

prospect. The Democratic bosses know that about the time CBS's Dan Rather makes a slip of the tongue, to say "Herbert H. . . er, I mean Bush," George is in deep kimche.

In the course of major crises, it is often the case that events beyond the control of political bosses and court decisions dispense long-overdue justice, a judgment from which there is no appeal. If someone has the occasion to write a future book on how George Bush was defeated in 1988, the author of that book will almost certainly refer to this principle of Greek tragedy.

The brokered convention is still on the front burner

by Mel Klenetsky

Michael Dukakis' 51-37% victory over Jesse Jackson in the New York primary, did not open the way for a Dukakis steamroller to the July National Convention of the Democrats. On the contrary, Dukakis' weaknesses as the Democratic Party standard bearer were confirmed, and there is ample evidence, in the aftermath of the April 19 New York race, that the brokered convention is very much a live option.

Massachusetts Governor Dukakis will get the Democratic nomination, only if George Bush appears in a very strong, unstoppable position going into the November election. Should the economy crumble, or should the various Justice Department scandals or the Iran-Contragate scandal threaten Bush, then the Democratic Party would opt for a stronger candidate than either Dukakis or Jackson—hence the brokered convention.

The New York primary showed Dukakis' weaknesses in many ways. First, only 12% of the electorate came out to vote, even after Mayor Koch's endorsement of Al Gore and subsequent antics heated up the Black-Jewish issue. Dukakis' vote was clearly a negative vote, an anti-Jackson rather than a pro-Dukakis turnout. Ten percent of those who voted for Dukakis, according to an ABC News poll, said they would shift to Bush in November. The same poll indicated that two out of five voters voted for Dukakis for negative reasons, accounting for Dukakis' strong showing among Catholics and Jews.

Dukakis has 1,048 delegates, Jackson 842, Gore 405, Simon 172, and Undetermined 623. Dukakis needs 2,081 delegates to win the nomination. The undetermined category consists of the uncommitted votes and the delegates of those candidates who have fully dropped out of the race, such as Gephardt. If Simon and Gore fully dropped out of the race, instead of putting their campaigns on hold, then Jesse Jackson would get the lion's share of the at-large delegates that Simon and Gore won. Forty-seven of Simon's at-large delegates would go to Jackson, and zero for Dukakis. If Gore fully

dropped out, Jackson would get 43 of his at-large delegates, compared to 35 for Dukakis.

At-large delegates are statewide delegates, assigned through the State Democratic Convention or State Democratic Committee, after the primary, to balance out the affirmative action requirements of the party. Simon and Gore's decision to withdraw from campaigning, but remain in the race technically, might be seen as a pro-Dukakis decision. On the other hand, Simon and Gore may be staying in the race in order to play power brokers in an upcoming brokered convention.

Two examples show how live the brokered convention option is. In Oklahoma the Democratic state chairman, Bill Bullard, soon after the Dukakis victory and Gore's withdrawal announcement, called on all of the Gore delegates to form a Unity slate behind Dukakis. Oklahoma Senator Boren, a prominent figure in the Senate Irangate hearings who was the first to describe the North-Pointexter operation as a "secret government," intervened and insisted that the Gore delegates go into the convention committed to Gore, not Dukakis.

Another large category of delegates is the superdelegates. One day after the Dukakis New York victory, the House Democrats selected 207 of their number who would form the Congressional superdelegates. Even with Dukakis' big win, these congressional delegates stayed publicly uncommitted rather than getting on a Dukakis bandwagon. Superdelegates consist of all of the members of the Democratic National Committee, the 25 Democratic governors, 80% of the Democratic House and Senate, and VIPs in the party such as former President Jimmy Carter. These 643 delegates are unpledged; they go to the convention with the option of voting for whomever they please.

Soon after the Dukakis victory, Democratic Majority Whip Tony Coelho from California called for Sam Nunn, the Georgia Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to offer himself as a vice presidential candidate-plus. The plus was the secretary of defense position as well. Wall Street correspondent Al Hunt called for Nunn to be named vice presidential candidate and secretary of state, since that position, in Hunt's estimation, was even more important than defense. Arkansas Rep. Berryl Anthony and former Virginia Governor Robb joined in the draft Nunn chorus. Nunn, Sen. Bill Bradley, and New York's Governor Cuomo are the figures most cited to emerge in a brokered convention. Perhaps the big hubbub over Nunn is his bid, not for a vice president's slot under Dukakis, but the beginning of his drive in a brokered convention.

In any case, the Democrats may be looking for a brokered convention, should Bush weaken, but they also fear the uncontrollable nature of such a convention. The Democratic Party no longer has the machines to discipline its delegates. Party chairman Paul Kirk, months ago, proposed a pre-convention summit to select a candidate prior to July. In a brokered convention, wild-card candidates such as Lyndon H. LaRouche can surface and become a significant factor.