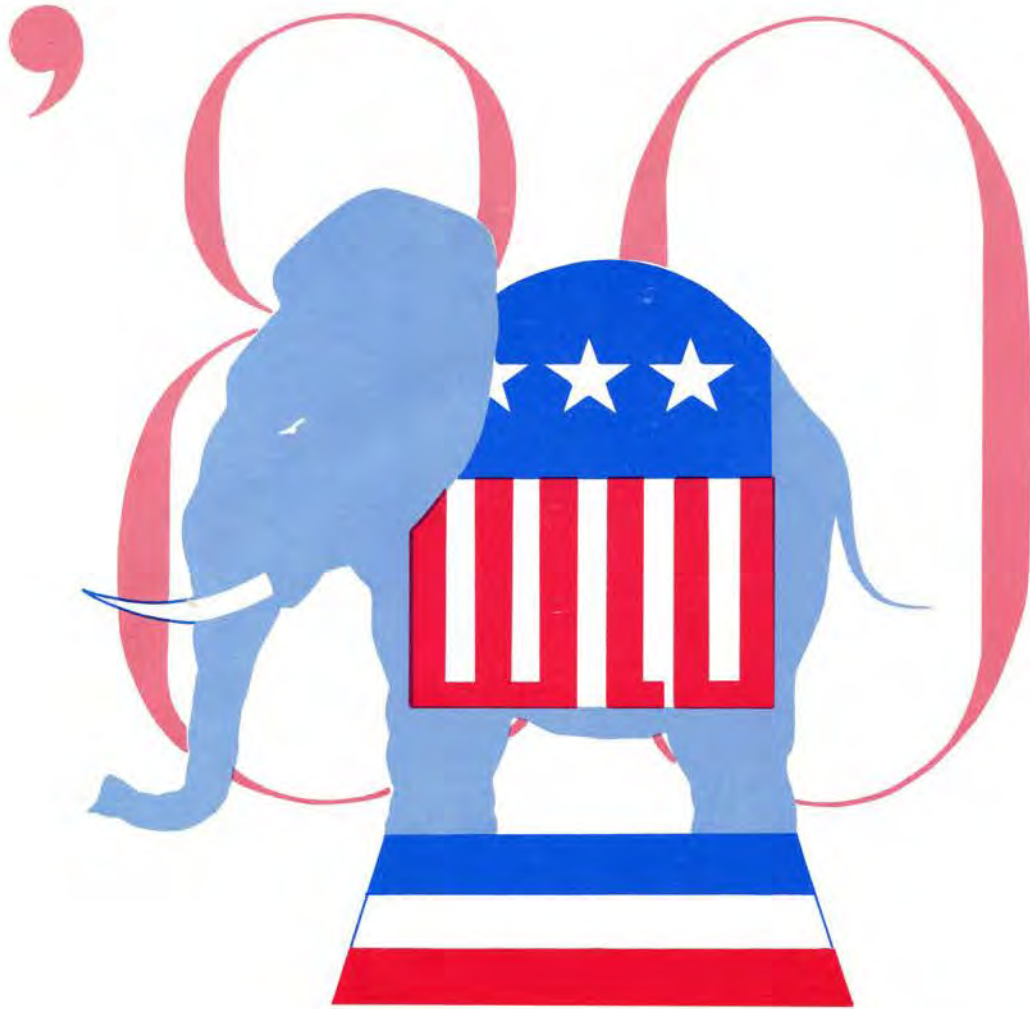


Mock Republican Convention



JOURNAL

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Mock Republican Convention JOURNAL

Washington and Lee University
Lexington, Virginia

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Greetings

On behalf of the entire University family, I want to extend warm greetings to the 1980 Mock Republican Convention and to congratulate all of the students who have worked so hard in preparation for this extraordinary campus event. I was an active participant in two Mock Conventions, so I have a firsthand appreciation of the effort that must be expended to achieve the success that has attended Washington and Lee's Mock Conventions at every level of planning and operation.

It used to be that Mock Conventions occupied the attention of Washington and Lee students every four years. For some four or five conventions now that no longer has been true. Planning for the next convention begins, literally, as another ends, and there are numerous other related campus events occurring that lead to the actual convention itself. And, always, there is the commitment to authenticity and accuracy that has commanded the respect of political observers and commentators, even on those infrequent occasions when the convention has read its indicators wrongly.


This year the Mock Convention coincides with the anniversary reunions of ten Washington and Lee alumni classes. This was a deliberate coincidence, one that imposes some logistical problems for us but, nevertheless, a conscious effort to bring our alumni back to Lexington at a time they will surely enjoy and remember.

I look forward to the 1980 Mock Republican Convention,

From the President



as do so many others, confident that it will be again a richly rewarding educational experience for participants and spectators, and confident that it will, as always, be tremendous fun for everyone.

Robert E.R. Huntley 



Former Vice-President Alben Barkley prepares to address the 1956 Mock Convention. At right is W&L President Robert E.R. Huntley. Huntley, then a law student, was secretary of the convention.

Welcome to Washington and Lee's seventeenth Mock Convention. For most students this weekend will be the highlight of four years in Lexington. We hope that spectators and participants alike will long remember this unique event.

Despite the rich tradition that ties all of these quadrennial events together, each in its own way displays a distinctive personality. This one will be no exception. Planning for these two days began over three years ago when the leaders of the 1976 Convention passed on responsibility to a small group of freshmen and sophomores. Since that time people of varying interests and talents have invested enormous time and energy into the project. The undertaking represents a commitment seldom made by people today.

The Mock Convention is more than a political exercise, for politics alone cannot create the fervor which a project this size requires. The Mock Convention does more than give us a chance to learn about the presidential nominating process; it challenges us.

Because of its 72-year history and its record of success, our convention is certainly unique among similar collegiate events. In fact, there are few events to which a comparison is even appropriate. It is our contention that there are precious few places where so many people are willing to work long and hard together for such a worthwhile purpose. This, in turn, reflects the University's character.

Several years ago, a predecessor of mine wondered in this space about the future of the Mock Convention. It was 1972 and traditions, even at a place as conservative as W&L, seemed to be disappearing with alarming regularity.

Today's W&L students can be proud that they are participating in this weekend's activities. Not only did the Mock Convention survive the popularly labeled turbulent 1960's and apathetic 1970's, but the convention is entering a new decade bigger and better than ever before. While much of the Mock Convention's purpose is the enjoyment of the event, there is a very strong underlying educational element. A mixture of pleasure and work produces a unique event that offers something for almost everyone.

This *Journal* attempts to portray the variety of upcoming events both by description and by providing a little background. Additionally, the *Journal* serves as a recognition for the people who spent long hours over the past four years setting up the event. The *Journal* consists of three sections. One gives history of past conventions, another offers background on this year's Republican campaign, and the third discusses this weekend's convention.

As a law student who was an undergraduate at a university vastly different from W&L, I have found this opportunity to work on the Mock Convention most enlightening and gratifying. It has been a chance to get involved in something other than casebooks. I appreciate the support and interest of all with whom I have worked.

Particular thanks go to the advertisers who provided

From the Chairmen



Cornett, Simmons, Schoenfeld

It has often been said that the success of each Mock Convention depends upon the hundreds of students that put it together. We have faith this will be a good one.

Thanks to those who helped.

P. Craig Cornett
Richard H. Schoenfeld
Sidney S. Simmons, II



From the Editor



financial support for this venture and the state delegations which sold advertisements. The Texas delegation was particularly successful in this regard. Additionally, thanks go to business manager Mike Mrlik, and to the writers. Finally I must thank the staff of the *News-Gazette* for tolerating late deadlines while doing a thoroughly professional job.

Sam Flax



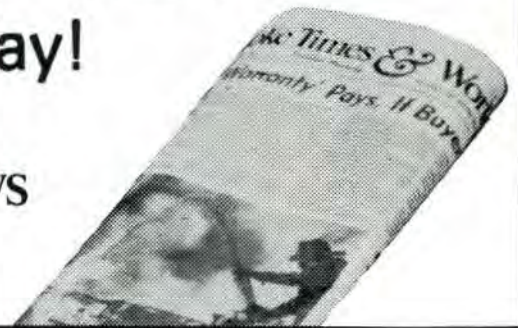
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The Mock Convention Tradition

72 Years of Mock Politics: An Informal History

by M. Gray Coleman

Looking down at the crowds, who were cheering wildly after his 1960 keynote address, Harry S Truman announced: "This is a *real* convention, and I ought to know, because I've been looking at them since 1912..." Perhaps more than any other statement, Truman's words reflect the public opinion that surrounds Washington and Lee University's Mock Convention — a quadrennial tradition in which student delegates attempt to predict the presidential nominee of the political party currently out of the White House.

A major attraction in the Valley of Virginia since 1908, W&L's convention cannot claim to be the oldest such exercise; Oberlin College has one that dates to pre-Civil War days. Nevertheless, for consistent accuracy — and eye-filling opulence — it simply has no peer. With 11 correct predictions in 16 attempts, the convention was described by *Time* as the "biggest and boomingest" of all amateur gatherings. (*Newsweek*, not to be outdone, promptly dubbed it "the most realistic" student conclave.) It's been applauded on the floor of the U.S. Senate as an "outstanding practical experiment in politics." And as media interest grows steady,

W&L receives coverage ranging from the *Washington Post* to ABC-TV News.

In its final form, the 1980 Mock Convention represents nearly four years of extensive preparation, research, fundraising and recruiting. One goal is to predict accurately what the Republicans will do come July in Detroit's Cobo Hall. Another goal is to stage the largest event in any student's tenure at W&L.

The 1976 convention is going to be a hard act to follow, all readily admit. That year, the mock-Democrats not only gave the presidential nod to Jimmy Carter (who at that point was still being discounted as a dark-horse), but drafted Walter Mondale as well — the first time the student politicians had seriously attempted to predict the vice-presidential nominee. But the Mock Convention has a history going back long before the days of modern political theory.

The Mock Convention's success story goes all the way back to the very first meeting in 1908. William Jennings Bryan's visit to Lexington that spring aroused such interest that the students decided to hold a replica of the upcoming Democratic convention. Bryan, of course, was the perennial Democratic elder-statesman and proponent of the Silver Standard — as well as a front-runner for the 1908 nomination. In fact, as the W&L convention drew near, only Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota possessed sufficient force on the convention floor to stem the Bryan tide.

"The young gentlemen entered into the meeting with the zest of seasoned politicians plus the enthusiasm of collegians," the *Lexington Gazette* reported on May 6, 1908. But by the time it was all over, tempers had flared and several fights had broken out on the convention floor. (Of course, floor fights are a typical — if not traditional — aspect of **all** conventions. We have reason to believe, however, that these floor fights clearly took place on the floor...) In spite of it all, the Mock Convention of 1908 ended with the students' first correct prediction, as Bryan was indeed nominated by the real-life Democrats that summer in Denver.

With the exception of the "brawl of 1908," excess frivolity has rarely been a problem at the convention. One of those rare cases occurred in 1936, when Arthur Vandenburg's nomination depended on the Pennsylvania vote. The delegation remained deadlocked for some time, until the nomination was "finally decided in his favor by an errant delegate brought in from the tennis courts."

In contrast, recent Mock Conventions have followed a pattern of almost clinical research that began, perhaps, with

Gray Coleman, W&L 79, is Assistant Director of News and Publications.



the 1952 convention. That year, the delegates had carried out amazing amounts of research, including the California state chairman, David Constine. Constine had established a correspondence with then-Governor Earl Warren, whose name was due to be placed in nomination as a "favorite son" candidate. After three W&L ballots, the record showed

Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft in the lead, with General Dwight D. Eisenhower a close second and Warren a poor third. After getting a report from Constine, Warren immediately wired W&L's California chairman to free his delegates — and California fell in line with the Eisenhower

(continued on following page)

Rupert Latture: Man for All Conventions

by *Barrie L. DaParma*

There are certain things in this world that simply belong together, such as wine and cheese, the colors red, white and blue, and Switzerland and her Alps. One such inseparable parallel in Lexington is Washington and Lee Mock Conventions and Rupert N. Latture. Latture has been to virtually every one of the previous 16 conventions.

Latture and W&L first became acquainted in 1908. Latture enrolled in the freshman class and lived in a boarding house with a high school classmate from Tennessee. He later served on the Executive Committee for two years and was vice-president of the student body in his senior year. Today, he is assistant to the president and professor politics emeritus, an eager conversationalist, a good listener and a man with an incredible memory, especially of past mock conventions.

Latture recalls the very first conventions of 1908 and 1912 which were held in Lee Chapel until the gymnasium was built in 1914. He was not very active in the 1908 assemblage but remembers, "It was an exciting experience and gave the students an opportunity to act like politicians." W&L was looking for a president in 1908 and Mr. Latture recollects a musical demonstration at the first convention by the students about professor of history Dr. John Latane, who knew Woodrow Wilson and was eligible for the school's presidency:

Poor old Jack
Poor old Jack
A wise old guy was he

Barrie DaParma is a junior at Hollins College.



Rupert Latture

He may be a friend of Woodrow's
But he'll never be President of
Washington and Lee

Latane later became Dean of the Law School.

Latture claims that every political convention he has been to (he was given a ticket for the 1932 Chicago convention and stood very close to the spot where Franklin Roosevelt made his acceptance speech) is an unforgettable event, yet the most memorable convention ever was in 1924. "That was the one where neither candidate, Al Smith nor William McAdoo, was able to obtain a majority of votes," Latture recalls. "The students asked the faculty for an extension and wound up nominating John W. Davis. The National Convention turned out exactly the same way. It was a remarkable thing to happen on a college campus."

Latture has seen relatively little change in mock conventions through the years. He states that "students were pretty lively in politics in my day and even now for the 1980 convention they haven't spared any effort to get at the real issues." One change he has noticed is that the students now do much more advance preparation (four years ahead) whereas little more than a year was set aside for preparation earlier. The students also are much more equipped in gathering information from states and political leaders. They call the politicians directly and ask specific questions on the important issues.

Mock conventions are an integral part of W&L and they mean very much to Rupert Latture. He thinks of them as "a very distinct form of education, an interest in the life of our nation. They give students something to think about all their lives. A convention is not altogether playing, it's an understanding of the candidates' policies and—it's the next thing to being real, isn't it?"

W&L Mock Conventions are almost as real as the close tie between Latture and the University, although he says his coming to Lexington was "something that happened at the last minute." Latture had planned to attend the University of Tennessee but with an excellent high school record and the extra help of his school principal, he began his college career in Lexington. An unexpected surprise like this is not uncommon in Latture's life and he still is amazed at how little coincidences have changed his fate. Latture's French Huguenot ancestors did not refer to incidences of this kind as "coincidences," and the French today do not either; they have a saying for this: *avoir de la chance*, which means, to be lucky. Rupert N. Latture *a de la chance*, and so is Washington and Lee.



History

(continued from previous page)

forces, making possible another correct prediction for the students.

The next convention, in 1956, also ended in a successful candidate choice. But victory was overshadowed that year by tragedy that focused all eyes on Lexington and W&L's keynote speaker.

The guest of honor that time was Senator and former Vice President Alben Barkley of Kentucky, who delivered a rousing speech that showed his love of politics and political conventions. In 90-degree weather, he told the students he hadn't intended to go to the real Democratic convention that summer, but after participating in the W&L event he felt "like an old firehorse when he hears the bell" and had changed his mind. When in his excitement he accidentally knocked over a microphone, he told the audience, "That's nothing to what'll happen to the Republicans in November!" Then — explaining why he had settled to become Kentucky's junior Senator after occupying the second highest job in the land, he said: "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than to sit in the seats of the mighty." As

the crowd roared its approval, Barkley stepped back from the podium — and collapsed. Within minutes he was pronounced dead of a heart attack.

Only Barkley's widow could make the student delegates resume their task — "You have unfinished business," she told convention officials. A week later, they reconvened...and correctly predicted that Adlai Stevenson would once again be the Democratic nominee.

Eisenhower and Stevenson are just two in a series of correct choices made by W&L students in recent years. In fact, since 1948 they have been wrong only one time — in 1972, when they tapped Edward Kennedy rather than George McGovern as the Democratic candidate. Other years have seen happier conclusions, including Kennedy in 1960, Goldwater in 1964, Nixon in 1968, and Carter in 1976.

When asked the reason for this series of perfect hits, the students turn to one word — and one word alone...research. Acknowledging the fact that no college campus can be fairly regarded as a cross-section of the voting public, the students depend totally on "Grass-roots" research carried out in all 50 states. And personal preferences are put aside for the duration. (Well, almost...W&L's strong Republican-conservative ties will probably lead to a greater enthusiasm for this year's party platform than they showed during the more liberal Democratic mock-caucus of '76. The students' behavior that year led Sen. William Proxmire to jest: "Are you sure you remembered to tell them that they're Democrats this weekend?")

It seems that visiting guests are not even immune to a little ribaldry during the course of the weekend. For example, the tale endures that when Jimmy Carter, then the obscure Governor of Georgia, went to W&L in 1972 to deliver that year's keynote speech, he was accompanied by the ever-present press secretary Jody Powell. But Powell missed the boss's speech altogether. He gave in, the story goes, to a temptation offered by a couple of W&L people and went with them to play pinball and drink beer at the Central Lunch on Main Street instead. (The speech Powell supposedly missed was no thriller, which Powell probably knew in advance. "It was received," the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* Charley McDowell reported, "with remarkably convincing mock boredom.")

But these are the sidelights — in the areas that matter, from balloting and credentials to facilities planning and media relations, the students follow a strategy exemplified by the now-famous Mock Convention of 1924, where W&L put its bet on John W. Davis, a man who wasn't even a declared candidate and shocked all the experts when the dust finally cleared. (See accompanying story).

Davis went on to lose the election to Calvin Coolidge, robbing W&L of the privilege of claiming a presidential alumnus, but the dramatic nature of his nomination won the Mock Convention a place in the headlines that it still retains, more than 50 years later. The balloting may faster today, and more predictable, but excitement still floods the W&L campus as the delegates start to play one of the country's favorite political "guessing games."

The Convention Record

The Washington and Lee Mock Convention prides itself on an excellent track record of predicting the upcoming victor at the summer national convention. The convention has been right 11 of 16 tries, including six of the last seven. Interestingly, four of the five times the convention picked the wrong nominee, the nominee lost the general election. The record is as follows:

1908	RIGHT with William Jennings Bryan
1912	Wrong with Judson Harmon (Wilson received the nomination)
1916	RIGHT with Charles Evans Hughes
1920	No convention
1924	RIGHT with John W. Davis
1928	RIGHT with Al Smith
1932	RIGHT with F.D.R.
1936	Wrong with Arthur Vandenberg (Landon received the nomination)
1940	Wrong with Charles L. McNary (Wilkie received the nomination)
1944	No convention
1948	Wrong with Vandenberg again (Dewey received the nomination)
1952	RIGHT with Eisenhower
1956	RIGHT with Stevenson
1960	RIGHT with John F. Kennedy
1964	RIGHT with Goldwater
1968	RIGHT with Nixon
1972	Wrong with Ted Kennedy (McGovern received the nomination)
1976	RIGHT with Carter



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Former Vice President Alben Barkley prepares to address the 1956 Mock Convention. At right is W&L President Robert E.R. Huntley. Huntley, then a law student, was secretary of the convention.

WASHINGTON AND LEE
UNIVERSITY

W&L Deadlock Foreshadowed 1924 Democratic Convention

by Jim Feinman

From June 24 to July 9, 1924, Madison Square Garden in New York, was the site of the most exhausting Democratic presidential convention in history. Governor Al Smith of New York and William McAdoo, Woodrow Wilson's son-in-law and former secretary of the treasury, were the leading candidates. After many roll calls, Smith and McAdoo were deadlocked in a heated struggle for the two-thirds vote necessary to win the nomination—but neither managed to muster even a majority through 100 ballots.

The divisive in-fighting that occurred in New York was a great blow to the Democratic Party's quest for the presidency. The scandal-ridden administration of the late President Warren G. Harding seemed to insure the ouster of the Republicans from the White House if the Democrats could only unite behind a candidate. To some observers the struggle in New York was no surprise as only six weeks earlier in Lexington, Virginia, an almost identical, but mock, Democratic Convention was held.

The fifth Mock Convention of Washington and Lee University opened on May 13, 1924, and was to become a remarkably accurate prelude to history. The Mock Convention was highlighted by an arduous and sometimes bitter platform debate and a record of 24, often splintered, ballots. The second session of the two-day convention lasted well into the night and J. S. Stump, Mock Convention chairman pro tem, petitioned the faculty to extend an order of cancelled classes so that the convention could reach an orderly and rational conclusion. Perhaps prompted by Dean Campbell's denial of the request, the mock delegates persevered to elect a candidate.

In New York, the issues were few but clear. Two of the most divisive questions centered on the Ku Klux Klan and the 18th Amendment. It was a time of significant immigration into the United States and a large segment of the population was fearful of Communist infiltrators. The Klan consequently rose to a position of strength in national politics. The Republican party, made up of mostly middle-class Protestants, subtly recognized the Klan, however, had penetrated the Democratic Party, largely through the rural southern voters, much to the dislike of the constituency from the East and Midwest which was predominantly Irish-Catholic and of recent immigrant descent. The Klansmen's presence at the convention surfaced in a nasty floor debate over the wording of a resolution that would denounce the bigoted organization by name. The vote over the resolution was distinctly split along sectional lines. The Klan would not be repudiated by name. It soon became apparent that the vote for the nomination would be equally divided along similar lines. The anti-Klan forces favored Al Smith, a

Jim Feinman is a senior journalism major.



John W. Davis, W&L 1892, LL.B. 1895, LL.D. 1915

Catholic son of immigrant parents and the idol of the big-city Democrats. The pro-Klan partisans stood behind William McAdoo, who was somewhat liberal but still the champion of the rural populace of the Democratic Party.

The prohibition dispute furthered the ever-growing split of the convention delegates. Smith was wet; McAdoo was dry. The hometown advantage was decidedly with the Smith camp. The New York City press corps and the audience in the gallery were voraciously wet, anti-Klan, and pro-Smith. This angered the McAdoo forces considerably and the canyon dividing the Democratic Party grew wider.

The issues in Lexington, although mock, were as predominant as those in New York. The anti-foreigner sentiment following World War I was prevalent in Virginia. "Anglo-Saxon" clubs were being formed in the state. The followers of this movement were not expressly linked with the KKK, but did believe in "white supremacy" and called for the political, economic and cultural suppression of other "ethnic groups. Organizers of the Anglo-Saxon clubs spoke in Lee Chapel and attempted to form a campus segregationist society. Assistant to the President Rupert Latture remembers that "the speakers were always accorded a polite audience, although no Anglo-Saxon clubs were ever started here." W&L students had confronted the question of white supremacy in the fall of 1923 when the varsity football team walked off the field in Washington, Pennsylvania. The Washington and Jefferson University team had insisted on starting its black halfback although the custom was that black players did not dress out when southern schools played northern schools. The team's action was endorsed by the Dean

(continued on following page)

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of the College and the entire university community seemed to favor the decision.

The prohibition issue was the most controversial argument at the 1924 Mock Convention. There was a sizable wet element in the student body who challenged the Mock Platform Committee over a plank calling for the "unflinching enforcement of the laws of the government as representative of the will of the people." The wets favored modifying the Volstead Act so as to permit the vending of beer and wine. There was a hostile debate on the floor before the vote that defeated the wet plank, 199-119.

The unity of the Mock Convention survived the nearly-catastrophic fight over the 18th Amendment, but when balloting for the nomination began, dissension rose again. The mock delegates split along sectional and issue lines, and neither Smith nor McAdoo could gain the two-thirds vote required for the nomination. Many candidates, including Carter Glass of Virginia and Oscar Underwood of Alabama, seemed to gain support from time to time, but soon wilted as the balloting continued.

Well past midnight and after the faculty refused to extend the convention, Randolph G. Whittle, the Permanent Chairman of the Mock Convention, made a plea for harmony which resulted in the Ohio, Texas and Connecticut

delegations leaving the floor and withdrawing from the convention. This created a tumultuous disarray throughout the remaining delegations and a short recess was called so that order could be restored. After considerable arbitration, the insurgent delegations rejoined the convention and the balloting proceeded. On the following ballot, John W. Davis, an alumnus of W&L and former congressman from West Virginia, solicitor-general and ambassador to Great Britain, acquired the necessary vote and won the mock nomination.

In New York that summer, the balloting split along the same lines as the platform fight. McAdoo and Smith gained the largest vote totals but fourteen other candidates tied up the rest of the tallies. The McAdoo forces held on hoping that a majority could be reached and Smith would concede. On the 69th ballot McAdoo was 20 votes shy of a majority but his support soon faded. Smith was willing to withdraw if his opponent would do likewise but the offer was refused.

Finally, the convention released the delegates from their instructions. On the 87th ballot, Smith went ahead of McAdoo but without a majority of the total votes. On the 100th ballot McAdoo withdrew and John W. Davis took the lead. Davis gathered 844 votes on the 103rd ballot to win the nomination. Before adjournment, the convention band blared the resonant notes of the W&L "Swing" and the fight song of Washington and Lee University became the theme song of John W. Davis' presidential campaign.

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THE WEATHER
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VOL. LXXIII No. 24,274 NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1924 TWO CENTS

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JOHN WILLIAM DAVIS OF WEST VIRGINIA, Democratic Candidate for President.

"There Can Be No Compromise With Reaction," Says Davis in First Statement After Nomination
John W. Davis, the Democratic Presidential nominee, gave out the following statement last night:
The history of national conventions may be searched in vain for one which has excited less in freedom of franchise of discussion, or whose actions have been more nearly the result of the unflinching will of the assembled delegates. The resolution of an independent line has exhibited in the proof of their sense of the solemn responsibilities of the country under which they acted and of the supreme vitality of democracy.
I cannot but feel deeply sensible of the honor done by the convention and am even more conscious of the weighty obligations that have fallen to me by its deliberate and unanimous choice. Not least of these is the duty to go before the country, as directly as my power permits, the Democratic creed and the Democratic policy as the convention has declared them.
That this creed and this policy will receive the militant support of all those who call themselves by the Democratic name I do not doubt for an instant. I shall keep to rally to their aid that great body of liberal, progressive and independent thought which believes that "progress is motion, Government is action," which detests privilege in whatever form and which does not wish the American people or their Government to stand still or retreat from the midst of a changing world.
There can be no compromise with reaction. Liberal principles must and will prevail. This is the mandate of the hour and I shall obey it.

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ALL FACTIONS AGREEABLE
Head of Ticket Accepts Choice of Bryan's Brother as Running Mate.
SETTLED ON FIRST BALLOT
After 24 Candidates Are Voted On Host of States Swing Over to Bryan.

Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska, Democratic Candidate for Vice President, was announced by John W. Davis, the Presidential nominee, as the first ballot choice of the convention. The announcement was made at 11:30 P. M. The announcement was made at 11:30 P. M. The announcement was made at 11:30 P. M.

New York Times, Tuesday, July 10, 1924



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good country music from Amarillo and
Abilene, the friendliest people and the
prettiest women you’ve ever seen.”*

Gary P. Nunn

The Mock Convention Today

Steering Committee Planned, Organized Convention

by Sam Flax

The first W&L Mock Convention was inspired by the visit of William Jennings Bryan to campus the spring of the election year. There was little advance planning. The history of the 1980 Mock Convention's planning is quite a bit more extensive.

The 1980 convention got underway shortly after the conclusion of the 1976 Mock Convention with the appointment of interim chairman. "There wasn't really much to do then," remembers Dick Schoenfeld, one of the three 1980 convention chairmen. The interim chairmen, nevertheless, were responsible for making sure the 1976 event was wrapped up and, more importantly, with recruiting freshmen and sophomores to take over spots for the 1980 event.

It is hard to get excited about an event three years away, but the convention idea intrigued three students in particular. They were Schoenfeld, Sidney Simmons and Craig Cornett. In the spring of 1978, the Student Body Executive Committee appointed the three as joint chairmen for the 1980 convention. Planning for this weekend's Mock Convention was fully underway.

Cornett, a politics and economics major from Camp Springs, Maryland, says he got involved in the convention because of "an interest in politics. I was also interested in something long-range. I wanted to watch something grow." Schoenfeld, who worked for the Republican National Committee last summer, first became interested when he received information on the convention as a prospective student. Simmons, a religion and economics major from Jacksonville, Florida, was recruited by fraternity brother Jim McNider, one of the interim chairman. With all three committed to the project, a decision was made that they would split the responsibilities of the convention, without a single person in charge. "It's hard for me to imagine anybody doing this thing by themselves," reflects Schoenfeld.

Simmons has primary responsibilities for the state delegations. "I'm making sure they're raising money by prodding and pushing them," he explains. "I've gotten to know many more people than I would otherwise," Simmons reports. "The level of quality among the state chairmen is quite high and we've succeeded in getting a diversity of people. Today my job is just a matter of day in and day out attention."

Meanwhile, Cornett has had primary responsibility for the political research aspects of the convention. "I work with the state chairmen with an ultimate goal of picking the right candidate," Cornett says. Cornett admits to a bit of disappoint-



The Steering Committee (l-r): Salmons, Eaton, Arnold, Powell, Baxter, Cornett, Simmons, Schoenfeld.

ment that much of the research may be for naught as Ronald Reagan threatens to run away with the race. He insists though, "If every one of the candidates was still in the race, we'd pick the right one. We haven't wasted our time." Cornett notes that the political research activities have been helped by this being a Republican rather than Democratic convention. "We have quite a few more contacts in the Republican party," he reports.

Schoenfeld has been in charge of the logistical aspects of the convention itself. "My side is more of the nuts and bolts of the whole thing such as setting up the parade and getting the gym ready," he explains. "It's been a long and tedious process," he reports. "It was particularly frustrating trying to find an elephant for the parade."

Despite the functional responsibilities, each of the chairmen has an interest and a voice in the entire convention. "We each wanted a say-so in each part of the conven-



The Steering Committee (l-r): Coleman, Stewart, Swagart, Dwyer, Corrigan, Flax, Brown.

Sam Flax is a second-year law student and editor of the Journal.

1980 Mock Convention

tion," explains Schoenfeld. "We work on everything, really," adds Cornett. With the convention all but ready to take place, the three chairmen reflect with satisfaction on their tenure. "It was the little successes that kept us going," says Simmons. "For instance, it was really encouraging when a public radio station from New York said they were going to cover the convention more than a year ago. It showed somebody outside of W&L was also planning for the convention."

All three expect it to be a letdown next week when they realize the convention will be over. "I'm going to sleep for three weeks," says Simmons. All the chairmen will graduate next month. Cornett says the convention will undoubtedly stand out as the biggest thing he's done at W&L. And Schoenfeld considers the convention to have given him more practical experience than anything else he's done in college.

Nevertheless, the three admit they will surely not miss some aspects of the convention. The 50-hour weeks, the worrying, and the pressure also will end. "It's been the first and last thing we think of every day," says Schoenfeld. "We've all woken at one time or another in a cold sweat after dreaming the whole convention's fallen through." Cornett adds, "The first thing I've done each morning is look at the political articles in the newspaper. I don't really know what's going on in the rest of the world."

While Cornett, Schoenfeld and Simmons have been working on the convention the longest, the responsibility for pulling off the event is widely disseminated. "We're really a very decentralized organization," explains Cornett. Many of the convention decisions are made by the Steering Committee, a group of 18 students who are officers of the convention or chairmen of various committees.

The person responsible for keeping the convention office going has been Convention Secretary Rick Corrigan, a senior politics and history major from Charleston, South Carolina. "The satisfaction in the job came from minimizing the confusion of the operation," says Corrigan. "I've really become sort of a devil's advocate around the office," he reports. "I see almost everything that's going on and balance things." Corrigan, who got involved with the convention because he enjoys politics, concludes, "I could run just about any office now."

Handling the convention's money has been the responsibility of Chip Arnold, a senior accounting major from Washington, D.C. Arnold admits to not being particularly interested in politics. For him "the biggest satisfaction comes from handling that much money." The various committees and state delegations will spend \$45,000 in putting on the convention. The figure is the largest of any student activity at W&L. The job is further complicated by the numerous small expenditures made by each convention operation. This year's financial records are being kept both by computer and by hand. "I had to set up a whole new set of books," explains Arnold. "There really wasn't very much left from last time."

Finance and Development Chairman Richard Makepeace, a senior economics major from Greensboro, North Carolina, has been in charge of raising much of the

Mock Convention Enters Computer Age

During the 1960 Mock Convention Adlai Stevenson possessed enough votes to make him the convention's choice. Fortunately for posterity, there was a shortage of adding machines that year and student officials were delayed in ruling him the winner. Meanwhile, several delegations changed their minds — and the nomination was subsequently given to John Kennedy.

There will be no such incident this year. The 1980 Mock Convention is computerized, with three computers in operation during the event. Two of the machines will be devoted exclusively to tallying votes, according to Mock Convention facilities chairman Goetz Eaton. These computers will run the new electronic scoreboard, with one computer backing up the other. "It will all take just a matter of seconds," according to Eaton.

The third computer is actually the university's Harris computer system which the Mock Convention has been utilizing to keep track of accounting, delegates and other information for several months now. "The Harris computer terminal will be a big help on security at the convention," according to Eaton. In case a delegate loses his credentials, the delegate's status can be instantly verified by computer and new credentials prepared.

Much of the computer work has been done by Steve Bigler, a junior Business Administration major. "It's been pretty hectic," according to Bigler. "It took most of February break to build the system." A duplicate set of financial records is being kept by hand while bugs are worked out of the system. Eventually, however, all records will be switched to the machine. "We're able to get weekly financial reports," says Bigler. The computer program will be available to future Mock Conventions as well.

money for the convention. Makepeace's committee has used numerous methods of raising funds including solicitations from foundations (the Sumners Foundation of Dallas, Texas gave the largest donation), holding alumni cocktail parties, and forming the Committee of 100 which is composed of convention Steering Committee members from previous years. "To a large degree we have concentrated our efforts in Virginia, realizing that corporations within the state are more familiar with the convention's reputation for accuracy," explains Makepeace.

Guy Steuart, a senior economics major from Chevy Chase, Maryland, has had the responsibility of spreading the story of the Mock Convention as the Public Relations and Media Chairman. "The public relations aspect is concerned with the promotional end of the convention—the gimmicks that give it a convention atmosphere," explains Steuart. Convention attendees will be able to purchase of-

(continued on following page)

Steering

(continued from previous page)

ficial mock convention shirts, bumper stickers, grain cups, matches, and, at the local ABC store, official Mock Convention Bourbon (Jim Beam with a special label). Steuart, who hopes to work for the Republican National Committee after graduation, also has been contacting press and broadcast organizations throughout the United States, inviting them to cover the Mock Convention. One means of such communication has been the preparation and distribution of the *Mock Convention Report* over the past year. The *Report*, which has been mailed to key alumni and friends of the University as well as to the media, has reported continuing developments on the convention.

The biggest highlight of the convention for Lexington residents is the traditional parade. Setting up the parade has been the responsibility of Don Swagart, a senior American History major from Bethesda, Maryland. "My committee has been selecting bands, making sure that state delegations are constructing floats and coordinating the parade with Lexington officials," explains Swagart. "The satisfaction of the job comes from being able to put in new and different things to make the parade more interesting for the people of Lexington," says Swagart. Highlights of this year's parade include a day-glow fireworks display at the conclusion of the parade and the special appearance of the Budweiser Clydesdale horse team.

Third-year law student Ed Brown and his committee have been preparing the platform that will be adopted by the convention on Saturday morning. "We're combining the perspectives of both Washington and Lee students and the Republican Party," reports Brown. Brown has been holding hearings on the platform both at W&L and at surrounding women's colleges. Brown says he has enjoyed working with the undergraduates on the Steering Committee. "In law school you tend to know only law people," he notes.

Pulling off the convention itself is largely the responsibility of Facilities Chairman Goetz Eaton, a senior German major from Anderson, South Carolina. "I wanted to get involved in the less political aspects of the convention," says Eaton. Eaton's committee has handled aspects of the convention ranging from housing for visiting speakers and newsmen to building the new \$800 electronic scoreboard. Also under Eaton's direction is the 50-man security force, the convention computer system (see accompanying story), and designing and setting up the decoration for the gymnasium. "The committee has worked quite efficiently," reports Eaton. "But we won't know for sure if it all works until the convention's over."

Contacting and hosting the speakers at the convention has been the responsibility of Speakers Chairman Richard Salmons. Salmons, a junior English major from Charleston, South Carolina, says, "I hadn't thought actively about working on the convention until this year." He willingly accepted the position when offered. Originally, Salmons's committee was in charge of soliciting speakers. "As the convention got closer, my committee turned to planning the arrangements

and hospitality for the speakers," he explains. "I've enjoyed the sense of involvement. It's been something out of the normal routine."

The Convention Steering Committee also includes the four regional coordinators who supervise the activities of the state delegations. "We're advisors and firefighters," says Northeast Coordinator Mike Powell, a senior from Hampton, Virginia. "We watch out for slack people and generally back up the state chairman." All four of the coordinators profess a strong interest in politics. Midwest Coordinator Kevin Dwyer, a junior English major from Leesburg, Virginia, is a self-described "political animal." Despite the time involved, Dwyer says, "I can't think of anything I'd rather do. It's been a good taste of what a real campaign is like." Western Coordinator Jean Baxter, a third-year law student from Tempe, Arizona, says she developed an active political interest by working one summer in the office of Rep. John Rhodes (R-Ariz.). Baxter has the distinction of being the first woman to have a major position in a Mock Convention. "It doesn't feel very strange being the only woman," says Baxter. "I like the people I work with." Southern Coordinator John McAlister originally started out as North Carolina state chairman. The senior history major from Charlotte plans to follow up his political interests by working full time in a congressional campaign this fall. McAlister admits frustrations in "getting state chairmen to follow through. We don't really talk as much as we should." Northeast Coordinator Powell has the distinction of being one of the few students to participate in both the 1976 and 1980 conventions. "I wanted to be more involved this time," explains Powell who, as a freshman, was a member of the 1976 South Dakota delegation.

When the Mock Convention is finally adjourned for good on Saturday afternoon and the bulk of the delegates stream to the North Carolina lacrosse game, the members of the Steering Committee will breath a collective sigh of relief. The years of planning, fretting and frustration will be erased by the satisfaction of a completed convention. There will be a couple of people already on edge, though. A couple of weeks ago the Executive Committee appointed the interim chairmen for the 1984 Mock Convention.



1948 Convention Parade

1980 Mock Convention

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State Chairmen Responsible For Heart of Convention

For over a year and a half, state chairmen have been supervising a variety of activities, the most important being research. With the help of some well-placed contacts in their respective states the state chairmen, by now, have an in-depth understanding of the political process and the people behind it. The success of the research is ultimately judged by the accuracy of our nomination, but the role of the state chairman does not end there.

In addition to his political research, each state chairman is

responsible for financing the activities of his delegation. With the help of a treasurer, the chairman seeks the support of businesses and individuals in the state. In all, the 54 delegations raised well over \$15,000. All of this cannot be done alone; there are officers and delegates to help. To be successful the state chairmen has to exercise the leadership necessary to coordinate everything from the building of a parade float to the planning of parties. Its a trying experience, but one rich with rewards.

Alabama	Robert L. Walter	Oklahoma	Benjamin J. Butts
Alaska	Kelly J. Niernberger	Oregon	Gilbert A. Pearsall Jr.
	Daniel L. Weiss	Pennsylvania	Carl W. Miller II
Arizona	Edward I. Curry III	Rhode Island	William Garrett
Arkansas	Adrian Williamson III	South Carolina	Leslie A. Cotter Jr.
California	Timothy A. Brooks	South Dakota	Brian T. Downs
	Thomas R. Salley III	Tennessee	H. Fredrick Moore
	Douglas C. Dorsey		J. Clay Crumbliss
Colorado	A. William Mackie	Texas	John B. Northington
Connecticut	Charles L. Scott		J. Kelly Ryan
Delaware	Robert H. Willis	Utah	Timothy J. Stuart
Florida	W. Powell Jones	Vermont	John D. Harris
Georgia	Stewart Atkinson Jr.	Virginia	William W. Paxton
	Dennis S. Roberts		M. Kevin McCusty
Hawaii	H. Christopher Peacock	Washington	Michael B. Van Amburgh
Idaho	Robert L. Brooke	West Virginia	Scott S. Bond
Illinois	Christopher D. Schram	Wisconsin	Peter D. Eliades
Indiana	John J. Fox III	Wyoming	William E. Browning
Iowa	Herbert G. Smith II	D.C.	John F. Lowe III
	Todd L. Sutherland	Guam	Edward L. Bowie Jr.
Kansas	Kevin M. McGuire	Puerto Rico	Ricardo F. Casellas
Kentucky	David B. Favrot Jr.	Virgin Islands	J. Bruce Moore
Louisiana	Daniel R. Collopy		
Maine	Arthur P. Caltrider		
Maryland	Franklin H. White		
Massachusetts	S. Mills Rogers III		
Michigan	James E. Dunn Jr.		
Minnesota	Murry G. McClintock		
Mississippi	William S. Ridge		
Missouri	Benjamin F. Jarratt		
Montana	Clark L. Perryman		
Nebraska	Bruce K. Young		
Nevada			
New Hampshire	J. Douglas Pinotti		
New Jersey	Joseph Robles		
New Mexico	James D. Brokelman		
	Bruce S. Honig		
New York	Richard G. Bird II		
	Joseph C. Letosky		
North Carolina	Albin B. Hammond		
	Sydney D. Farrar		
North Dakota	Andrew F. Trotter		
Ohio	John T. Woods		



State chairmen listen intently at one of numerous meetings.

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Political Research Provides Backbone of Mock Convention

by Craig Cornett

Washington and Lee's 1980 Mock Republican Convention claims, with good reason, to be the most realistic and authentic event of its kind in America. Both the Convention's goal of helping students better understand the American political process — and the convention's famed success — are based on political research activities. These research efforts culminate on Saturday afternoon of the Convention, when the names of Republican candidates for president are placed in nomination and the roll call of states begins.


To the spectator, it may be difficult to discern how state chairmen will cast their votes and how the 1980 Mock Convention eventually will decide on candidates for president and vice-president. It is a process that began almost two years ago and will not be complete until the Permanent Chairman declares a candidate to be the nominee.

Each state chairman began research efforts last winter by educating himself on the political system in his state. Political profiles of the state and each congressional district were compiled. Students investigated the political history and tradition of each state, the formal structure of the state's government, and the state's Republican party. Lists of contacts were compiled, including the names of elected Republican leaders at the federal, state, and local levels, Republican party officials and professionals, political editors and writers of major newspapers, and knowledgeable political scientists from universities and colleges within the state. Additionally, state delegations took out subscriptions with major newspapers in the state. Each state chairman completed this preliminary research by determining how the state's Republican party selected delegates for the Republican National Convention, to be held this July in Detroit. This final step was particularly important in the research process, as it allowed the students to knowledgeably interpret various events in their states.

After compiling this initial information, state chairmen began a lengthy correspondence process with the persons identified in the preliminary research stage. The students mailed surveys and questionnaires to Republican officials and politicians, journalists, and political scientists. The students sought to determine what candidate likely would receive the state's delegate support, who are the "power brokers" in the state, and who would be most likely to receive the Republican vice-presidential nomination.

This correspondence process has continued right up to the Mock Convention. Consequently, state chairmen have developed invaluable contacts that they will use at the Convention itself. When the balloting begins, state chairmen will be making numerous telephone calls to their contacts and

sources. The chairmen will inform the contacts of how the vote is progressing and will ask for advice on how the state's delegation likely would vote in such circumstances. Some state delegations are bound to cast a certain number of votes for a certain candidate as a result of an earlier primary, caucus, or convention decision. Each state chairman knows the election laws of his state and rules of his state party and will use this information to help him make informed, accurate decisions on each ballot. The diversity of the process demonstrates the fragmentation of the American government and political system.

Some state delegations will have a reasonably concrete idea of how their delegate votes will likely be cast at the July Republican National Convention because the delegate selection process has already been completed. Most delegations, though, will rely on their preparation. The 1952 Mock Republican Convention provides historical evidence of how this research process works. After three ballots in 1952, Ohio Sen. Robert A. Taft led General Dwight Eisenhower with California Gov. Earl Warren, a favorite son candidate, a distant third. The Mock Convention's California State Chairman had done his homework well and had established a correspondence with Gov. Warren. Informed that he now had no chance of receiving the nomination, Warren wired the Mock Convention with instructions that California free its delegates. As a result, General Eisenhower had enough strength to receive the nomination on the fourth ballot. (Warren himself received the vice-presidential nomination). It was yet another example of the seriousness, authenticity, realism, and political instinctiveness that has become the trademark of Washington and Lee's Mock Convention. 



Despite the signs for Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon won the 1968 Mock Convention nomination.

Craig Cornett is a senior and co-chairman of the Mock Convention.

The 1980 Washington & Lee

Friday, May 9, 1980

PARADE

Convention parade begins at 10:00 a.m.. Parade follows Main Street to Washington Street, thence to campus.

SESSION I—1:00 p.m.

Pre-Convention Entertainment *The Generals of Jazz*

Presentation of the Colors

Pledge of Allegiance

Singing of the National Anthem

Invocation

Call for Convention E. PATRICK CORRIGAN III
of South Carolina
Convention Secretary

Nomination and Election of the Temporary Chairman

“Greetings From The University” The HON. ROBERT E.R. HUNTLEY,
President

“Greetings From The City of Lexington” The HON. CHARLES F. PHILLIPS, JR.,
Mayor

“Greetings From The Commonwealth of Virginia” The HON. JOHN N. DALTON,
Governor

Opening Remarks of the Temporary Chairman SIDNEY S. SIMMONS II
of Florida

Opening Address

Report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Report of the Committee on Credentials

State Chairman’s Report

Benediction

Adjournment



Mock Convention Program

SESSION II — 8:00 p.m.

Pre-Convention Entertainment

Invocation

Election of the Permanent Chairman and Vice-Chairman

Opening Remarks of the Permanent Chairman P. CRAIG CORNETT
of Maryland

Opening Remarks of the Permanent Vice-Chairman. RICHARD H. SCHOENFELD
of The District of Columbia

Keynote Address The HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER,
United States Senator from Arizona and Republican Nominee for President, 1964

Platform Address The HON. HENSON M. MOORE
United States Representative from Louisiana

Report of the Committee on Resolutions EDWARD H. BROWN
of Illinois
Chairman

Benediction

Adjournment

Saturday, May 10, 1980

SESSION III — 9:30 a.m.

Pre-Convention Entertainment

Presentation of the Colors

Pledge of Allegiance

Singing of the National Anthem

Invocation

Opening Address The HON. WILLIAM E. BROCK III,
Chairman, Republican National Committee

Nominations for President of the United States

Roll Call of States for a Nominee for President of the United States

Nominations for Vice-President of the United States

Roll Call of States for a Nominee for Vice-President of the United States

Appointment of Notification Committee

Acceptance Speech of the Presidential Nominee

Benediction

Adjournment *sine die*

*Compliments of the Parents
of the
North Carolina Delegation*

A.B. Hammond
Syd Farrar
Buddy Bahakel
Kelly Irby
Danny Carucci
Bruce Whipple
Jim Hind
Murph Gregg
John Warmath
Hunt Shuford
Malcolm Kendall
Rusty Seay
Gordon Grubb
Thad Ellis
Wood Woodward
George Fagan
Chip Sisk
Dee Keesler
Ed Shaver
Dickey Finney

Table of Votes

STATE	DELEGATE VOTES	ELECTORAL VOTES	1976 GENERAL ELECTION VOTE	1976 CONVEN- TION VOTE		PROCESS
				Reagan	Ford	
ALABAMA	27	9	56%—Carter	37	0	primary
ALASKA	19	3	58%—Ford	2	17	cau/conv
ARIZONA	28	6	56%—Ford	27	2	cau/conv
ARKANSAS	19	6	65%—Carter	17	10	cau/conv
CALIFORNIA	168	45	51%—Ford	167	0	primary
COLORADO	31	7	54%—Ford	26	5	cau/conv
CONNECTICUT	33	8	52%—Ford	0	35	primary
DELAWARE	12	3	52%—Carter	2	15	cau/conv
D. C.	14	3	82%—Carter	0	14	primary
FLORIDA	51	17	52%—Carter	23	43	primary
GEORGIA	36	12	67%—Carter	48	0	primary
HAWAII	14	4	51%—Carter	1	18	cau/conv
IDAHO	21	4	60%—Ford	17	4	primary
ILLINOIS	102	26	51%—Ford	14	86	primary
INDIANA	54	13	53%—Ford	45	9	primary
IOWA	37	8	51%—Ford	17	19	cau/conv
KANSAS	32	7	53%—Ford	4	30	primary
KENTUCKY	27	9	53%—Carter	18	19	primary
LOUISIANA	31	10	52%—Carter	36	5	primary
MAINE	21	4	51%—Ford	5	15	cau/conv
MARYLAND	30	10	53%—Carter	0	43	primary
MASSACHUSETTS	42	14	56%—Ford	15	28	primary
MICHIGAN	82	21	52%—Ford	29	55	primary
MINNESOTA	34	10	55%—Carter	10	55	cau/conv
MISSISSIPPI	22	7	51%—Carter	14	16	primary
MISSOURI	37	12	51%—Carter	31	18	cau/conv
MONTANA	20	4	53%—Ford	20	0	primary
NEBRASKA	25	5	60%—Ford	18	7	primary
NEVADA	17	3	51%—Ford	13	5	primary
NEW HAMPSHIRE	22	4	56%—Ford	3	18	primary
NEW JERSEY	66	17	51%—Ford	4	63	primary
NEW MEXICO	22	4	51%—Ford	21	0	primary
NEW YORK	123	41	51%—Carter	20	133	primary
NORTH CAROLINA	40	13	55%—Carter	29	25	primary
NORTH DAKOTA	17	3	52%—Ford	7	11	cau/conv
OHIO	77	25	51%—Carter	6	91	primary
OKLAHOMA	34	8	51%—Ford	36	0	cau/conv
OREGON	29	6	51%—Ford	14	16	primary
PENNSYLVANIA	83	27	51%—Carter	10	93	primary
RHODE ISLAND	13	4	55%—Carter	0	19	primary
SOUTH CAROLINA	25	8	56%—Carter	27	9	primary
SOUTH DAKOTA	22	4	51%—Ford	11	9	primary
TENNESSEE	32	10	56%—Carter	22	21	primary
TEXAS	80	26	51%—Carter	100	0	primary
UTAH	21	4	62%—Ford	20	0	cau/conv
VERMONT	19	3	55%—Ford	0	18	primary
VIRGINIA	51	12	51%—Ford	35	16	cau/conv
WASHINGTON	37	9	51%—Ford	31	7	cau/conv
WEST VIRGINIA	18	6	58%—Carter	8	20	primary
WISCONSIN	34	11	51%—Ford	0	45	primary
WYOMING	19	3	59%—Ford	10	7	cau/conv
GUAM	4	-		0	4	cau/conv
PUERTO RICO	14	-		0	8	primary
VIRGIN ISLANDS	4	-		0	4	cau/conv
TOTALS	1994	535		1070	1187	

*Best Wishes
to the
1980 Mock Convention*

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Baltimore, Maryland

Goldwater Keynotes Conclave

by Guy Stuart

There is no person more qualified to deliver the keynote address at this year's Mock Convention than Barry M. Goldwater Jr. The four-term Senate veteran is truly the most distinguished figure in the Republican Party today. Further, Washington and Lee is familiar territory to the Arizona Senator — the connection goes back to 1964, when student delegates at the 13th Mock Convention correctly predicted that Goldwater would be selected as the Republican Party's nominee for the presidency.

First elected to the Senate from the Grand Canyon State in 1952, Goldwater's first business experience was in a highly successful, family-owned general merchandise firm. His bid for the Oval Office came at a time of great popular sympathy for the Democratic party and its fallen hero, John Kennedy, as well as the challenge of upsetting a powerful incumbent in Lyndon Johnson. As a result, he suffered what was then the worst margin of defeat — 16 million votes — in presidential election history.

During his campaign, Goldwater advocated basic — and extremely conservative — themes time and again. That immorality runs rampant in government, that the federal government is too powerful and meddlesome in private affairs, that the nation's defenses are gradually decaying into an alarming condition, that the Johnson administration's foreign policy followed a line of appeasement and failure — all these were expanded in the months before the election.

His continued emphasis on the preservation of individual freedoms didn't win him many votes — except in the South — but his determination to place honesty before politics and maintain an unpopular stand for what he deemed just are still considered major factors contributing to his respected position today. Columnists were quick to criticize Goldwater after his presidential defeat, claiming he not only lost the election but the entire conservative cause as well. They maintained that he had splintered the Republican party for years to come and declared strongly that he would never be recognized as a national party spokesman-leader again.

But time decreed otherwise — Goldwater was welcomed back to the Senate with an enthusiastic vote in 1968, a victory that was repeated in 1974. At the age of 70, he is once more the dominant figure in the Grand Old Party, though



the years may have mellowed some of those rigidly conservative attitudes and changed his image to one of sage reflection.

Senator Goldwater's appearance will make this his second visit to the W&L campus in four years. As Mock Convention keynoter, he joins a most distinguished list that includes Sen. Alben Barkley, Sen. William Proxmire, then-Gov. Jimmy Carter, and Harry S. Truman.

Goldwater was born in Phoenix, Arizona Territory. He was educated in public schools of Phoenix and Staunton Military Academy in Virginia. He attended the University of Arizona for one year, and served during World War II in the China-Burma-India theatre. He is a retired Major General in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. He began his political career in 1949 when he was elected to the City Council of Phoenix on the reform ticket.

Goldwater has written a dozen books including the widely acclaimed *Conscience of a Conservative*. The prolific writer has authored books on subjects ranging from history to the outdoors to politics. He has been married for 46 years to the former Margaret Johnson of Muncie, Indiana. They have four children and ten grandchildren.



The tally board tells the story of Goldwater's 1964 Mock Convention victory.

Brock to Address Convention

by Richard Schoenfeld

As this weekend is both Mock Convention time and alumni weekend, the man who will provide Saturday's opening address is, appropriately enough, both a leading Republican and a distinguished alumnus. He is Bill Brock, B.S. 1953, and Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

After holding the Republican Chairmanship for two years, former Sen. Brock has succeeded in his efforts to redirect the Republican Party and build a strong national base. In rebuilding the foundation of the party, he has sought to broaden the scope of Republicans. Throughout his distinguished career, Brock has taken an organization and consistently built it from the ground up.

Brock has always recognized the need for a "get-involved program" in the determination of one's future. After his graduation from Washington and Lee, he served as an officer in the U.S. Navy. Following his military service, he became a marketing executive for the family-owned Brock Candy Co. of Chattanooga, Tenn.

It was not until 1960, at the age of 30, that Brock placed a foot into the political arena. Along with several associates, Brock became disillusioned with the traditional one-party rule of the Democrats in Tennessee. As a result he revitalized the 3rd District Republican Committee with emphasis on the young voter. By starting at the "grass roots," Brock successfully built a strong precinct system and first instituted a "get-involved program." His activities quickly showed their success in terms of the high financial support the political organization received. Brock was then named executive director of the state central committee.

After working for two years to form a strong party organization, Bill Brock became the first Republican since the 1920's to be elected to Congress from the 3rd District of Tennessee. After four terms in Congress, he challenged three-term Democrat Albert Gore for a Senate seat. Involving 10,000 volunteers in his campaign, he won in an upset victory. Along with Senator Brock, Tennessee elected the first Republican Governor in a half-century and five out of eight Republican Congressional candidates.

In 1974, Brock was selected by his Senate colleagues to head the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. With this background, it was only a matter of a few years before he was asked to lead the entire party in re-establishing its base of strength after the ravages of Watergate and the Nixon pardon.

Brock inherited the leadership of a party that traditionally placed its emphasis on strong races at the top of the ticket—the glamorous contests for president, governor and senate. Brock's appointment signalled an end to this trend, and in the 1978 elections, the Republican Party gained nearly 300 legislative seats across the country, succeeding in halting the party's downhill slide at the grass-roots level.

Brock's achievements as head of the Republican National



Committee go beyond absolute numbers, though. He has recognized a need for the Republicans to expand beyond a party with an image of including only white Anglo-Saxon protestants, thus, overtures have been made to include minorities, ethnics, organized labor and other traditionally Democratic constituencies. Brock is credited with the controversial decision to locate this summer's national convention in Detroit, a traditional Democratic stronghold. While some conservatives have derided Brock for not emphasizing conservative issues such as a right-to-life amendment or opposing the Panama Canal Treaty, his successes in revitalizing the party speak for his overall record.

Brock is married to the former Laura (Muffet) Handly. They have four children: Bill, Jr., Ocsar, Hutchey and John. Bill, Jr., is presently a junior at W&L.



The 1952 Mock Republican Convention.

1980 Mock Convention

Gov. Dalton to Welcome Delegates

Virginia Governor John N. Dalton will provide opening remarks and the official welcome from the Commonwealth of Virginia to delegates attending the Mock Convention. Dalton, born in Emporia and a resident of Radford, is a life-long Virginia Republican. He has been governor since 1978, previously serving a term as lieutenant governor.

Dalton graduated from The College of William and Mary in 1953 where he was president of the student body. After service in the U.S. Army as an artillery officer, Dalton entered law school at the University of Virginia. Upon graduation in 1957 he entered private practice in Radford with his father Ted, now a federal district judge.

The governor began his political career in 1965, being elected to the first of four terms in the House of Delegates. Dalton was elected to the Virginia Senate in 1972 and a year later was elected lieutenant governor. While in the legislature, Dalton took principal roles in judicial reorganization and in setting standards for reclaiming surface-mined land.

As lieutenant governor, Dalton was chosen by *Time* magazine as one of 200 young leaders of America in 1974. Dalton became the 63rd governor of Virginia on January



14, 1978. He is presently Chairman of the Southern Governors' Association and serves on several regional and national commissions.

John Warner to Lead Parade

by Jeff Bartlett

U.S. Senator John W. Warner of Virginia will lead the traditional Mock Convention Parade, to be held on Friday morning, May 9. As parade marshal, Warner will be the Mock Convention's "good-will" ambassador to the community and the nation. In this post, he joins the list of notables that includes William Brock in 1968, Andrew Miller in 1972, and Henry Howell in 1976.

Warner graduated from Washington and Lee in 1949 and is on the University's Board of Trustees. He participated in the Mock Convention in 1948 and has been active in his support of the event since his graduation.

Born on February 18, 1927, in Washington, D.C., Warner received his early education in the public schools there. After a tour of duty in the U.S. Navy, Warner entered W&L in 1946. He majored in general engineering course, physics and mathematics, and received a B.S. degree in 1949. He immediately entered law school at the University of Virginia.

The Senator's political activity began with the 1960 Nixon presidential campaign. In 1969, Nixon appointed Warner Under Secretary of the Navy. In 1972, he was nominated and approved as the Secretary of the Navy. President Ford appointed Warner to coordinate the nation's bicentennial celebrations in 1975, and following the successful completion of this assignment, Warner returned to private life in Virginia.



Warner ran for the Senate in 1978, losing a tight race to Richard Obenshain at the State Republican Convention. When Obenshain was killed several months later in a plane crash, Warner accepted the party's nomination. In November 1978 Warner upset Democratic nominee and former attorney general Andrew Miller for the seat. Warner is Assistant Minority Whip of the Senate and serves on the Armed Services Committee and the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee.

Louisiana's Moore to Discuss Platform

Rep. W. Henson Moore, Platform Speaker at this year's Mock Convention, represents the new direction of the Republican Party. When the Louisianan was elected in a special election in 1975, he was only the second Republican Congressman in 101 years from the state. At the time of his election he stated, "It's got to mean something when you consider that I had a combination of three things against me traditionally considered to win political office in Louisiana — blacks, labor and a political machine."

Moore, 40, is a Louisiana native, being born in Lake Charles and growing up in Baton Rouge. He received a B.A. in government from Louisiana State University and later a law degree. Following a stint in the U.S. Army, Moore returned to Baton Rouge to practice law.

Running for Congress was Moore's first attempt at political office. In the November 1974 general election he defeated Democrat Jeff LaCaze by a mere 44 votes for the Sixth District seat. The Louisiana Supreme Court, however, threw out the election after determining that a voting machine malfunctioned. Moore went on to win the special election by a stunning 11,000 vote margin. The margin was all the more remarkable because of Louisiana politics where 90% of the voters are registered Democrats. He has been re-elected by increasing margins and received 91% of the votes in 1978.

In May 1975 Moore was honored as the Outstanding



Republican Freshman Congressman for his leadership in opening the meetings of the House Republican Conference to the public. Moore, who has maintained in excess of a 98% voting record in Congress, has established himself as an expert on tax and energy matters. He was a major force behind Congress' recent decision to exempt from income taxes certain interest from savings accounts. Moore is a member of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee and its important Trade and Oversight subcommittees.

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Parade Features Budweiser Clydesdales

One of the highlights of this year's Mock Convention parade will be the appearance of the famed Anheuser-Busch Clydesdale horses pulling the Budweiser draft wagon. From their custom-forged four-pound shoes, past nature's stockings feathered like fleece, past lean, broad shoulders, to the tip of their brawny black and brass collars, the Clydesdales are breathtaking. Together they gait in unison, gleaming, graceful, nimble to a fault. Since 1933, the fabled hitch has been thundering its way into the hearts of America, appearing at parades, festivals, rodeos and shopping centers from coast to coast. The largest brewer in the world, St. Louis-based Anheuser-Busch, Inc., regards them as unmistakable symbols of the company's Budweiser brand, the world's best selling beer. Ancestor to the noble steed which bore warriors to battle in the Crusades, more recently of Scottish descent, the Clydesdale was declining in numbers when August A. Busch, Jr. acquired a team to celebrate the repeal of prohibition. In the early days of American brewing, it was said that a brewer's success was determined by how far his draught horses could pull their sudsy load in a day's time. Horsepower went under the hood after World War I; that and packaging innovations made two things obsolete: local beers and the horses that pulled them to market. The Clydesdale breed seemed to face a bleak future.

Today, in comparison, they flourish. What began 43 years ago as a ceremonial gesture has become breeding science. At Grant's Farm in suburban St. Louis County, nearly 100 champion-sired pure breeds — each of impeccable lineage — roam in picturesque pastures adjacent to what was once the spread of America's 18th President. They comprise the largest band of Clydesdales in the nation. Between 20 and 30 Clydesdale foals are born at Grant's Farm each year. At first appearance, most of them seem already to have the credentials to qualify for membership in the eight-horse touring hitch. But standards are demanding. All hitch horses are at least three years of age. Each must stand approximately 18 hands high, be bay in color, have four white stockings and feet, a blaze of white on the face plus a black mane and tail.

Psychological make-up is equally important. A hitch horse must have steel nerves, gentleness and courage enough to withstand the social pressures of meeting a quarter of a million people weekly, not to mention the primping and travel that go with celebrity status. Two eight-horse hitch teams — one based in St. Louis, the other in Merrimack, New Hampshire — travel the U.S., logging about 40,000 miles and 300 appearances yearly. Many groups request Clydesdale appearances. The brewery's corporate promotions staff in St. Louis receives more than 5,000 solicitations annually, but must evaluate each in light of other commitments, budget and logistics. Anheuser-Busch pays most expenses.



The famed Budweiser Clydesdales.

Transporting the Clydesdales is itself a mammoth undertaking. The horses travel in style, befitting their designation as "The King's Steeds." Each entourage includes three 40-by 8-foot vans with air cushion suspension and thick rubber flooring to ease the rigors of standing. Vent fans and insulation assure fresh air and comfortable temperatures. The caravan stops each 100 miles to attend to the horses' comfort. It stops also at night to provide the horses with exercise and a good rest in spacious stalls. The Clydesdale diet is equally sumptuous. One 2,200-pound Clydesdale will consume as much as 20 to 30 quarts of feed in two daily meals, with a few pounds of carrots. The feed is a mix of beet pulp, crimped oats, bran, minerals, salt, molasses and water. On top of that, the horses consume 50-60 pounds of hay daily. Grooming and dressing the Clydesdales for public appearances is a massive undertaking. It takes an average of 45 minutes to wash and clean each horse. Brading the mane and dressing the tail entail another 20 minutes. Then into the spit-n-polished black and brass \$30,000-custom-made harnessware. In all, it takes five hours of strenuous work to ready the Clydesdales to meet their public. Putting the Clydesdales through their precise paces is just as demanding. Although the expert hitch drivers make it look easy, guiding eight tons of horsepower is a far cry from power steering. "It's having 60 or 70 pounds of weight in your hands at all times; you've got to maintain constant tension on the reins or you lose contact with the horses," says one veteran driver. The horses are harnessed in such a way as to give each almost complete freedom of movement forward and backward. Driver skill alone determines pace, position and movement. The driver and assistant have their hands full continuously. While one drives, the other is busily straightening the reins. The stress of guiding 12-plus tons of horse and wagon is so great that drivers generally trade duties during an appearance.



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Reagan Overcomes Obstacles

by George Polizos
and David Harpole

"They said it couldn't be done," could well be the theme of Ronald Reagan's political career. An actor for the bulk of his life, Reagan's first bid for elective office was against incumbent California Governor Pat Brown in 1966. Reagan won by 600,000 votes in a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans 3 to 2. Ten years later he sought the presidential nomination against an incumbent of his own party and came within a hair of getting the nomination. Today, he is the leading candidate for the Republican nomination despite breaking almost every rule in the political book.

One bit of common wisdom is that Reagan is too old. If elected, he would, at 69, be the oldest man to begin a term of president. Yet Reagan does not hide his age, insisting that his hair is not dyed its jet black color. On his recent 69th birthday, Reagan turned the celebration into a media show.

Another bit of common wisdom is that Reagan is too conservative to win the presidency. Gerald Ford, his 1976 opponent, publicly stated earlier this year that Reagan was not electable. Yet Reagan has won primaries in such seemingly liberal states as New York, Massachusetts and Wisconsin.

A final bit of wisdom is that Reagan would be sure to stumble in seeking the nomination as have many recent presidential front-runners. Reagan almost did blow his lead. He refusal to debate other Republicans hopefuls before the Iowa precinct caucuses was a prime cause of his upset loss to George Bush. Yet only weeks later, it was Reagan's insistence that all the Republican candidates join a debate over Bush's refusal that was a big factor in Reagan's stunning margin of victory in the New Hampshire primary. Further, Reagan showed a willingness to take decisive action to save his campaign by firing longtime associate and campaign manager John Sears only hours before the New Hampshire polls closed. Reagan has gone on to large wins in virtually every other primary building up an almost insurmountable lead in the delegate count.

Should Reagan win the nomination and the election, he will truly be a media president. While other presidents have realized the potential for using television as a means of projecting an image to the public, Reagan is, in the words of *Congressional Quarterly*, "the original television candidate." Reagan first mastered the medium as host for G.E. Theatre. As governor he often resorted to television speeches to appeal to the voters when the Democratic legislature blocked a Reagan sponsored program. In the 1976 campaign, a 30-minute televised speech brought in \$1 million, allowing Reagan to mount a significant challenge, Jerry Ford.

Yet, despite the mastery of television, and maybe because of it, a suspicion exists that Reagan is essentially a shallow candidate. According to *CQ*, Reagan as governor had a reputation for over-delegating responsibility to the ex-



tent of appearing to be lazy. Additionally, Reagan often advocates simple solutions to complicated issues, while utilizing numerous catch phrases in his prepared speeches. During his 1967 inaugural address Reagan said, "We have been...told there are no simple answers to complex problems...Well, the truth is there are simple answers, just not easy ones."

Nevertheless, Reagan has attracted a considerable following with a platform that is solidly conservative, even if it's not particularly original. He readily attacks government spending and bloated bureaucracies while favoring heavy defense spending over arms control agreements. Reagan has kept a high profile since leaving the California governorship in 1975. Until his campaign started, Reagan aired his views nationally through a syndicated radio show and newspaper column.

Reagan's Background

Profession:	Actor.
Born:	February 6, 1911, Tampico, Illinois.
Home:	Pacific Palisades, California.
Religion:	Christian Church.
Education:	Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois, B.A. 1932.
Office:	California Governor, 1967-75.
Military:	Army Air Corp, 1942-46.
Family:	Wife, Nancy; four children, two by previous marriage.



Bush Stresses Vast Experience

by Rick Corrigan

At the end of Gerald Ford's term as President, George Bush held the office of Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He hoped to stay on in that position, but soon after taking office, President Carter asked for his resignation. Bush returned to Texas and almost immediately began preparations to run for the presidency. He formally announced early in January of 1979. Ever since, he has been running an energetic campaign centered on the slogan, "A President we won't have to train." Using an extensive list of accomplishments and public offices, George Herbert Walker Bush hopes to sway the Republican party to his soft-toned conservatism.

Bush was born in Massachusetts and grew up in Connecticut, the son of U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Yale, Bush took a job sweeping floors in a Texas oil concern partially owned by his father. Since that time he has co-founded three oil related businesses, and can lay claim to being a self-made millionaire.

He first held office as a U.S. Congressman from the 7th District of Texas. He was the first Republican congressman from the Houston district and ran unopposed for reelection in 1968. At the urging of then President Nixon, Bush ran for the Senate in 1970. Bush easily won the GOP nomination, but, in a surprise move, the Democrats nominated conservative Lloyd Bentsen. With the strong backing of then Gov. John Connally, Bentsen handed Bush his second defeat in a race for the Senate. Nixon subsequently appointed Bush as Ambassador to the United Nations. Less than two years later Bush accepted the role as Republican National Chairman. He held this post through the Watergate affair. He was widely criticized at the time for supporting the President. In a 1974 *Congressional Quarterly* interview Bush said, "I don't feel inhibited from criticizing Watergate. I do believe in supporting the President. I don't think that's contradictory." He was later credited with being one of the first "insiders" to tell Nixon that the time had come to leave.

In 1974 President Ford appointed Bush special envoy to China. Approaching this job with characteristic energy, he and Mrs. Bush studied Chinese. Ambassador Bush is remembered both at the UN and in China for his friendly approach to business and his readiness to do away with protocol. Bush and his wife Barbara often rode bicycles to embassy receptions in China. In 1976 Bush returned to Washington to head the C.I.A.

Beyond Bush's record, the campaign has depended on strong organization. The "start early, run everywhere" tactic has sent Bush, his wife, and five children to every area of the country. One son whose wife speaks Spanish, for instance, spent weeks running the Puerto Rican campaign. Bush won all 14 Puerto Rican delegates. The strategy as described by Bush is "to go everywhere and not worry if you walk into a little house and there are only ten people standing there. Be glad because two of those ten are going to be



local chairmen before you're through speaking."

The media has widely criticized the Bush strategy as aimed at avoiding substantive issues. A *Washington Post* editorial accused Bush of "squandering chance after chance to say something useful or instructive to the electorate."

Generally, Bush stands for the traditional conservative position of a strong voice at home and abroad. Overall, George Bush presents the message that America needs to take charge in the 1980s with a man that can lead the way.

Stunned by several disappointing finishes following an opening victory in the Iowa caucuses, Bush attempted to downplay politics in later primaries. By emphasizing issues, Bush hoped to recover from a serious drop in public support.



Bush's Background

Profession:	Businessman and Diplomat.
Born:	June 12, 1924, Milton, Massachusetts.
Home:	Houston, Texas.
Religion:	Episcopal.
Education:	Yale University, B.A. 1948. Phi Beta Kappa.
Offices:	Member of U.S. House 1967-71; Ambassador to the United Nations, 1971-73; Chairman of The Republican National Committee, 1973-74; Head of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking, 1974-75; Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1976-77.
Military:	U.S. Navy, 1942-45, Distinguished Flying Cross, three air medals.
Family:	Wife, Barbara; five children, two grandchildren.

Anderson Surprises Observers

by Marc Birenbaum

When Illinois congressman John Anderson announced for the presidency, he received little attention. After all, such major Republican figures as John Connally, Howard Baker and Robert Dole were all planning races for the 1980 nomination along with 1976 candidates Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan.

By the middle of March of this year, five of those six "front-runners" were out of the race and Ronald Reagan was leading the pack. Buoyed by strong second place finishes in Massachusetts and Vermont ahead of some of those leaders, and a favorable prognosis for his home-state primary, John Anderson was very much a major candidate. While later primaries were to offer disappointments, Anderson and his liberal following nevertheless established themselves as a force in Republican politics.

Anderson campaign manager William G. Bradford characterizes his candidate as a "Republican who dares to wear his wallet on the right and his heart on the left." Perhaps that description helps explain Anderson's 1978 ratings of 55 percent from Americans For Democratic Action and 44 percent from the conservative Americans For Constitutional Action (ACA).

Whatever, Anderson's heart has not always been in the political ventricle where it is today. He came to Congress in 1961 as a "typical Midwestern conservative," reports the *Congressional Quarterly*. He was elected on a platform opposed to "big government" and communism.

During the 1960's, ACA hailed Anderson's record as one of the most conservative in Congress. "He stands firm against the liberal processes in Washington, the wild spending schemes and the permissive society offered by proponents of the Great Society," was the rhetoric of a 1968 ACA release endorsing Anderson for re-election.

Anderson's political chameleon act came in 1968, according to CQ. As a member of the House Rules Committee, he cast the deciding vote that sent an open-housing bill to the floor. There, he was instrumental in swinging several Republican votes for what eventually became Civil Rights Law.

In his 1970 autobiography, *Between Two Worlds: A Congressman's Choice*, the first-generation American of Swedish heritage, wrote about that vote: "There came to bear in my thinking the realization that even to the point of subordinating something as fundamental as the right of contract to the even more fundamental principle of human rights."

Religion plays a large role in Anderson's life. In 1964, he was named the outstanding layman of the year by the National Association of Evangelicals. But his heroes, he has said, are Republican figures. He admires Abe Lincoln for his compassion, Teddy Roosevelt for his dynamism and Dwight D. Eisenhower for his tenets of fiscal responsibility and decentralized government.



If his deep religious beliefs and his campaign stomping sound similar to a dark-horse candidate of 1976, another similarity could be the running of "John who?" ads in New Hampshire. But any comparison stops there. Anderson has had extensive experience in national government.

He has been a member of the House for 20 years, Chairman of the House Republican Conference for 11 years and a senior member of the House Rules Committee. He also has some Foreign Service experience. As a member of the Ad Hoc House Energy Committee, he has argued for creation of an oil-purchasing cartel to deal with OPEC.

On the hill he has established a "reputation as one of Congress's best orators and finest minds," according to CQ. *The Washington Post* has written that he is "one of the most highly respected public servants of any party." Even one of his opponents, Sen. Robert Dole, has called him "probably the brightest of the Republican candidates." *The Des Moines Register* described him as "a silver-haired orator with a golden tongue, a 17-jewel mind and a brass backbone. He is a man of charm, grace and intellect..."



Anderson's Background

Profession:	Attorney.
Born:	February 15, 1922, Rockford, Illinois.
Home:	Rockford.
Religion:	Evangelist.
Education:	Harvard University, L.L.M., 1949.
Offices:	3 terms, State's Attorney for Winnebago County; Member of U.S. House of Representatives, 1960-present.
Memberships:	Phi Beta Kappa.
Military:	U.S. Army.
Committees:	Senior Member of House Rules Committee; Ranking Republican on the Ad Hoc Energy Committee.
Family:	Wife, Keke; five children.

Candidates Stands on Issues Varied

Ronald Reagan

George Bush

John Anderson

Domestic & Economic

Reducing Inflation	Restrain federal spending and hold money supply in line with business	Balance budget, lower tax rates, cut back regulation of business	Balance budget, followed by selective tax cuts to aid lagging productivity
Wage & Price Controls	Opposes	Opposes	Opposes
Cutting Income Taxes	Across-the-board cuts for several years	Eliminate tax on savings, lower payroll taxes	Index taxes for inflation but no across-the-board cuts
Constitutional Amendment to Limit Federal Spending	Favors	Favors	Opposes
Windfall Oil Profits Tax	Opposes	Favors if plowback for insuring new investment	Favors with proceeds to expedite conservation and aid poor
Energy	Dismantle Energy Department and let marketplace solve problems	Decontrol prices with windfall profits tax	50¢ a gallon tax on gasoline, limit nuclear development

Defense and International

U.S.—Soviet Relations	Send clear signals that U.S. will defend interests	Draw a line to show Soviets a strong, coherent American resolve	Sanctions against Soviets to show U.S. can inflict pain
U.S. Presence in Persian Gulf	Commit U.S. forces	Must have forces ready to move	Soviet occupation of countries would require U.S. action
Military Draft	Peacetime registration is useless. No women.	No peacetime draft, but any draft should include women	No peacetime draft
Arms Limitation	Scrap SALT II and start all over	Correct defects in SALT II even if re-negotiation is necessary	U.S. should show willingness to pursue equitable agreements

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Vanquished Candidates Abandoned Race

Howard Baker

by John Hamilton

He seemed to be the obvious choice for Gerald Ford's running mate in 1976. Bright, honest, from a strong Republican tradition, Howard Baker, the senior senator from Tennessee, compensated for some of Ford's weaknesses. Not only would Baker provide the Republican ticket with strength in the South, a region Carter was destined to capture, but Howard Baker was a Republican who actually was helped by Watergate. In a decision that would later be blamed for costing the party the presidency, Ford chose Robert Dole as vice-president and Baker was left behind.

Following the party's defeat in the November election, Baker again seemed a front-runner, this time for the top job in 1980. Many people thought Reagan would be too old in 1980, Gerald Ford would probably not run again, and no other Republican seemed to have the national recognition to win an election. Baker, though, was left behind again this year as his late starting campaign was eclipsed by the efforts of others.

Baker first received national attention in 1973 as the senior Republican at the Senate Watergate hearings. Refusing to accept Nixon's insistence of innocence, Baker repeatedly asked during the hearings, "What did the president know and when did he know it?" Baker's persistence originally aroused accusations of party disloyalty, but when Nixon resigned, Baker was portrayed as a politician who had put principles ahead of party. Baker was elected Senate Minority Leader in 1977, a position formerly held by Baker's father-in-law, the late Sen. Everett Dirksen.

In May, 1979, Baker indicated he would run for president. He campaigned regularly on weekends and during senatorial recesses for the next several months. It was early November, however, before Baker formally announced. By that time other candidates, principally George Bush, had captured much of Baker's intended constituency — moderate Republicans. In announcing for the presidency, Baker stated, "America needs a President who will face up to the realities of a Soviet foreign policy that proves every weakness...who can bring unity and action in the Congress to help our people cope with inflation."

Baker sought to run a campaign stressing issues even in its television advertising. He favored controlling inflation through slowing the growth of federal spending and implementation of selected tax cuts over a four year period. He supported a constitutional amendment to limit federal spending and opposed wage and price controls. Breaking with many Republicans, Baker favored a windfall profits tax on decontrolled petroleum.

In foreign affairs, Baker also was at odds with some Republicans. His support of the Panama Canal treaties alienated many conservative Republicans. Also, while demanding amendments in the negotiated SALT II treaty,

Baker generally supported the concept of strategic arms limitation treaties.

The final blow to Baker's campaign came a week after a disappointing showing in the New Hampshire primary. In one day he placed fourth in both the Massachusetts (5% of the vote) and Vermont (13%) primaries. A day later he withdrew from the race.

Philip Crane

by Gerrald Giblin

Philip Crane had a couple of distinctions in the 1980 presidential campaign. He was the first to announce, (August 2, 1978) and he was the most conservative. Notwithstanding the early start and a correct perception that the American electorate had shifted considerably to the right, Crane's campaign failed to attract money, attention or support. By mid-March, after his home-state Illinois primary, Crane had but four convention votes. Several days later Crane asked his supporters to work for Ronald Reagan, although Crane did not withdraw at that time.

Crane is undeniably conservative. The five-term congressman from suburban Chicago boasts a perfect 100% voting record as compiled by the American Conservative Union. Crane opposes "big government," the Equal Rights Amendment, the SALT II agreement, national health insurance and gun control. He supports heavy tax cuts, increased military spending, and a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion.

More than any other candidate, Crane sought to run against large federal government. Crane believes the federal government is incapable of solving most problems. Crane's most unique proposal was the dismantling and decentralization of the federal bureaucracy by moving most federal government agencies out of Washington. For instance, the Agriculture Department would move to the midwest and the Department of Interior to the west, to be closer to their principal responsibilities.

On the economy, Crane favored a 30% federal tax cut, a constitutional amendment forbidding government spending from exceeding one third of national income, and indexing the tax code to inflation. While favoring balancing the

(continued on following page)



Howard Baker



Philip Crane

Crane

(continued from previous page)

federal budget, Crane put greater emphasis on economic growth and limits on overall government spending.

By starting the campaign early, Crane sought to build a strong enough organization to challenge other conservative candidates, principally Ronald Reagan. When Reagan's campaign did not falter and, in fact, gained strength following early primaries, Crane's campaign was doomed.

Before coming to Congress, Crane was a history professor at Bradley University. He is the author of three books and holds a Ph.D. in History from Indiana University. He is a ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee.



John Connally

by Vail Thorne

John Bowden Connally, Jr. styles himself as a tough, decisive, experienced and self-made leader. His supporters insist that he looks and acts like a president, and said that he was the most qualified and electable candidate in the 1980 presidential race. He is a political version of George Patton, the World War II general—macho, abrupt, decisive. He is stunningly impressive in his charcoal gray suits, with silver hair and rock-like visage. He moves at ease in corporate boardrooms, is an old-fashioned political orator and had an uncanny ability of raising campaign funds.

Connally's political credentials are impressive, too. He was governor of Texas for three terms, close advisor to Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Treasury.

So why did this man—the very image of a strong America at a time when it's popular to fret over America's weakness—fail to score a single primary success? Connally has what professional politicians call "a high negative," and many felt his candidacy was doomed from the start because of it. He has the image of being a wheeler-dealer whose methods are not always above board.

There is the turncoat charge. In 1973, Connally switched from the Democratic to the Republican party after being a staunch and vocal Democrat for years. The Nixon White House tapes haunt him too. He told President Nixon to burn them, and many feel that their release could severely damage him. The deepest mark on Connally's record is the



John Connally



Robert Dole

1974 Milk Fund scandal. He was accused of taking \$10,000 from milk producers while he was Treasury Secretary in return for urging the President to increase price supports. Although he was acquitted of all charges, many still wonder.

There are four features that are important in understanding the ill-fated Connally campaign. First, he made it clear that he was a friend to corporate America, and big business reciprocated with financial support. Despite a poor background himself, Connally had an image of being a candidate of the privileged class. "I've been poor and I've been rich, and rich is better," he once said.

Second, his campaign fund raising was so successful that he raised and spent \$11 million. He was the only candidate to decline the federal matching funds. The strategy was that he wouldn't be bound by the federal spending limits for each state. Yet the decision reinforced his image as a candidate of the rich. Ultimately, the campaign without federal help ended up heavily in debt.

Third, Connally decided to run a national campaign, attempting to organize in every state instead of concentrating on a few early ones. The last feature is Connally's tough minded stand on the issues. "The U.S. is becoming shamefully vulnerable," said Connally. His message was full of gloom. The Russians are coming from all sides, gobbling up territory like Afghanistan. The Japanese are taking us to the cleaners. "I'd tell the Japanese that unless they opened up to more American products they'd better be prepared to sit on the docks of Yokohama in their Toyotas watching their Sony sets, because they aren't going to ship them here."

Despite the money, the tough talk and the background, the campaign failed to attract voter interest. In the Iowa precinct caucuses he got only 9% of the vote. Then in the Puerto Rican primary he got only 0.9%, in New Hampshire 1.5%, in Massachusetts and Vermont only 1% each, and in Minnesota only 4%. The last blow to Connally's campaign came March 8 in South Carolina, the primary on which he had bet his political future. Despite the support of popular Sen. Strom Thurmond and Ex-Governor James Edwards, he only got 30%, 24 points behind the man he had to stop, Ronald Reagan. A bitter, tired and depressed John Connally withdrew from the campaign the next day.



Robert Dole

by David Irvin

While still in law school, Bob Dole was elected to a two-year term in the Kansas House of Representatives. Only five years earlier, he had come home from World War II as a wounded veteran forced to spend 39 months in army hospitals. Doctors said he would never enjoy the use of his legs again. Due to the use of their experimental drug called streptomycin, Dole recovered and emerged from the tragedy with a Bronze Star and a sense of determination which has carried him through his four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, two successful bids to the Senate

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Dole

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where he sits today, and a stint as Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Dole's determination, however, was not enough to ignite a national campaign for president. The senator all but dropped out of the race after receiving negligible support in the Iowa caucusses and New Hampshire primary.

Dole became a national figure in 1976 when President Gerald Ford picked him out of obscurity to be his vice-presidential running mate. Although the Republican ticket lost a close election, Sen. Dole was able to gain the national publicity and experience in nationwide campaigning needed for a presidential campaign of his own. On May 14, 1978, in his hometown of Russell, Kansas, Dole announced the beginning of such a campaign. In 1978 alone, he made over 300 public appearances in 42 states.

Although Dole always realized that his candidacy was a long shot, he began his campaign with the hope that Ronald Reagan would stumble or that he would gain momentum in the early primaries. In order to differentiate himself from the rest of the field, he has promoted what he called "affirmative conservatism." His campaign strategy was to build a coalition of groups not traditionally sought after by Republican candidates including veterans, the handicapped, farmers and ethnic groups which could have had a disproportionate influence in small states like Iowa and New Hampshire. The Senator's campaign aides also felt that Dole's personalized style of politics was particularly effective in rural states.

The major drawbacks to the Dole candidacy turned out to be name recognition, internal staff bickering and an inability to raise funds as an underdog candidate. He also had to overcome the "hatchet man" label which he acquired in the 1976 Ford campaign. As *U.S. News and World Report* said, many people saw Sen. Dole as a "ruthless, razor-tongued conservative who would use any weapon handy against a political opponent." According to political friends, this image is 180 degrees from the Bob Dole they describe as a compassionate and dedicated lawmaker with one of the sharpest wits in Washington. Nevertheless, Dole, realizing that achieving the Republican nomination was impossible has turned his attention to a re-election campaign for the Senate.



Gerald Ford

by Nathaniel Lovell

While he never was a formal candidate for the Republican nomination this year, Gerald Ford played a prominent role in the campaign. The possibility that Ford would seek to reclaim the presidency, thus becoming only the second man in American history to serve non-contiguous terms in the White House, excited many moderate Republicans. Ford would have been the only Republican nominee to counter Carter's claim of experience in the White House.

Nevertheless, in contrast to John Connally's aborted campaign which peaked too early, the possibility of Ford

entering the race came too late. Ford weighed numerous considerations before deciding not to run. This vacillation and indecision while other candidates were already gearing up their campaigns cost Ford much potential support. Ford's inclination to run came from a belief that Carter has done an inadequate job, principally in economic matters. Additionally, Ford believed that Ronald Reagan's conservatism could not appeal to a broad enough electorate to win the general election. Finally, Ford holds little affection or respect for Reagan following the acrimonious 1976 primary battle between the two.

Ford seemed to end most speculation as to whether he would be a candidate when he withdrew his name from several primaries in late 1979. Nevertheless, Ford continued to play a prominent role in Republican politics by actively participating in fund-raising efforts. The strength of George Bush's surprise victory in the Iowa caucuses seemed to insure that there would be a strong moderate challenge to Reagan. Reagan, however, recovered from the disappointing Iowa performance to win the New Hampshire primary. Subsequent Reagan wins showed the former California governor was clearly the front-runner and the emergence of John Anderson left Bush trailing Reagan badly.

The pressure on Gerald Ford to seek the nomination mounted. Ford announced publicly that he would seek the nomination if there was a groundswell of support. Ford waited, hoping that supporters from 1976 would announce their allegiance to him without a formal declaration of candidacy. The support was not forthcoming. Not only had many Ford supporters already switched to Reagan, but most others, looking at Reagan's head start, feared that supporting Ford would indicate disloyalty to the likely winner.

Besides the lack of declarations of support, Ford's strategists realized the mathematical prospects of winning the nomination were slim. By early March, Ford had already missed several states' nominating processes and the filing deadlines for several more. Further, many of the primaries which Ford still could enter had picked Reagan over Ford in 1976. Finally, two earlier Ford supporters, Governors Jim Rhodes of Ohio and Bill Clements of Texas, announced their support for Reagan. A Washington meeting of Ford strategists in mid-March laid out the situation to the former president. On March 15, Ford announced he would not seek the nomination.



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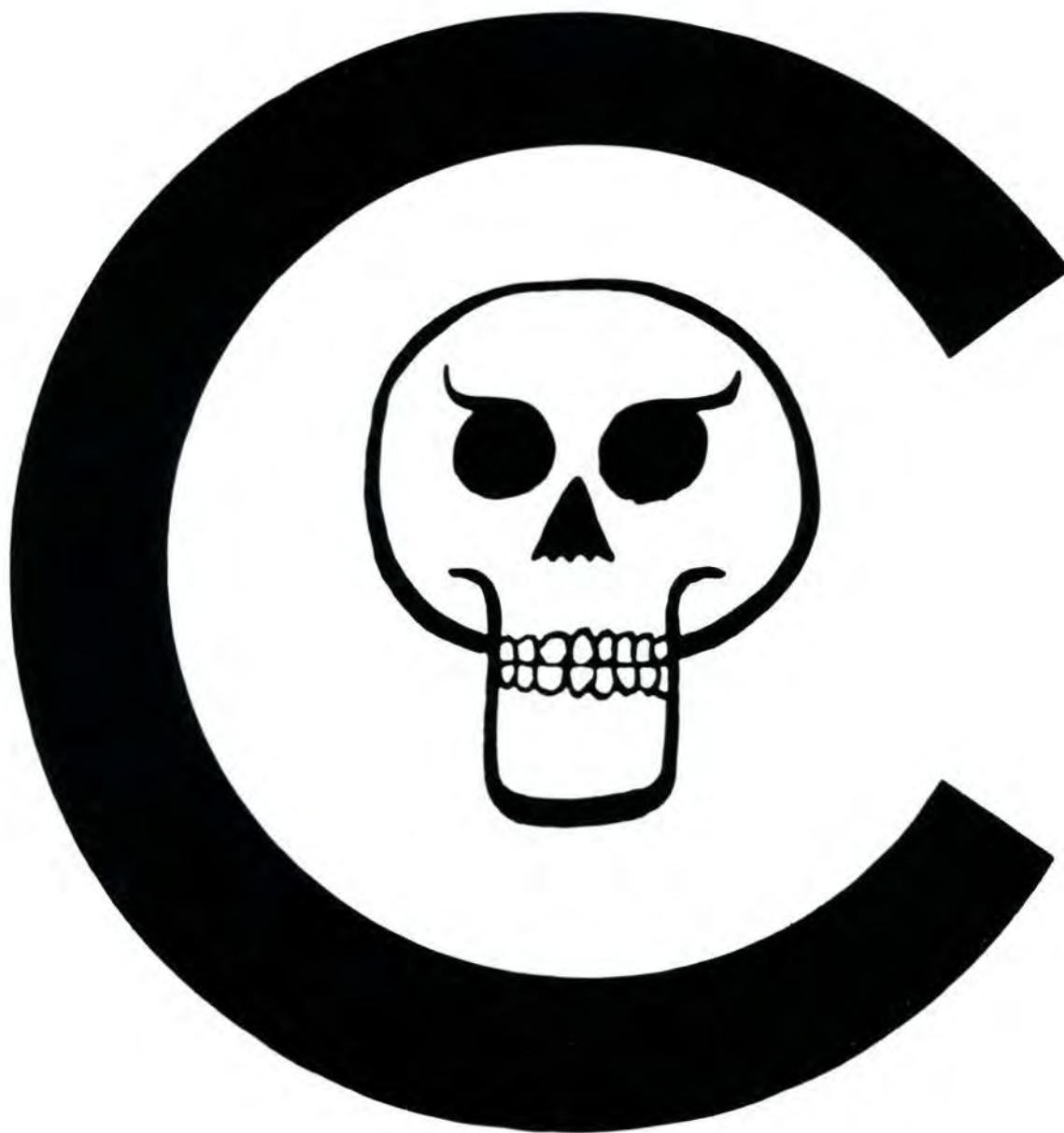
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