

1976

MOCK CONVENTION JOURNAL



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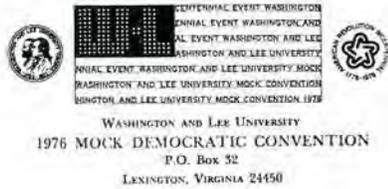
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1976 Mock Convention Journal



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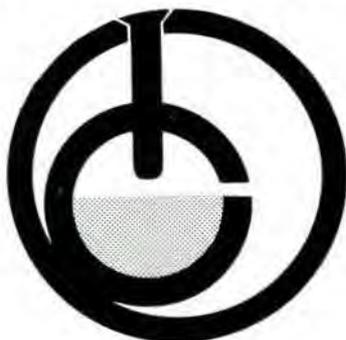
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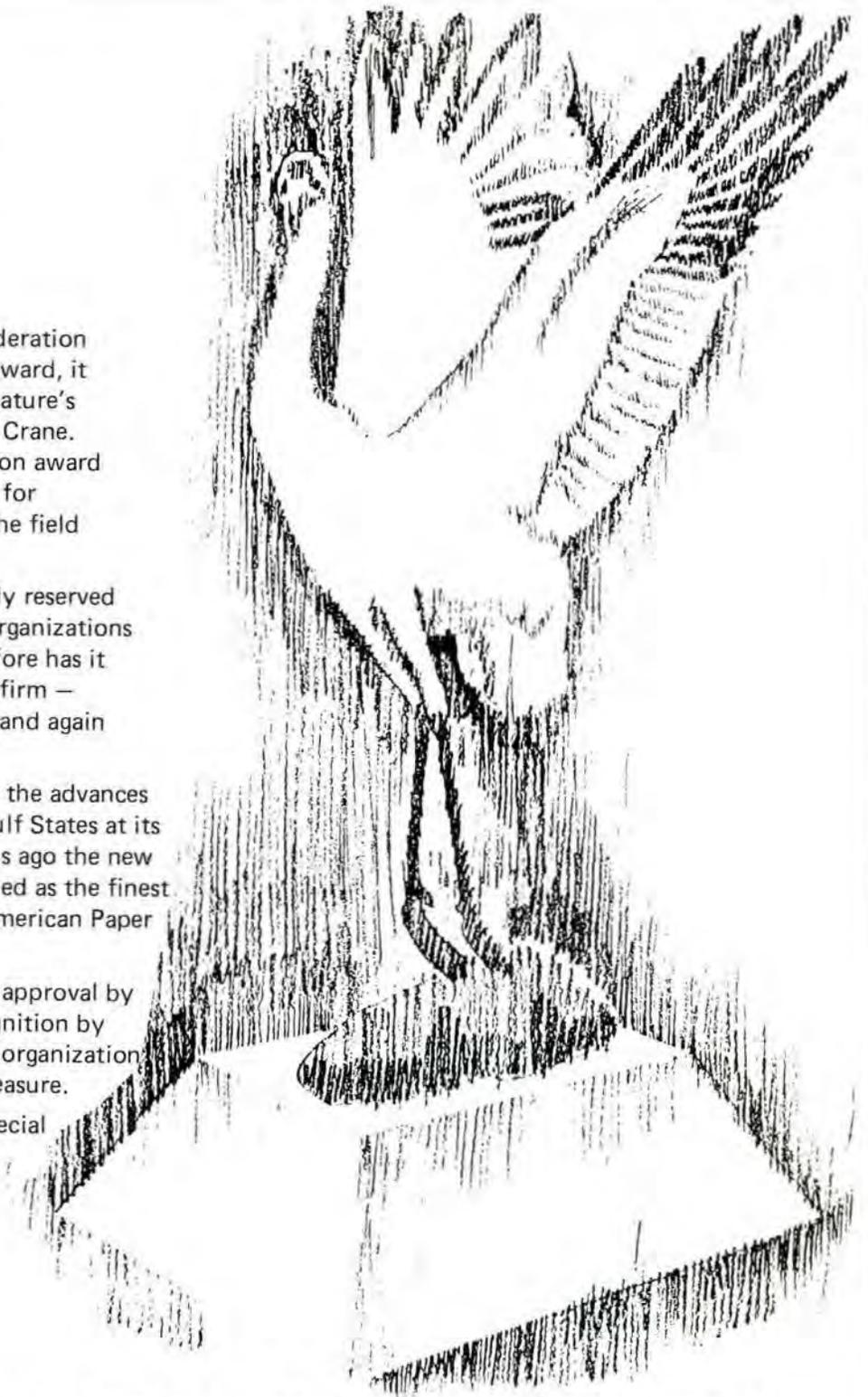
When the National Wildlife Federation sought a symbol for its rarest award, it selected a statuette of one of nature's rarest creatures, the Whooping Crane. In 1976 this special Conservation award was made to Gulf States Paper for "outstanding contribution in the field of water pollution control".

The coveted "Connie" is usually reserved for outstanding conservation organizations and individuals. Only twice before has it been awarded to an industrial firm — once to Ford Motor Company and again to General Electric.

This time the award recognizes the advances in waste treatment made by Gulf States at its Tuscaloosa mill. Several months ago the new treatment process was recognized as the finest in the paper industry by the American Paper Institute.

While we were grateful for this approval by our peers in industry, the recognition by this distinguished conservation organization gives us an extra measure of pleasure.

The "Connie" will occupy a special place at Gulf States Paper.



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VERMONT DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1976 Mock Convention

Salutes

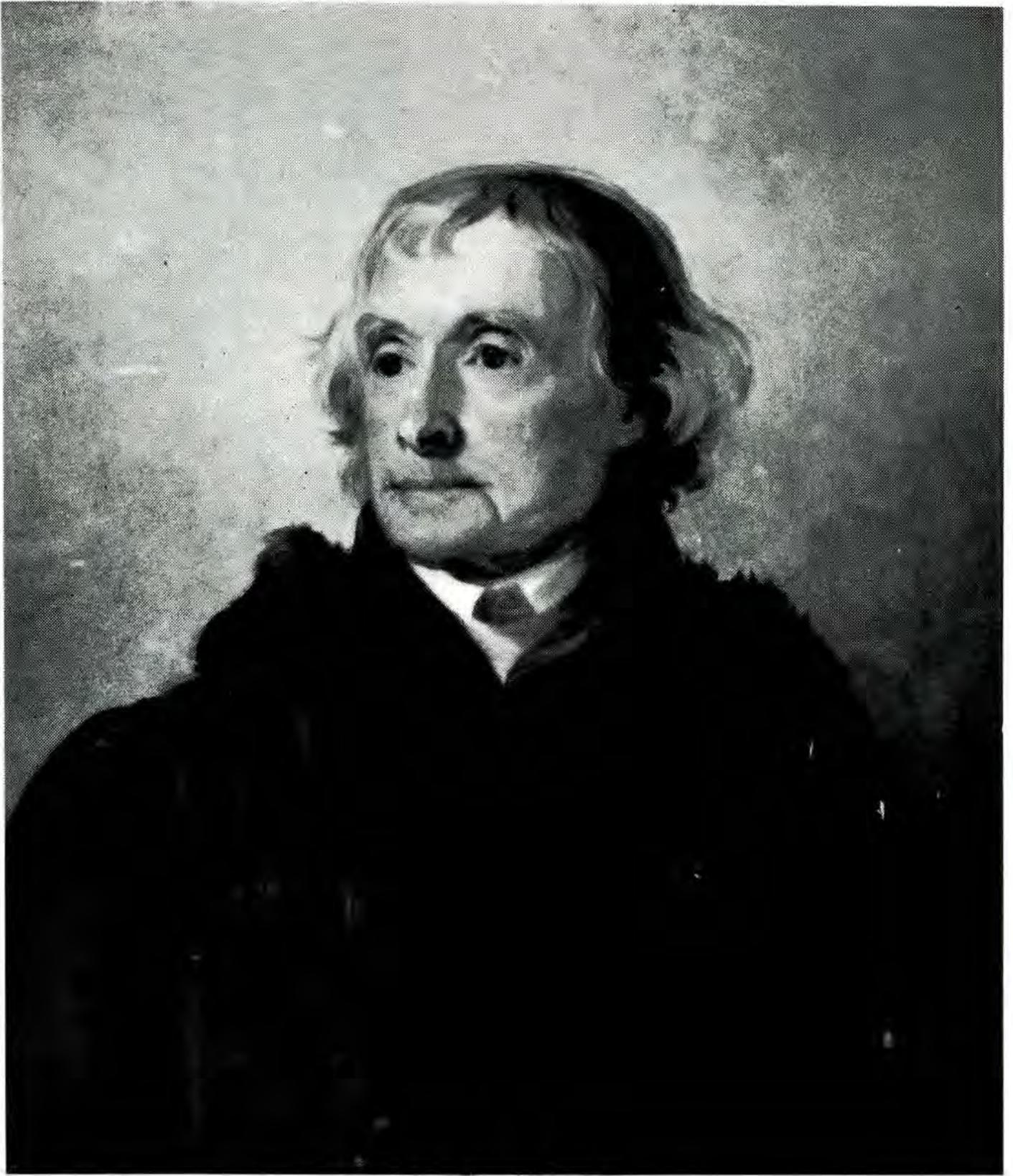


Lyndon B. Johnson

1963-1969

Harry S. Truman

1945-1953



Thomas Jefferson
1801-1809
Father of the Democratic Party

Robert E. R. Huntley

Editor's Note – Robert E. R. Huntley is president of Washington and Lee University and a veteran of several mock conventions.

JOURNAL: As a veteran of several mock conventions, how would you rate the overall change in enthusiasm among the students and faculty, as well as the alumni?

HUNTLEY: Well, I don't think the enthusiasm about the convention has declined at all since I have been witnessing the conventions. I would tell you, if anything, it is the subject of more careful planning in the last 10 years than it was earlier than that. I take it in part that that's what you mean by enthusiasm. The display of enthusiasm at the time of the event itself I don't see much of a change in because I think students have always greeted it with a lot of fun and they get a lot of fun out of it. But, in addition, I think they do tend to take it seriously enough.

I don't think they have, ever will or ever should take it as an altogether solemn event, but they do take their roles seriously enough to give it some legitimacy. I don't notice much change in there

except that the planning is probably more thorough than when I was a student.

JOURNAL: How accurate as a political barometer do you feel the W&L convention is as compared with the conventions of other schools?

HUNTLEY: I would probably think it is very accurate considering the time it occurs. Whether or not it turns out to be an accurate predictor is a matter of circumstance. What occurs between the time we hold our convention and the time when the national convention is held will obviously vary from one time to the next and I think that most of the time that we have been wrong is the result of what has happened after the convention was held which could hardly be predicted. But speaking of the time it is held, it seems to me to be an accurate representation of what would happen if the national convention was held at that time.

JOURNAL: I remember you mentioned that you had witnessed a number of mock conventions at W&L, both as a student as well as president. Have you noticed any substantial changes in the



"I think there is a good deal more awareness of political realities and political matters now among young people than there was several years ago. I don't think there is any question about that."



"What occurs between the time we hold our convention and the time when the national convention is held will obviously vary from one time to the next and I think that most of the time we have been wrong is the result of what happened after the convention was held."



"Sometimes, even the best political speakers will come to this convention prepared to give a kind of folksy chat which doesn't go over, it's not what the students want."

methods or process the students employ in selecting a candidate?

HUNTLEY: No, I don't know that I have. Again, I have the impression that there is not much of a difference between what goes on with the delegations here and what goes on with the actual delegations. However, I don't notice any trend in that connection, although some conventions have been better than others, depending, of course, upon the delegation chairmen. But I really can't notice any great change in the way it has been conducted over the years.

JOURNAL: With the preparations in full swing right now, from what you've heard and seen how do you feel about this year's convention?

HUNTLEY: Well, it sounds to me as if it is well on track, even though I don't know as much about the planning as I'm sure you do or the others working with it do. But, from what I've been told it looks to me as if it has been well planned and should come off quite well. At least, I hope that's the case.

I think the faculty look forward to it now more than they did 20 years ago. Again, they view it as an occasion for some lightness and fun, as well as having a serious side, but not overly serious or solemn. That would mean we would be taking ourselves too seriously. It's a good blend of those two qualities.

JOURNAL: I recall reading that you felt one of the strong points of the convention was that it linked the alumni with the school. Could you comment on that?

HUNTLEY: Yes, well I think it does. I think the alumni like to come back for it, and in addition to that, I think the fact that it still occurs and is handled as well as it was when they were students gives the alumni a feeling of continuity with the school. It is bound to be a source of some comfort for alumni in a world where almost everything else changes. Now, I don't mean to imply by that that alumni don't want us ever to change — they do — but I also think they get pleasure out of thinking that some of the same things they did and enjoyed are being done and enjoyed now. In fact, even if they aren't here, I think there is a vicarious pleasure taken in it by alumni, and in that sense, it's good for the school.

Of course, I wouldn't think that would be a reason for doing it alone, but if it is otherwise something the students want to do, that is certainly an incidental benefit. I suspect that there will be a lot of alumni here this time, because, as far as I can recall, it is the first time being held to coincide with the spring reunion. I don't know whether they will encounter a crowd control problem or not, but if so, I'm sure you will all cope with it.

JOURNAL: What feedback have you gotten from alumni that have come back for the conventions?

HUNTLEY: Again, this is going to be an unusual one in the number of alumni who actually witness it. I think that most of what alumni know about the mock convention after they graduate is what they read. It really hasn't been customary for a lot of alumni to return for the convention. They really haven't had any courage to do so because the conventions haven't been held at a time where they were specifically invited to be back on campus. So this convention, as far as I can remember, will be the first one where there will be a lot of alumni on campus who will be able to see it. I think this is good, although it may indeed present some logistical problems that we haven't really had before.

JOURNAL: How would you compare and contrast the W&L convention with the actual national convention?

HUNTLEY: Well, I've never been to the national convention so I have to go by what I've seen on television. The visual aspect is very similar it seems to me. The impression created in the gymnasium by the decor, the seating, and indeed the way in which the delegates conduct themselves are strongly reminiscent of what the national convention looks like.

I expect that the maneuverings for votes are, to some degree, similar to what goes on at the national convention, again if the convention were held on that day. But, I don't really know that because I don't have any experience with the national convention as a basis for comparison.

JOURNAL: It has been written and said quite a bit that the interest of young Americans in politics has declined over the years. How do you feel about that?

HUNTLEY: I don't perceive that. I can only compare it with the people whom I was in school with, and I think there is a good deal more awareness of political realities and political matters now among young people than there was several years ago. I know there is; I don't think there is any question about that.

Of course, I know that doesn't directly answer your question. I suppose it's possible that one could be more aware of politics and still take a smaller interest in it. However, it's unlikely that would happen and I don't perceive that would be the case. There is much more involvement in the campaign efforts of candidates in both parties and an awareness on the part of the candidates of the necessity to take into account the votes of the youth than was true 20 years ago. I am sure there

(con. on pg. 31)

Mock Politics in Lexington

By: Bryan and Philip Hatchett

"We as a party have an obligation to provide America the very best man...As we meet here today, the issue of the war is still facing us, and we find our government pursuing a course that we have long since realized to be a mistake. I take a deep pride in submitting before this convention, the name of Senator George S. McGovern for President of the United States."

It was shortly after 10 o'clock on a Saturday morning early in May of 1972 when second-year law student John Hammond, a member of the Michigan delegation to the 15th Washington and Lee University Mock Convention, made that nominating speech in the school gymnasium in Lexington. The McGovern supporters in attendance followed with the obligatory demonstration on behalf of their candidate. On the floor, other student delegates, oblivious to the proceedings at the podium, solicited support for their own demonstrations to follow; some just gazed, awed by the draping banners and menacing photographers; a few simply peered between the pages of morning newspapers.

That clear spring Saturday they were participating in what *Time* would later call the "boomingest of the quadrennial campus mass ventures into political prediction." As it has evolved over the past 68 years, the theory of the W&L Mock Convention is that once inside a gymnasium filled to the rafters with placards, banners, and political rhetoric, students braced by the insights of contemporary political leaders and pundits, and perhaps a modicum of beer and bourbon, will more often than not predict the decision that these same political leaders will make when they gather in a similar environment at the actual convention.

Typically, the pursuit of realism is not to the exclusion of some collegiate burlesque. For example, the seemingly endless roll call votes of the '72 Mock Convention were made longer by the delegation chairmen who, while casting their votes, delivered one-line descriptions of their states. When it was his turn on the first ballot, a very staid chairman of the host delegation said into the microphone, "Virginia, the mother of presidents, casts the following votes..." As the

Bryan Hatchett was the Press Secretary of the 1972 Mock Convention. His brother, Philip, holds the same office for the present convention.

convention progressed Virginia became "the home of slow horses, bad whiskey, and slower women."

The delegates to the Democratic National Convention who met that summer in Miami chose



The Washington and Lee Mock Convention: the "boomingest of the quadrennial campus mass ventures into political prediction."

Senator McGovern to be the party's nominee on the first ballot. Alas, on the first ballot two-and-a-half months earlier in Lexington, there was no winner. A deadlock developed between McGovern and Senator Hubert Humphrey. It was of course the same dilemma that Democrats all across the country faced, but the results of the California primary, held later in May, and New York primary, held in June, made a McGovern victory inevitable when the actual convention met in July.

The McGovern forces were short of the nomination on the first ballot in Lexington by little more than three hundred votes; they were only 25½ votes short of the necessary 1,509 on the third ballot before several delegations requested permission to change their votes. As the roll call continued McGovern's support waned till he had only 1,140, and Humphrey was the new leader with 1,325½—while Kennedy, who had received only 20 votes on the previous two ballots, now had 523½.

The announced candidates had repeatedly fallen short of the votes necessary to secure the nomination. Even though a telephone call that afternoon by one delegate to Senator Kennedy's press secretary had produced an unenthusiastic response, the Mock Convention delegates—wary and frustrated after a search for a nominee that had begun nearly 14 hours earlier—reached the only consensus available to them. Kennedy would

be given the nomination whether he outwardly wanted it or not.

As it turned out, of course, the thousand student delegates from W&L and the surrounding women's colleges who spent that long Saturday inside the gymnasium-turned-convention hall had earned themselves a place beside the delegates to the 1912 Mock Convention, which nominated Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio rather than Woodrow Wilson as the real convention would; the '36 convention, which nominated Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan rather than Alfred Landon; the '40 convention which nominated Oregon Senator Charles L. McNary rather than Wendell Willkie; and the '48 convention, which missed again by nominating Vandenberg rather than Thomas Dewey. Despite the results in '72, however, no other school has challenged W&L's record since 1908 of ten correct predictions offset by only five erroneous ones.

The tradition began unpretentiously enough as a class project suggested by W. Jeff Lauck, an assistant professor of economics and politics at Washington and Lee. The first Mock Convention was dominated by students who only a few weeks before had heard William Jennings Bryan deliver his "Cross of Gold" speech at a Lexington skating rink. Bryan appeared as part of the traveling Chautauqua series, those carnival-like events which brought speakers and entertainers to rural communities early in this century. The enthusiastic students garnered enough support for Bryan to obtain the nomination on the first ballot—the only first-ballot victory in the history of the Mock Convention. Two months later, the delegates to the actual Democratic National Convention, meeting in Denver, made good on that original prediction.

The first Mock Convention was of such little note to the editor of the student newspaper, the *Ring-tum Phi*, that he chose to carry only a brief account of it on page two of the paper. The *Lexington Gazette*, however, reported on its front page that "the young gentlemen entered into the meeting with the zest of seasoned politicians plus the enthusiasm of collegians." If we are to believe the first-hand accounts, an imprudent combination of political "zest" and collegiate "enthusiasm" produced volatile results. The '08 convention saw the only political dispute among delegates that led to actual fisticuffs. After the nomination of Bryan, members of the Kansas delegation, who had supported the candidacy of Minnesota Governor John A. Johnson, in no uncertain terms invited the Bryan supporters to join them outside the gymnasium, where, according to newspaper accounts, a "heated set-to" ensued. When it was through, those Johnson supporters who remained healthy enough gathered at the engineering building, held their own convention, and nominated the "man of

the hour"—in their eyes at least—Governor Johnson.

There is historical evidence that the Mock Convention which produces a nominee in the early balloting stands the best chance of having predicted the correct candidate. The '52 convention, which went only four ballots, appears to be a model of how, in theory, every Mock Convention should turn out.

The delegates, including senior economics major David Constine, chairman of the California delegation, had done their homework. Constine had established a correspondence with Governor Earl Warren, who would later head the California delegation to the actual Republican convention and whose name would be placed in nomination as a favorite son. After three ballots showed Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft ahead of General Dwight Eisenhower and Warren a poor third, the Governor wired Constine to free his delegates, and as a consequence, the California delegation swung its support behind the World War II hero. Warren received the Mock Convention's vice-presidential nomination. Several days afterwards, the Governor notified the students, just to set the record straight, that he still considered himself a presidential candidate, but was very "flattered" to be chosen for the second spot.

Those conventions which have made correct



Former President Harry S. Truman highlighted the 1960 convention.

predictions even after extended balloting have often done so because of some fortuitous occurrence. For example, in 1960 Adlai Stevenson accumulated enough votes to win on the fourth ballot—but a shortage of adding machines delayed Mock Convention officials from ruling him a winner, and in the interim several delegations

(con. on pg. 31)

Journal Feature

1976 Co-Chairmen

by Michael Brooks

Reed Morgan and Richard Wolf have a different sort of working relationship as co-chairmen of Washington and Lee University's 1976 Mock Convention. Certainly Wolf's description of it is a different sort. When asked what they do as co-chairmen, Wolf sat back in his seat and actually looked bewildered. It was like he momentarily stopped breathing. After a few seconds of what had to be some careful thinking, he said, "It's like an absent-minded professor on the one hand and his subservient wife on the other."

Morgan was constantly walking around the Mock Convention office. One minute he was sitting and the next, someone or something needed his attention. He was always carrying a pen or papers in his hand.

"The absent-minded professor is sort of the political end," Wolf was continuing with his analogy. "There're people with great schemes and grand ideas. But there's also a lot of little work, organizational work, administrative work that has to get done while people are carrying out their grand ideas," he said.

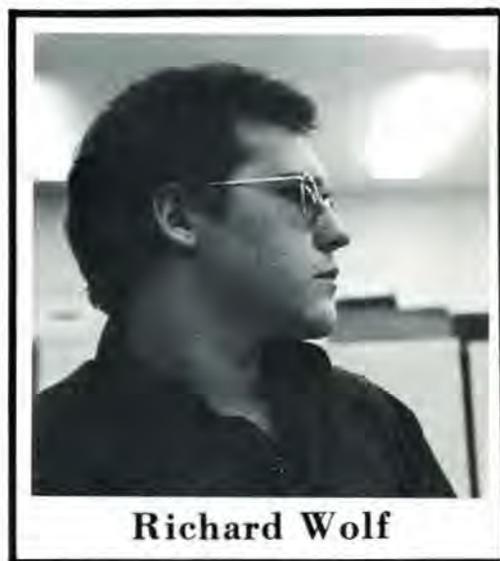
Morgan takes care of the politics or what they both called the "abstract" half of the convention planning, because "I don't know anything about politics," Wolf said.

Wolf said he was perfectly willing to let Morgan handle the political research. "I think that's why we get along so well," he said.

The other half of the convention, which Wolf oversees, has to be with getting rooms for

meetings, handling speaker accommodations, transportation, gymnasium decorations and making parade arrangements, "etc." He is the "wife" of the operation he acknowledged.

Morgan, when he was finally able to sit, looked a little astonished after first hearing Wolf's analogy. Then after thinking about it a while he looked as though he did not know whether to be embarrassed or proud. In either case, a smile eased onto his face and he said there were no "big personalities" among this convention's planners. He agreed with his partner in that they do get along well because they support each other.



Richard Wolf

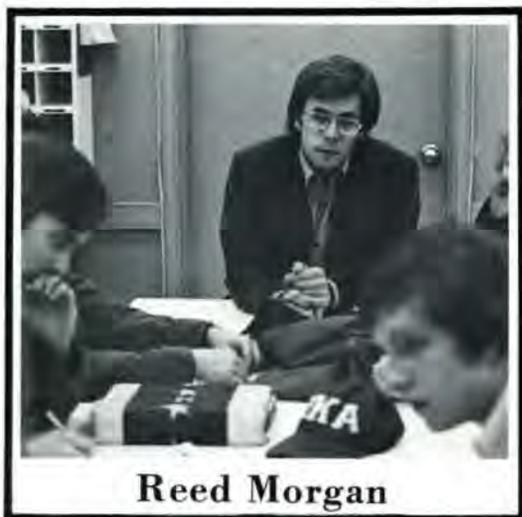
Why did they want to be co-chairmen? "I have a deep interest in how political organizations run; why things work and why things don't, why some people win and why some people don't," said Morgan. The "practical elements of politics" are what appeal to him, he said.

Morgan said he intended to major in politics when he came to W&L. When finding out about the '72 Mock Convention and subsequently working with its planning, he said, that intention only intensified. And now the politics major's intentions are to first work for a campaign (a Michigan senate campaign) after he graduates, he said, and then, in later years, to work as a "staff member" for a government official. He specifically mentioned the words mayor, governor and "the Hill."

An English major, Wolf said that he, too, was interested in how political organizations run. But the "big show" aspect of the convention interested him more.

Wolf said he liked the idea of "putting on such a huge show" as the convention, with such a "good budget."

He had a "sizable" interest in politics as a freshman, Wolf said, and he considered majoring in the subject, too. But he "soon discovered that



Reed Morgan

politics wasn't my thing." Wolf got involved in the '76 Mock Convention regardless, and that is when he realized that it was more than a "political exercise."

When asked whether they had any real personal problems while working as co-chairmen they both mentioned grades. That is, they each spend between 20 to 50 hours a week working on the convention which does cause conflicts with studying time.

Wolf said he was in the office all day twice a week, but he tries to stay completely away from convention work during the weekend, otherwise, he said, he gets no class work done.

Morgan said his hours include reading newspapers, books and meeting people for lunch and dinner to talk.

When asked about what has impressed them most about their experiences they said "people."

Morgan emphasized how he was learning more and more about himself and particularly about his ability to motivate people or perhaps his lack of ability to do so. He said he tends to have a "low-keyed" rather than an "inspirational" approach to

leadership which has caused problems. He is very soft-spoken.

Wolf mentioned how frustrating their work can be especially when it seems like he and Morgan are the only two working seriously. Tempers do flare up every now and then.

The writer is a junior majoring in journalism at Washington and Lee.

Frustrations aside, they both say that what really keeps them going is the end product of their efforts — "whatever it'll be," Morgan said jokingly. The anticipation of the actual convention, the excitement, the fanfare and the idea that they will have organized the one event that involves the entire school population make it all worth their trouble. Three years of planning and advance work will culminate in two days of "something," they admit.

Besides, "It's never boring," said Wolf.



Members of the 1976 Mock Convention Steering Committee

Parade

by Neil Johnson

The 1976 Mock Democratic Convention promises to be the biggest ever in every aspect, and one of the most festive aspects which will be bigger and better than ever is the convention parade.

The traditional parade will begin about noon on Friday, May 7, and will make its way from



Lexington High School to VMI by way of Main Street. According to Trip Wornom, convention parade chairman, this year's parade will include many more units than in previous processions and will last about one and a half hours.

Traditionally, the party mascot — this year a donkey obtained from a local farm — leads the parade. The donkey will be followed by Parade Marshal Henry Howell, former lieutenant governor of Virginia.

The parade floats will represent every state delegation, several of the neighboring women's colleges, every candidate and a few nearby high schools. Special floats, such as the one representing the City of Lexington, also will take part. As in past years, the reviewing stand will be in front of the Robert E. Lee Hotel.

Many high school bands also will participate, giving the parade added color and increasing the

community involvement. "This is the first time so many high school bands have been invited to join in," Wornom said.



But the bulk of the parade will be the delegation floats — some of which have been under construction for several months. The incentive for building an unusual or appealing float comes from the prizes that will be awarded to the top three floats: beer.

A notable attraction in the 1972 parade was the New Jersey float. The delegation was dressed as gangsters and they rode an antique car which became the getaway vehicle after a mock robbery of a local bank. State beauty queens are flown in from around the country to ride on their respective floats. It is rumored that the Virginia delegation will feature on their float this year the Pork Queen of Smithfield.



Immediately after the parade, the convention will get under way with the opening address by Andrew Miller, attorney general of Virginia and marshal of the 1972 convention parade.

Thousands of people from all over the Shenandoah Valley come to see the convention parade — and see sleepy little Lexington come alive.

Keynoter

William Proxmire

by Gary Collier

Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire, according to *Newsweek* magazine, has earned the reputation of being "a liberal on social issues, a bear on wasteful spending, a show-me independent who actually reads tax bills down to the last sneak loophole."

One of the Senator's colleagues has been quoted as saying, "He's obsessed with work. If we had three or four guys like him, the Senate might actually be able to take charge of the affairs of government as it should."

Proxmire, 60, is now serving his third term and will be up for re-election again this year. He is chairman of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee and vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. He is also a member of many senatorial subcommittees.

A member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he is chairman of the Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Subcommittee and a member of the subcommittees on Agricultural and Related Agencies, Defense, and Foreign Operations.

Proxmire was in the Wisconsin House of Representatives in 1951 and was the Democratic nominee for Governor in 1952, 1954, and 1956. In 1957, Proxmire was supported by the state's "new" Democratic party and won a special election to fill Joseph McCarthy's senatorial seat.

Gary Collier, a junior majoring in journalism and economics, is the editor of the Mock Convention Newsletter. He wrote all three speaker articles.

The unorthodox Proxmire is a health nut and calls America "a nation of fatties and softies." He begins his day with calisthenics, then jogs 4.7 miles to Capitol Hill. His good health has enabled him to maintain a record for consecutive roll calls. He does not sit at his desk, he stands; and he was the first Senator to have hair transplants.

In 1964, Proxmire began what at the time seemed a hopeless cause—opposition to the supersonic transport. By 1971, Proxmire had won his battle against the SST.

He has often proved troublesome to the military-industrial complex. Big defense contractors and Pentagon officials remember him well for exposing huge cost overruns by Lockheed in its production of the C-5A.

He led a move to cut down the number of U. S. government limousines and the number of enlisted

men working as servants for generals and admirals.

In March 1975, he denounced the National Science Foundation for funding six dubious studies—such as African climate in the last Ice Age and hitchhiking as a possible addition to the



Wisconsin Sen. William Proxmire

nation's transportation system.

In the same month, he blasted the National Institute of Health Care and Human Development for funding the study of the sex lives of Michigan State college students, mostly to find out why some fail to use birth control devices. Charging a "serious mismanagement of taxpayers' funds," Proxmire pointed out that the \$342,000 contract had been awarded noncompetitively to a former official of the institute. Not stopping there, he disclosed that the National Science Foundation had granted \$84,000 to a University of Minnesota psychologist to study romantic love.

Proxmire became chairman of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee in 1975 when Alabama Senator John Sparkman gave up the position to be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

A graduate of the Harvard Business School, he insists he is devoted to the free-enterprise system. As it was before the industrial giants started getting tax breaks, emergency bail-outs and other forms of government generosity.

If he had to describe his economic views, he'd call them "pragmatic and eclectic." Proxmire's pragmatism has meant advocacy of fair credit practices, opposition to defense budget excesses and support of low-cost housing financing.

Proxmire believes the advice and consent function of the Senate should be used quite vigorously. He wants tougher, public cross-examination of nominees and an end to the gentlemanly private chats of the past.

Donald Riegle

The *Flint Journal* said Donald Riegle's "tendency to be aggressive, his willingness to buck tradition and rock boats that are rarely tipped, really is the key to his obvious popularity. ... It is doubtful that any member of Congress works any harder."

Elected as a Republican at age 28 to the 90th Congress in November 1966, he was re-elected to the 91st, 92nd and 93rd congresses as a Republican. Riegle, 37, changed party affiliation in February, 1973, and was re-elected to the 94th Congress as a Democrat.

Riegle is currently a candidate for the Michigan Senate seat vacated by the retirement of Philip Hart.

In 1967, *Nation* magazine, citing his exhaustive personal service to his constituents and his Appropriations Committee work in opposition to the Vietnam War, named him one of America's top two congressmen. *Newsweek* has called him one of five young leaders to watch in the '70s.

Riegle, along with Trevor Armbrister, authored the best-selling book "O Congress!" The book, published in June 1972 by Doubleday, gives a frank and personal account of Riegle's life as a congressman from April 19, 1971 until March 7, 1972. The book has been heralded as the first inside look at Congress.

In 1966, he was working toward his doctorate at Harvard Business School when he chose to begin his political career. Riegle was told, while still at Harvard, that the Seventh District Republicans in his hometown of Flint, Mich., were looking for a congressional candidate. He returned home, ran for Congress and won a 54-46 upset.

From the beginning, Riegle was an outspokenly ambitious young congressman, frequently abandoning many of the orthodox Republican positions.

It was Vietnam that produced Riegle's most emphatic dissent. Along with Republicans John Lindsay and Ogden Reid of New York and Pete McCloskey of California, Riegle opposed the war policies of both Johnson and Nixon. He co-sponsored a bill to end U. S. involvement in Vietnam. Also, he led a fight to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and sought to cut off funds to Southeast Asia.

In 1972, Riegle was the only Republican congressman to support McCloskey's primary challenge of Nixon. (By then, his rapport with fellow Republicans had reached zero.) He sought, in the spring of '72, to have a full-dress House

debate on the undeclared war in Vietnam. He said that as a member of the House and its Appropriations Committee he had never had the opportunity to vote on just the defense appropriation to be allocated to the Vietnam War.

On Feb. 23, 1973, before the Watergate scandal really began to break and with Nixon's popularity running extremely high, Riegle, the Republican, became a Democrat.

Due to his switch of party affiliation, he lost his seat on the Appropriations Committee. In its place, he was given a spot on the International Relations Committee.

Riegle has long sought to reform the congressional budget and policy making procedure. He has fought for more open government policies and sought to limit Presidential powers by strengthening Congress.



Congressman Donald Riegle

On President Ford, the Michigan representative said he "looks much stronger politically than he is, or deserves to be. I think it's desperately important that the country elect a new President this year."

Among the Democrats, Riegle said he originally favored Walter Mondale. Since Mondale has decided not to enter the race, he has no clear favorites, but probably leans toward Mo Udall.

Says Riegle: "If we should bungle the job of nominating a strong, sensitive, able person, the country's going to suffer and Ford may win by default. I don't think we can afford to let that happen, and I don't think we will let that happen."

Riegle is presently a member of the House International Relations Committee and is on two of its subcommittees.

Dale Bumpers

Time magazine said the word "charisma" best describes Dale Bumpers. Newsweek called him a "thoroughly effective, charismatic campaigner."

Dale Bumpers, 50, is today considered one of the most promising politicians in the South.

Following the 1972 McGovern debacle, Bumpers emerged as the Democratic Governors' acknowledged leader in the struggle to rebuild the party and elect moderate financier Robert Strauss as the party's chairman.

He has been frequently mentioned as a possible vice-presidential nominee on this year's Democratic ticket.

In 1970, while William Fulbright was leading the Senate's attack on U. S. Policy in Vietnam, Dale Bumpers was still a country lawyer. Bumpers had, until 1970, held no political office except a seat on the local school board and the job of town attorney.

A graduate of the University of Arkansas and Northwestern Law School, Bumpers took over his parents' store in 1949 in Charleston, Ark., and married Betty Flanagan, daughter of a local dairy farmer. Bumpers began practicing law in Charleston in 1951 and continued until 1970.

In 1970 he surprised many with his defeat of former Governor Orval Faubus in the Democratic gubernatorial primary.

He then surprised more people when he trounced the incumbent Governor Winthrop Rockefeller.

During that campaign, Bumpers declared that segregation was "immoral," and had so little money that he had to sell his dairy herd for \$95,000 to pay campaign and family expenses. While Rockefeller was calling Bumpers "a vaguely pleasant fellow with one speech, a shoeshine and a smile," Bumpers attacked Rockefeller for being away from the state too often.

As governor he instituted the state's first major income-tax reform and carried out a successful rural industrialization campaign aimed at putting factories where the jobs are needed. Bumpers re-organized the state government into more efficient cabinet units at a savings of \$235 million. At the same time, he increased the number of community care centers for the mentally retarded from 20 to 85 and raised teachers' salaries by \$2,000 a year. He established a statewide community college program and increased the number of blacks employed by the state from 7.4 per cent to 19 per cent.

Bumpers chose to run for the Senate instead of a third term as governor primarily because he

needed money. He has three children, one with a serious spinal condition. As Governor, he made only \$10,000 a year, as Senator he makes \$42,000.

On the main issues in the Senate race, Bumpers and Fulbright differed little. Fulbright's main interest was foreign policy, and as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Fulbright wanted very much to remain in the Senate.

During the campaign Bumpers accepted no contributions over \$1,000 and none from out of the state. He won carrying 65 per cent of the votes cast.

Bumpers is an expert at the art of handshaking and chatting his way through a crowd. He doesn't just shake a man's hand, he finds out his name, asks about relatives and hopefully produces an anecdote about a mutual acquaintance.

He is careful not to attack an opponent and never takes a stand on an issue when it can be avoided.

In his campaigns, Bumpers has relied primarily on his folksy personal appeal. He has cultivated an image as the common man's candidate, the same man who had gone on camp-outs with the Boy Scouts and led the Methodist Church choir in Charleston.

Being newly elected, Bumpers has not yet received any ratings from political groups, and he has not yet voted on many issues.

Last year he voted for the use of Medicaid funds to encourage and facilitate abortions and to rescind funds previously appropriated for 12 F-111 aircraft. He also supported a bill to permit the President to resume conditional military aid to Turkey.

He is presently serving on the Aeronautical and Space Science Committee and Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. He is also a member of its subcommittees on Energy Research and Water Resources; Environment and Land Resources; Minerals, Materials and Fuels; and Parks and Recreation.



Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers

Candidate

Morris Udall

by Robert DiSilvestre

Mo Udall just might become the Abe Lincoln of Arizona. He's a tall, gangling man whose watchword is honesty—and he's dead set on gaining his party's nomination for President.

Udall was prompted into the race by a petition signed by 30 of his fellow congressmen urging him to run for President.

He was the first in this crowded field of challengers to declare his candidacy way back in 1974. Now, well into 1976, most Americans are beginning to recognize his name.

After the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries, Udall began to emerge as the leader of the democratic liberal wing. Bayh dropped out of the race, Harris was well behind and Shriver ceased to be a factor. Endorsements from such prominent democrats as Joseph Raun Jr., former chairman of the Democratic Party in Washington, D. C., and Arthur Schlesinger, adviser to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, quickly followed.

Udall, at a press conference in New York, declared that he was "the only horse to ride" and launched "Operation Outreach" in an effort to gather the party's liberal forces around him.

How does a young boy raised in a Mormon background, blinded at the age of five grow into first a professional basketball player, a congressman, and finally a candidate for the United States' Presidency.



The writer is a junior majoring in journalism at Washington and Lee.

Mo Udall is a man whose political existence is guided by the experiences of a rather remarkable life.

EXAMPLE: Blinded in one eye at the age of five in an accident involving a rusty knife, Udall received poor treatment due to his family's inability to pay for a necessary operation. With that as a background, Udall's proposal for national health insurance gains all the more validity.

EXAMPLE: His service in World War II had him in command of a 300 man all-black squadron. This experience led Udall in several directions. One, it resulted in his break with the Mormon Church (who do not allow blacks to become priests or laymen). Two, he became resolutely opposed to capital punishment when, although only an inept second year law student, he was assigned to defend a young black accused of murder. Udall lost, and the man was executed.

Udall's constituents continually point to his honesty as a major reason for his popularity. And Udall lives up to this image many times over.

For instance, three months before any of his election campaigns, Udall suspends production of his congressional newsletter, in the belief that it gives the incumbent an unfair campaign advantage.

He has been a major proponent of financial disclosure and campaign funding reform, as well as battling for stricter lobbyists control and reform of the seniority system — before that particular crusade was in vogue.

In Arizona's Second Congressional District, which Udall represents, labor is solidly behind him. But there is one problem which Udall must overcome if he is to gain nationwide labor support.

In 1965, Udall voted against labor when he voted against repeal of the right-to-work law. Labor in Arizona has continued to give him support, however. Udall explains that statewide referendums dictated that he vote the way he did. Personally, he would have voted with labor, but Udall has promised to represent the views of his constituency. Presumably his constituency would be sufficiently large as President to enable him to avoid any future conflicts.

But even though this vote might antagonize labor, it points out Udall's intense belief in honesty. Udall believes that in the end, his honesty will prove the more important.

Udall's Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: June 15, 1922, St. Johns, Ariz.

Home: Tucson, Ariz.

Religion: Church of the Latter-Day Saints (Mormon).

Education: University of Arizona, LL.B., 1949.

Offices: Chief deputy Pima County (Arizona) attorney, 1950-52; Pima County attorney, 1952-54; U.S. House since May 17, 1961.

Military: Army Air Corps, 1942-46; discharged as captain.

Memberships: Arizona State Bar Association, American Bar Association, American Judicature Society, American Legion.

Family: Married Ella Royston Ward, 1968; six children by his first marriage, which ended in divorce in 1966.

Committees: Interior and Insular Affairs; chairman, Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment; Post Office and Civil Service; Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

Henry Jackson

by Sammy Thompson

Five years out of law school at age 28, Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson, then prosecutor for Snohomish County, Wash., entered the world of national politics by winning a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1940.

This was the start of a career in public service that has, so far, totaled 36 years in Congress.

For the last 24 years, Jackson has served in the Senate. His experience and leadership there earned him the title of "most effective" Senator in a poll of legislative assistants conducted by a Ralph Nader group.

As a Senator, Jackson has served as chairman of the Interior Committee, is the ranking Democrat on the Government Operations Committee and third-ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee. He also chairs four subcommittees and is chairman of the Special Committee on Legislative Oversight.

Jackson's main support has come from the defense industry, labor and American Jews. Much of his national campaign funding has come from Jewish contributions, which has made him one of the leading money raisers so far.

But Jackson's greatest asset has probably been his clear stand on today's issues.

On questions of defense and foreign policy he has been unyieldingly conservative. Jackson has long been a proponent of new military hardware.

In foreign policy, Jackson has been a hard-liner towards the Soviet Union and an unswerving supporter of Israel. Jackson said that the last two administrations have been too willing to give too much away to Russia.

"The way you get the Soviets to the table is from a position of strength," he said. Jackson thinks the United States should remain equal with the Russians in arms even if it means increasing the defense budget.

Regarding Israel, Jackson wanted Russia to liberalize its emigration laws in exchange for American trade concessions. This deal would have



benefited Soviet Jews if it had not been repudiated by the Soviets.

In the Vietnam era, Jackson supported an all-out American entrance including the bombing of North Vietnam. When he decided that the United States could not win the war, he favored a withdrawal, after which, he refused to support the request for \$300 million in additional aid to South Vietnam.

On domestic issues, Jackson emphasizes energy and the economy. His solution for the energy crisis is to impose mandatory reductions in consumption and to increase domestic production. He also wants a "National Energy Mobilization Board" to oversee increased energy production.

In 1973, Jackson urged a \$20 billion program for energy research and development. He also wants a board to coordinate and accelerate development on the continental shelf.

The writer, a junior majoring in journalism, is the Sport's Editor of W&L's student newspaper.

Jackson's solution for the economy is to push federal employment programs. These include a \$2.6 million housing start program for low- and middle-income families, a railroad rebuilding project aimed at providing 200,000 jobs and government authority to delay wage and price hikes.

In environmental matters, Jackson sponsored legislation that created a comprehensive federal policy on environmental protection. For this, he received the Sierra Club's John Muir Award.

Thus, Jackson has attempted to put together a program that will appeal to all shades of Democrats.

Jackson's Background

Profession: Attorney.
Born: May 31, 1912, Everett, Wash.
Home: Everett.
Religion: Presbyterian.
Education: University of Washington, LL.B., 1935.
Offices: Prosecuting attorney, Snohomish County, 1938-41; House, 1941-53; Senate since 1953.
Military: Army, 1943-44.
Memberships: Phi Delta Phi, American Legion, Elks, Eagles, Sons of Norway, Masons.
Family: Wife, Helen Hardin; two children.
Committees: Chairman, Interior and Insular Affairs; Government Operations; chairman, Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations; Armed Services; chairman, Subcommittee on Arms Control; Joint Committee on Atomic Energy; chairman, Subcommittee on ERDA, Nuclear Energy.

Hubert Humphrey

by C. E. Floyd

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota is an undeclared candidate for the Democratic nomination for President but even without a campaign he seems to have the support of a large number of Americans.



The large number of people voting "no preference" in the recent Democratic primaries could be a reflection of the number of voters that are looking towards the possibility of a Humphrey candidacy. The Senator said he intends to stay out the contest until the primaries are over and at that point he will probably be in a prime position to be the party nominee.

Humphrey, who was born May 27, 1911 in Wallace, S. D., was elected to his fourth six-year term in the Senate in 1970 and is now a member of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, Foreign Relations Committee and the Joint Economic Committee and is chairman of the Foreign Agriculture Policy Committee and the Foreign Assistance and Economic Policy Committee.

Humphrey was elected Vice President of the United States in 1964 and was the Democratic nominee for President in 1968. He was also a candidate for the nomination in 1972. He was a U. S. Delegate to the United Nations in 1956-57 and served as Senate Majority Whip from 1961 to 1964.

He graduated from the Denver College of Pharmacy; has received an A.B. degree from the University of Minnesota and a M.A. degree from the University of Louisiana.

Humphrey has recently spoken out against President Ford's housing and economic policies and noted that he feels the nation needs a strong President with the vision "to tell the country where we're going to go."

He said that assertions by the Ford administration saying that the nation has recovered from the recession are nothing more than

"propaganda." He pointed to the facts that there are still 8 million Americans out of work and 27 per cent of the nation's plant capacity is idle. He stated that a true economic recovery would have substantially reduced those figures.

The Senator called for new federal programs that would stimulate the economy and in turn create more jobs, reduce mortgage interest rates and increase housing production.

Recently Humphrey has been spending part of his 14-hour day at the Capitol pushing a bill that would give Congress a say over foreign military sales. This bill would require the Pentagon to submit any sale over \$25 million to Congress for approval.

In a recent Harris survey it was determined that "the public has a highly favorable opinion" of Humphrey. The survey showed that a 72 per cent majority of the 1,394 people in the survey felt that Humphrey is a "warm, decent, friendly man."

An important finding of this survey is that a 63 per cent majority views him as "a man of high integrity." This is significant for any politician, particularly after the country has experienced Watergate and is especially important for Humphrey since his former campaign manager was found guilty of taking illegal campaign contributions.

On one particular comparison to President Ford, Humphrey held a significant edge. There was a 55 per cent majority believing that Humphrey "really cares about what happens to the unemployed" and this is compared to a 63 per cent majority believing that President Ford holds no such compassions for the jobless.

Humphrey is giving every impression that he will jump at the Democratic nomination if it is offered to him in July but his attention is also going toward the possibility of replacing retiring Mike Mansfield as Senate Democratic leader. He says that he is "seriously interested" in the position and that it would be "about as good a climax to public life as I could want."

Humphrey's Background

Profession: Pharmacist, college professor.

Born: May 27, 1911, Wallace, S.D.

Home: Waverly, Minn.

Religion: Congregational.

Education: Denver College of Pharmacy, 1933; University of Minnesota, B.A. *magna cum laude*, 1939; Louisiana State University, M.A., 1940.

Offices: Mayor of Minneapolis, 1945-48; Senate, 1949-64, since 1971; Vice President, 1965-69.

Memberships: Phi Beta Kappa, American Political Science Association.

Family: Wife, Muriel Buck; four children.

Committees: Agriculture and Forestry: chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Agricultural Policy; Foreign Relations: chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance and Economic Policy; chairman, Joint Economic Committee; Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

The writer is a junior majoring in journalism at Washington and Lee.

Jimmy Carter

by George Griffin

Four years ago, when Jimmy Carter decided to run for the presidency, one of the first persons he notified was his mother, Lillian Carter. Mrs. Carter supposedly shot back, "President of what?"

When the Presidential nomination race started early last year, few Democrats asked themselves even so basic a question as that.

Most party members thought that a former Governor of Georgia peanut farmer had about as much chance of becoming President as William Loeb. After all, this is the same party that hasn't elected a President since L.B.J. in 1964. This is the same party the voters sent to the showers with George McGovern in 1972. It is also the same party that appeared to have very rosy prospects against an unelected incumbent in post-Watergate Washington.

Well, about a dozen hats landed in the ring, (some where retrieved, a couple are still being tossed) and now, Jimmy Carter is the "front runner." To find out what has happened, look at the candidate himself.

"Who is Jimmy Carter?" This, more than any other election year question, refused to go away and seems to be the toughest to answer. The feeling among political observers that he has risen too fast and that they don't know exactly where he stands is hard to shake. Some rough accusations have been leveled against Carter from other candidates and the press.

But in a fund raising letter to possible supporters, Carter made his positions fairly clear: "I favor handgun control. I oppose forced busing to achieve integration and favor the voluntary busing plan we successfully worked out for Atlanta's schools. I favor decriminalization of marijuana, increased reliance on coal and sunlight for energy, reduction of nuclear weapons to zero, and less United States military presence abroad."

But Jimmy Carter isn't running on the issues or his record: he is running on Jimmy Carter. George Will was absolutely right when he said, "Voters do not decide issues, they decide who will decide the



issues." Therefore, Mr. Carter is selling himself, and is doing so successfully all across the country. He preaches, "If I ever tell a lie, make a misleading statement, avoid a controversial issue, or betray your trust, don't support me." Not many politicians would make a statement like that, and Carter realizes it. He has become the front runner on an anti-Washington, anti-politician styled campaign.

The writer, a sophomore, is an assistant editor of this journal.

Carter, however, is encountering some problems now that he is in front of the pack. Some have suggested that his liberal support is shallow: that all the liberals wanted was someone to knock Wallace out of the race, thus leaving the nomination to them. The other Democratic candidates have attacked Carter specifically on several occasions. Note, for example, the uproar that followed Carter's "ethnic purity" statement recently. This treatment can, to an extent, actually work towards Carter's advantage. He is telling everyone he is not a part of the "mess in Washington," and anything that makes him appear different from or fresher than the other candidates is beneficial.

The main question confronting Carter and the Democrats is: Can he actually get nominated for the top job? Carter himself seems to have no doubts whatsoever. He reportedly has bought up all the land surrounding his home in Plains, Georgia, to ensure the absence of tourists and souvenir shops after he wins the election. But, Hubert Humphrey appears to be stronger as each month goes by. Carter has a long way to go but he is a lot closer than any other Democrat to becoming President next year. Bill Shannon of *The New York Times* wrote, "The Democratic party...is now politically and psychologically prepared to nominate a southerner." Jimmy Carter thinks it will.

Carter's Background

Profession: Farmer and businessman.
Born: Oct. 1, 1924, Plains, Ga.
Home: Plains.
Religion: Baptist.
Education: Georgia Southwestern College, 1941-42; Georgia Institute of Technology, 1942-43; U.S. Naval Academy, B.S., 1946; Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., 1952.
Offices: Chairman, Sumter County (Georgia) Board of Education; Georgia state senator, 1962-66; governor, 1971-75.
Military: Navy, 1946-53; discharged as lieutenant.
Memberships: Lions; American Legion; Baptist Brotherhood Commission; former state chairman, March of Dimes; past president, Georgia Seedsmen; Southern Peanut Warehousemen; past president, Georgia Planning Association.

George Wallace

There has never been any serious doubt that George C. Wallace would try again, for the fourth consecutive time, to seek the Democratic nomination for president.

His announcement came as one of the year's biggest political anticlimaxes. He has, in fact, been running since 1964.

It is doubtful that Wallace, no matter how well he does in the primaries, will go on to capture the Democratic nomination. Opposition to him within the national party organization is deep and intense, and it is probable that some means will be found to deny the prize to the Alabamian at the national convention.



Portions of this article are reprinted from the Congressional Quarterly.

Wallace knows this and is prepared for it. He has run at the head of a third party ticket before, and he has given every indication that he is willing to do so again.

In any event, that contingency will not take shape — if it does — until after the July Democratic convention.

Wallace has entered the race with one of the best organized campaign committees. He has one of the largest treasuries of any Democrat. He has the demonstrated support of a broad section of the American electorate, as reflected in his front-running position in the public opinion polls comparing him with the other Democratic candidates.

Although Wallace maintains that his health difficulties are surmountable and will not deter his campaign activities, he remains paralyzed from the waist down by an assassin's bullet fired in May, 1972 while he was campaigning in a Maryland shopping center.

Wallace can identify solidly with many of the working-class voters toward whom he directs his plain-spoken rhetoric, described by some observers as a variety of southern populism. He was one of four children of a poor farmer and local

politician in Clio, Ala. In high school, he quarterbacked the football team and won his first boxing championship when he was 15. He was senior class president and a member of the school debating team.

He received his law degree in 1942 and went to work driving a state dump truck at 30 cents an hour. The same year, he enlisted in the Army Air Corps. In 1943, Wallace married Lurleen Burns, a dime-store clerk. He was shipped overseas and flew nine combat missions over Japan and other Pacific targets as a B-29 crew member.

At war's end, Wallace talked himself into a job as an assistant Alabama attorney general at \$175 a month. In 1946, he won his first term in the Alabama House of Representatives as a Democrat in the one-party South.

Characterizing himself as a "segregationist, not a racist," Wallace has made it clear that if elected president, he would do all in his power to take the federal government out of the business of legislating and enforcing integration.

Wallace also is a firm advocate of changing the tax structure of the United States in order to curb inflation. He believes that tax-free foundations should be taxed like ordinary businesses and that states should keep a greater share of tax revenues.

In addressing himself towards other issues, Wallace has said his foreign policy, if president, would be based on the fact that "you can't trust a Communist." He has blasted leniency towards criminals in the courts, saying that it is "false liberalism that brought us to a bottomless pit of taxation, heroin addiction and crime in the streets."

As a build-up for his present campaign, Wallace has maintained he will play a reprise on some past themes. The chief issue, he said, will be "big government."

Wallace's Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: Aug. 25, 1919, Clio, Ala.

Home: Montgomery, Ala.

Religion: Methodist.

Education: University of Alabama, LL. B., 1942.

Offices: Assistant state attorney general, 1946; state representative, 1947-53; Alabama circuit judge, 1953-59; governor, 1963-67, since 1971.

Military: Army Air Corps, 1942-45; discharged as flight sergeant.

Family: First wife, Lurleen, died May 7, 1968, while governor. Married Cornelia Ellis Snively Jan. 5, 1971; six children (four by Wallace's first marriage, two by Mrs. Wallace's).

Memberships: American Legion, Masons, VFW, Moose, Elks, Disabled American Veterans, Woodmen, Shrine, Eastern Star, Civitan.

Also-Rans



Frank Church



Sargeant Shriver



Birch Bayh



Edmund Brown



Robert C. Byrd



Fred Harris



Milton Shapp

Schedule for the 1976 Mock Convention

PARADE — Friday, May 7, 1976: 11:30 a.m.

Session I

Friday, May 7: 2:30 p.m.

Call to Convention
Invocation
Parading of Colors — Pledge of Allegiance — National Anthem
Welcoming Remarks
 From Washington and Lee University,
 The Honorable Robert E. R. Huntley, President
 From the City of Lexington,
 The Honorable Charles F. Phillips, Jr., Mayor
 From the Commonwealth of Virginia,
 The Honorable Andrew P. Miller, Attorney General
Opening Remarks of the Temporary Chairman,
 Richard S. Wolf of Pennsylvania
Opening Address (speaker to be announced)
Report of the Committee on Credentials,
 Harry W. Wellford of Tennessee, Chairman
Election of the Permanent Chairman and Vice Chairman
Report of the Committee on Rules and Permanent Organization,
 A. Charles Thullberry, Jr. of Florida, Chairman
Benediction
Adjournment

Invocation
Keynote Address,
 The Honorable William Proximire,
 United States Senator from Wisconsin
Platform Address,
 The Honorable Donald W. Riegle, Jr.,
 United States Representative from Michigan
Report of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform,
 Stuart W. Coco of Louisiana, Chairman
Benediction
Adjournment

Session II

Friday, May 7: 7:30 p.m.

Session III

Draw for Order of Nomination:
 8:45 a.m.

Saturday, May 8: 9:30 a.m. †††

Invocation
Parading of Colors — Pledge of Allegiance — National Anthem
Opening Address,
 The Honorable Dale Bumpers,
 United States Senator from Arkansas
Nominations for President
Roll Call for Presidential Nomination
Appointment of Notification Committee
Nominations for Vice President
Roll Call for Vice-Presidential Nomination
Appointment of Notification Committee
Acceptance Speech of the Presidential Nominee
Benediction
Adjournment sine die

††† Chairman may recess for meals as he deems appropriate.

State Chairmen

ALABAMA	<i>Dan Drennen</i> <i>Billy Pritchard</i>	NEBRASKA	<i>Bill Oglesby</i>
ALASKA	<i>Rob Calvert</i>	NEVADA	<i>Scott Stevenson</i>
ARIZONA	<i>Mark Mendel</i>	NEW HAMPSHIRE	<i>Jack Berry</i>
ARKANSAS	<i>Stephen Good</i>	NEW JERSEY	<i>Sal Abruzzessee</i> <i>Rick Cleary</i>
CALIFORNIA	<i>Tom Yancey</i> <i>Ken McCreedy</i>	NEW MEXICO	<i>Dave Moore</i> <i>Peter Goss</i>
COLORADO	<i>John Cocklereece</i>	NEW YORK	<i>Craig Owens</i> <i>Mike Anania</i>
CONNECTICUT	<i>Mike Missal</i>	NORTH CAROLINA	<i>James McNider</i>
DELAWARE	<i>Ted Merrick</i>	NORTH DAKOTA	<i>Jay Fries</i>
FLORIDA	<i>Gary Pope</i> <i>Brian Levine</i>	OHIO	<i>Tim Heldman</i> <i>James Falk</i>
GEORGIA	<i>Rodney Cook</i> <i>Roy Jones</i>	OKLAHOMA	<i>Ted Reeds, Jr.</i>
HAWAII	<i>Tom Greenwood</i>	OREGON	<i>Jay Kershaw</i>
IDAHO	<i>Mike Armstrong</i>	PENNSYLVANIA	<i>Gary Fitzgerald</i> <i>Harry Mazaheri</i>
ILLINOIS	<i>Eyverett Martin</i>	RHODE ISLAND	<i>Scott Carlson</i>
IOWA	<i>Tom McClellan</i>	SOUTH CAROLINA	<i>Jamie Vardell</i>
INDIANA	<i>Tom Hudgins</i>	SOUTH DAKOTA	<i>Steve Giblin</i>
KANSAS	<i>Gray Coleman</i> <i>John Trump</i>	TENNESSEE	<i>John Darwin</i>
KENTUCKY	<i>Bill Crawford</i>	TEXAS	<i>Tav Lupton</i> <i>Bill Broders</i>
LOUISIANA	<i>Bob Pugh</i> <i>Rick Bates</i>	UTAH	<i>Mike Cleary</i> <i>Mark Putney</i>
MAINE	<i>Neil Johnson</i>	VERMONT	<i>Brent Miller</i>
MARYLAND	<i>Bruce Dunnan</i> <i>Rand Weinberg</i>	VIRGINIA	<i>David Anderson</i>
MASSACHUSETTS	<i>Kevin Connor</i>	WASHINGTON	<i>Paul Maloney</i> <i>Brett Burkhart</i>
MICHIGAN	<i>William Peard</i> <i>Howard Rubel</i>	WEST VIRGINIA	<i>Breck Ingles</i>
MINNESOTA	<i>Page Kelley</i>	WISCONSIN	<i>David Chester</i>
MISSOURI	<i>Mike McColloch</i> <i>David Carpenter</i>	WYOMING	<i>Rob Couch</i>
MISSISSIPPI	<i>Tim Vaughan</i>	WASHINGTON, D.C.	<i>Ty York</i>
MONTANA	<i>Charles McKamy</i> <i>Keith Teel</i>	TERRITORIES	<i>Bob Smith</i> <i>Charles Hall</i>

Republican Candidates

by Greg Walden

The presidential election of 1976 promises to be one of the most interesting events of the decade, and the interest is well-founded. The election may mark a turning point in the people's view toward government, a view which has gradually turned sour since the fall of Camelot. Social programs, "well tested" on the blackboards of the sixties, are attacked for bureaucratic mismanagement, ineffectiveness, and even for magnifying the problems they sought to solve. The optimism of the country during the Kennedy administration with regards to our "noble" foreign policy has been reduced to a cynicism bordering on animus. Peaceful coexistence, detente, peace through strength, peace with honor — take your pick and come up empty. The public mood here also is one of distrust, a fear of being Number Two for the first time.

Myths have exploded and 1976 may explode one final myth; that of the New Deal, alive and kicking in the non-candidate and underlying most of what the Democratic Party offers. If it does explode, it will be the Republican Party doing the detonating, with Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan as the leading saboteur. For years the GOP has warned us against the dangers of too much government. Both Ford and Reagan are veterans of the fight against big government, and if the turning point is to be 1976, one of them will sit in the White House in January.

*******Ford*******

Gerald Ford came to Washington in 1948 and by 1960 had been selected by *Newsweek* as the most able congressman of the postwar generation. He was then, as now, committed to a common sense attitude towards government; his conservatism was pragmatic. The respect he received inside Congress grew steadily as he was chosen House Minority Leader in 1964. For the next decade he worked wonders to overcome the numerical disadvantage the Republican Party had in Congress, encouraging the principles of the GOP. In 1973, Ford became Vice President. The final act of the "National Nightmare" closed with the inauguration of Gerald Ford as 38th President of the United States. Since that time he has been firm and consistent in his fight to reduce the burden of government and the frustration of an ailing economy. He has had to veto many bills by big-spending Democrats, and vetos are never popular. Compromise is a two-way street, and Ford is adept at arranging a settlement from apparent impasse.

In foreign policy, Ford has done a remarkable job considering the extremely delicate position in which the country has been put. Faced with continued Communist aggression, continued Congressional indifference, and the shenanigans of the Third World, the Ford foreign policy has tightroped the U. S. further toward the goal of a lasting peace. A Ford presidency signals continuing recovery in the economy for the next four years. And Gerald Ford's honesty and candor should not be taken for granted when one contemplates his three immediate predecessors.

*******Reagan*******

Ronald Reagan was first elected to government office in 1966, as Governor of California. He entered as a reformed and determined conservative, but many voted for Reagan, the movie actor. By 1970, he was in the forefront of the conservative movement in America, surely one of its most articulate spokesmen. And in that year he was re-elected to a second term as governor of the largest state by a wide margin. The people knew where he stood, and they liked it. The reason is obvious. California today is one of the most prosperous and financially sound states in the Union. The deficit he inherited in 1966 was transformed into a surplus of over \$800 million, which was returned to the taxpayers. His welfare programs accomplished a miracle in a burgeoning state. He has often said he felt his role as Governor was to represent the people against government, not represent the government for the people. Californians agree. Both Republicans and Democrats voted for Reagan because what he said wasn't standard political rhetoric, but stern words which rang true.

The writer is a junior who served as President of the Washington and Lee Republicans for two years.

Ford or Reagan: the country will breathe a sigh of relief if either one wins in November. Gerald Ford asserts he is the only proven candidate, proud to stand on his record, deserving four more years to continue the road to economic recovery: the status quo is the safe and sure route in troubled times. Ronald Reagan says it's time to reverse the flow of power to Washington. He offers principles, yes, but he offers eight years in California based on those principles. Ford has history on his side; Reagan is attempting a near impossible feat. Either way, the country needs a Republican President in 1976.

Washington and Lee University

by Dave Meschutt

Robert E. Lee's geography textbook, copyrighted in 1818 and preserved in the Lee Chapel museum, contains the following statement: "Virginia has three institutions of higher learning: the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Hampden-Sydney College in Prince Edward County, and Washington College in Lexington. They are not eminent." Washington College, now known as Washington and Lee University, may now be considered eminent, thanks in large part to the owner of that geography book.

Washington and Lee University has gone by a number of names. Augusta Academy was the name it was given when it was founded in Augusta County in 1749. In 1776, the trustees changed the name to Liberty Hall in honor of the Revolutionary War and four years later moved the school to Lexington. In 1782 the legislature chartered the school as Liberty Hall Academy. (This is why the date 1782 appears on the Washington and Lee seal.)

1749

In 1796 George Washington gave the Academy \$50,000 worth of James River Canal Company stock. Washington had been given the stock by the Virginia legislature as a token of esteem for his services during the Revolutionary War. Washington really did not want the stock but he knew that if he refused, public confidence in the canal venture would be undermined. He therefore accepted the gift with the understanding the stock would go to an educational institution. The stock ultimately went to Liberty Hall Academy.

Washington's gift was the largest given to any American school at that time and income from it has exceeded \$400,000. In gratitude to Washington, the trustees changed the name of the school again, to Washington Academy.

The school was housed in a limestone building (Liberty Hall) built in 1793. This building burned in 1803. The ruins are preserved as a symbol of Washington and Lee's past.

In 1813, the school was established on its present site. That year the school was renamed

Washington College.

Washington College was an institution of higher learning between 1813 and 1861, but Robert E. Lee's geography book was correct in stating that the school was "not eminent." In fact, the school barely survived these years and the Civil War nearly finished it off altogether. It was only after Lee became president that the college became an important institution of higher learning.

Lee was by profession a military man, but he turned out to be one of the greatest educators of the 19th century. He instituted courses in journalism which led to the establishment of the Department of Journalism and Communications. He also instituted programs in business instruction that served as the basis for today's School of Commerce, Economics, and Politics. Lee also was responsible for affiliating the college with the Lexington Law School, the predecessor of Washington and Lee's Law School.

Lee died in 1870. The following year, the name of the school was changed one last time, to Washington and Lee University.

General Lee's son, George Washington Custis Lee, succeeded his father as president in 1871. (Custis Lee was thus the first president of Washington and Lee University.) When he retired in 1897, Custis Lee gave the university the famous portraits of Washington and Lafayette done by Charles Willson Peale.

Dr. Henry Louis Smith became president of Washington and Lee in 1912. During his administration the student body grew to 900 and the faculty more than doubled.

The writer is Classical Music Director of WLUR (FM) in Lexington and writes on subjects ranging from politics to American historical portraiture.

Dr. Francis Pendleton Gaines succeeded Dr. Smith in 1930. Dr. Gaines was a popular president, and his administration lasted 29 years. He was succeeded by Dr. Fred Carrington Cole who served as president from 1959 to 1968.

The current president of Washington and Lee is Dr. Robert E. R. Huntley, who has served since 1968. Dr. Huntley is the first Washington and Lee alumnus (class of 1950) to serve as president since before the Civil War.

Washington and Lee may not have been "eminent" when Robert E. Lee was a schoolboy but, largely because of him, it has become one of the more respected universities in the United States today.

Lexington

by J. Robert Denny

What is it about Lexington that makes it loved by so many — residents, former residents, visitors, passers-by?

Surely, its beauty must be part of it.

In 1805, a chemistry professor at Washington Academy said that "if this scene were set down in the middle of Europe, the whole continent would flock to see it." A flattering and exaggerated remark — but somehow typical of the charm the town provides the newly arrived.

Of course its not just the dignity of the Gothic simplicity of the Barracks or the tree-lined streets and red brick which bring Lexington its acclaim. It is the scenic beauty of Rockbridge County and the Valley of Virginia which polish the effect.

But this beauty has not always been appreciated.

In 1716, the aristocratic lieutenant governor of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood, and 63 men crossed the mountains and claimed the land for the King. Champagne was drunk and the men soon returned to Tidewater. It seems they preferred the society of tobacco planters to the rich and untouched valley of the Shenandoah — a name the Indians had given this valley, which means "daughter of the stars."

It would be more than two decades later before the first white men settled here. It is to those original settlers that the Valley and Lexington owe much of their historical character.

There were perhaps one hundred structures in the town in 1796. But in mid-April of that year, almost all were destroyed by what has been called Lexington's "Great Fire." The Withrow House (at the corner of Main and Washington) is one of the few structures standing today which survived the conflagration.

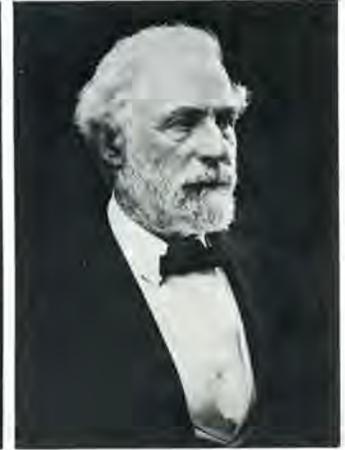
As the town was rebuilt, brick replaced the log structures. That reconstruction — much of which can be seen in the first block of South Main Street — marked the beginning of Lexington's architectural heritage and its 19th-century character.

About the time that the Barracks were being built, a young West Point graduate came to V.M.I. to teach physics. Major Thomas J. Jackson married the daughter of the president of Washington College and lived with his in-laws in one of the small faculty homes on the Front Campus. He quickly became involved in the af-

fairs of the Institute and the community, especially the church.



George Washington



Robert E. Lee

At the outbreak of the war, Jackson was ordered to bring cadets from V.M.I. to Richmond for training. He became one of the Confederacy's best field commanders and his Valley Campaign is among the finest in the history of warfare. At Chancellorsville a fatal shot, fired by his own men, ended his career. He was buried in Lexington — the town he considered to be "the most beautiful" in America — in May, 1863.

It was not until 1864 that the war actually touched Lexington. Gen. David Hunter raided the town in June. Homes were pillaged. The library and some laboratory equipment at Washington College were plundered. But V.M.I. and the home of Virginia's governor, John Letcher, were set to the torch.

It was not until the war's end that reconstruction could begin at V.M.I. Washington College too had to undergo its own rebuilding; it had to avoid bankruptcy. The college trustees looked for a president who would attract new students and give the school status. They made their decision and sent the board's rector to offer the job to Robert E. Lee.

To everyone's surprise, he accepted.

Lee's short presidency (1865-1870) literally saved the school. Not only did new students come, but new programs were added as well. But Lee's greatest gift to the school (and the town) was his unblemished sense of honor. The essence of his demeanor is still very much with us.

After his death in 1870, the trustees changed the school's name in tribute to his unselfish contribution.

The writer, a W&L graduate, is director of the Rockbridge County Visitor's Center.

(HUNTLEY, *con. from pg. 10*)

are political scientists and analysts who would disagree with that and probably have a better foundation on which to base their claims, but that's my observation. I don't believe young people are less interested in politics than they used to be.

JOURNAL: What do you feel is the most rewarding aspect for a student as a participant in the W&L convention?

HUNTLEY: Well, I believe that on the serious side of the ledger, it probably does give the student some feel for the political process; some basis for a more deliberate interest in it than he otherwise would have. I know that it peaks the interest of our students in the presidential election each year. I think we have a larger number of students who get involved in the actual campaigning for the presidency because of the convention and I think that's good.

I think it serves some educational purpose and that is a reason this school has always tried to assist in some ways in making it a success. Aside from that, it is a good occasion for the student body as a whole to participate in an event. There are probably not enough of such opportunities. It's hard to come by opportunities where the whole student body, or nearly all of them, or at least all who want to, can play a role in an event which is exclusively a Washington and Lee event.

JOURNAL: Which convention do you feel was the

most dramatic?

HUNTLEY: Well, the most dramatic convention, which I'm sure you heard about, is the one in which Sen. Alben Barkley dropped dead during the midst of his speech. I was on the platform with him when that happened. I was in law school at that time and I was serving as parliamentarian, I believe. I was sitting in the chair next to him on the podium. It really was the most dramatic even you can imagine — it happened exactly as the story is told.

He had come here, I expect, not thinking, as visitors frequently do, that this convention really does duplicate fairly closely the atmosphere of the national convention. In spite of telling them that, they don't generally believe that that's the case. So sometimes, even the best political speakers will come to this convention prepared to give a kind of a folksy chat which doesn't go over, it's not what the students want. I have a notion that Mr. Barkley came without being fully aware that he was really going to be involved in a closely related and accurate convention.

Apparently, he got caught up in the spirit of it and clearly abandoned whatever script he had and just launched forth on a tirade as it was hoped that he would do. He got carried away with it — more strenuously than he should have done — and concluded, you know, by a sort of paraphrase of some biblical passages that went "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than sit at the feet of the mighty." Then he raised his hand and fell dead — literally on those words. I guess, if you were a politician and had to go, that would be the way to go.

on the 24th ballot with all the delegations present. That summer, the Democratic National Convention, meeting in New York City, conducted a protracted and hotter version of what had taken place in Lexington that spring. There were 103 ballots before a consensus was reached on a nominee—a record that still stands. By the time it was all over the Democrats had passed a dry platform and had selected the same "wet" candidate, John W. Davis. Before the convention adjourned, the band struck up the fight song of the candidate's alma mater, the "W&L Swing"; it became his campaign theme song.

The keynote speaker at the Mock Convention is traditionally a prominent member of the party out of power. The '56 convention was no exception; the students invited former Vice President Alben Barkley whose "down-home" style of oratory was sure to get the delegates in the proper frame of mind. Though 78 years old, the Kentucky native was much in the public eye since his re-election to the Senate.

In was ninety degrees on the day of the convention. Former Vice President and Mrs. Barkley

(HISTORY, *con. from pg. 12*)

switched their votes.

The most uncanny example of the good fortune enjoyed by the Mock Convention occurred during the days of prohibition in 1924. When the balloting began, many delegates were still smarting from the earlier debate over the insertion of a "wet" plank in the party platform. More recent Mock Conventions have written party platforms reflecting student sentiment, but the leaders of the '24 convention decided to attempt to predict the actual platform as well as the actual Democrat. The delegations divided along east-west geographical lines, and the wet plank was defeated. There were 13 names placed in nomination, including six from northeastern states. By the 22nd ballot, those six candidates had been abandoned and the northeastern delegations united behind the favorite son of West Virginia, John W. Davis. Texas, Ohio, and Connecticut temporarily withdrew from the convention floor, shouting conspiracy among the "wet" states. Tempers later subsided and Davis was nominated

viewed the parade from chairs placed in the shade that surrounds the university president's home. When the convention was gavelled to order later that afternoon, Senator Barkley was introduced by Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley. The Senator remarked that he had previously not planned to attend the national convention, but he had become infected by the spirit he had seen that day in Lexington and the "old firehorse," as he was fond of referring to himself, had changed his mind. Much to the delight of the delegates, the speech was filled with colorful derisions of the opposition party. It ended with a familiar Biblical quotation: "I would rather be a servant in the

house of the Lord," Barkley thundered, "than to sit at the feet of the mighty." He fell to the floor; within 15 minutes Senator Barkley was dead, having suffered a heart attack. It is difficult to imagine a more dramatic ending to any life—even one as remarkable as his.

Regardless, all sorts of traditions are on the line this May 7th and 8th.

Editor's Note -- This article originally appeared in the Virginia Commonwealth Magazine.

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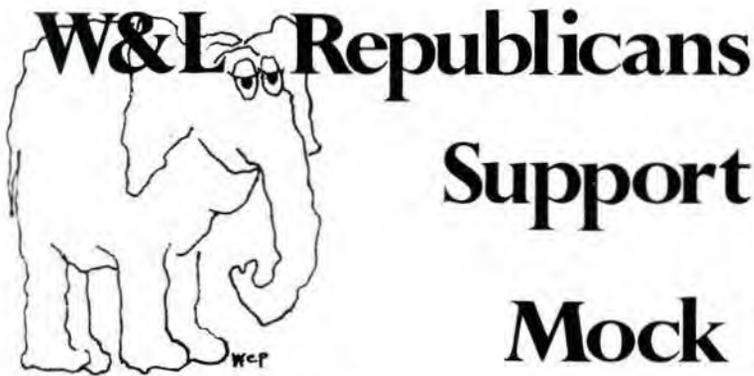
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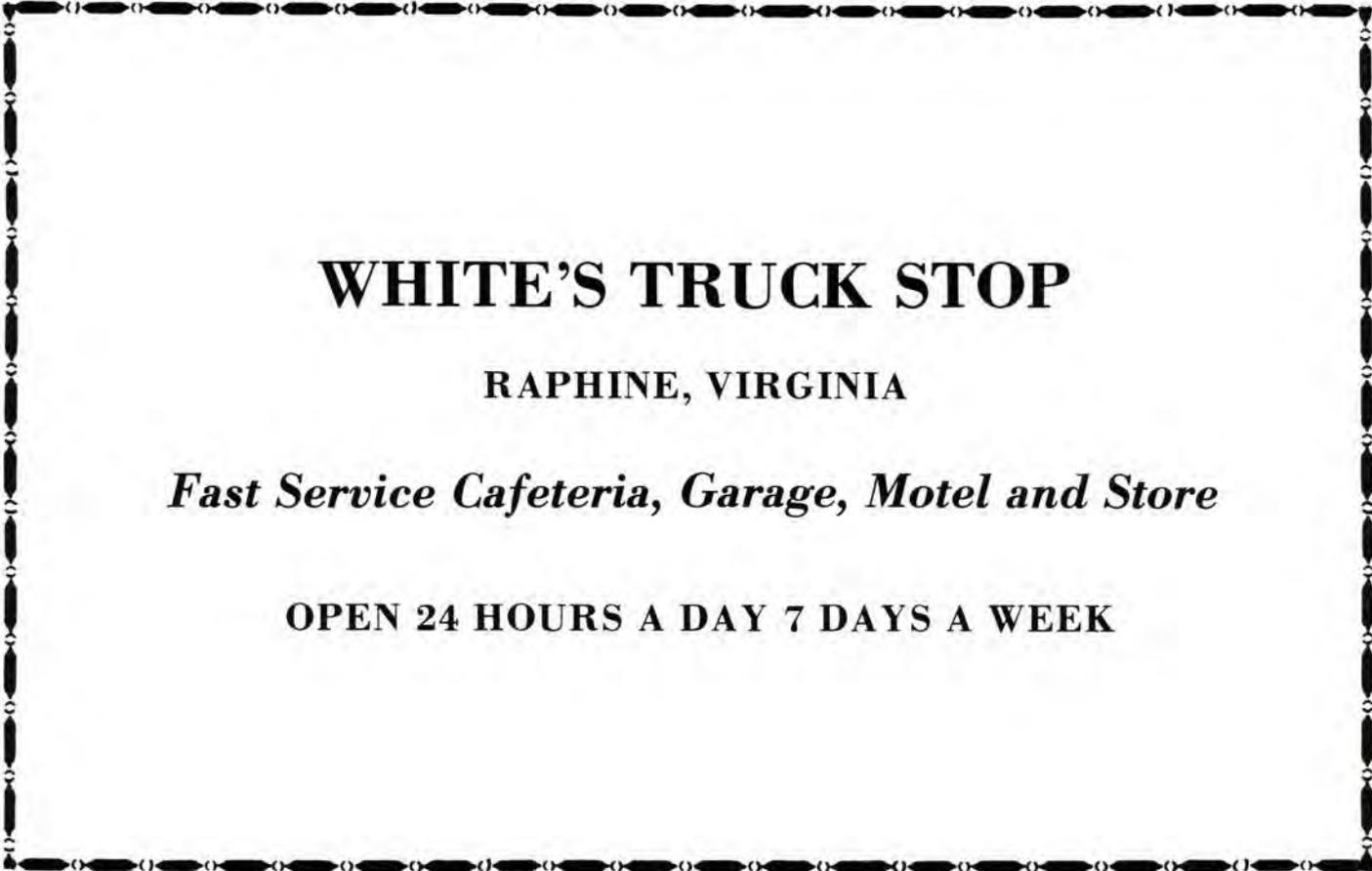
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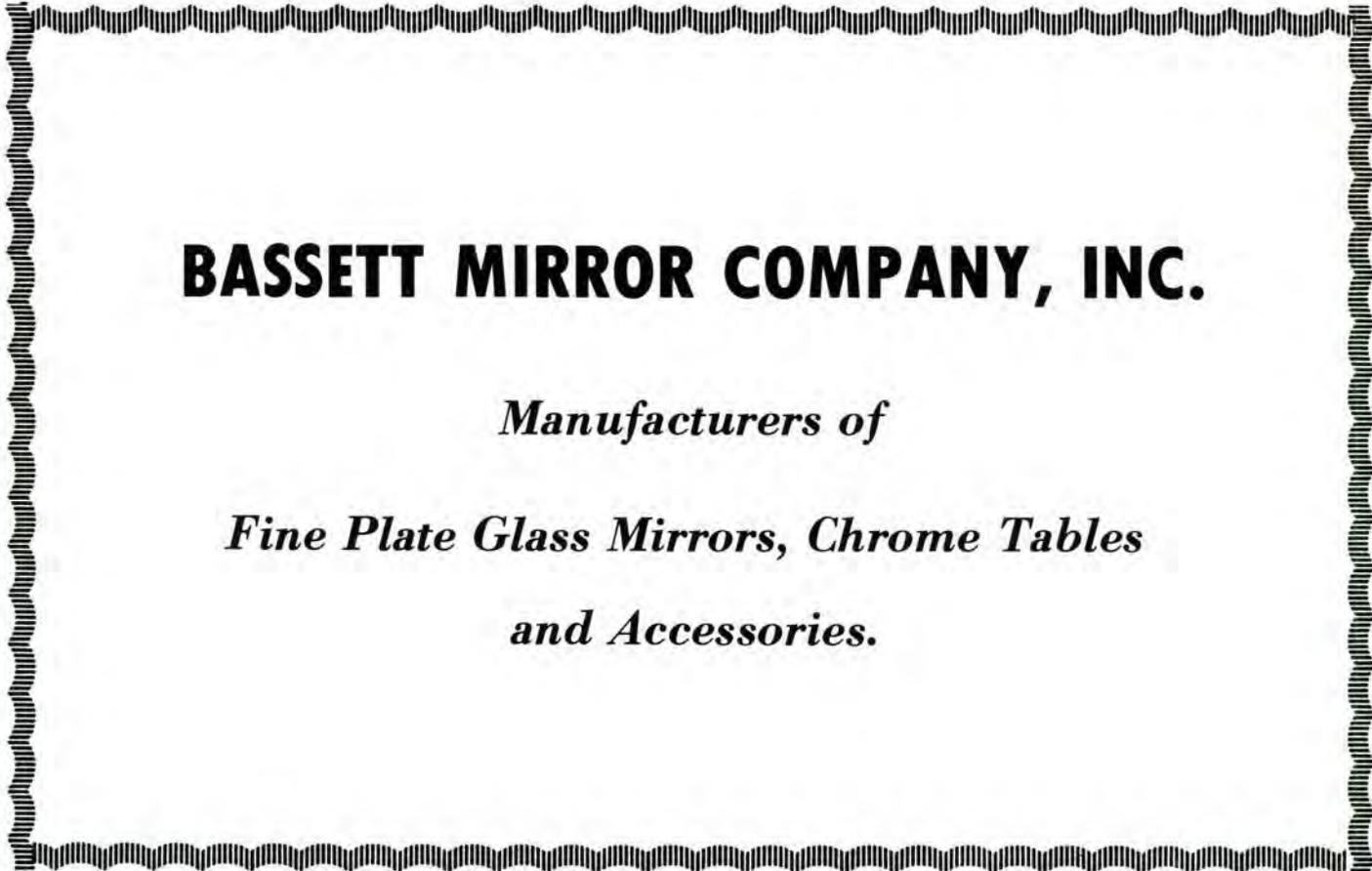


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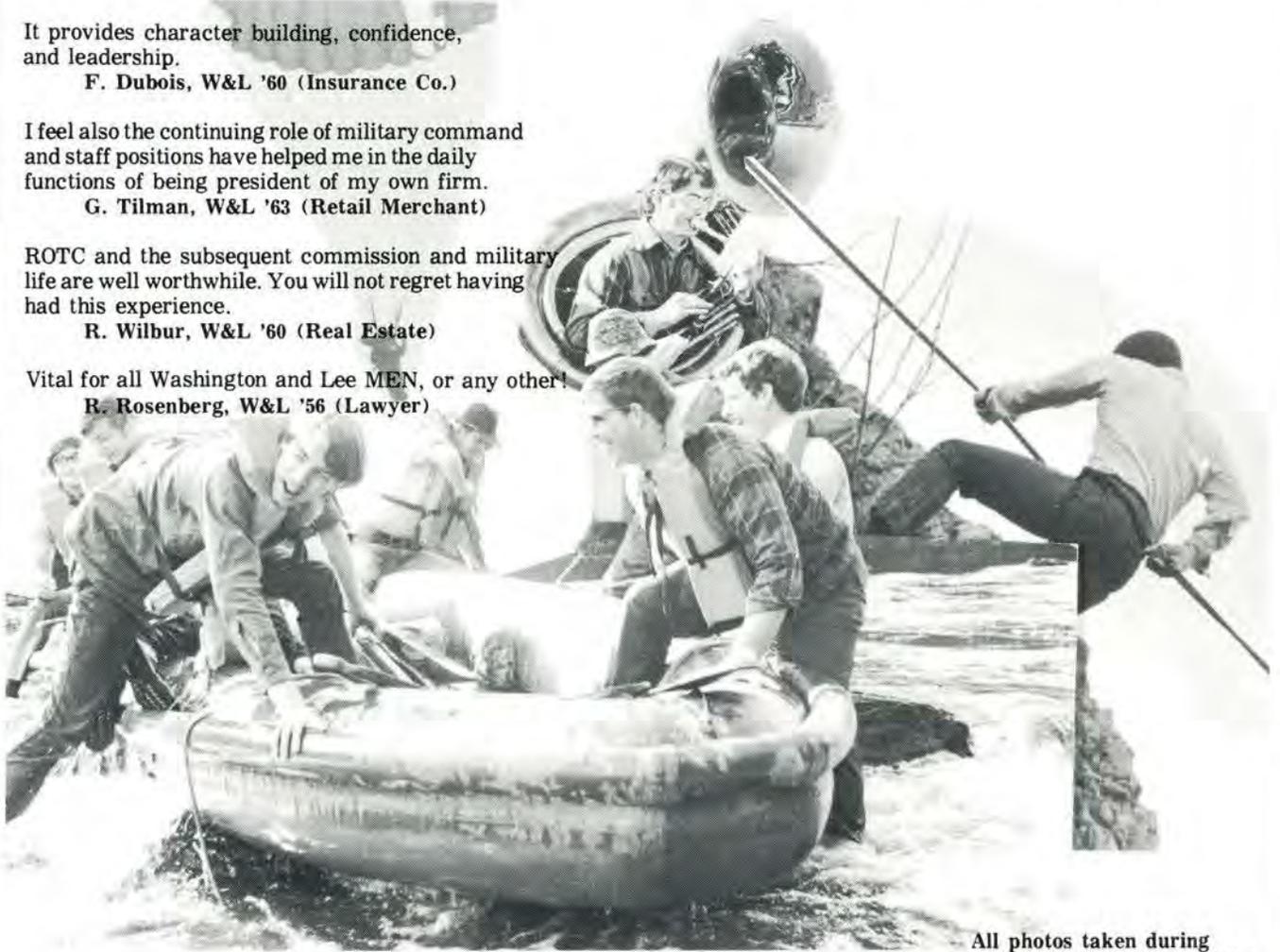
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