



1972 MOCK CONVENTION JOURNAL

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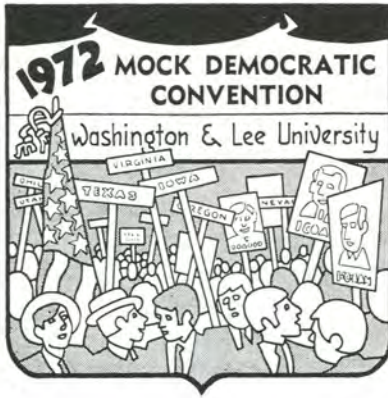
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1972 MOCK CONVENTION JOURNAL

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Cover design and cartoons by Mrs. Carol Block, wife of law student William K. Block, Jr.

Journal

Notes and Commentary

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

Of all the links that bind one student generation at Washington and Lee with those of other years, the Mock Convention holds a special place in the enthusiasm and interest of the University's alumni. Relatively few students enjoy the opportunity to participate in more than one Mock Convention, yet there is preserved a highly successful continuity of dedicated leadership and vigorous support from the students who plan and conduct the conventions every four years. We lay claim to the most authentic, the most carefully organized, indeed, the most useful of all collegiate mock conventions as a political barometer, and with thousands of other Washington and Lee alumni, I believe these claims are founded on fact and substance.

I commend the leaders and workers who have organized this 15th Mock Convention. It has been a difficult and challenging task, for just as every preceding Mock Convention has differed in varying degrees from its predecessors, so does this Convention set itself apart in substantial fashion from others. The political sophistication of today's students has a different dimension



*Washington and Lee's President,
Robert E. R. Huntley*

and orientation, and for the first time the majority of our students who engage in the mock balloting for the presidential nominee will have the opportunity and the responsibility for exercising the real muscle of their new franchise in November.

As one who was privileged to share in two Mock Conventions as a student, I envy you the excitement and genuine pleasure I know you will have. I wish you success in every aspect of the Mock Convention, especially in the unusually complex task of sustaining the Convention's record of accuracy in a most difficult political environment.

ROBERT E. R. HUNTLEY

FROM THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE 1972 MOCK CONVENTION

The 1972 Mock Convention will be like no other in the history of Washington and Lee University. That is an easy statement to make because of the usual turnover in the student population and the differing life-styles of what are called college generations, although they might be more correctly termed half-lives. The statement is true for more reasons than time or culture.

In previous years the Mock Convention was a reasonably close model of a relatively closed process. At most the students of Washington and Lee had to contact several dozen people in the outside world of politics and observe a few primary elections to learn the trends. That was still true even at the last Mock Convention. As the last election year unfolded life surpassed art in a way that left many young Americans demoralized, uncertain, and even afraid for the future. In political 1968 one abdication was followed by two assassinations. They were in turn followed by a three-way race for the Presidency that some felt offered a choice without meaning. Somehow the Nation lived on through these times—times that were interesting even if not exactly what we had hoped to see.

After what has happened or failed to happen in the country in the last

four years, it is no wonder that many young Americans do not approach politics with the same hope they did a decade ago. This skepticism is understandable and even healthy, but it cannot by itself solve our problems for us. We can pursue a more hopeful course if we understand that a nation achieves its destiny by exploring the possibilities open to it. Our political institutions are major avenues of that exploration. Every four years Washington and Lee intently studies the leadership selection process in order to learn what we can use to deal with our problems and how we need to change to accomplish that end.

MICHAEL CAMPILONGO
THOMAS GILLESPIE



*Mock Convention Co-Chairmen Thomas
Gillespie (left) and Michael Campilongo*

FROM THE EDITOR

The Mock Convention is one of the few traditions remaining on the Washington and Lee University campus. However, a long history and prestigious heritage will not secure the life of the Convention for the future. As students abandon traditional ways and the University itself undergoes change, many wonder whether interest will be sustained in this activity.

The key to the fate of the Mock Convention lies in the nature of the event itself. This is a dynamic under-

1972 Mock Convention

taking that invites the enthusiasm of participants and spectators alike. Certainly, it is an arduous task during the months of preparation, but the rewards are many. By the time the Convention begins and the delegates take their seats, the process of nomination has ceased to be a chore. Students of varied interests— aspiring politicians, future members of apathetic Middle America, and counter-culture revolutionaries— can find the Convention experience most enjoyable. The complexity and elements of uncertainty that go into every Convention make each one different and exciting.

The Mock Convention gives students a first hand look at a fundamental institution in American politics, and provides unusual entertainment at the same time. For these reasons, the Convention will remain an integral part of Washington and Lee. It will indeed be a sad day for the United States and W&L when students lose all interest in Ameri-

can politics, or become too “so-phisticated” to enjoy themselves. We can hope that day will never come.



Journal Editor Robert M. Turnbull

A few words about this magazine. *The 1972 Mock Convention Journal* is published to tell the story of the Convention, and to publicize the event to others outside the Washington and Lee community. Hopefully, they will share with us a high regard for this realistic student laboratory in political science.

Just as the real national convention must go to the business community and loyal friends for financial backing, so too has this Mock Convention. The support and encouragement of our advertisers, patrons, and contributors is greatly appreciated.

Special thanks go to Mr. Bob Yevich and the staff of the Journalism Laboratory Press, to the staff of the *Journal*, and to the officers and state chairmen of the 1972 Mock Convention for their help and cooperation in compiling this magazine.

ROBERT M. TURNBULL



The 1972 Mock Convention:

*A whole new approach
to an old game—
with new rules, new
participants . . .
and new problems.*



The Mock Conventioneers at Washington and Lee University will try their hand at political forecasting again in 1972, but the crystal ball appears murkier than ever. With a record of 10 correct nominations in 14 attempts over the past 64 years, the W&L delegates will try to piece together the Democratic Presidential puzzle in what may be the most hotly contested bid for nomination of the century. But the number of Democratic candidates is not the only problem. Numerous presidential primaries of varying political significance and revised National Democratic Convention rules add further complication to the affair. Despite these obstacles, the students are optimistic that their efforts will once again produce the real candidate.

The 1972 Washington and Lee Mock Convention hopes to duplicate the success of former Conventions, and make its outcome a reflection of the national party sentiment, not merely a popularity pool of the Mock delegates. Every four years the W&L students have undertaken, with considerable success, to predict what the party out-of-office will do at its Presidential nominating convention. The realism of this Convention makes it the most prestigious and accurate Mock Convention in the nation, and therefore the most respected by the national politicians. Since 1948, no Mock Convention has been wrong but none has been so difficult as the upcoming contest.

DARK CLOUDS hover on the political horizon and may obscure the view for the W&L forecasters. The field of Presidential hopefuls grows and contracts with each successive primary, and has numbered as many as twelve. The unusually large number of primaries have dubious value, and may only tend to confuse matters further. The fact that eleven primaries take place after the Washington and Lee Convention on May 5-6, make the vote allocations of the Mock delegates even more uncertain. Compound this confusion with a revised set of party rules and the representation of the expanded electorate of 18-21 year olds among the delegates, and one can begin to understand the complexities of the 1972 Democratic Convention.

1972 Mock Convention

The quantity of candidates would seem to indicate a surplus of leadership material in the Democratic Party. But perhaps the opposite is more true, that there is no dominant figure to bear the party standard in '72. This inner-party warfare makes it difficult for the W&L delegates to determine which candidate is gathering the support necessary for nomination. Among the announced candidates are Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Sen. George McGovern, Sen. Edmund Muskie, Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Mayor John Lindsay, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, Gov. George Wallace, Rep. Wilbur Mills, Sen. Henry Jackson, and ex-Governor Terry Sanford. Mayor Sam Yorty and Sen. Vance Hartke had entered the race, but dropped out early.

The number of candidates is only surpassed by the number of state primaries being held. There will be twenty-four primaries before the National Democratic Convention in Miami, and each one has different political significance. Some merely select delegates, while others bind the delegates to the presidential preference winner. There are many different schemes to accomplish these ends, resulting in a political analyst's nightmare. Furthermore, almost half of the primaries will be held after the W&L Convention, including those in the important states of California and New York. Therefore the students must make calculated predictions about the outcome. In cases like Cali-

fornia, the Mock delegates must also forecast how the real delegates will vote on the second and successive ballots after being released from the first ballot preference binding to the primary winner.

The W&L Conventioners must also consider the delegate selection process and internal operations of the National Convention. The Democratic Party has made extensive studies into these facets of the nominating process. Representative Donald M. Fraser chaired the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection of the Democratic National Committee, while Representative James G. O'Hara headed up the Commission on Rules. The guidelines suggested in the reports of these two committees, and adopted by the National Committee, are intended to "assure that the Democratic National Convention will be representative, open, deliberative, and fair" (*Congressional Record*, October 20, 1971). "The reforms cover the entire range of activities surrounding the nomination of the party's presidential and vice presidential candidates. Together . . . they comprise the most sweeping reform effort ever undertaken by a major political party."

Among the most significant reforms are the revision of proportional delegate representation to the Convention, and guidelines to eliminate discrimination by sex, age, race, color, creed, or national origin in party affairs. The number of delegates at the 1972 National Convention will be approximately 3000. According to O'Hara's report, "One half of the Convention votes shall be allocated to the States and District of Columbia on the basis of population," and "the other half . . . on the basis of the vote cast for the Democratic nominee for President in the 3 preceding Presidential elections." The guidelines concerning discrimination are designed not only to encourage participation in the delegate selection process by people of all races, but also by both men



"Whatever You Do, Don't Forget To Clear The Hurdles."

and women and by the newly franchised 18-21 year old voters.

These reforms represent reactions to the voter resentment of the closed slate of appointed party delegates in the past and evidence of pressure from political bosses in determining the Convention's candidate choice. The 1968 Democratic Convention saw the old delegate selection process challenged, and the party has acted through the O'Hara and Fraser committees to correct the faults. Reid P. Chambers and Ronald D. Rotunda have completed a detailed analysis of these weaknesses in the convention process ("Reform of Presidential Nominating Convention," *Virginia Law Review*, March, 1970). They call for action by Congress and the national political parties "requiring national convention delegates from each state to be selected by direct popular election" as a remedy to the problem. The work of the McGovern Commission (forerunner of Fraser's committee) is characterized as a "less innovative reform, retaining the representative processes which culminate in state conventions," and one which tends to "preserve—albeit in less severe form—many of the inadequacies of the present system."

Regardless of whether or not the

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Scene from the 1968 Convention

Journal

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new party guidelines completely solve the representation problem, it is predicted that they will have considerable impact on the Convention's outcome. The Washington and Lee Mock Convention will have to reflect these new guidelines in its voting patterns in order to achieve an accurate nomination, and thereby serve as a testing ground for the party reform.

A FEW VARIATIONS from the example of the National Democratic Convention will be allowed, however, in the Mock version. The O'Hara Commission on Rules adopted a guideline prohibiting demonstrations for any reason during the Convention proceedings. The Co-Chairmen have indicated that this rule will not be followed in the W&L Convention. All work and no play would make the Convention a dull affair.

The student balloting for Vice President will not utilize the same careful procedures and accurate credentials as are employed in the Presi-

dential nomination. The choice of Vice President will reflect more student sentiment than that of the President.

Student sentiments will also prevail in the formulation of the platform for the Mock Convention. The

Platform and Resolutions Committee, chaired by Dee Slaughter, has drawn up a lengthy set of resolutions to be presented to the Convention for approval. Slaughter admits that the

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The Steering Committee discusses plans for the upcoming Convention.

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1972 Mock Convention

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proposals reflect a point of view that is "a little left of center," and one that is obviously idealistic. However, the Committee has tried to reflect what they feel are the sentiments of W&L students, and has drawn up planks designed to achieve a "truly integrated society."

The proposals on domestic politics ring of democratic socialism. A model society is first presented, and then complemented by planks designed to work toward this goal. They include proposals on such topics as the environment, victimless crimes (drugs, gambling, prostitution), women's rights, civil rights, technology, amnesty for draft "evaders," racism, poverty, prison reform, abortion laws, and mass transit.

The section on foreign policy was described as a "non-topical overview of foreign affairs." It examines the international economic relationships, the role of U.S. monetary and military aid, the future of nuclear arms, and



Finance Directors Charles Stone (left) and David Walsh

the problem areas of the world today.

The W&L Mock Convention will not try to duplicate the size of the real National Convention. Instead it will be scaled to one third that size, requiring about 1000 delegates.

OTHER AREAS of the Mock Convention program have received equally

deliberate preparation. Facilities Chairman Lewis Hannah has made elaborate plans to convert the new Doremus gymnasium into a convention hall for the two day affair. In addition to seating the mock delegates, provisions have been made for the news media and outside guests to get a good view of the Convention from the balcony galleries at either end of the gym. The traditional Parade will also be a part of the proceedings again this year, under the supervision of Bill Andrews.

Finances have been a major concern of the Convention leaders from the very first. The Mock Convention is probably unique among student activities in that it is designed to pay for itself. Aside from considerations such as the use of the gym and adjusting the class schedule on May 5, the University provides no assistance in the venture. Funds have been secured from a student body levy, contributions of parents and alumni, and advertising revenue from the *Journal*. Excluding expenditures of the indi-

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Mock Convention

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vidual state delegations, the 1972 Mock Convention is expected to cost over \$12,000. The students realize another aspect of the real political world in this Convention, the difficulty of raising funds. However, Finance Directors David Walsh and Charlie Stone and various state chairmen have been equal to the task.

Women delegates have been solicited from area colleges, Mary Baldwin,

Sweetbriar, Randolph-Macon, and Hollins, to add their voice to the W&L Convention. Their presence will help create a more realistic model of the National Convention. Georgia D. Robert, an exchange student from Mary Baldwin, is coordinating these visiting students and finding places for them among the state delegations.

A Black caucus will also be represented in the Convention. Black W&L students will have their views aired in this political forum and will help determine the Convention nominee.

Robert L. Ford is the chairman of this group.

The 1972 Washington and Lee Mock Convention will depart somewhat from the hoopla and traditional politics of the past. The students are more interested in all the different facets of the political process, and not just the outcome. The Mock Convention affords the opportunity for students to get outside the narrow confines of the classroom and take a close-up look at a vital political apparatus, the national party convention.

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The Washington and Lee *Law Review* is in the process of publishing its first "Fourth Circuit Review." This annual issue will discuss significant cases decided in the jurisdictions of the Fourth Circuit.

The Legal Research Association of the School of Law continues its expanded service of providing research assistance to attorneys in many states.

The Burks Moot Court Competition Finals will be held the afternoon of May 12th in connection with Law Day Weekend activities. On May 13th Louis B. Sohn will be the Tucker Lecturer speaking on "The Impact of Technological Changes on International Law."

Additional information regarding the above organizations may be obtained by writing the Washington and Lee University School of Law, Lexington, Virginia 24450.

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The Candidates

The 1972 Democratic Mock Convention will be sparked by an impressive list of candidates aspiring to the nomination of their party. Twelve prominent Democrats have announced their candidacy, and their number alone should pave the way for an exciting Mock Convention. Although the outcome of the primaries may affect the list, the following Democrats head the list of candidates announced as of March.

EDMUND S. MUSKIE, 57, is currently a U.S. Senator from Maine. The former Governor and state Representative in 1968 was the Vice Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. His current slogan is "A new beginning," and he calls for a politics of trust. Although a late-comer in his opposition to the Vietnam War, he now calls for a rapid troop withdrawal. Sen. Muskie also has a very impressive ecology record.

Muskie is currently the front-runner, doing well in the polls, and is accumulating key early endorsements from party leaders. He makes a good

television appearance, giving an image of sincerity and honesty. However, he would be threatened if some of his early support proved superficial. Early primary defeats, such as the one he suffered in Florida, could also help to derail his political bandwagon. He has aroused some opposition from the left and from some Blacks, and his temper might pose a problem. However, Sen. Muskie is



Sen. Hubert Humphrey

definitely showing the momentum that could lock up the nomination if he can survive the unusual number of primaries.

Another top contender is Minnesota Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, 60. He was Mayor of Minneapolis and served as Vice President during the Johnson administration. In 1968, he nearly defeated Richard Nixon in his bid for President. Humphrey is now trying to dispel a "loser" image. He has reversed his earlier stance on the war and now calls for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. A long-time liberal and aggressive campaigner, he has staunch allies among party regulars and organized labor. However, many consider him over the hill, and he is frequently associated with President Johnson's Vietnam policy and the violence surrounding the 1968 Democratic Convention in *Chicago*. Currently, Sen. Humphrey is running second to Muskie in the polls.

Hailing from Washington state is U.S. Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, 59,

who served in the House of Representatives from 1941-1953 and was Democratic National Chairman in the 1960 Presidential campaign. Although a domestic liberal, Sen. Jackson is a hard-liner in foreign policy who maintains that the "left wing should be expelled from the Democratic Party." Often called the "Senator from Boeing," he is noted for his emphasis on national defense.

The major right-centrist among the candidates, Sen. Jackson appeals to more conservative Democrats and holds a strong pro-labor and pro-Israel image. However, to many, Henry Jackson is an unknown. He is hurt by his lack of charisma, his failure to build a strong campaign



Sen. Henry Jackson

organization, and his poor showing at the polls. Nevertheless, he is considered among the top three contenders.

Senator GEORGE S. MCGOVERN of South Dakota, 49, served in the House of Representatives from 1957-1961 and ran briefly for the Democratic nomination for President in 1968 after *Robert Kennedy's death*. As a leading party reformer, he was one of the first to question the Indo-China war, declaring the war to be the major cause of economic troubles. His



Sen. Edmund Muskie



Sen. George McGovern

present platform calls for immediate withdrawal with increased domestic spending.

Sen. McGovern is well-regarded by liberals for stands on the war, hunger, and party reform. He was the first to announce his candidacy and has been building strong grass-roots organizations. However, he has been branded as a one issue candidate, and plagued by an ineffectual image. Further hurt by the entrance of New York Mayor John Lindsay, Sen. McGovern has failed to move up in the polls. Nonetheless, he bears watching.

The current Mayor of New York, JOHN V. LINDSAY, 50, served in the House of Representatives from 1959-1965 and was a life-long Republican until he switched parties last summer. Some consider him a populist-comelately in his attack upon Washington power brokers. He is generally considered a champion of the cities and minorities. Mayor Lindsay calls for immediate withdrawal from Indo-China.

John Lindsay's terrific appeal in the media has been reflected by his strong showing at the polls. However, he has been opposed by many party factions including George Meany. Lindsay's city hall record and his sudden party switch may also haunt him.

The outspoken Governor of Alabama, GEORGE C. WALLACE, 52, returns to seek the Presidency after winning an impressive ten million votes as an independent candidate in 1968. Gov. Wallace emphasizes a sort of

neo-populism, trying to minimize the race issues. He attacks President Nixon on the busing issues and condemns Washington bureaucrats and the economic elite. He is an advocate of strong national defense.

Gov. Wallace seems to have started with a solid block of supporters and could win many of the crowded primaries with less than a majority of the vote. However, to many, Wallace retains an extremist image, and most believe that he is only using the Democratic primaries to influence the Convention before he launches another third party effort. His overwhelming victory in the Florida primary indicates that once again the Alabamian will have a force to be reckoned with in the Presidential campaign.



Gov. George Wallace

Another face returning from 1968 is that of Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY of Minnesota. Sen. McCarthy is well known as a Vietnam dove and a champion of women's rights and welfare reform. The basic issue for 1972 will be "the integrity of the democratic process," in the Senator's opinion.

McCarthy seems to command some nostalgic support from his 1968 followers, and his disdain for traditional politics remains as an attraction to some. However, the war is less of an issue than in 1968, and the Senator seems to have lost much of his former youth support. Showing little real strength at the polls, he is not considered to be a major contender for

the nomination. Some suspect that he will attempt a third (or fourth, as the case may be) party effort.

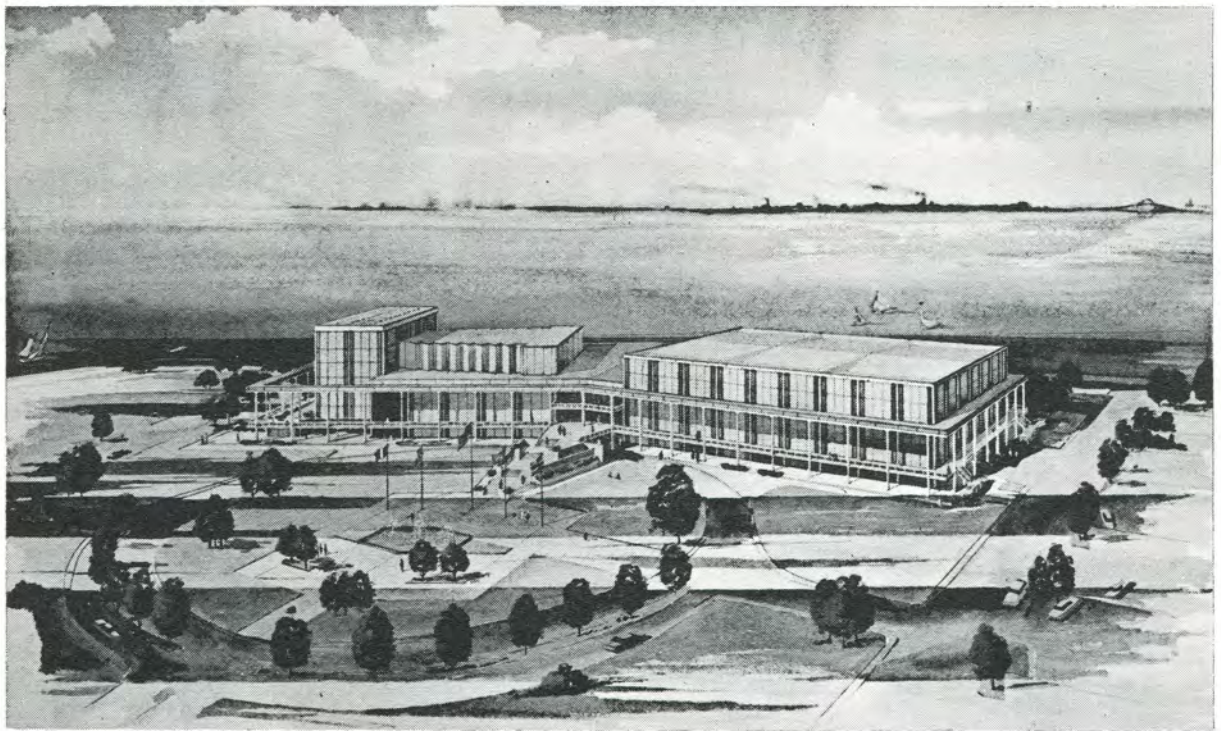
The only woman in the race is the U.S. Representative from Brooklyn, New York, SHIRLEY A. CHISHOLM, who served in the New York state legislature from 1965-1969, and was the first Black woman ever elected to Congress. In her campaign, she stresses the role of Blacks and women in society and at the Democratic Convention in particular. She is a major proponent of the vetoed child care measure. Opposition to the Vietnam war is the mainstay of her foreign policy.

As the only woman and the only Black running, Shirley Chisholm is counting on support from women activists and blacks. However, she is more of a symbolic candidate than a credible one, as she lacks the support of many Black leaders, and must vie with Lindsay and McGovern for the liberal vote.

There has been considerable response to the movement to draft Congressman WILBUR MILLS as a candidate for the presidency. The 63 year old representative from Arkansas and Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee has attracted wide support from across the nation and especially from his home state. Although not an announced candidate, it appears certain that his name will be placed in nomination at the Democratic Convention.

The latest entree to the Democratic race is the ex-Governor of North Carolina, TERRY SANFORD. As the current President of Duke University, he is a popular favorite in his native state, and commands much respect among national Democrats. Although his bid for the presidential nomination may fall short, some suspect that the campaign exposure will give him a good chance at the Vice President spot.

Mayor SAM YORTY of Los Angeles and Indiana Senator VANCE HARTKE round out the list of Democratic candidates, but both of these men withdrew from active campaigning after the New Hampshire primary. Their nomination at the Convention appears doubtful.



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State Chairmen Vital To The Convention's Success

by JOHNNY E. MORRISON

Many intricate problems are confronted whenever one tries to undertake something resembling the Mock Convention, and these problems must be solved before the Convention starts. From the Chairman of the Convention on down to the members of the state delegations, everyone must make a total commitment if the Mock Convention is to succeed.

If one thinks that the Mock Convention can be organized simply and with apathetic state chairmen, he is totally mistaken. The state chairman is one of the most important offices to be considered. The selection of the state chairmen is done with care because they are the battery of the Convention. If a state is represented



Maine's Chairman Mike Agee will also nominate Sen. Edmund Muskie at the Convention.

by a chairman who lacks organizational ability, then that state will not be able to make a significant contribution to the Convention.

The first task of a state chairman is to organize his delegation and try to show it the importance of being a body of workers dedicated to making their state the best organized delegation at the Convention. The state delegates must be volunteers who are willing to work because the work and the pressure only increase as the Convention day approaches. When one wonders how a state such as California—with its ninety-plus delegates—functions in an organized manner, further examination will reveal

the many facets of a state delegation and the various committees which can keep everyone busy.

There are many responsibilities which each state delegation is charged with. The major one which each state bears is that of money. Whenever the word money is mentioned, people sometimes tend to become uneasy. The state chairmen are not immune to this feeling of uneasiness because after all, they too are human. The budget for each state includes expenses for stationary and posters, telephone calls, and accommodations for visiting dignitaries. There are also expenses for various parties and entertainment festivals carried on by the state delegations. Each state is responsible for a float representing that state in the Parade. This involves further expense since the cost of the floats ranges up to one hundred dollars.

One of the problems that a state chairman confronts is lack of knowledge about his state's political process. A state chairman usually remedies this by performing as much research as possible about the state's political affairs. While this process is in progress, the state chairman may be confronted by political leaders and party chairmen of his state who are reluctant to furnish the information which he needs. The reasons for this type of reaction vary, but the most prevalent one is the lack of time that the real political leaders and state chairmen have to deal with student conventions. Most of these men are professionals—lawyers, businessmen, doctors, etc.—and are always pressed for time. This handicap was partially alleviated this year with the help of Virginia's Democratic State Chairman, Mr. Bill Thomas. He facilitated making contacts with State Chairmen from other states.

The political mood of the state is also of great importance to the state chairman. It is the duty of the state chairman to know how the state he represents feels about certain issues and each candidate's attitude towards these issues. Most of this information



Ben Sherman heads up the Humphrey forces as the State Chairman from Minnesota.

is gathered by talking to the political leaders and state party chairman from each state. Another path is by reading the state's major newspapers and trying to determine which issues are "hot" in the politics of that state. This information will help guide the state through successive ballots at the Convention when it may become necessary to switch the state's support to a different candidate.

The true mark of excellence of the Mock Convention is its ability to represent the many different sectors of the political society. Here at the W&L Mock Convention we have 1000 students trying to forecast how the Democratic delegates, representing millions of Americans from all walks of life, will vote in their National Convention. Mike Campilongo, Co-Chairman of this year's Mock Convention, summed up the main goal of the Convention as being "able to be as diversified as possible, to be a true representative of a diverse society."

Although the students who make up this Mock Convention are not as diverse as the American people, their attempt to exemplify the diverse society will be successful if they can correctly identify the real 1972 Democratic Presidential candidate.



Gary Avery (left) and Russ Fletcher are the Co-Chairmen for Georgia and the hosts of Keynoter Jimmy Carter.

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Lee Thalheimer
Bob Gatling

Bliss Hicky
Greg Wilson
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Woody Ray
Cal Seaton
Paula Turner
Libby Darwin

1972 Convention To Be Held In New Gymnasium

by BENJAMIN G. PHILPOTT

This year the Mock Convention will be held in the newly completed 3 million dollar addition to Doremus Gymnasium. It is an outstanding facility which houses such sports as handball and wrestling, and the new swimming pool in which the NCAA Small College Division Swimming Championships were held in March of this year.

The basketball court will be the Convention floor. The speakers platform will be constructed at the West end of the floor. Directly behind the platform is the wrestling room, which will be transformed into a lounge for the keynote speaker and the important platform guests. To avoid confusion, these people will be ushered in up the back steps.

The Convention delegates and other persons attending the Convention will be admitted through the side and front doors. No one will be admitted to the Convention without a pass. The

balcony at the East end of the court will be reserved for the use of the members of the news media.

The floor itself will be covered with rows of folding chairs in which most of the delegates will sit. The first rows of the bleachers will seat those delegates who do not have places in the chairs, while behind them will sit the guests of the University and the Convention.

Parking is expected to be one of the major problems of the Convention. The lot behind the old freshman dorm will be reserved for honored guests and visitors. Student delegates will be able to park in any of the lots surrounding the gymnasium, but once these are filled, the delegates are on their own.

The problem of unauthorized persons gaining entrance to the Convention floor is expected to be slight. This is a bit of optimism brought on by the hope that most of the University's students will be participating in the Convention.



Facilities Chairman Lewis Hannah

Probably the biggest problem expected is one indicative of the spirit of Washington and Lee. (That probably should be spirits). Due to the transfer from the old gym into the new, smoking and drinking will not be allowed on the floor this year. This rule is practically unenforceable without Gestapo-like tactics, so everyone's cooperation and adherence to this rule will be appreciated.



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CONVENTION

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1972

PARADE,

beginning at 12:00 noon, will follow South Main and Washington Streets to the University.

FIRST SESSION:

Convention called to order, 3:00 p.m.

Pledge of Allegiance

National Anthem

Invocation

Greetings to the Convention by the
Honorable Charles F. Phillips, Jr., Mayor of Lexington.

Call for Convention

Temporary Roll of the Convention

Election of the Temporary Chairman

Authorization of the Committee on Credentials, Rules and Order
of Business, and the Committee on Resolutions.

Introduction of the Temporary Chairman

Introduction of the Keynote Speaker

Keynote address by the Honorable James E. Carter, Jr.,
Governor of the State of Georgia.

Report of the Permanent Organization Committee by the
Honorable Jeffrey T. Twardy, Chairman of the
Permanent Organization Committee.

Election of the Permanent Officers of the Convention.

Benediction

Recess

SECOND SESSION:

Convention called to order, 7:30 p.m. by the Permanent Chairman.

Report of the Committee on Credentials by the
Honorable Frederick R. Franke, Jr., Chairman of the
Committee on Credentials, Rules and Order of Business.

Report of the Committee on Resolutions by the Honorable Dee H.
Slaughter, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Roll Call of the State Delegations for nominations for
President of the United States.

Adjournment

SCHEDULE

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1972

BALLOTING SESSION I:

Convention called to order, 9:45 a.m.,
by the Permanent Chairman.

National Anthem

Invocation

Nominations for President of the United States

Roll Call of the State Delegations for selection of a candidate for
President of the United States.

Appointment of the Committee to Notify the Candidate for
President.

Recess

BALLOTING SESSION II:

Convention called to order, 2:45 p.m.,
by the Permanent Chairman.

Roll Call of the States Delegations for nominations for
Vice President of the United States.

Nominations for Vice President of the United States

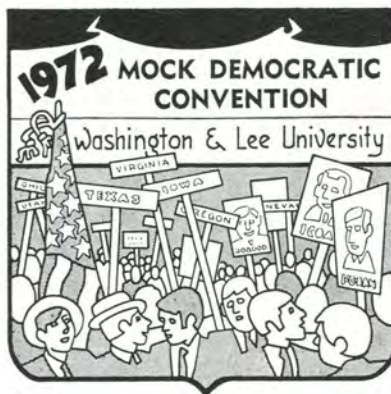
Roll Call of the State Delegations for selection of a candidate for
Vice President of the United States

Appointment of the Committee to Notify the Candidate for
Vice President

Acceptance Speech by the Candidate for President

Benediction

Adjournment *sine die*





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For the full picture, read both the Richmond Times-Dispatch and The Richmond News Leader.

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Scenes from Past Parades: The Florida float of 1948 (left); A display of Kentucky's finest products on a float from 1956 (top left); The riverboat (top right) was among the most elaborate floats in the 1964 Parade; The 1956 entree of the Virginia Delegation (right).



Traditional Parade Scheduled For Noon On Friday, May 5

The nomination of a Democratic Presidential candidate is the most important part of the Mock Convention. But the most spectacular event promises to be the Convention parade, which will wind its way through the main streets of Lexington on Friday, May 5. Many floats, numerous college and high school bands, majorettes, novelty acts and other interesting exhibitions will be part of the show. In past Mock Conventions, the parade has drawn crowds of 20-30,000 to tiny Lexington, and has received widespread news coverage on national as well as state and local levels.

Floats representing the various states and the major Democratic candidates will total fifty-five. Entries by area women's colleges (Hollins, Sweetbriar, Mary Baldwin, and Randolph-Macon) and various local organizations will increase the number of floats to about ninety. The various entries will vie for three cash prizes to be awarded by the Parade Committee after the parade. Miss Virginia is expected to be featured in the Virginia Delegation entry.

Among the numerous bands in the

parade will be the much-touted "Highty-Tighties" of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and the Norfolk State College band. The Georgia Delegation and various area high schools will also contribute bands, and it is hoped that there will be one for every ten floats. Area high schools will also be represented by marching groups such as the "Cobras" from Salem, Virginia and the "Top Hats" from Fairfield. Individuals and groups from the Lexington area will also contribute novelty and horse acts and at least one antique car. The local



Members of the Parade Committee survey the route. Above are (l. to r.) John Folsom, Bill Wallace, Chairman Bill Andrews, and Bliss Hicky.



The Alabama "train" highlighted the 1968 Parade.

Merchants' Association will contribute the bunting and enter a float.

The assembly point for the parade is the field at Lexington High School on the southern edge of town. At noon the various groups will begin down Wallace Street to Main Street. Turning north on Main, the parade will go through the heart of the Lexington business district. Then it will turn westward at Washington Street and proceed past the Washington and Lee University campus to be reviewed by a stand of dignitaries located near the home of the President of the University. On the stand will be the President, Robert Huntley, Governor James E. Carter of Georgia, the Deans of the University, the parade marshal, and Convention notables. The parade will disburse shortly after passing in review. The entire affair is to last about an hour.

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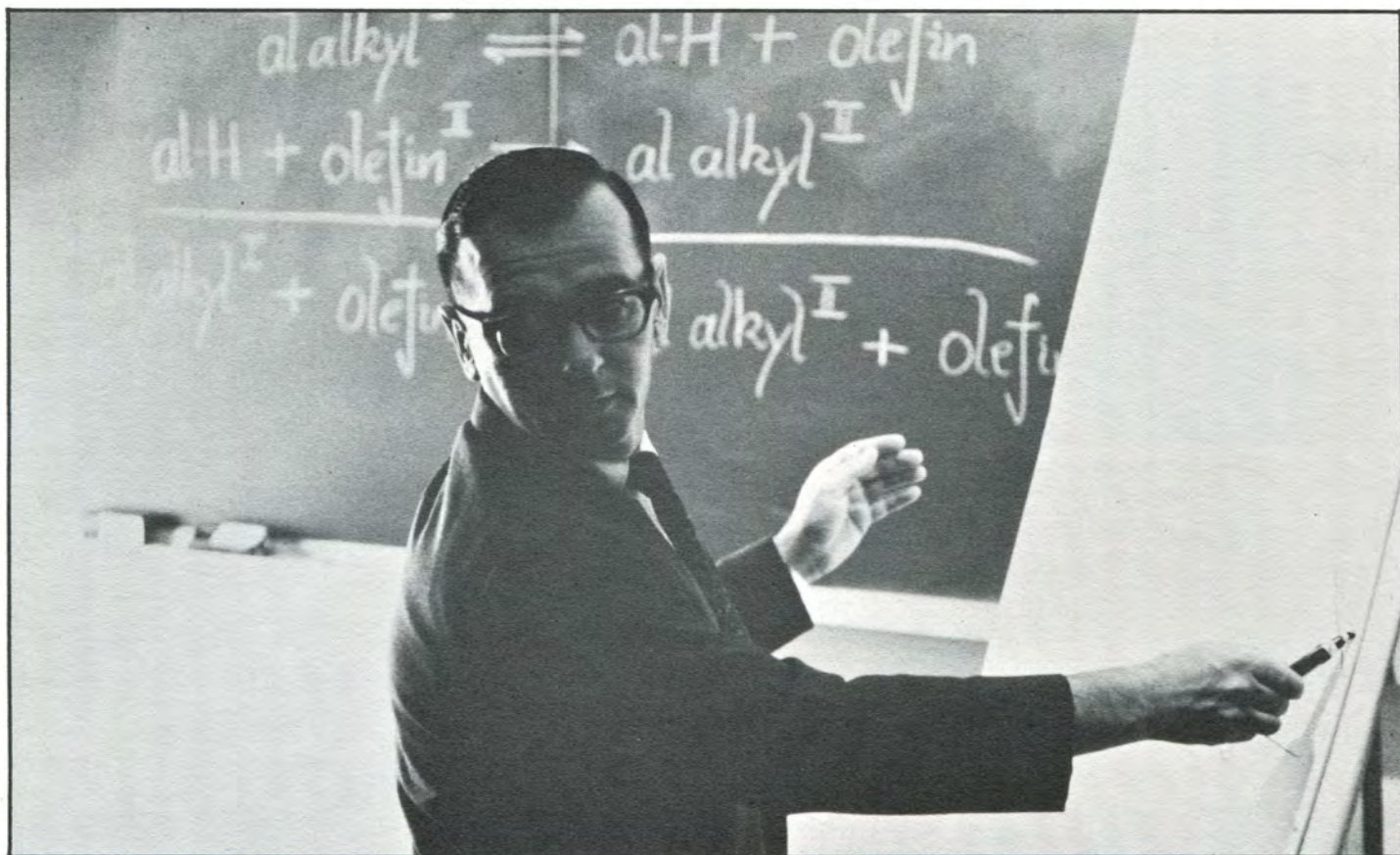
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Student Enthusiasm And Political Realism Key To Past Successes

by BENJAMIN J. PHILPOTT

Editor's Note: Mr. Rupert N. Latture graciously assisted the author with his comments about past Mock Conventions. Mr. Latture is Professor of Politics, Emeritus, at Washington and Lee. He participated in the 1916 Mock Convention as a student and served as its adviser and parliamentarian for many years after joining the faculty. Mr. Latture is also one of the founders of Omicron Delta Kappa, the national honorary leadership fraternity. The author also utilized the research of Jack D. Horowitz, a member of the 1968 Convention staff, to compile this article. To both gentlemen we extend our gratitude.



Mr. Rupert N. Latture



A delegate from New York makes an announcement in the 1968 Mock Convention.

The Mock Convention is a truly unique student event, rich in a heritage and tradition all its own. A closer examination reveals how this Convention has evolved to its position of national prominence today.

The 64 years since the first Convention have seen the transition from students voting their own personal feelings to the present system which demands a sublimation of personal attitudes in order to achieve accuracy; the growth of the proceedings from a small group of students in Lee Chapel to a huge gathering in the new Doremus Gymnasium, complete with Parade and nationally prominent speakers; and the change from a spur of the moment undertaking to an assembly requiring close to three years in organization.

William Jennings Bryan's visit to the campus in 1908 inspired the first Mock Convention. His visit aroused such interest that the students decided to hold a replica of the upcoming Democratic convention. The students entered the contest that year, between Bryan and Governor John A. Johnson, "with the zest of seasoned politicians plus the enthusiasm of collegians (Lexington Gazette)."

After one roll call the balloting ended with Bryan at the forefront. The students favoring Johnson were so incited by the chair's ruling against their man, that, with the ballots still

uncounted, they bolted the Convention floor and met in another room to declare their nomination of Johnson for president. The regular session declared an uncontested nomination of Bryan.

Succeeding Conventions have seen no waning of student interest and enthusiasm, though since that time the enthusiasm has been manifested in less violent fashion. The students have attempted and succeeded in making the Convention more of a mirror of its national counterpart.

The campus civics club provided

1972 Mock Convention

the sponsorship for the Convention in 1912. That year the candidates initiated active groups of student working on campus on their behalf. The tradition had begun. The race was between Woodrow Wilson and Champ Clark of Kentucky. After Wilson had barely missed defeating Clark on the fourth ballot, the students turned to Governor Judson Harmon as a compromise candidate. This is the only mistake the students have made in picking a Democratic candidate; Wilson was chosen by the actual convention that year.

In 1916, the policy was initiated of holding the Convention for the party out of office. Charles Evans Hughes



Reps. Walter Judd and Richard Poff led the 1964 Convention Parade atop "Republican" elephants. Judd was the keynote speaker that year.

was chosen as the nominee and was also later picked in the actual convention as the Republican candidate.

Due to the aftermath of the war and the conditions in the nation, 1920 found student interest at a low ebb; the Convention was not held. However, 1924 found a resurrection of student interest and the Convention was reborn. John W. Davis was nominated after a record number of roll calls. Smith and McAdoo were deadlocked at the start, and Davis began surging as a compromise candidate. He took the lead on the fourth ballot and finally won the nomination on the 24th ballot. Later that same month Davis won the nomination at the real Democratic Convention on the 103rd ballot in the longest convention ever held.

Davis' nomination is a special one for Washington and Lee. He is the only W&L graduate to ever run for President. In addition, it was during his campaign that the Washington and Lee Swing became popular; it was Davis' theme song.

In 1928, a preconvention poll indicated a sectional battle between North and South. Woodrow Wilson's keynote speech opened that year's Mock Convention. In the speech, the Convention was named the "Laboratory of the Democratic Party." In keeping with the tradition of accuracy, Al Smith was nominated on the 17th ballot.

In an interview, Mr. Rupert Lature (who has seen every convention except the first in the capacities of student delegate, advisor, and parliamentarian) called the 1932 conventions, both nationally and at Washington and Lee, the most outstanding and significant in the nation's history. The nation was struggling to come to grips with the depression, and at the polls that year the voters were seeking a way to attack that enemy and regain economic stability.

In their 1932 clash, Roosevelt and Smith each took an active part in the Mock Convention, supporting the students and supplying them with information. The Convention Parade down Main Street became a highlight that year as the students entered the activities with a gusto and purpose unequalled in most of the other Conventions. The candidate picked by both the Mock and national Conventions was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a man who was to win the election and hold his office for the next twelve years.



Richard Nixon visited the Washington and Lee campus before the Mock Republican Convention in 1968.

The years 1936 and 1940 saw two incorrect choices. In 1940 the student delegates were, in a sense, handicapped by the absence of the large cheering galleries which prompted the nomination of Wilkie by the real Republican convention. The students' choice was Charles McNary. In 1936 the choice was Arthur Vandenburg, while the real candidate was Landon.

In 1944 no Convention was held, the student's interest being focused primarily on the War. However, in 1948 the Convention was revived. The students went with Vandenburg, only to have Dewey chosen as the candidate at the Republican convention.

That Convention is an example of the students' desires to recreate the *Continued on page 29*



Crowds lined the streets of Lexington for the 1948 Convention Parade.

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CONVENTION HISTORY

Continued from page 27

mood and proceedings of the real national convention. In the '48 Convention, the state delegations were instructed that, in the case of a deadlock between Taft and Dewey, the support was to drift to the stronger of the two. During the deadlock the state delegations simply couldn't react quickly enough to prevent the swing to Vandenberg as a compromise candidate. As a result, Vandenberg won the nomination, whereas Dewey was later nominated as candidate by the Republican convention.

The year 1952 saw General Dwight Eisenhower's entrance into national politics. The Governor of California, Earl Warren, aided the Convention in its correct choice when he telegraphed the delegates pledged to him to throw their support to Ike. This gave Eisenhower the impetus he needed to defeat Robert Taft who had led since the first ballot. When California threw its support to Eisenhower a call was made for another ballot on which the General was unanimously



Sen. Alben W. Barkley:
"ideal keynote speaker"

nominated.

In 1956 the students prepared to hold their first Democratic Convention in 24 years. Student excitement was at a high pitch, for Senator Alben W. Barkley, former Vice-President, whom Mr. Lature called the "ideal keynote speaker," was to speak. Nothing forboded the tragedy that was to strike.

The Parade was especially outstanding that year. Afterwards, in the 90 degree heat, Doremus Gymnasium was packed to capacity for the keynote address. The Senator told the students that he hadn't planned to attend the



Chairman Steve Saunders confers with delegates during the 1968 Convention.

Democratic convention that year, but that he was so inspired by their enthusiasm that he had changed his plans. Barkley recounted his career for them, telling about his rise from the House of Representatives to junior Senator, to senior Senator, to Vice-President. Then he discussed his present position as a junior Senator again, saying he was proud to serve his country in whatever capacity it needed. In closing his address Senator Barkley exclaimed: "I would rather be a servant in the House of the Lord than sit at the feet of the mighty." Turning from the podium the Senator collapsed; he was dead



Part of the exceptional Parade of 1956

of a heart attack. Seated on the platform as an officer of the Convention at the time of this tragedy was a student named Robert E. R. Huntley.

President Gaines declared a recess of the Convention until a decision could be made whether it would be reconvened. That decision was made by Mrs. Barkley, who said, "You have unfinished business." A week later the Convention was reconvened and Adlai Stevenson was nominated on the fifth ballot. He trailed Stuart Symington on the fourth ballot, but was able to garner enough strength on the next to win. Though lacking at least part of the preconvention enthusiasm, the

Continued on next page



Keynoter Harry S. Truman is 1960

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CONVENTION HISTORY

Continued from page 29

students were able to make another correct choice.

Former President Harry Truman visited the campus as the keynote speaker in 1960. In his usual fashion he lashed out at the Republican Party and the Eisenhower Administration for its failures in foreign, as well as domestic, affairs. He also pointed out the history and tradition of the Convention and how far it had come since 1908, and concluded saying, "You will nominate a man we can elect." The Convention did exactly



The 1964 Mock Republican Convention

that. John F. Kennedy was nominated on the sixth ballot. The margin of victory came when the New York and Pennsylvania delegations switched their votes from Lyndon Johnson to Kennedy. After this the tide of balloting came in with a resounding 1000½ vote total for the young Senator.

Also present at the 1960 W&L Convention was the Senator from the state of Washington and Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, Henry "Scoop" Jackson. Sen. Jackson observed the proceedings and gave advice to the mock delegates. In 1972 he is contending for the Democratic nomination himself.

1964 and 1968 ushered in two more Republican conventions. Goldwater won on the second ballot in '64 and Nixon swept the nomination in '68. Goldwater made a new Convention first when he made his acceptance speech over the telephone, which was broadcast on the Convention floor. Nixon's visit to the campus in '68 is another example of the significance of the Mock Convention to national politicians.

The boxscore shows that in the 14



Florida's Governor Claude Kirk made the keynote address at 1968 Convention.

Conventions since 1908 the students have made 10 correct choices, an indication of the authenticity of the proceedings. In each Convention the delegations endeavor to maintain contact with the real state delegations, so that their voting, as the various situations arise on the floor, will be an accurate indication of the trends and choices in the national convention.

The Mock Convention presents a challenge every four years to the students who participate. And in this year, 1972, that challenge will be met and fulfilled.



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Georgia Governor To Keynote Convention

by GREGORY B. ROBERTSON

Wherever one goes today in the South a new image seems to be cropping up with new political voices and ideas as the proponents of this image. Symbolic of this new image is the Keynote Speaker of Washington and Lee's Mock Convention in 1972—James Earl Carter, Jr. As the Governor of the state of Georgia, Jimmy Carter is a young and dynamic man who combines a belief in "self-reliance, local control and individual participation in government" with an extraordinary sense of his state's new mood, the aspirations and abilities of her citizens, and a new pride in Georgia and what Georgia can become.

Heralding from the little town of Plains, Georgia, Carter entered politics on the local level through his interest in educational facilities and their improvement. Moving into the state legislature, he quickly established a record for himself as a progressive with a strong interest in the improve-



Governor James E. Carter, Jr.

Fabian Bachrach

ment of race relations as well as education. A firm advocate of equal opportunity for all men, he has worked intensely to change the Southern image and establish a new direction for the South. "As contradictory as Georgia itself," said *Time*, describing Carter in its cover profile of him—"both product and destroyer of old myths, . . . determined to resolve some of the paradoxes." Through the efforts of Jimmy Carter and men like him, the economic, educational, social and political trends that have guided the South in the past are beginning to

reverse themselves.

Carter's national reputation is that of a liberal, in part because of his posture on race as opposed to that of his predecessors; yet he describes himself as a "conservative." Nevertheless, his achievements and abilities have moved him into a position of enormous influence nationally. "For the first time in almost a decade," *Time* remarked, "Democratic presidential hopefuls are courting the South. Edmund Muskie, Birch Bayh, Henry Jackson and Hubert Humphrey have recently called on Carter to discuss the lay of the votes in '72. And Carter and his colleagues in the other Southern states are assembling a caucus to be reckoned with at convention time."

The 1972 Washington and Lee Mock Convention is indeed fortunate to have Governor Carter for the keynote address. Hopefully, he will lend a guiding light to the delegates in what promises to be a very difficult candidate selection.

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Democratic Officials Visit W&L For Pre-Convention Activities

In an effort to prepare the University for the events of May 5-6, the Mock Convention has sponsored several speakers on campus during the year. The speakers not only have helped to set the political mood on campus, but have also provided the state delegations with some helpful insights. The first speakers were Mr. and Mrs. Robert Squier, the news media planners for Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine. On October 4, they spoke on the problems of presenting the candidate and his platform over the electronic media — particularly television.

Mr. Squier's background is one well-suited to his present task. In 1968, he was in charge of the television coverage of Hubert Humphrey's campaign. Mr. Squier then served as Director of Television for the Democratic National Committee. After the 1968 presidential race, he and his wife formed the Communication Company, which has been quite busy ever since, guiding some twenty-nine campaigns.

The Squiers have two requirements of a candidate before they will help in his campaign: the candidate must have their personal support, and he must be able to project himself well over television. As far as the possible Nixon-Muskie race is concerned, the Squiers feel that President Nixon's image is that of an efficient manager, while Senator Muskie's strong point is his personable character. To quote the Squiers from the *Washington Post*, "The question, then, is how much Muskie can convince people that he would be a better manager than Nixon, and to what extent Nixon can convince the country that he's a better person than Muskie."

On October 25, Virginia Senator William B. Spong gave the fall keynote address. The Junior Senator, who sits on several key committees, addressed himself to three main issues. One was the effect which the newly-sanctioned eighteen year-old vote will have. Another issue, one of particular interest to the Senator, was reform in campaign financing. Senator Spong also called for reform of the electoral college.

In the four plus years that Mr. Spong has served in the Senate, he has been named to several important committees. He sits (with Presidential hopeful Edmund Muskie) on the Foreign Relations Committee and also serves on the Commerce Committee and the Democratic Steering Committee. Other posts which Senator Spong holds are on the Mondale Select Committee on Education and the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. During his years in the Senate, Mr. Spong has regularly proposed legislation requiring the disclosure of financial sources, assets, and liabilities of candidates for political office.

end to the Unit Rule, and for the disclosure of campaign financing. He also lamented the failure of Congress to change the present Electoral College system.

The heads of the state delegations were privileged to hear the chairman of the Virginia Democratic Central Committee in an informal discussion on December 6. William Thomas, one of the nation's youngest state chairmen, spoke on Presidential Politics in Virginia. While the address was of particular interest to W&L's Virginia delegation, the talk was also helpful and informative for other state delegations.

Mr. Thomas, a lawyer from Alex-



Virginia Co-Chairman Bob Giammittorio (left) discusses Mock Convention plans with Sen. Spong and Convention Co-Chairman Mike Campilongo during the Senator's visit this fall.

In his fall address at Washington and Lee, Senator Spong saw two possible results of the eighteen year old vote. One was that the 25,000,000 new votes would have no effect on campaign outcomes because historically, the youngest voters have been the most apathetic. The other view, which the Senator seems to favor, was that the youth, vitally concerned with the issues of the day, would make its vote felt.

Senator Spong also spoke of various political reforms. He called for an

andria, has been a dominant figure in Virginia politics for the past few years. He has represented Virginia in the National Conference of Commissioners of Uniform State Laws since 1967. He also has participated in Virginia's recent study of her election laws. Mr. Thomas was chairman of the special Democratic convention which chose a candidate for Lieutenant Governor (after the death of Lt. Gov. Sargent Reynolds). He is indeed a man well-versed in the Democratic politics of the state.



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Preparations Made For Complete Press Coverage

The W&L Mock Convention is not only of interest to the campus and Lexington, but to the professional journalists as well. It is expected that pictures and accounts of the Convention will appear in major newspapers in the South as well as other parts of the country again this year, similar to the news coverage of the past Convention.

Radio and television have not been left out in our effort to get the Convention story to as many people as possible. The Mock Convention is offering a film and actuality (recordings of the Convention) service to as many television and radio stations as request it. This means that when the final vote is counted and a winner is selected, radio listeners will hear direct reports from the Convention floor.

The Mock Convention would like

to thank the University's public information director, Bob Keefe, and his office for their efforts in promoting the Convention. The University and the honorary journalism fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, are hosting a dinner for the pressmen on campus the weekend of the Convention.

Lewis Hannah and his staff, in charge of readying the facilities for the Convention, have made special arrangements for the press. It is hoped that his preparations for supplying typewriters and telephones as well as other considerations for the broadcasting equipment will facilitate fast and complete coverage by all the visiting reporters.

The Mock Convention also acknowledges our campus radio station, WLUR, for its "gavel to gavel" coverage. WLUR has also been most helpful in pre-Convention coverage,



Convention Press Secretary Bryan Hatchett will handle the publicity for the event.

including their series of "Convention Background Reports" on the recent state Presidential primaries.

The Convention's public relations staff remains anxious to assist in any way possible the reporters covering our special event.

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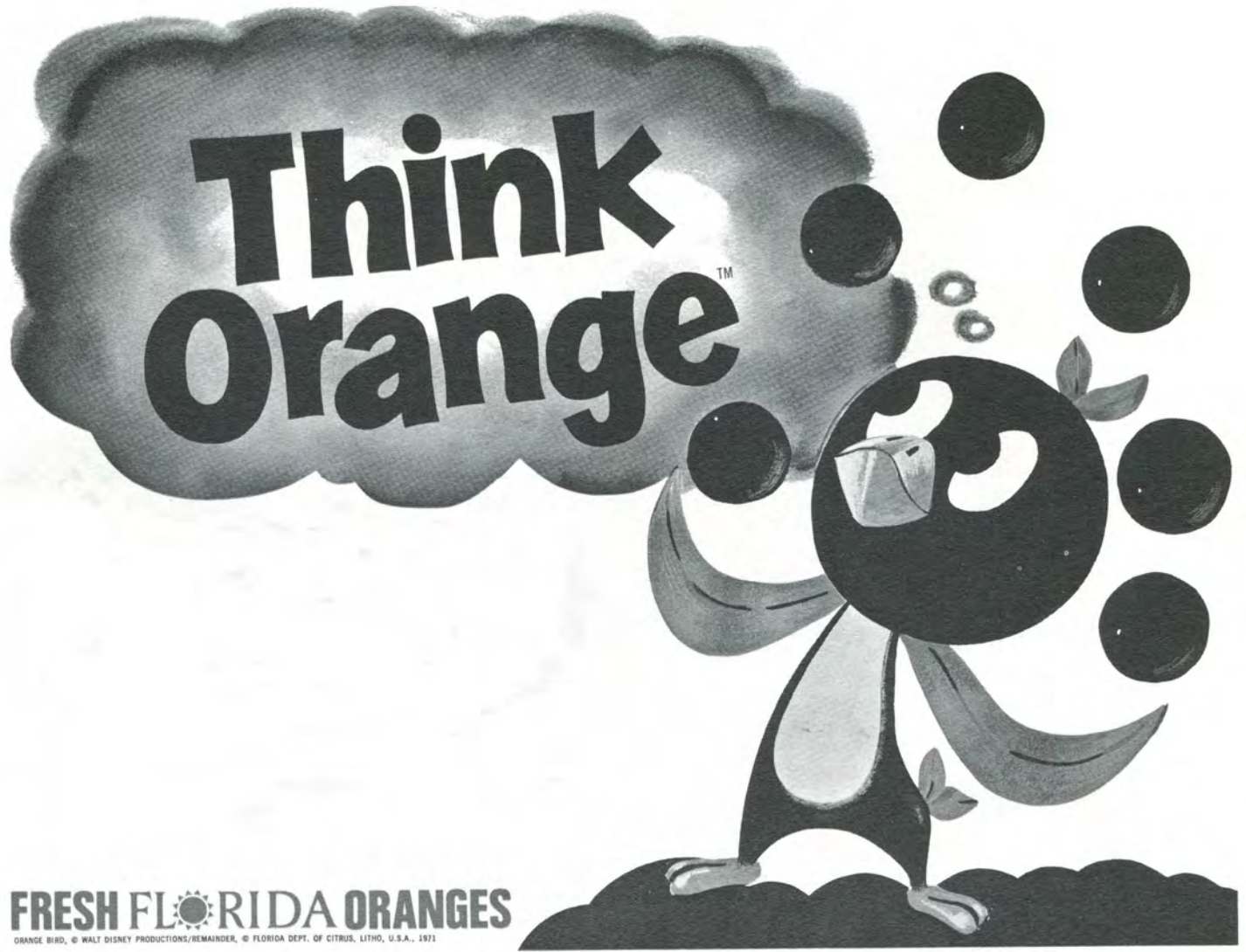
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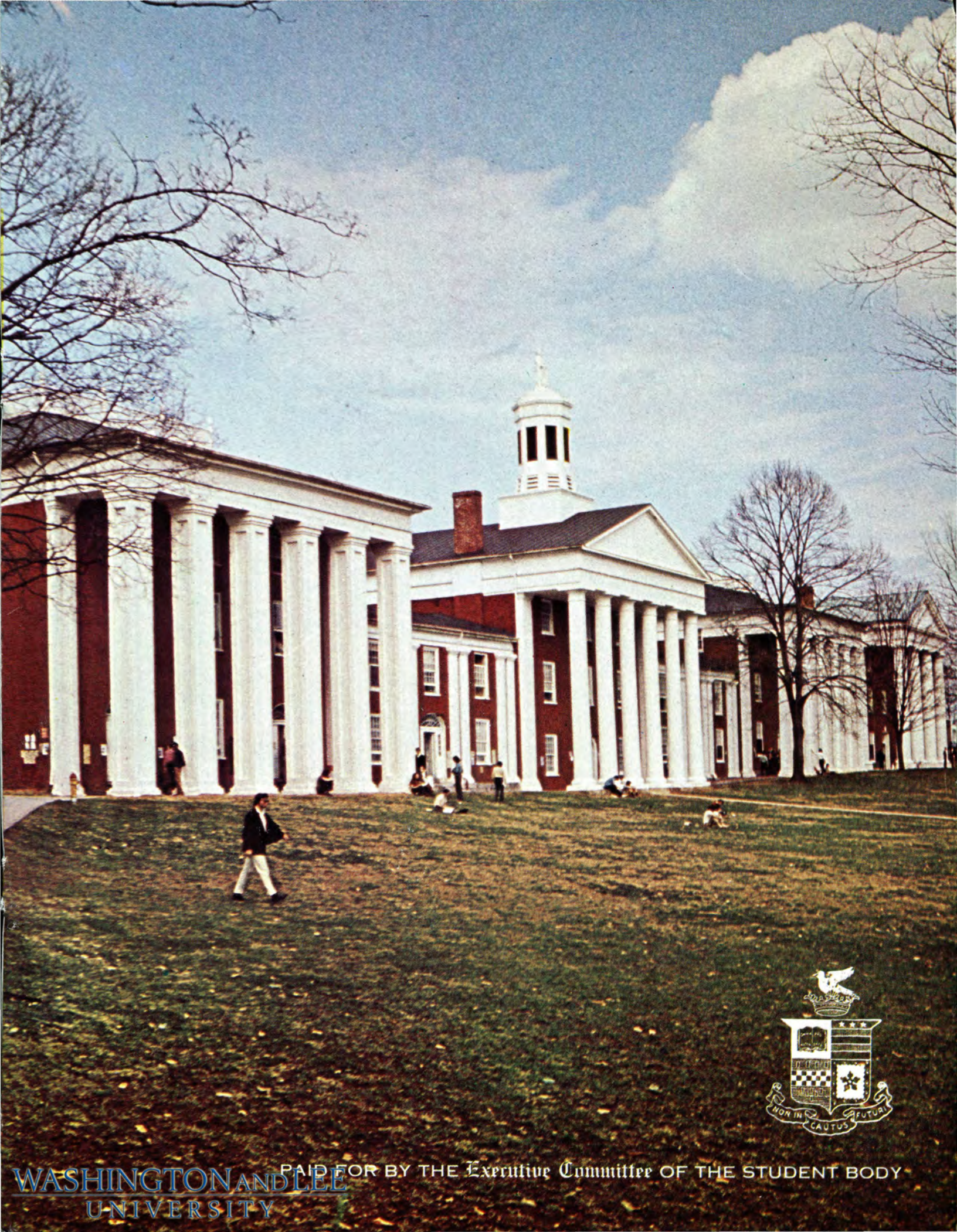
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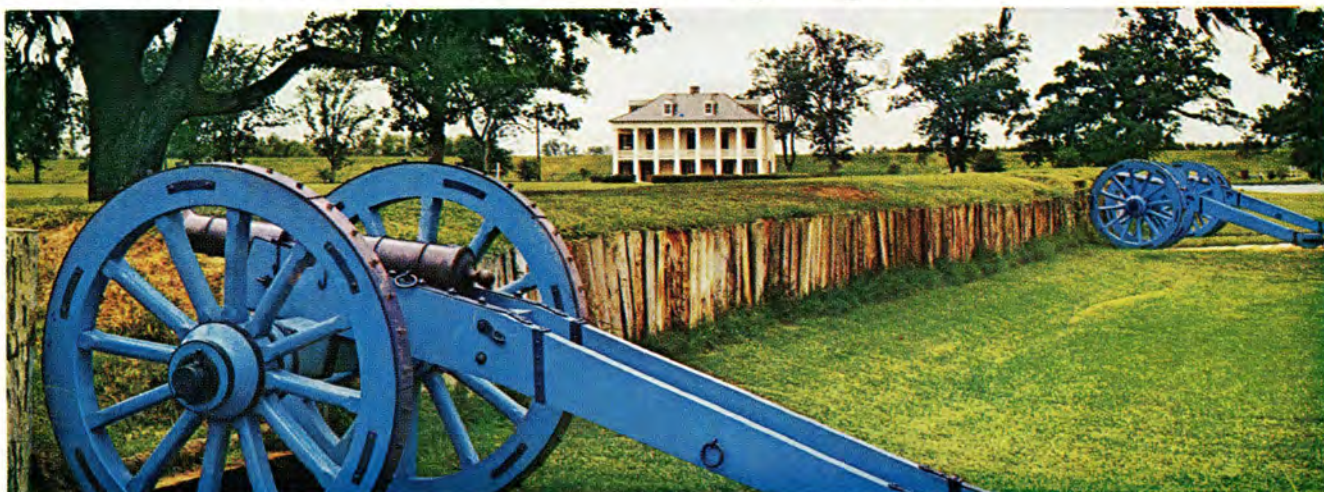
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