican, wants to keep the state's moderate Republicans as far away as possible from Nixon. (And after Cahill's top political aide got indicted for graft, Nixon presumably will want to stay away from Cahill.)

One reason for Cahill's attitude is the black response to Nixon. Peirce writes, "In 1968, typical urban black precincts gave the Nixon-Agnew ticket only 12 percent of their vote. But Senator Case got 33 percent of the vote in 1966, and Cahill 30 percent in the 1969 governorship election."

In 1970 the Republicans set out to win the seat of Democratic Senator Harrison Williams, who was not especially well known in the state, and thought to be in political trouble because he had admitted to problem drinking. The Republican candidate, state chairman Nelson Gross, opened the predictable Nixon-Agnew law-and-order attack on Williams. Williams refused to reply to Gross and instead stressed unemployment. When Senator Ralph Yarborough was defeated in the Texas primary, labor swung strongly behind Williams, who stood to fill Yarborough's position as head of the Senate labor committee. Nixon and Agnew both stumped for Gross, but Williams won in a landslide with a 250,000-vote margin. Even in hard-hat areas such as Middlesex county, he won by 34,000 votes. After the election, moderate Republican Senator Clifford Case went after Gross for parroting the Nixon hard line on law and order, to which he attributed Gross's defeat.

- In Ohio, 26 electoral votes. McGovern has a modest chance. Nixon's plurality in the state declined from 240,000 in 1960 to 90,000 in 1968. The state Republican party has been embroiled in controversy and corrup-

tion. On the other hand, Democratic Governor John Gilligan is moderately progressive and well liked, and he should work hard for McGovern.

Ohio ought to be a Democratic state. A large population of eastern and southern Europeans and blacks are clustered in numerous cities. The business of the state is heavy industry and labor is unionized, but Ohio lacks a dominant city and there is no coalescing force for a Democratic vote. The labor unions go their own way, and are mostly interested in bread-and-butter issues. The state Democratic party is balkanized with local leaders pursuing their own interests.

Historically, Ohio is conservative; the press is solidly Republican. The businessmen know they are a small elite and work shrewdly to ensure they stay on top. In addition, under GOP boss Ray Bliss, the party was fashioned into an effective instrument for political conquest.

But in recent years Ohio has undergone changes. First of all, former Governor Rhodes' scheme to lure industry into the state with the slogan, "profit is not a dirty word in Ohio," backfired. He got in industry alright, but it was heavy, automated industry which contributed to unemployment.

Then the GOP was plunged into a major corruption controversy. Leading members of the party, including Governor Rhodes himself, were disclosed to have received campaign contributions from a Columbus firm called Crofters, Inc. Crofters had arranged for various companies, including King Enterprises of Denver, to receive hundreds of thousands of dollars in loans from the state treasury.

And so in 1970 Gilligan swept the state in his race for Governor, collecting a plurality of 340,000 votes. All statewide GOP candidates, save three, went down to defeat.

In Ohio, McGovern has put together a tight organization, built of former McCarthy and Humphrey people and including numerous well-to-do ladies from the suburbs. The latter generally vote Republican but are fed up with Nixon. The youth vote will be an additional factor for McGovern—especially in the Cleveland area.

- Illinois, 26 electoral votes, is another

key state where a variety of factors ought under ordinary circumstances to work in Nixon's favor. Nixon lost the state to Kennedy in 1960 by 8000 odd votes, but he beat Humphrey there by 200,000 votes in 1968.

The state is usually believed to be divided evenly with the Chicago metropolitan area going Democrat and downstate Republican. This, however, is no longer the case, and the Chicago suburbs, independent Republican in tendency, seem to hold the swing vote in the state.

Nixon should pull the traditionally strong downstate vote. Daley's trouncing in the Democratic primary suggests his machine is on the wane, and there should be a lower than usual vote in Cook County which should help the Republicans. More important, Nixon's foreign policy initiative will stand him in good stead with the independent-minded, moderate Republicans in Chicago's suburbs. On the other hand, these voters are switched off by the Agnew law and order and, if the Republicans engage in a smear, Nixon's suburban Chicago pluralities might be reduced.

Notwithstanding Nixon's strength, McGovern has a decent chance in Illinois. Adlai Stevenson II ran well in the Chicago suburbs in his Senate race as did independent-minded Democratic candidate for Governor Dan Walker in this year's primary.

Stevenson's Senate victory is an indication of what the Democrats might be able to repeat if things go well for them. Stevenson reconciled with Mayor Daley before the contest got seriously under way. He faced a typical Illinois Republican in Ralph Taylor Smith, backed by all the wealth of W. Clement Stone, the Chicago insurance mogul. Smith set out to link Stevenson with Jerry Rubin, and this attempt flopped with the upper-income, well-educated voters. Stevenson pulled 58 percent of the votes, winning a 545,000 majority. He ran well in the Chicago suburbs, and carried traditionally Republican cities such as Peoria and Rockford.

On the other hand, Republicans may play it smart this time by posting federal marshals at ballot boxes in Chicago to protect against voting "irregularities." This in itself might reduce the Democratic vote by a sizeable margin.

- Texas, with 26 electoral votes, is generally expected to go Republican, in large part because the Connally establishment appears to be tight with Nixon. But trends here are muddy, and things may not be so simple as they at first seem. Humphrey barely carried Texas in 1968, and neither Connally nor Johnson helped him out. At the time, Connally was viewed as a sort of de facto campaign manager for Nixon, a role the Governor piously denied. While Texas money is important in financing national Presidential campaigns, it usually goes to the Republicans anyway, and does not represent many votes within Texas itself.

There is always the possibility that the liberal, black, Chicano vote can be stitched together into a Democratic victory. And while this may appear a distant goal, events suggest it is not a total impossibility. The combined liberal vote should be sharply increased insofar as the courts recently tossed out a law requiring annual re-registration of voters. McGovern's biggest hope is that the sizeable student vote will turn out for him, and that he will not be openly boycotted by the AFL.

He can draw some encouragement from the surprise showing of liberal Sissy Farenthold in the race for Governor. Ms. Farenthold drew 28 percent of the vote in the first run, then lost a run-off to conservative moneybags Dolph Brisoe. Her near victory in the primary was a sharp rebuke by the voters to the Connally-LBJ establishment, whose candidate Ben Barnes got only 18 percent and dropped out of the race.

- In California, 45 electoral votes, McGovern's big hope is to organize the new youth vote, which is expected to increase the existing 14.2 million voters by some two million votes. Sixty percent of that two million is believed to be pro-McGovern. This could be sufficient to turn the state Democratic.

TO SPECULATE FURTHER: If Texas and Florida are given to Nixon, and McGovern has a fighting chance in New Jersey, Ohio, New York, California, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, then the two pivotal states, where everything is up in the air, are Michigan and Illinois. In both

states the "old politics," as the commentators call it, has not given way to the "new politics." In both places old-line political organizations, i.e., machines, unions, etc., have considerable influence.

The above detail suggests that McGovern probably will be helped, not hindered, by an all-out, Agnew-type smear campaign. In 1970 that sort of tactic simply irritated independent Republicans, turning them to independent Democrats. People do seem to be getting sick of politicians who say one thing, then do the opposite, masking the whole in slick media presentation. McGovern has good political instincts and an openness which should help to stand this stuff on its head.

But McGovern probably should be running more on the economy, less on the war. As a senator he was fairly weak in domestic policies, and while Nixon's domestic policies, such as they are, have generally failed, McGovern has not been at the forefront in attacking them. Last year, when urged to adopt a much more Naderite tone in domestic politics, McGovern refused, and insisted on concentrating his fire on foreign policy. McGovern will surely need all the help he can get from unions—weak or split as they may be—in states like New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois.

But in the end, McGovern's best hope for winning lies in the organization he built for the primaries, which in a state like Ohio is already regarded as a powerful political tool.

—JIM RIDGEWAY

pet explosion

THE AMERICAN HUMANE SOCIETY estimates that there are currently about 34 million dogs and 34 million cats residing in the United States, out of a total pet population of about 700 million, including everything from reptiles to raccoons to fish. That makes for about three animals for every person in America. New York City alone boasts some 600,000 dogs—or more dogs than there are people in the state of Delaware.

The American people feed these pets to the tune of \$1.5 billion worth of pet food every year, according to the pet

food institute. That's about twice as much as they spent on baby food. As for burial services, the National Association of Pet Cemeteries says there are currently 400 animal cemeteries around the United States. Buried in one of these small plots in Southern California is "Checkers" the pet dog of the Nixon menagerie who passed away a few years back.

last lash

DELAWARE RECENTLY became the last state in the Union to outlaw the public whipping post. Although there have been no whippings in Delaware in 20 years, whipping had been quite common until the 1930s for such crimes as wife-beating and picking pockets. Sentences usually ranged from 10 to 60 lashes with a cat o'nine tails.

instant justice

LOS ANGELES POLICE Chief Ed Davis has come up with a clever scheme for dealing with hijackers. Says he: "I would recommend that we have a portable courtroom on a big bus and a portable gallows, and after we get the death penalty put back in, we conduct a rapid trial for a hijacker out there and then we hang him with due process of law out there at the airport."

cicero grass

AMORPHIA, THE "Cannabis Co-operative," which is pushing for the repeal of all marijuana laws, reports it has learned that certain business interests in Cicero, Ill., are attempting to trademark the names "Acapulco Gold" and "Panamanian Red" for wines. It seems that *Trademark Alert*, a publication which keeps track of brand name applications, reported in its Sept. 17, 1971 edition that a Cicero outfit called "Triple Crown Enterprises" filed for the name on April 22, 1971. The applicants were identified individually as Salvatore Lombardo, Joseph Lombardo, and George Foley. Their hometown was once famous as the city controlled by Al Capone and the Chicago mob.

(Continued on Page 62)

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Seoul's Hired Guns

THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS who work with them in Vietnam speak respectfully of the "ROK Marines." Technically, ROK indicates their place of origin—the Republic of Korea (South Korea). But the Americans utter the term as if it were "Rock," and as though it referred to their physical conditioning and the state of their sensibilities: as soldiers they are brutal, licentious and they get results. Militarily, they are trusted by the American high command, which—in the current fighting—has assigned

them the responsibility of keeping the vital An Khe Pass open and preventing South Vietnam from being split in half.

Some 37,000 of these troops are presently engaged in South Vietnam. Referred to pretentiously as "allies," their involvement is said to arise from ideological commitment to the cause of freedom, national self-interest, or some other self-serving platitude. In fact, they are latter-day Samurai, hired guns of the Orient, who have sold their services to Washington for the duration.

To be specific, the normal salary of a ROK army private is \$1.60 a month. But if that private elects to serve in Vietnam, he can earn 23 times that amount, or \$37.50 a month. In one day, he earns almost as much as he would have made in a whole month had he remained in his homeland—courtesy, to be sure, of the American taxpayer. The middleman of this operation is the government of South Korea, which receives a kickback of well over \$300 million per year for the service.

by James Otis