

POLITICAL NUMBERS:

# The Emerging McGovern Majority

by Michael Rappeport

George McGovern is quietly but steadily moving into a position to capture a plurality of the first-ballot votes at the Democratic convention in July. With a victory in California's winner-take-all primary on June 6, I predict that McGovern will receive 1,180 to 1,200 delegate ballots on the first count at Miami. Since 1,509 votes are required for nomination, the other candidates will deny McGovern's bid to win on the first ballot, but he will be commanding the largest number of delegates—and the most committed ones—for the tough political bargaining on subsequent ballots.

My conclusion does not come from any complicated analysis of voter sentiment or political strategies, but from a simple counting of delegates. McGovern's first ballot total would break down as follows:

Committed through Wisconsin	100
California	271
About 75 per cent of the New York delegation	209
Indicated from caucuses in Washington and Minnesota	40
About 40 per cent of the midwest and mountain state vote (Oregon, Dakotas, Nebraska, Idaho, etc.)	100
Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island	120-140

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About 27 per cent of the vote in Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania	165
Southern delegates	75
Miscellaneous (Indiana, Maryland, Kansas, Hawaii)	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,180-1,200</b>

McGovern delegates are often being elected in unlikely places as a result of efforts by the best group of local organizations since F. Clifton White's Goldwater operation in 1964. For example, he is winning delegates in such states as Virginia, where he will get from 15 to 20, Georgia (7-12), and Kansas (12-18). (This "committed minority" strategy is ironic for a man who has done so much to make the party reflect popular majorities.) In addition, the McGovern campaign is focusing on congressional districts with clear liberal majorities (such as four of the major counties in New Jersey) or with large university populations (such as Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Columbus, Ohio). This strategy accounts for his projected 27 per cent of the delegates in Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

McGovern's best chances for the 300 additional votes he needs to win on later ballots are among Muskie delegates who liked McGovern but didn't think he could get the nomination, or who simply do not want Humphrey again. He should also pick up some scattered votes from delegates committed to "non-major" candidates like Shirley Chisholm.

# Nixon and His Staff: The View from Their Own Mirror

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a review by Suzannah Lessard

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With a little help from Herblock, Nixon and his cronies have become so firmly pigeon-holed that all but the crudest of after-dinner satirists have gone in search of more challenging victims. Two books from the other side provide a different and sometimes enlightening angle on the subject, along with a little healthy strain to eye muscles accustomed to viewing from the left. Richard Whalen's *Catch the Falling Flag*\* is a memoir of the author's days as a writer and advisor to Nixon during the '68 campaign. The book is a chronicle of disappointment: the candidate's tendency to side-slip into the gray zones of liberalism as opposed to reviving a true Republicanism of "unborrowed" ideas and strong, consistent stands finally drove the author away from the camp at the moment of victory. *Courage and Hesitation*,\* by Allen Drury, consists mostly of interviews of White House personnel. A big book, com-

plete with numerous, pleasing photographs by Fred Maroon, it bears all the marks of a gilded product aimed at the pro-Nixon market. Nevertheless, Drury has passed on exactly what was said to him, and while one does not find as much gristle as in Whalen, the cumulative effect of these bland interviews is a feeling of what these people are really like.

Nixon's failure in Whalen's eyes was his reluctance to deal straightforwardly with issues. Whenever there was a glimmer of serious thought it soon revealed itself as the old ad-man mentality. Whalen writes of one discussion between the candidate and his advisors: "All the while, Nixon listened closely, as though we were lawyers and he an appellate judge. At points of dispute, he stood outside the text, waiting to be persuaded to enter it. I soon discovered that he did not wish to be persuaded of the validity of our ideas. Rather, he sought guidance in the procedure that was the sum of his 'centrism'—the pragmatic splitting of differences along a line drawn through the middle of the electorate. The line could go Left or Right, depending on the persuasiveness of claims made for the popularity of

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\**Catch the Falling Flag*. Richard J. Whalen. Houghton Mifflin, \$6.95.  
*Courage and Hesitation*. Allen Drury. Doubleday, \$12.95.

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