



## MOCK CONVENTION 1992

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA MARCH 5, 1992

### Four Democrats left in race for The White House



#### Paul Tsongas

**Key issue:** A self-proclaimed pro-business liberal, he does not advocate a middle class tax break.  
 51 years old  
 Former Massachusetts U.S. Senator and U.S. Representative  
 B.A. from Dartmouth University  
 LL.B. from Yale University  
 Family: Wife, Niki, and three daughters

Suffering from bone-marrow cancer, Tsongas retired from the Senate in 1984 to spend what doctors thought would be his final days with his family. He beat the odds and the cancer after extensive radiation therapy. He was a swimmer in college, and after graduation, he spent two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia.



#### Bill Clinton

**Key issue:** Clinton proposes sweeping education and welfare reform and a middle-class tax break.  
 45 years old  
 Arkansas Governor and former state Attorney General  
 B.A. from Georgetown University  
 Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University  
 LL.B. from Yale University  
 Family: Wife, Hillary, and a daughter

The only candidate to have attended a W&L Mock Convention, Clinton made more of an impression on the student body at a band party after the convention than he did with his platform address. At Zollman's Pavilion, he jumped on stage with his saxophone and jammed with the band.



#### Tom Harkin

**Key issue:** Says he wants to "get tough" on what he calls Japan's unfair trade practices.  
 52 years old  
 Iowa U.S. Senator and former U.S. Representative  
 B.S. from Iowa State University  
 Vietnam Navy veteran  
 LL.B. from Catholic University  
 Family: Wife, Ruth, and two daughters

Harkin first won his seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1974 by campaigning through a series of "workdays" in which he spent days working side-by-side with Iowans in different occupations. Harkin went through college on an ROTC scholarship and joined the Navy to fly jets after graduation.



#### Jerry Brown

**Key issue:** Brown is running as the Washington outsider, saying the political process needs reform.  
 53 years old  
 Former California Governor and state Secretary of State  
 B.A. from University of California at Berkeley  
 Family: son of former California Governor Pat Brown

Elected California Secretary of State in 1970, Brown was the only Democrat to win a statewide office as Ronald Reagan was reelected Governor. After leaving the Governor's mansion, Brown traveled in Asia and worked as a volunteer with Mother Teresa.

- By Jason Kelley, Phi editor

### Kerrey bows out of race

By JASON KELLEY  
 Phi editor

Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey officially quit the race for the Democratic presidential nomination in a press conference on Capitol Hill this morning.

"After Tuesday I felt kind of like the Jamaican bobsled team," Kerrey said.

Kerrey had earned 22 pledged delegates in voting thus far, and he carried only one state, South Dakota.

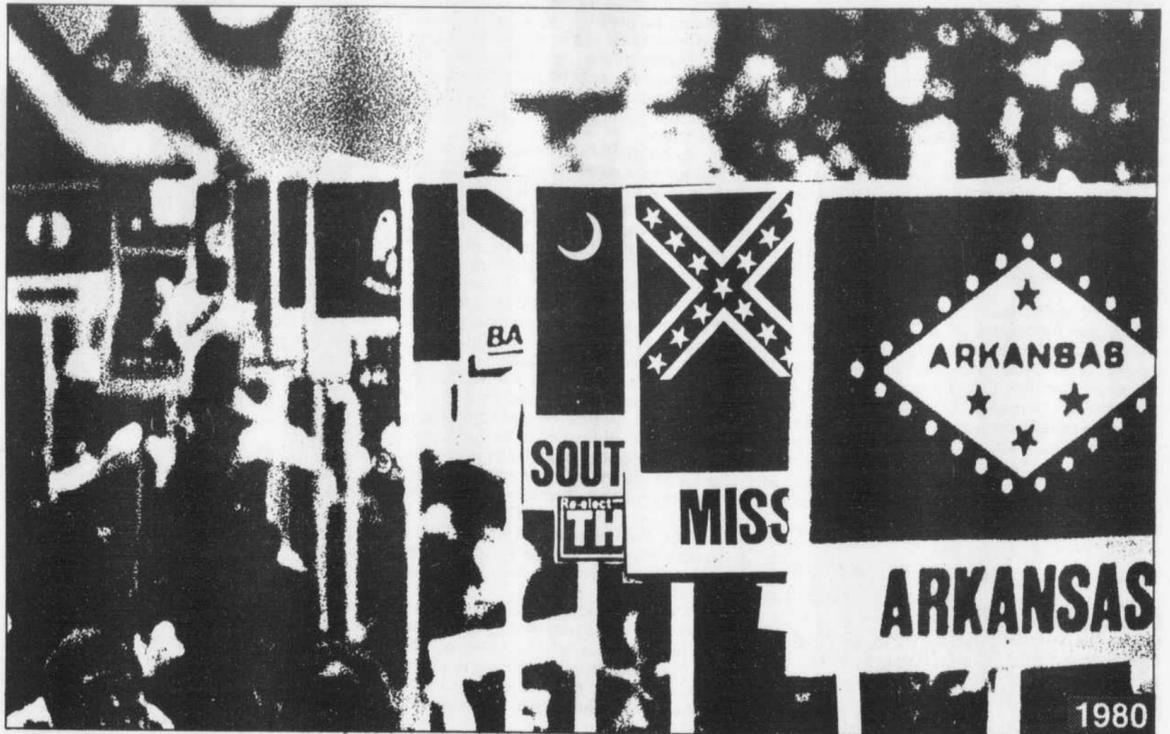
Kerrey, who had insisted during his campaign that he was the only "electable candidate," declined to en-

dorse one of the four Democrats still in the running.

"With each passing day, it is clear to me that the only unelectable candidate running for president of the United States is George Bush," he said.

MC Administrative Chairman John Donaldson said this morning it would be hard to predict how Kerrey's decision would affect MC voting.

Donaldson said some of the state delegations will be in touch with Democratic leaders in their states before making their decisions, "but some of the delegates will still be bound to vote for Kerrey on the first ballot."



## W&L, Mock Democrats ready for predictions and parties

By PAMELA KELLEY  
 Phi Associate Editor

The year's "biggest and boomiest" Democratic convention south of New York City begins Friday morning in Lexington.

Some 1,600 Washington and Lee students will take part in the school's 19th Mock Convention. The quadrennial event attempts to predict the presidential and vice-presidential nominees of the party not in the White House.

This year's Mock Convention also attempts to emulate other aspects of the July 13-14 National Democratic Convention, from the opening parade to the nominee's acceptance speech.

Thousands of man-hours, untold amounts of alcohol and approximately \$175,000 will go into what has become one of W&L's most celebrated events. Almost 84 years of tradition are on the line.

"The significance of Mock Convention is definitely highlighted by the fact that it is completely student-run and organized," said Mock Convention Secretary Elise Bryant.

According to MC Administrative Chairman John Donaldson, "Just about the whole school" will take part in the exercise. Participants assume the duties of the real Democratic Party's leaders, including its national and regional chairmen, officers from all 50 states, and financial and publicity bosses.

Although W&L is generally regarded as ideologically conservative, Donaldson said, most students are "tolerant of other ideas ... a lot are conservative by default."

An October poll conducted by Mock Convention officials showed that W&L's campus is fairly consistent with national views concerning the 1992 election. According to the

MC pollsters, for example, domestic issues were clearly thought to be the most important in the election, and President George Bush's foreign policy was widely supported.

Donaldson predicted this year's Democratic campaigns will center on health care and the economy. Abortion also may be an issue, he added.

According to Bryant, grassroots research into actual convention procedure and the attitudes of Democrats, rather than personal preference, is "key" to MC's success.

The 1924 Mock Convention gave W&L its first big headline and marked the only instance in which such research and a W&L "favorite son" coincided. After 23 roll calls, and a temporary withdrawal from the convention by the Texas, Ohio and Connecticut delegations, MC settled on a man who wasn't even a real candidate, John W. Davis, a W&L alumnus.

Many balked at the endorsement of Davis, an ex-ambassador to Britain and former president of the American Bar Association, who was also a former W&L professor and member of the Board of Trustees.

In New York City that summer, party balloting was even more grueling than the temperature. Davis was chosen as the Democratic presidential nominee after 103 roll calls. He adopted the "W&L Swing" as his campaign theme song. But W&L's only presidential candidate lost to Calvin Coolidge in the general election.

Now such shifts and developments during MC result mostly from a combination of study and last-minute instructions from party leaders.

For example, in 1960 U.S. Senate Majority Whip Mike Mansfield and Tamany Hall political boss Carmine DeSapio instructed their W&L counterparts via telephone. Voting in the interest of John F. Kennedy, the students led W&L and later the nation "All the way with JFK."

Donaldson said this year's nomination attempt may be the "toughest for us to decide in the past five or six."

The convention will occur before the March 10 Super Tuesday primaries, earlier than ever before, so it won't be "too late to be of predictive use," according to Donaldson.

MC state chairmen are expected to keep closer contact with real delegation members than ever before, according to Bryant. She said most delegates should know how they will vote by tonight, and like actual delegates, they will keep in touch with party officials during the nominating process Saturday.

MC delegates from states such as Iowa and New Hampshire will cast ballots for the candidates their states have selected in earlier primaries and caucuses. MC chairmen for Wyoming, South Carolina, Nevada and Arizona may depend on exit polls, however, because those states conduct balloting Saturday.

Preparation for this year's MC events, which included a black-tie fundraiser in November and a panel

discussion of Democratic strategy, began almost two years ago. Since last May, MC has brought to W&L political experts including Claiborne Darden, George McGovern, political analyst Larry Sabato and New Hampshire Democratic Party Chairman Chris Spirou.

Past conventions speakers include Harry Truman, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Jesse Jackson, Barry Goldwater and Bill Clinton.

Donaldson said adding Mario Cuomo to the list of MC keynote speakers has been one of the highlights of this year's convention. Former House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill will be the opening speaker, and former Massachusetts Governor and unsuccessful 1988 Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis will be Grand Marshal of the MC parade and speak on Friday as well.

According to MC officials, funding has come from a variety of sources. Treasurer Jay Darden said almost half of the budget comes from the interest on an endowment made by the Hatton W. Sumner's Foundation, a Dallas political group.

A total of \$30,000 has been awarded to MC by the W&L student Executive Committee over the past four years. Donations from alumni and parents, MC delegate fees and several fundraising events provided the rest of the budget, Darden said.

Although the candidates won't be present for the MC nomination, most are expected to be available for an over-the-phone acceptance speech, which is considered to be the climax of the convention, Donaldson said.

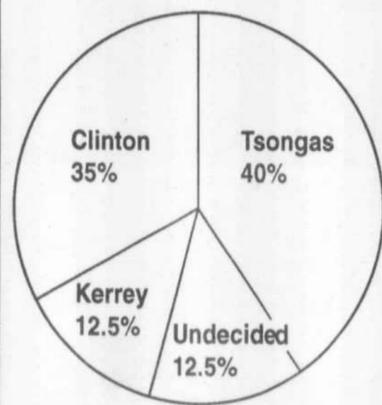
"Mock Convention brings students together in a way no other activity does," Donaldson said.

"As Washington and Lee goes, so goes the Democratic Party," announced one Mock Convention Journal, "Et tu America?"

#### WHY DEMOCRATIC?

The tradition of holding a convention for the party out of power began in 1916 "just to make things interesting," according to the Ring-tum Phi editor at the time. Previously, all MCs had been Democratic, as had been the political leanings of most of the university's students.

### Tsongas, Clinton close in student poll



#### Harkin and Brown shut out in straw vote

A random group of 40 Washington and Lee students was polled on Sunday, March 1. Respondents were asked:

If you were to vote in a Democratic presidential primary this week, who would you vote for?

Sixteen students said they would vote for Paul Tsongas, 14 for Bill Clinton, five for Bob Kerrey, and five were undecided. Tom Harkin and Jerry Brown received no votes from respondents. This poll has a margin of error of plus or minus four percentage points.





# MC isn't the real thing, but it's awfully close

By BRIAN ROOT  
Phi Staff Reporter

Although both the Democratic National Convention and Washington and Lee's Mock Convention will produce a presidential nominee for the Democrats, the two events are necessarily quite different.

"We've emulated the real convention as closely as we can," said MC Public Relations Chairman Courtney Hall. "We have the exact same format, as far as rules and regulations go. There have to be some differences, because we're having to recreate it on such a small scale."

The most obvious difference between the two conventions is the number of participating delegates. The Mock Convention could have up to 1,600 delegates, but only about 1400 have been signed up to serve on the 56 delegations. The real Democratic convention has more than 3,000.

Mock Convention officials determine the number of MC delegates by a formula of 2.5 "real" delegates to every mock delegate. For example, California will have 441 delegates at the Democratic convention, according to the Democratic National Committee, but the state's mock delegation will have only 153 people.

Unlike the Democratic convention, where there is no shortage of officials actively seeking delegate status, some mock delegations have had trouble filling their quotas.

"I know there are states that are still recruiting [delegates]," said MC Political Chairman Jamie Tucker at a meeting of state chairmen Sunday night.

The rules for selecting delegates are necessarily different, as well. The delegate selection rules for the actual convention make up a 21-page booklet, including regulations about affirmative action, petition deadlines and quorum requirements.

As well, the rules for becoming a MC delegate, however, are fairly simple. Students only need to fill out an information sheet and pay a \$15 registration fee. Student delegates also are not required to be residents of the states they represent.

The platform presented at the Mock Convention will bear little resemblance to the real Democratic platform, said MC Platform Committee Chairman Heath Dixon.

"It won't be like the traditional, interest group liberal platform like the one from 1988," Dixon said. "They're basically my and the rest of the committee's opinion about what the Democrats should do, things that we hope will actually be good for the nation." However, Donaldson said much of the platform is based on student polls.

During the convention, Dixon said, the delegates can debate various parts of the platform and any possible amendments to it. Also, he said, "minority reports" will be presented for consideration and debate for the whole convention.

Although the end product will be different, Dixon said the process by which the platform is written and adopted is the same as the Democrats'.

At the Democratic Convention, the selection of the vice-presidential nominee is considered vital to the party's possible success in the general election. However, it is much more difficult for mock delegates to predict what the presidential nominee's selection will be.

Donaldson said that MC's approach to electing a vice-presidential nominee is traditionally "more frivolous" because it isn't always clear who the potential candidates are so early in the election season.

"We haven't hit it in a while, but we've had some humorous candidates put up," he said.

In 1988, the VP nomination provided a break from the otherwise serious nature of the mock convention. W&L Prof. Jefferson Davis Futch narrowly lost the nomination to Tennessee Sen. Al Gore. Michael Dukakis, upon winning the presidential nomination, picked Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen.

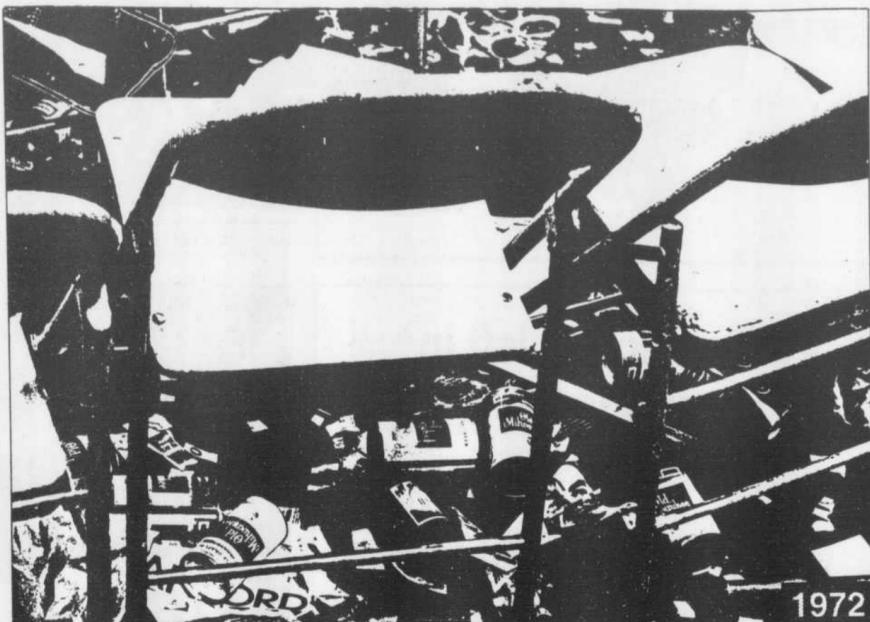
MC Secretary Elise Bryant told the state chairmen Sunday night that this year's mock convention may have another similarity to other conventions: a long nominating process.

"We're looking at not having a winner on the first ballot this year," Bryant said. "The longest mock convention had 23 ballots before deciding on a nominee."

The differences between the two conventions, however, can best be summed up by current candidate and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's participation in both in 1988.

At the Democratic convention, Clinton's speech ran 20 minutes past his allotted time. When he began the conclusion of the speech, which was also watched by a nationwide television audience, many delegates offered sarcastic applause.

At the Mock Convention, however, Clinton's participation was somewhat more spirited. Long after the final session adjourned, Clinton appeared at Zollman's pavilion and played saxophone onstage with the band. Following his performance, Clinton left to gales of applause from the students.



## Former advisor says MC is more serious and hopefully more sober

By ALISHA JOHNSON  
Phi Staff Reporter

Once an event with a "sort of easy-going flavor," Mock Convention has become a serious task for the students charged with administering it.

"As Washington and Lee grew in size over the years, there were more rules and regulations which diminished spontaneity of students a little bit," said retired W&L Politics Professor Milton Colvin.

Colvin witnessed the change as advisor of seven conventions between 1964 and 1988. Politics Professor William Connelly replaced Colvin as Mock Convention advisor this year, after Colvin retired from the university in 1990.

"There was more student participation early on, more student involvement," Colvin said. "Now students

have become more serious. Sometimes it is more a chore than a pleasure."

Colvin said that often students participating in MC must combine a "difficult mixture of having a good time and being politically serious."

MC Media Chairman Monica Young said the convention has been a lot of responsibility, but she anticipates that "it is going to be the best weekend I've seen since I've been here [at W&L]."

"As media chairman I had the opportunity to put all the things I learned in journalism to work," Young said. "It was sort of like a job, but it is a great feeling to see it all come together."

But a few convention delegates said they were not as involved in the event as they would have preferred. Senior Jonathan Hanger said he

felt some individuals shouldered the burden rather than distribute the labor more evenly.

Colvin said that though he saw more students involved in earlier conventions, he has always been impressed with the student leadership.

"At best [the convention] is student-run, as long as [students] are dedicated to the principle of choosing the right person who will be picked by the Democratic Convention," Colvin said. "That is the test of students' ability to sublimate their desire for the candidate they would prefer."

Nonetheless, Colvin said, he would like to see one aspect of the convention changed this year.

"One problem I hope they avoid this year is that too many students got drunk at the parade," Colvin said. "I hope they can wait until after the nomination is announced."

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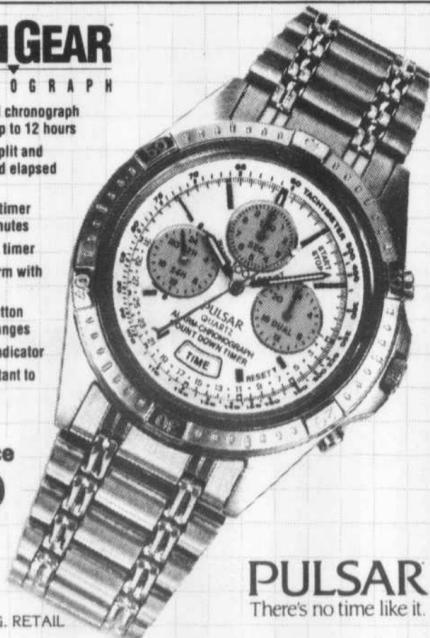
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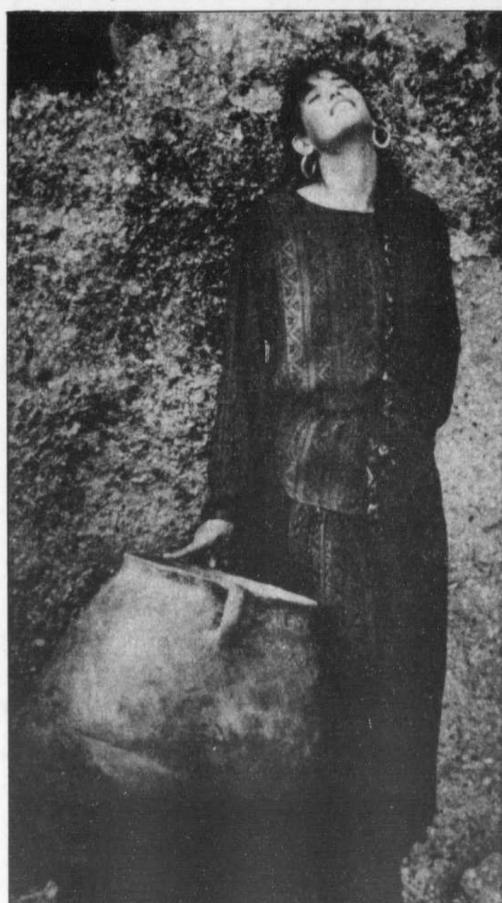
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# Distinctions scarce between candidates

By MARK E. RUSH  
Special to *The Ring-tum Phi*

At this point in the campaign for the Democratic Party nomination, most of the distinctions among the candidates are ones of degree.

Who is the most environmentally correct? Who would slash defense spending the most? Who's the most Democratic? Who would have toasted Saddam Hussein the fastest?

Despite the similarities among the candidates' positions, a few distinctions can be made.

## The Issues

**Defense:** For the most part they would all slash defense spending. However, no candidate explains how he will accommodate the rise in unemployment that will follow the military base closings and job terminations that will be the *sine qua non* of spending cuts of the magnitude that have been proposed.

**The Economy:** Naturally, they all want to revitalize the economy. For the most part, they focus on restructuring the current tax system in order to make it more fair. The key issues are the fate of the middle class and what to do with the capital gains tax. Bob Kerrey is in favor of middle-class tax cuts, while Jerry Brown would impose a flat rate tax --- income notwithstanding. Tom Harkin and Paul Tsongas oppose middle-class tax cuts.

**Education:** Generally the key issues here are school vouchers and teacher certification. Tsongas seems to be the only one who would entertain the possibility of tax vouchers for private schooling.

**Health Care:** All of the candidates would reform the health care system. They all tend to focus more on finding ways to pay for the high cost of medical care instead of proposing plans for reducing medical costs.

## The Candidates

**Jerry Brown:** He was branded "Governor Moonbeam" by the press in the mid-

1970's when he was talking about ridiculous and frivolous concerns such as preserving the environment and finding alternatives to nuclear power. Currently running as the anti-government candidate. The only one to say publicly that he would not have committed troops to Iraq.

**Strong point:** He governed a state in the early seventies whose population was greater than the combined populations of the states from which the other four candidates hail (Nebraska, Arkansas, Massachusetts, Iowa); he must have done something right. By the way, that's 1-800...

**Bill Clinton:** After seeing the debate in Maryland, no one can say for sure if Clinton was good or bad to the environment. His three challengers there (Kerrey was absent) attacked him for creating an environmental wasteland. Listening to Clinton, one would be inclined to believe that Arkansas was Biosphere's prototype.

**Weakest point:** He has come under attack --- especially from Kerrey --- regarding his opting out of Vietnam. He can't seem to understand why today's voters are willing to question his authority and credibility when he was guilty of the same sort of attitude toward the country's leadership 20 years ago. Oh, yes, something about Jennifer Flowers... He has salvaged some credibility with his big win in Georgia.

**Tom Harkin:** He claims to be the only "true" Democrat. Actually seems to be the only true Democrat related to Rip Van Winkle. Fell asleep during the New Deal and woke up preaching ideas that are almost two generations old. He was the fastest to launch negative attacks on other candidates (first to attack Clinton re: Vietnam).

**Weakest points:** In a day when the most prominent and newsworthy Democrats seem to be Kennedy's, Robb's and Brock Adams's, Harkin fails to see the poor judgment in hailing himself as the only "true Democrat." Asserts that he would have committed troops to Kuwait before the Iraqi invasion in order to place a "stoplight" there for all the world --- including Saddam --- to see. Has apparently forgotten the debate in which his fellow Senators engaged upon this topic in December, 1990. Every Republican hopes that this guy gets the

## Clear leader has yet to emerge after 12 elections

Total pledged delegates won to date (does not include unpledged superdelegates):  
Tsongas: 116 Clinton: 107 Harkin: 52 Brown: 34 Kerrey: 7 Uncommitted: 12

### IOWA CAUCUS

49 Winner: Harkin 76%  
Runners-up:  
Uncommitted 12%  
Tsongas 4%

### NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

18 Winner: Tsongas 33%  
Runners-up:  
Clinton 25%,  
Kerrey, 11%,  
Harkin 10%

### MAINE CAUCUS

23 Winner: Tsongas 29.6%  
Runners-up:  
Brown 29.4%  
Uncommitted 16%  
Clinton 15%

### SOUTH DAKOTA PRIMARY

15 Winner: Kerrey 40%  
Runners-up:  
Harkin 25%  
Clinton 19%

### COLORADO PRIMARY

47 Winner: Brown 29%  
Runners-up:  
Clinton 27%  
Tsongas 26%  
Harkin 12%

### GEORGIA PRIMARY

76 Winner: Clinton 57%  
Runners-up:  
Tsongas 24%  
Brown 8%  
Kerrey 5%

### IDAHO CAUCUS

18 Winner: Harkin 30%  
Runners-up:  
Tsongas 28%  
Uncommitted 17%  
Clinton 11%

### MARYLAND PRIMARY

67 Winner: Tsongas 41%  
Runners-up:  
Clinton 34%  
Brown 8%  
Harkin 6%

### MINNESOTA CAUCUS

78 Winner: Harkin 27%  
Runners-up:  
Uncommitted 24%  
Tsongas 19%  
Clinton 10%

### UTAH CAUCUS

23 Winner: Tsongas 34%  
Runners-up:  
Brown 28%  
Clinton 18%  
Kerrey 11%

### WASHINGTON CAUCUS

71 Winner: Tsongas 33%  
Runners-up:  
Uncommitted 20%  
Brown 19%  
Clinton 14%

### AMERICAN SAMOA CAUCUS

3 Winner: Uncommitted 87%  
Runners-up:  
Kerrey 9%  
Clinton 4%

Source: The Associated Press

nomination.

**Bob Kerrey:** Perhaps suffering the worst from his failure to live up to expectations and, as a result, is short of cash. Although he has taken the moral high ground regarding Vietnam because he went and bears the scars to prove it, his increasingly negative attacks on Clinton on this issue are a sure sign that he believes that he is in trouble.

**Greatest claim to fame:** dated Deborah Winger.

**Paul Tsongas:** He is actively courting moderate Republicans with his pro-business stance. "Electability" seems to be his most serious problem; his fate in the Maryland primary will go a long way toward resolving that issue. He has yet to suffer any campaign attacks regarding his health, but if he remains

a frontrunner, this is bound to become an issue.

**Other Candidates:** It is common knowledge that this is an extremely weak field of candidates --- so weak that former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and House Speaker Tom Foley made public appeals for more candidates to jump in to the race. (If the Republicans are wise, we will see those tapes run and re-run throughout the general election campaign.)

On his show a couple of weeks ago, Dennis Miller suggested that the Democrats change their mascot from a donkey to a snowball in hell. Can you imagine, these guys have replaced Dan Quayle as the principal fodder for late-night comedians!

## Mock Convention influence

As a result, the most exciting aspect of the primary season to this point will be Mock Convention. Given the school's enviable track record of accurate predictions, the results of the convention actually could have a significant and potentially determinative effect on the nomination.

One MC organizer actually threatened me with the vice-presidential nomination. Be careful --- the way this campaign is shaping up, that could be the surest means of shortening the reading list in Constitutional Law.

This article was written Monday.

Mark E. Rush is an assistant professor of politics at Washington and Lee.

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'Why is your state important?' State chairmen respond, list their p

## United States and territories d in proportion to their electoral

FIRST NUMBER IS NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES  
SECOND NUMBER IS NUMBER OF DELEGATE VOTES AT THE ACTUAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION



**MINNESOTA**  
North Star State

Chairmen Ashby Hackney and Alex Haw, '94: "Minnesota is one of the most hard-line Democratic states. They will vote for the more Democratic candidate as opposed to one who skirts the fence."  
**Issues:** health care, domestic spending



**MONTANA**  
Treasure State

Chairman Rob Burger, '93: "Montana is important because it represents the most liberal of the principally conservative western states.... It is a state that a good Democratic nominee could win...."  
**Issues:** education, farm subsidies



**MICHIGAN**  
Wolverine State

Chairman Chris Simon, '92: "Michigan... could swing the vote.... In 1988, Michigan delegates beat a GM car with a sledgehammer during the parade. Wait for... '92."  
**Issues:** protectionism for local (automobile) industry, economic recovery



**NEBRASKA**  
Cornhusker State

Chairman Eric Foust, '92: "Bob Kerrey is from Nebraska, so we are concentrating on him."  
**Issue:** agriculture



**IOWA**  
Hawkeye State

Chairman Craig Lang, '92: "Iowa is important because it is the first caucus.... It is also the *only* state name which is a four-letter word which both begins and ends in a vowel."  
**Issues:** agriculture, national defense



**CALIFORNIA**  
Golden State

Chairman Bob Tompkins, '95L: "It is the largest state and therefore controls the largest number of delegates."  
**Issues:** economy, education



**KANSAS**  
Jayhawk State

Chairman Evan Patterson, '93: "Because Kansas is... recognized as the political, ...and intellectual center of the universe, we will, of course, set the voting trend."  
**Issues:** national defense, agriculture, economy



**COLORADO**  
Centennial State

Chairman John Simonton, '92: "Colorado is important in the process because it will serve as an indication of how the rest of the West will go.... This is the first primary Colorado has ever had."  
**Issues:** environment, defense, jobs,



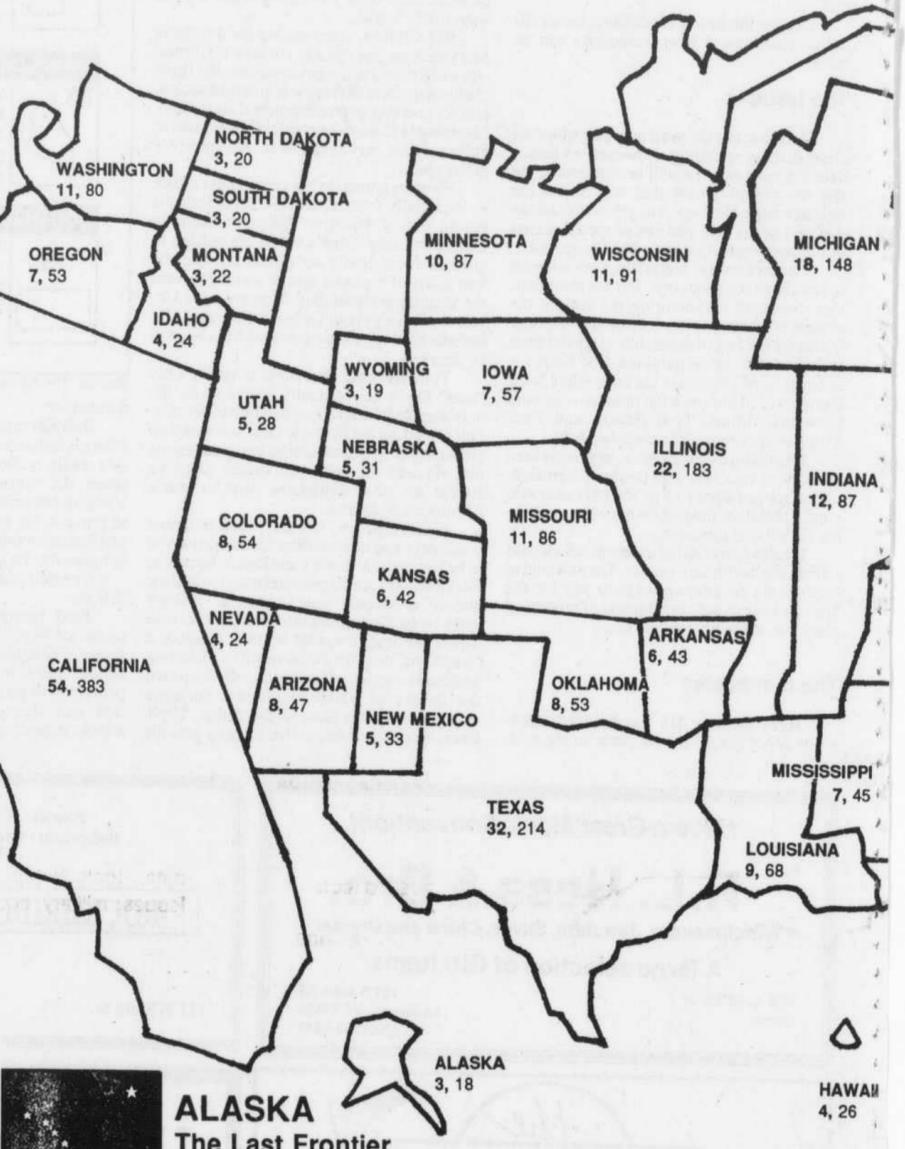
**TEXAS**  
Lone Star State

Chairman Brant Martin, '92: "Any candidate with a firm base in Texas has a great chance of carrying the entire South, as Texas is a demographic indicator for the so-called 'Bubba' middle-class vote...."  
**Issues:** economy, education



**NEVADA**  
Sagebrush State

Chairman Chad Delp, '93: "Nevada is important because it houses the finest gambling and prostitution establishments.... [We] are concerned with not only keeping... [those] legal, but entering other areas of organized crime into the state's economy."



Sizes are approximate  
Map courtesy Knight-Ridder Tribune Graphics Ne  
Number of Delegates from the Call for a 1992 De

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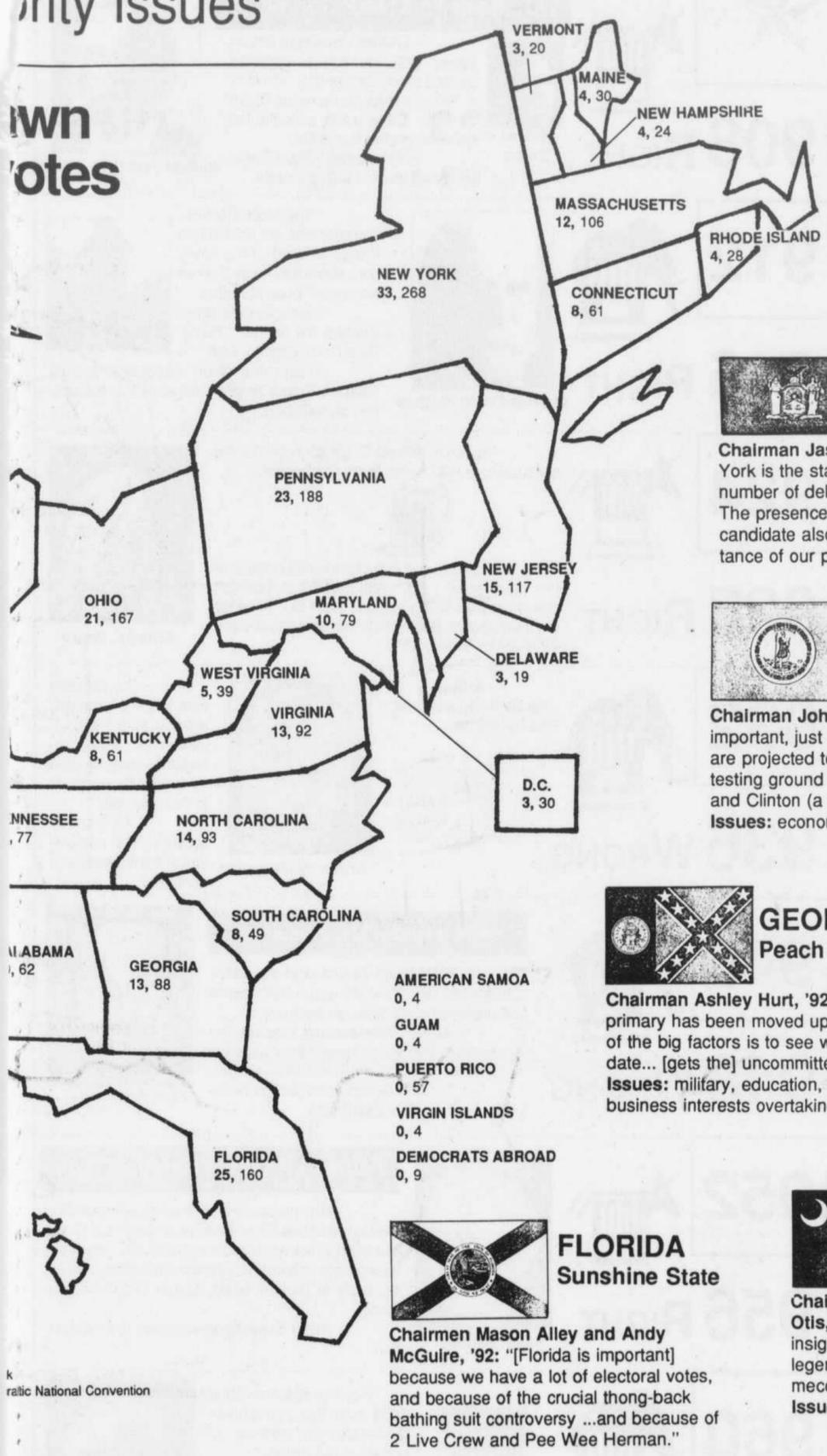
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## Priority issues

### Own notes



**VERMONT**  
Green Mountain State

Chairman Jennifer Barrows, '93: "[Vermont] is not pivotal, as it is very small and holds no primary. The caucus attracts liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans.... Cows only started to outnumber people in Vermont in 1964."

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**  
Granite State

Chairmen Pete Trammell, '92, and John Hedstrom, '93: "[New Hampshire is important] because we have the first primary! Viva New Hampshire!! ...No nominee has ever won the presidency without winning New Hampshire."

**NEW YORK**  
Empire State

Chairman Jason Robinson, '93: "New York is the state with the second highest number of delegates.... [making it] critical. The presence of Cuomo as a potential candidate also will contribute to the importance of our primary."

**RHODE ISLAND**  
The Ocean State

Chairman John Kleckley, '94: "We're not important. We only have one million people and have very few delegates. We're not a make-or-break state. Nobody will care what happens to us."  
Issues: education, deficit

**VIRGINIA**  
The Old Dominion

Chairman John Flippen, '92: "Virginia is important, just as all the southern states are projected to be, because it will be a testing ground for Tsongas (a northerner) and Clinton (a southerner)."  
Issues: economy, budget, military

**MARYLAND**  
Old Line State

Chairman Kelley Bass, '93: "Maryland is not directly tied with any of the regions by which the candidates have been labeled; the ability to carry an impartial state like Md. should be very important in this race."  
Issue: economy

**GEORGIA**  
Peach State

Chairman Ashley Hurt, '92: "The Georgia primary has been moved up a week. One of the big factors is to see which candidate... [gets the] uncommitted black vote."  
Issues: military, education, health care; business interests overtaking agricultural

**NORTH CAROLINA**  
Tar Heel State

Chairman Trent Merchant, '92: "North Carolina Democrats are a microcosm of the ...party, underfunded and disorganized.... In 1980, a N.C. delegate at the real convention threw eggs at Teddy Kennedy...."  
Issue: winning

**FLORIDA**  
Sunshine State

Chairmen Mason Alley and Andy McGuire, '92: "[Florida is important] because we have a lot of electoral votes, and because of the crucial thong-back bathing suit controversy ...and because of 2 Live Crew and Pee Wee Herman."

**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Palmetto State

Chairmen James Bruce and Thomas Otis, '92: "The intelligence and insightfulness of South Carolinians is legendary. Plus we have Myrtle Beach, the mecca of the South."  
Issues: education, employment

**U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS**

Chairman Paul Wright, '95: "Obviously, we do not have as much power as a real state, but it is important for everyone to be involved in the nomination process."  
Issue: aid to the Virgin Islands

Democratic National Convention

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# MC has made history by guessing the future

Since 1908, the nation has turned to what *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Washington Post* among others have referred to as one of the country's most realistic and accurate predictors in presidential politics.

Last year in April, political analyst Larry Sabato from the University of Virginia predicted, "At this time, the Mock Convention could have an impact on the Democratic Convention... you could be a room full of kingmakers."



## W&L Holds First Mock Convention



Willard Grubb

- William Jennings Bryan sparks W&L students to organize the first Mock Convention. On May 4, 1908 the students nominate Bryan as their Democratic presidential nominee on the first ballot.

- W&L student Willard Grubb is named the first MC chairman.



William Jennings Bryan

1908 RIGHT



- Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio wins the nomination at W&L's second Democratic Mock Convention on the fifth ballot.

- Those supporting the nomination of Woodrow Wilson attempt to abolish the two-thirds rule, but fail.

- Wilson receives the nomination at the National Convention.



Woodrow Wilson

WRONG 1912



1916 RIGHT



Charles Evans Hughes

- The Mock Convention sessions are held in Lee Chapel instead of the newly constructed Doremus Gym on account of poor acoustics.

- Kentucky delegation displays the banner "Pretty Girls Don't Care to Vote."

- Supreme Court Associate Justice Charles Evans Hughes receives the nomination on sixth ballot.



John W. Davis

- Floor fight develops over prohibition plank in platform. Wets want to modify Volstead Act to permit beer and wine sales, but are defeated.



- John W. Davis, a W&L alumnus receives the nomination on the 24th ballot. Davis is nominated on the 103rd ballot in the real convention in New York.

RIGHT 1924



1928 RIGHT



- Governor Alfred E. Smith receives the nomination at W&L's fifth Mock Convention.



- Prohibition is one of the hottest issues of this presidential year. Anti-Prohibition banners crowd the floor totting slogans such as; "Wine for the Intellectuals, Beer for the Working Class man, Whiskey for Everybody."



Alfred E. Smith

- Students' absences from MC sessions, once normally considered same as absence from classes, are no longer recorded in light of remarkable interest and faithful attendance of students.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

- Franklin D. Roosevelt receives the nomination.



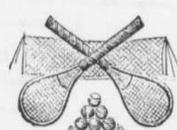
RIGHT 1932



1936 WRONG



- Arthur Vandenberg receives the nomination.



Arthur Vandenberg

- The deciding vote in the crucial delegation from Pennsylvania was cast by "an errant delegate brought in from the tennis courts to cast his vote."

- Alf Landon receives the nomination at the national convention.



Charles L. McNary

## NY and PA Walk Out on MC

- New York walks out of the convention after refusing to continue under its non-New York-resident chairman. Pennsylvania, sympathetic to NY, walks out and the two states unsuccessfully picket the convention.

- The students declare Charles McNary the nominee but the national convention nominates Wendell Wilkie.

WRONG 1940



1948 WRONG



## WW II Ends: MC Resumes

- W&L holds its first post-war Mock Convention. The 1944 MC was not held due to the depletion of students on campus.

- Arthur Vandenberg receives the nomination. He also received the nomination in 1936.

- Thomas Dewey receives the nomination at the actual convention.



Thomas Dewey



DELEGATE

- Gov. Earl Warren of California sees that he is out of the running in the MC and personally telegrams the CA delegation to encourage them to shift their votes from himself to whom-ever they see fit.

- Dwight D. Eisenhower receives the nomination.



Dwight D. Eisenhower

RIGHT 1952



1956 RIGHT



Alben Barkley

## Former VP Dies in Doremus Gym

- Keynote speaker, former Vice President of the United States Alben Barkley, collapses and dies of a heart attack while addressing the MC. Student s intervene to keep television cameramen from filming the body of Barkley being loaded into the ambulance.

- Adlai Stevenson receives the nomination.



John F. Kennedy

- Shortage of adding machines causes a delay in announcing the official total. Several states quickly switch their votes from Adlai Stevenson to John F. Kennedy. On the sixth ballot Kennedy receives the nomination after more adding machines are brought in. Stevenson unofficially had well over the necessary majority on the fourth ballot, but lost votes because of the delay.

RIGHT 1960



1964 RIGHT



Barry Goldwater

- Keynote speaker Walter Judd calls this year's presidential election "the most important in our history."

- Barry Goldwater receives the nomination and via telephone addresses the convention. "This is one of the greatest honors I have ever experienced," Goldwater said, and accepted the students' nomination "with great humility."



Barry Goldwater

## Bomb Scare Ends Friday Session

- Friday's afternoon session ends early because of a bomb scare during the end of Gov. Claude Kirk's speech. Lexington Police search the university gym and no bomb is found. The evening session opens on schedule.

- Former Vice President Richard Nixon wins the nomination.

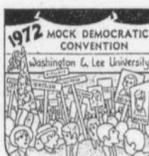


Richard Nixon

RIGHT 1968



1972 WRONG



- First time in over 20 years that the MC has been incorrect. George McGovern receives the nomination.

- Edward Kennedy is selected by W&L as the Presidential nominee for the Democratic Party.

- The MC agree to make the legalization of marijuana as part of the party platform, but fell short of making "all drugs" available to the public. The legalization of prostitution is also agreed upon as a plank of the party platform.



Jimmy Carter

## MC Correctly Chooses VP: First Time in its History

- Walter Mondale is correctly chosen as the running mate for MC Presidential nominee, Jimmy Carter. This marks the first time the convention has correctly chosen the Vice Presidential nominee in its 68 year history. As usual, however, the first round of candidates included not-so-serious figures such as Captain Kirk, Muhammed Ali, and Jack Daniels.

RIGHT 1976



1980 RIGHT



## Reagan Wins on First Ballot; Second Time in MC History

- Ronald Reagan becomes only the second candidate to win the MC nomination on the first ballot. The last one was William Jennings Bryan in 1908.

- Howard Baker is incorrectly chosen as Reagan's running mate. Other VP candidates include Jack Lord of "Hawaii Five-O" and Hunter S. Thompson.



Ronald Reagan

- Walter Mondale is chosen as the Democratic Presidential nominee.

- Lloyd Bentsen is chosen as Mondale's running mate. Geraldine Ferraro claims more votes than Bentsen on the first ballot but does not have the needed majority. Ferraro's loss on the second ballot is said to have been due to the bitter coeducation debate currently raging on the W&L campus.



Walter Mondale

RIGHT 1984



1988 RIGHT



Michael Dukakis

- Michael Dukakis becomes the fourteenth correctly chosen Presidential nominee selected by W&L students.

- This year marks the first time women have participated in MC.

- The Foreign Press Center in Washington D.C. publicized MC and reporters came from Denmark, Japan and Austria.

- History Professor Jefferson Futch comes in second only to Al Gore for Vice Presidential nomination.



# VP's death turned all eyes to '56 MC

By ERIN MCKINNEY and  
PAMELA KELLEY  
of the Phi staff

"I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than sit in the seats of the mighty." After thundering those words at Washington and Lee's 1956 Mock Convention, former U.S. vice president and Mock Convention key-noter Alben Barkley collapsed, the victim of a sudden heart attack.

According to *The Roanoke Times* and *World News*, "Barkley's death was a sudden shock to the students... During his talk he did not falter or give any sign that he was not feeling well."

Barkley, a former U.S. Senator and Representative from Kentucky, served as vice president under Harry S. Truman. He was one of the few remaining political figures of the Roosevelt era. One of most popular and influential Democrats of his time, the 78 year-old Barkley was known as "the old fire-horse" and "Mr. Democrat."

"Democrat Woodrow Wilson tried to bring about peace in the world..." Barkley told his audience, adding he admired Wilson because he "gave his life for the cause."

Minutes later Barkley's death would thrust W&L into the national political spotlight



Barkley

more than ever before, with his final words, a biblical quotation, ringing in its ears.

W&L Journalism Prof. John K. Jennings, who was a 22-year-old senior at the time, taped the only commentary of the events surrounding Barkley's address for a campus radio show. He grabbed his microphone after Barkley collapsed and, with the sounds of confusion and grief in the background, described the stunned audience and attempts to revive Barkley. His work was broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System throughout the evening.

Some students took it upon themselves to keep Barkley's death "honorable" by physically obstructing and prohibiting photographers from taking pictures of the senator's body. They would not even allow the reporters to take pictures of the ambulance which carried him away. Barkley's body was escorted to Washington, D.C. by four W&L students and four Virginia Military Institute Cadets.

Barkley's wife, who had accompanied him, received so many phone calls from senators, congressmen and other concerned politicians that Lexington's long distance service was delayed for more than half an hour.

"You have unfinished business," she told university President Francis Pendleton Gaines before leaving the city.

Barkley's administrative aid similarly encouraged students to "get back there like men in



the true spirit of the Democratic party," according to *The Roanoke Times*.

The convention had been postponed indefinitely, but later a faculty executive committee and a student steering committee decided the convention would resume one week after Barkley's death.

In his re-opening address Dr. Gaines said of Barkley, "He came to us at great sacrifice. He had twenty-five invitations to speak in Virginia in April, but he came to Washington and Lee because of his intense admiration for the authenticity of the Mock Convention... I know you will measure up to the obligation upon you, for the eyes of the nation are focused on this convention and the university community."

After five presidential and two vice-presidential ballots, Adlai Stevenson and Tennessee's Governor Frank Clement were nominated.

The students' efforts were met with much praise. According to *The Roanoke Times*, W&L had "done it again... all in all it was a bang up job."

Later that year, one campus publication no longer in existence reported:

"And so the convention was over, its final sessions a fitting climax to the undercurrent of serious purpose, the evaluation of issues and men, and the awakening of procedures necessary to place these men in nomination. Behind were the drama and the tragedy and the period when mature judgement and exceptional ability were demonstrated so effectively."



## National press should be on hand for weekend

By THOMAS EISENHAUER  
Phi Senior Copy Editor

Mock Convention officials say they expect more than 20 television stations, newspapers and wire services to cover this weekend's events.

"At the actual convention, this year [we] will attract more attention than in 1988 because of the quality of the speakers," said MC Media Chairman Monica Young.

Specifically, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's speech will draw much of the media attention, according to Young.

"I don't think that he would ever announce [as a candidate for the presidency] here, but a lot of [the media]

feel that they have to be here just because he's Mario Cuomo," she said.

According to Young, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have already written about the convention, and helped increase attention given it by other national media. "We've already seen the effect of [the two newspapers' coverage] in drawing more people," she said.

Nippon, a Japanese television network, decided to cover the convention after hearing about it in the *Times*, Young said.

Although many news organizations will not commit to covering this year's Mock Convention until the last minute, Young said she believes up to 100 people may report on the event.



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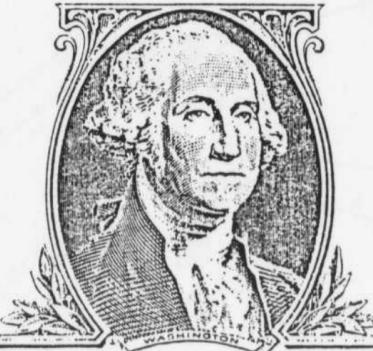
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# A READERS' GUIDE TO THE '92 CONVENTION

## THE SCHEDULE

### FRIDAY:

**Parade:**  
10:30 a.m. - Along Main & Washington streets.

### First Convention Session:

2 p.m. - Warner Center  
-Greetings from U.S. Congressmen Jim Olin (D-Va.), Buddy Darden (D-Ga.) and

Democratic Leadership Council Chairman Al From.

### Second Convention Session:

7:30 p.m. - Warner Center  
- Opening address from former Speaker of the House Thomas 'Tip' O'Neill.  
-Platform address from former Massachusetts Gov-

ernor Michael Dukakis.

### SATURDAY:

**Third Convention Session:**  
10:30 a.m. - Warner Center  
-Keynote address from New York Governor Mario Cuomo.  
-Nomination of President and Vice President

## CONVENTION SPEAKERS

### Keynote Speaker Mario Cuomo: Third Session



New York Governor and perennial Democratic presidential favorite Mario Cuomo will deliver the convention's keynote address during the third convention session. Citing a need to stay in New York and solve the state's

budget problems, Cuomo refused to run in the '92 presidential race despite widespread appeals for him to enter the race. A "Draft Cuomo" effort, active in the early primaries, has yet to convince him to run.

### Platform Speaker Michael Dukakis: Second Session



The Democrats' unsuccessful 1988 candidate for the presidency, Michael Dukakis will deliver the convention's platform address during the second session. The former governor of Massachusetts will also be the Grand

Marshall of the Mock Convention Parade on Friday morning. Dukakis is currently a visiting professor of political science at Northeastern University and has taught at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

### Opening Speaker Tip O'Neill: Second Session



Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Thomas P. 'Tip' O'Neill will deliver the opening address during the convention's second session. O'Neill, who filled John Kennedy's seat in the senate in 1952, was

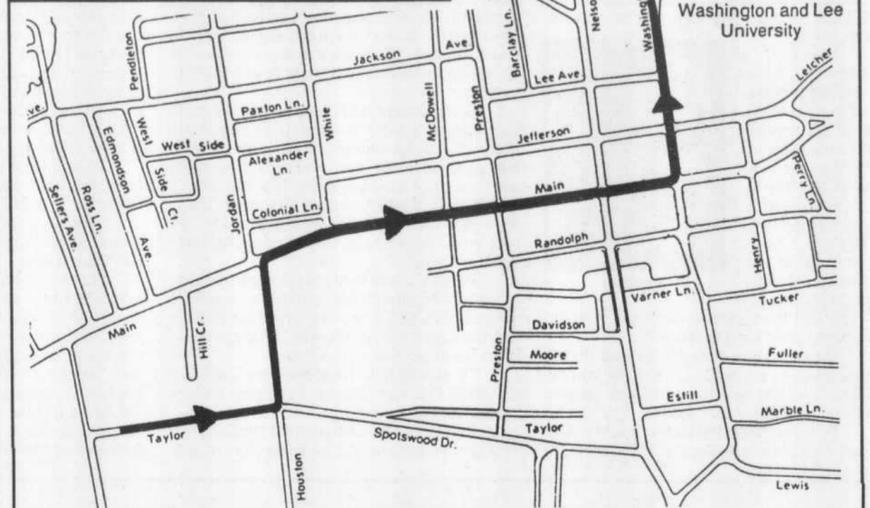
Speaker of the House for 9 years and was considered the Democrats' major spokesman during the Reagan years. One of the last links to the New Deal idealism, O'Neill is currently on the lecture circuit.

### Other Speakers: First Session

U.S. Congressman Jim Olin, Lexington's representative in the House of Representatives, will give opening remarks during the convention's first session at

2:30 p.m. Friday. Buddy Darden (D-Ga.) and Democratic Leadership Council Chairman Al From will also greet convention-goers during the first session.

## PARADE ROUTE



Friday's parade begins at 10:30 a.m. Michael Dukakis will serve as grand marshal. The paraders will assemble at the Lexington High School field and will then travel along Taylor Street. They will turn left on Houston Street, right on Main Street, and left on Washington Street.

## CONVENTION CHAIRMEN



**John Donaldson**  
Administrative Chairman



**David Bohigian**  
Coordinating Chairman



**Jamie Tucker**  
Political Chairman

Donaldson is in charge of the convention as a whole. It's his job to decide the big picture: what events will be included to constitute Mock Convention 1992. He was the first chairman appointed to get the convention off the ground.

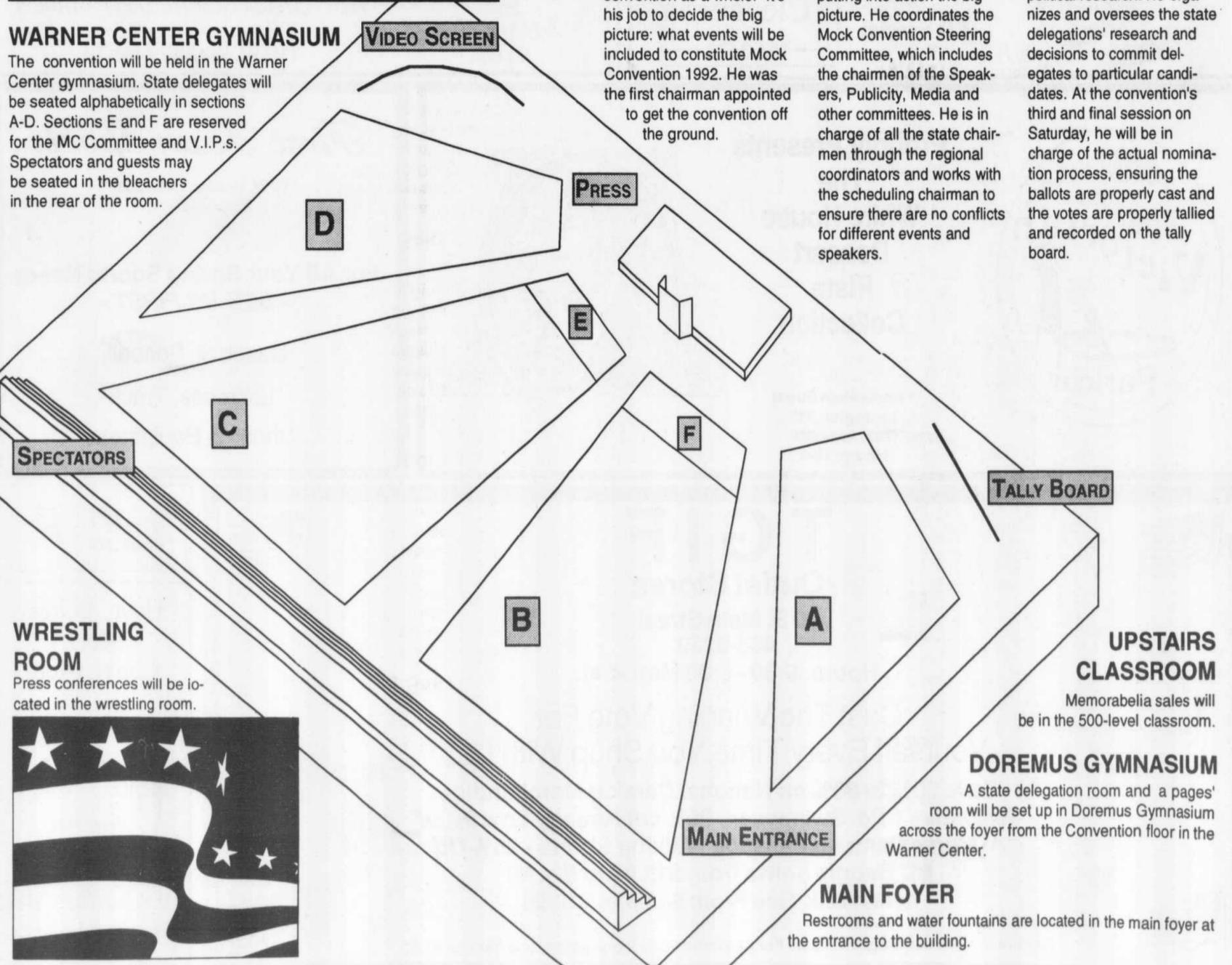
Bohigian is faced with putting into action the big picture. He coordinates the Mock Convention Steering Committee, which includes the chairmen of the Speakers, Publicity, Media and other committees. He is in charge of all the state chairmen through the regional coordinators and works with the scheduling chairman to ensure there are no conflicts for different events and speakers.

Tucker is in charge of all political research. He organizes and oversees the state delegations' research and decisions to commit delegates to particular candidates. At the convention's third and final session on Saturday, he will be in charge of the actual nomination process, ensuring the ballots are properly cast and the votes are properly tallied and recorded on the tally board.

## CONVENTION FLOOR

### WARNER CENTER GYMNASIUM

The convention will be held in the Warner Center gymnasium. State delegates will be seated alphabetically in sections A-D. Sections E and F are reserved for the MC Committee and V.I.P.s. Spectators and guests may be seated in the bleachers in the rear of the room.



### WRESTLING ROOM

Press conferences will be located in the wrestling room.



### UPSTAIRS CLASSROOM

Memorabilia sales will be in the 500-level classroom.

### DOREMUS GYMNASIUM

A state delegation room and a pages' room will be set up in Doremus Gymnasium across the foyer from the Convention floor in the Warner Center.

### MAIN FOYER

Restrooms and water fountains are located in the main foyer at the entrance to the building.