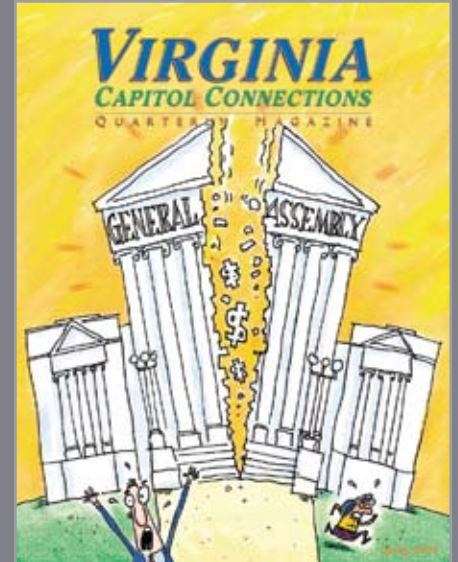
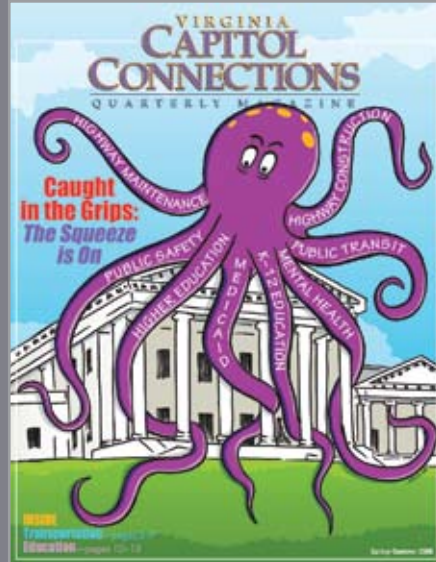
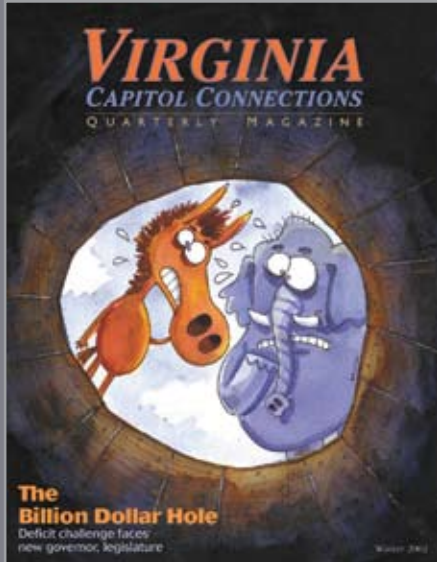
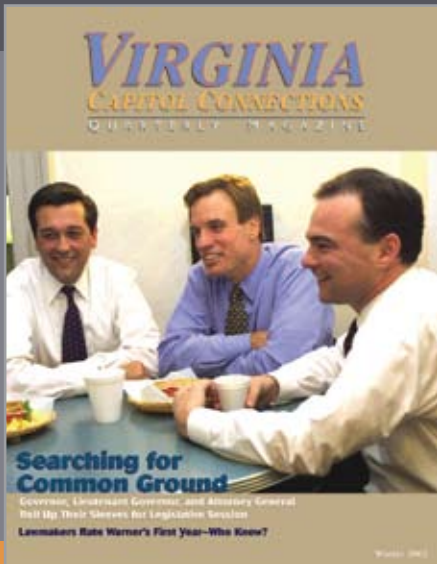


VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



Classic articles from the first decade of the 21st century.



QM 21st Century COMMEMORATIVE EDITION

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Political Issues, 2000–2010
Ten Deadly Mistakes—page 23

Special Issue 2010



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David Bailey hosts this weekly report during the Virginia legislative session, bringing valuable information from the Capitol to people in the Blue Ridge PBS region. Between now and 2011, our monthly reports may be seen on the third Fridays at 10 PM. Archived episodes may be seen online at <http://blueridgepbs.org/html/local/richmond.html>.

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The Way I See It

By DAVID L. BAILEY

Virginia Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine has sought to fill a niche during the past sixteen years. After publishing more than sixty issues, it seemed appropriate to look back over the years and share some of the articles in a special commemorative issue. Our senior editor reviewed the issues from 2000-2010 and selected articles for your enjoyment. To our delight we discovered that many of the 600+ articles were relevant and worth reprinting in 2010.

Virginia Capitol Connections is a team effort and it is this team that brings Virginia's political issues to light in every issue. Our magazine's editors read like the 'Who's Who' of Virginians in the political and communications arenas: Mark Cipolletti, Bonnie Atwood, Dennis Peterson and Tom Hyland have each made wonderful contributions throughout the years. Our contributing writers reside in every region of the Commonwealth and many teach in Virginia's colleges and universities. We are proud to say that each Governor, Lt. Governor and Attorney General has contributed to every issue. In addition, our magazine would not be complete without our Art Director, John Sours, who is the creative genius behind the magazine. *Virginia Capitol Connections* takes a team, and we thank each person who has helped since our beginnings in 1994, including:

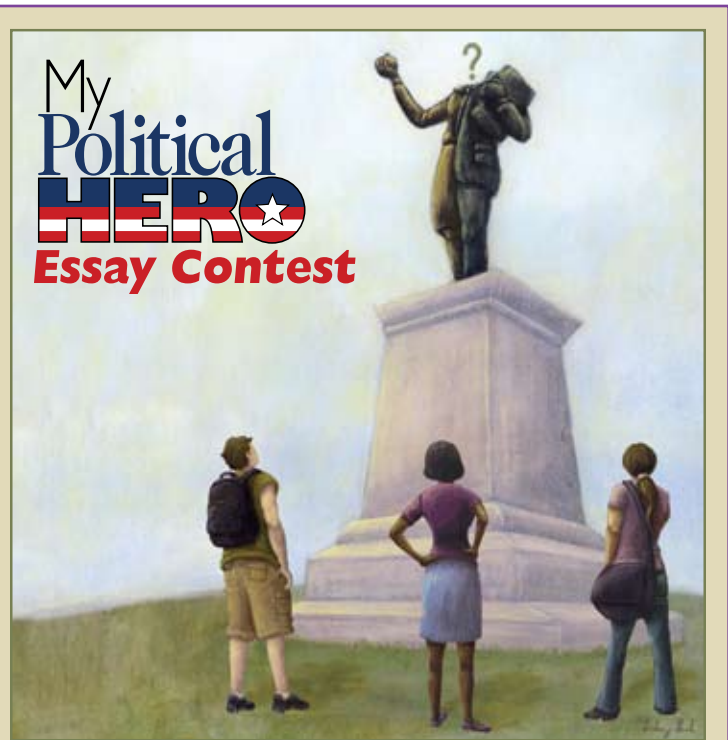
Ashley Austin, Jad Babik, Brian Barrier, Laura Bateman, Haley Bialkowski, Steve Blanchard, Adam Burch, Ann Carter, Christian Davidson, Ashley George, Samantha Gershman, Heather Grande, Merry Beth Hall, Chip Hardy, Kristen Bailey-Hardy, Jenna Klym, Shari LeCelistan, Chelsea Moody, Kara Norris, Linnea Petty, Christian Rickers, Paula Short, Donna Smart, Craig Smith, and Shiloh Smith.

The contributors to Virginians for Integrity in Government, a 501 c3 educational entity, have helped with the costs of our program to distribute the magazine to high school libraries every year. Many legislators have adopted schools in their districts as well, enabling these schools to receive several copies of the each publication. Thanks to all who have helped make this possible.

We are so thankful to our sponsors Alpha Natural Resources and many other additional advertisers who have enabled us to continue publishing over the years. We would also like to thank Clinch Valley Printing for their continued support and work with the magazine.

This first of three 'special' issues omits all of the interviews with prominent Virginians. These articles written by Bonnie Atwood, Charlie Todd, Dennis Peterson, Tom Hyland and others will comprise a later edition.

Our subscribers and readers give us the momentum to stay the course, and we are excited to bring you updates and insights of Virginia politics with each issue. While copies of the magazines are available around the Capitol, we also look forward to new subscribers in 2011. ▣



Who is Your Political Hero/Heroine?

Scholarships awarded to high school students who write winning essays.

Virginians for Integrity in Government (VIG) announces the annual My Political Hero Essay Contest. The contest was developed to challenge and encourage our high school students to write a short essay that pays tribute to their living political heroes and heroines. The "heroes" can be elected officials, teachers, relatives, or any other citizens. They must be living Virginia residents. Virginians for Integrity in Government seeks to shed a more positive light on political figures and activists—the same light that is often reserved for scandal. Many political heroes and excellent public servants work in state legislatures, schools, churches, neighborhoods, and ordinary households. The My Political Hero essay contest provides an avenue in which to recognize living influential figures. The winner of the contest will receive a \$1000 post-secondary scholarship. VIG will also present a \$500 scholarship to two honorable mention essay winners. The My Political Hero Essay Contest provides an avenue in which to recognize living influential public servants.

For more information: www.mypoliticalhero.org/continfo.htm

Submit your essay by email to dbailey@capitolsquare.com or mail to:
VIG, c/o David Bailey Associates
Suite 215 • 1001 East Broad Street • Richmond, VA 23219
Deadline to submit: March 1, 2011

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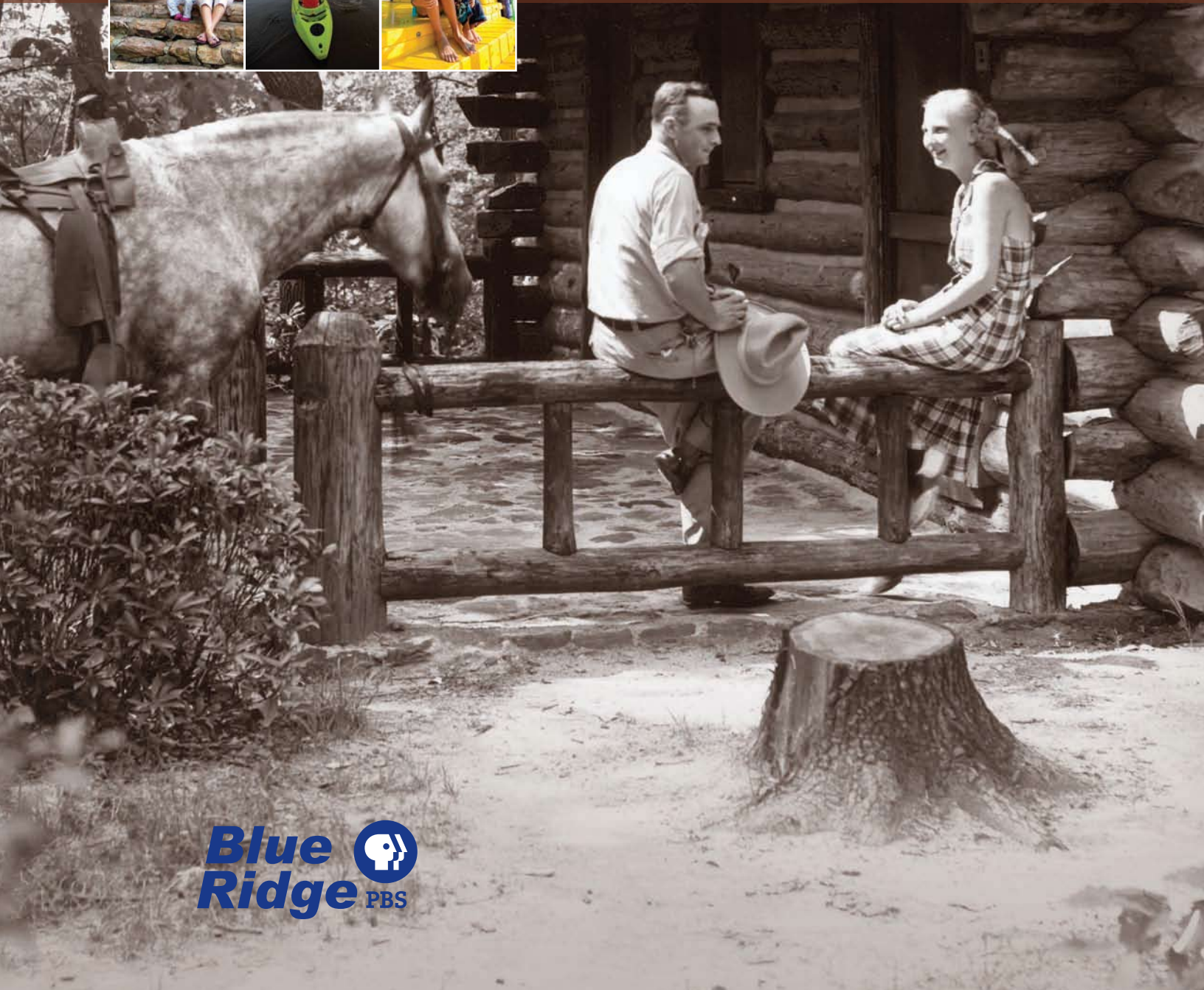
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A Virginia public television event coming in 2011



VIRGINIA STATE PARKS: 75 YEARS AND STILL GROWING

A one-hour documentary celebrating
75 years of the Virginia State Parks system.
Presented in high definition.



VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

21ST CENTURY COMMEMORATIVE EDITION

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Lies &
Statistics

Dillon
Rule

Bell



Travis



Politics &
Religion

Williams



Turner

Illegal
Immigration



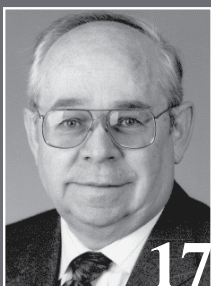
Rush

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Reform?



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Climate
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Vision



Farnsworth

GOP
Identity
Crisis



Shendow

Madison
Had it
Right



What do Thomas Jefferson, L. Douglas Wilder, Susan Clarke Schaar, Bruce F. Jamerson, The Baskerville Family, and Jamestown High School all have in common? They are all included in *Virginia's Pathway to Liberty*, the inscribed brick walkway leading to the Capitol's new Bank Street Entrance.

The newly restored and expanded Virginia Capitol, Thomas Jefferson's monument to liberty and democracy, reopened to great acclaim on May 1, 2007. Also unveiled on that day was an inscribed brick walkway that provides a way for individuals, families, schools, and government units to be remembered at Virginia's "Front Door."

Virginia's Pathway to Liberty was initiated in December 2006 by the Virginia Capitol Foundation, the non-profit advocate for the historic treasures of Capitol Square. Bruce F. Jamerson, Clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates and Secretary/Treasurer of the Virginia Capitol Foundation explained the purposes of the Pathway as two-fold stating that "*Virginia's Pathway to Liberty* provides an opportunity for individual citizens and schools in the Commonwealth to have their names inscribed for posterity while demonstrating their personal support for the preservation of Capitol Square."

A tax-deductible donation of \$250 will reserve an inscribed brick in *Virginia's Pathway to Liberty*. Proceeds from the pathway will support the Virginia Capitol Foundation, the perpetual care of the walkway itself, and the ongoing preservation of historic Capitol Square. While response to the initial offering has been strong, there is still room for additional inscribed bricks; the Pathway was designed to allow for future installations. Bricks reserved before August 15, 2007 will be installed and available for viewing in time for Election Day 2007. Bricks reserved after the deadline will be installed six to twelve months later.

"The walkway is similar to those already installed at the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, The College

of William & Mary, Virginia Tech, and national sites such as Ellis Island," according to Jim Wootton, Executive Director of the Capitol Square Preservation Council. He further explained that "in recognition of the historic nature of Capitol Square, the Preservation Council is administering inscription standards for the Pathway to insure that we create an atmosphere that is respectful of the place and of the other individuals included in the Pathway."

The bricks measure 4 inches by 8 inches and allow for a maximum of three lines of text with up to 14 characters per line. Text may include names, significant dates, official titles, and place names. Details including inscription standards are posted on the website. A mini-replica of the inscribed brick may be purchased for \$35.

The inscribed bricks provide an ideal way to celebrate loved ones and co-workers, to commemorate milestones, and to recognize grandchildren in a permanent manner. "It has been particularly moving to receive requests for brick inscriptions in memory of loved ones who have passed away and in recognition of children and grandchildren; it is an honor to be a part of a family's wish to remember a beloved family member and it is exciting to know that future generations already have a tie to our Capitol!" shared Jim Wootton.

In addition to individuals and families, provisions have been made in the inscription standards to allow for governmental units and school units to be included in the Pathway. Susan Clarke Schaar, Clerk of the Senate and Trustee of the Virginia Capitol Foundation, explained "for obvious reasons it is important that government departments and divisions that work tirelessly in support of our representative democracy are given

an opportunity to join the recognized individuals who have made a difference. Additionally, school groups who visit the Capitol by the thousands and who represent the future of our Commonwealth are also important to be included at our state Capitol."





Nearly 1,000 citizens from across the Commonwealth assembled at the South Portico for the rededication of the Virginia Capitol.



Thomas Jefferson, portrayed by Bill Barker, assisted visitors in locating individual bricks on Virginia's Pathway to Liberty.

The Pathway is in place on the sidewalk leading to the new 27,000 square foot underground visitor center located on the south side of the Capitol. "As visitors from around the world approach the Capitol, they will be reminded of the individuals, school groups, and state workers who have made a difference by their contributions," said S. Buford Scott, Chairman of the Virginia Capitol Foundation Board of Trustees.

The Virginia Capitol was rededicated on May 1, 2007 upon the completion of a comprehensive restoration and expansion that was begun in 2004. In addition to the 27,000 square foot state-of-the-art visitor center with exhibits, the restored Capitol has all new mechanical and electrical systems; a new roof,

elevators, stairwells, and legislative meeting space; full accessibility for the disabled; recreated 1910 decorative finishes in the legislative chambers and Rotunda; and restored original 18th century woodwork. In 2007, the Capitol is well-positioned to meet the needs of the oldest English-speaking legislative body continuously operating in the Western Hemisphere and to welcome over 150,000 visitors who come each year to pay homage to America's first monument to democracy.

The public is invited to share in the excitement of the rededication of the Capitol by making a mark on history with an inscribed brick at Virginia's State Capitol.

Orders: www.virginiacapitol.gov, click on "Reserve a Brick"
 Deadline for the November installation: August 15, 2007.

The author: Alice Lynch is the Executive Director of the Virginia Capitol Foundation (VCF). The VCF is a 501(c)(3) publicly-supported, non-profit organization established in 2004 by the General Assembly and the Governor to assist the Capitol, Executive Mansion, and Capitol Square in realizing their educational, cultural, and economic potential through program development, fundraising, and marketing. To learn more about the Virginia Capitol Foundation visit www.virginiacapitol.gov.

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Public Education is a Constant in General Assembly Debate

By THE HONORABLE EMILY COURIC, Spring 2000

Transportation needs and the new state biennial budget dominated this year's General Assembly session, as all 140 legislators focused on these crucial concerns for their constituents. Of course, each senator and delegate is passionate about other issues, too, and we always keep them high on our individual agenda. Amidst talk about roads and the state budget surplus, I made a point of emphasizing the needs of our school children and public education.



As we all know, parents, teachers, and community leaders across the Commonwealth continue to express their concern about the new Standards of Learning and end-of-year and end-of-course tests. The day is fast approaching when our high school graduates will have to fulfill new requirements before receiving their diplomas. And, just a few years later, schools could begin losing their state accreditation.

We must make sure that we, in state government, provide the necessary assistance to help our students succeed. This means providing decent school buildings, adequate technology and supplies, and safe learning environments. We must help our teachers through mentoring and evaluation programs, continuing education opportunities, and a salary equal at least to the national average for teacher pay.

I am pleased that this year General Assembly members worked across party and regional lines to guarantee the return of lottery profits for use in school classrooms. Democrats and Republicans endorsed a proposal to allocate some of the lottery monies to non-recurring school costs, such as construction, renovation, and infrastructure.

In a bipartisan effort to promote school safety, we sought to provide more guidance counselors and school resource officers, as well as additional funding for alternative education programs. Guidance counselors in elementary schools can help identify and address

behavior problems early. In later years, disruptive students must be removed from the traditional classroom environment. They prevent teachers from focusing on those students who want to learn.

Few schools in Virginia have avoided problems associated with the widespread teacher shortage. The legislature improved and expanded the Virginia Teaching Scholarship Loan Program, which encourages teachers to specialize in understaffed subject areas or teach in high-poverty areas of the Commonwealth.

Many of us recognized, as well, that one answer to the teacher shortage lies in higher teacher salaries. After the Governor failed to include a teacher pay raise in his proposed budget, both houses met the issue head on, albeit with different funding mechanisms. Teachers, after all, cannot be ignored when we provided raises to state employees and university and college professors.

The General Assembly also continued to spotlight the burgeoning technology sector and employment opportunities for our students. We discussed the pros and cons of a specialized technology diploma, or diploma seal, for high school graduates. Budget negotiations also recognized the need for additional funding for vocational education and workplace preparation programs.

The future of our Commonwealth depends on the strength of our public schools. Virginia's graduates are the backbone of a vibrant economy, safe communities, strong families, and a responsible citizenry.

The Honorable Emily Couric represented Virginia's 25th Senate District from 1996 until her death in 2001.

*As we all know,
parents, teachers,
and community
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Commonwealth
continue to express their
concern about the new
Standards of Learning
and end-of-year and
end-of-course tests.*

God Is In the Jeffersonian Details: the Capitol Model Project

By TOM HARTMAN, Summer 2002

Editor's note: *This guest commentary is based on an exhibit called "Jefferson & The Capitol of Virginia," which was on display through February 17, 2003, at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum in Colonial Williamsburg.*

In the early 1980's, as part of a private group, I toured the privately owned, more or less derelict, summer retreat designed and built by Thomas Jefferson near Lynchburg. That Thomas Jefferson's second home, Poplar Forest, a marvelous piece of simple architecture based on the octagon, should be derelict and in private hands was, to me, bizarre almost beyond belief. It was rather as if Da Vinci's second greatest work were being stored in someone's barn.

It is not that Jefferson is not honored here in his native state, but perhaps there has been a touch of "well, the great man put on his pants one leg at a time-and took them off one leg at a time, too, didn't he?" A prophet may not be without honor in his own country but perhaps it is easier to see true greatness from a distance.

I do think I sense an ambivalence toward home-boy Jefferson in the treatment through these past 216 years of the model for his design of the state capitol. Jefferson's drawings for the capitol were lost by people here in Virginia. All that has existed almost from the beginning is the model sent to Virginia from France during Jefferson's tenure there. The model seems to have been treated through most of these years as something convenient to have on hand for tourists rather than as a precious artifact. With every change in the color of the capitol, a fresh layer of paint of that color was slapped on the model. The capitol seems to have been every color at one time or another except polka dot and tiger

stripes. Consequently, the original model is now covered with 12 to 15 layers of lead-based paint.

If you think about your own experience painting any object with a finely carved surface, you will readily understand that 12 to 15 layers of paint would completely wash out all the surface detail in a model. No record of Jefferson's surface detail has survived and the model itself is in much too delicate a condition to withstand removal of all the old paint.

Sometimes we succeed in spite of ourselves. What the 12 to 15 layers of paint have also done is preserved, albeit completely hidden, the surface detail that otherwise would have deteriorated away from the plaster, wood and metal model over all these years. Only very recently, beginning seven years ago in a massive joint undertaking of Colonial Williamsburg with the Library of Virginia, utilizing the super-hi-tech X-ray equipment of NASA-Langley, was it even technically possible to attempt a recapturing of the surface detail. Imagine the human ingenuity and boundless determination that has gone into reconstructing exact surfaces from a stack of shadowy x-ray images of an intact artifact! A new model has been constructed with all the old detail, detail unknown for two centuries. The models are on display in Colonial Williamsburg and will eventually reside in the Capitol Rotunda.

Imagine if all we had were the Cliff Notes version of the Declaration of Independence:

- Sometimes people just have to get free. People have the right to try to be happy. So if a government gets on their backs and gets in their way they have the right to cast it off.

See God Is In the Jeffersonian Details continued on page 8

Tax Reform Must Be Addressed

By THE HONORABLE PRESTON BRYANT, Spring 2003

It's Spring. And there's no better or more beautiful place to be in the Spring than Virginia.

It's during this time of year that we all get antsy, looking ahead and hoping for good, if not better, things to come. Yes, hope springs eternal.

One can only hope that folks will finally get serious about moving to reform Virginia's antiquated tax structure. The tax code that we know today has changed precious little since it was conceived early in the 20th century. The individual income tax was put in place about 80 years ago, and the first two income tax brackets haven't been adjusted since 1926.

So while our economy has changed quite a bit this past century—moving from a largely agrarian one to an economy more appropriately defined by high-tech manufacturing, research and development, and financial services—the way in which we measure wealth for tax purposes has pretty much stayed the same.

The General Assembly has talked a lot about reforming our state tax code, and over the last handful of years there have been three study groups assessing—er, grappling with—the best way to go about it.

First, there was the Commission on Virginia's State and Local Tax Structure for the 21st Century. Then there was the study commissioned by then-Gov. Jim Gilmore. And then along came the General Assembly's own joint study commission, which has now been extended for yet another year albeit in slim-downed fashion.

All of these studies—an independent study, and executive branch study, and a legislative study—have diagnosed the problems and defined (again and again) the main issues. Some have even recommended fixes. But the legislature to date has not acted on them.

There is nothing inherently wrong, mind you, with having so many study commissions tackle this issue. In fact, it's probably a good thing, as it has afforded an array of stakeholders to have a say on this major matter of public policy. The more who have their voices heard, the more buy-in there will be (well, at least in theory) when reform is implemented.


Gov. Mark Warner has laid down a gauntlet of sorts: if the General Assembly does not put forth substantive reforms for the 2004 legislative session, he says, then he's likely to do so unilaterally. Good.

But let's hope it doesn't end up in an executive branch vs. legislative branch battle. There is no reason it should. There is still plenty of time for those in both branches who are keen on tax reform to work together and produce mutually agreed-upon recommendations.

Reforming—that is, modernizing—Virginia's tax code is critically important. We are a New Dominion, and we need to have a state government that operates as such.

Yes, hope springs eternal.

The Honorable Preston Bryant represented the 23rd House District from 1996-2006. [V]



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Comprehensive Reform and [Sustainable] Funding or Just Political Smoke and Mirrors

By THE HONORABLE VIVIAN WATTS, Spring 2007

In 2001, I presented the first of many charts graphically demonstrating Virginia's transportation crisis. I said, "we are worse off than we were 1986" when the General Assembly stepped up to the plate and put the business of providing adequate transportation throughout the Commonwealth on sound financial footing. In 1987, as a result, 55% of state funds were spent on road construction, in addition to funding for transit, ports, and airports.



What's happened since 2001?

Maintenance money has run out and the hemorrhaging of construction funds to cover the maintenance gap has been increasing by \$50 million every year. The buying power of gas tax revenue has continued to fall and is now less than 60% of what it was in 1987. Inflation in both highway construction and right-of-way purchases has sliced transportation spending by more than 90% since 1987.

We are now left with less than 15% of state transportation funds to spend on construction—compared to 55% in 1987. Even though the 6-Year Plan was slashed by 1/3 in 2002 after the Warner administration discovered no money existed to fund the previous administration's promises, today's 6-Year Plan list of projects that most regions regard as critical will cost over \$17 billion to complete. At the current \$1 billion a year in state funds, many frustrated citizens and businesses throughout the Commonwealth will never see progress.

The funding in HB3202 is simply inadequate. It adds just \$300 million a year for construction, transit and rail. Even that small increase will run out because it is borrowed money and, in approximately 7 years, all of the recordation tax revenues dedicated to pay for it will have to go to pay off debt.

HB3202 adds only \$200 million to meet maintenance needs. This doesn't even cover the \$286 million currently being siphoned from construction funds. The hemorrhage will continue growing by \$50 million a year and within 3-4 years even money taken from the General Fund (annual surplus estimated at \$64 million and the car insurance premiums at \$144 million) will all be taken out of construction to fund maintenance. Congestion will get worse...transit will deteriorate.

The role that HB3202 carves out for local taxpayers in Northern Virginia and Hampton Roads is severely—if not fatally—compromised by this lack of adequate state funding. Northern Virginia is being expected to raise \$400 million per year locally, while the state contributes less than \$200 million (\$105 million in current state construction funds plus no more than \$90 million from HB3202.) Not only is the combined amount far below identified needs, but local governments are understandably very reluctant to raise local taxes to take over a state responsibility.

HB3202 has another provision strongly opposed by local governments. Counties would become responsible for the maintenance of new subdivision streets. The bill further envisions that at least urban counties will take responsibility for maintaining all their streets, just as cities do. Theoretically, a county would get the same state payment as a city to do the work. What HB3202 doesn't cost out is that city payments per lane mile are twice what VDOT is actually spending on maintenance in these counties. If just the 3 largest counties in

See *Comprehensive Reform* continued on page 8

What Ever Happened to that Bridge to the 21st Century?

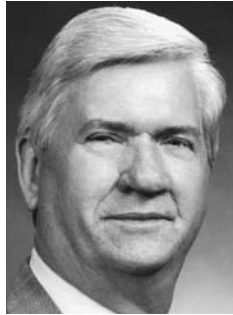
By THE HONORABLE CHARLES L. WADDELL, Spring/Summer 2008

Eleven years ago this month, I authored for *Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine* (Volume 3, # 2) an article on the critical need for additional state funding for our then-languishing Virginia public transportation system. That article, entitled “The Bridge to the 21st Century—A State Political Perspective with a Backward Glance” was prescient as it happens.

Here we are in June 2008—eleven years later—and not only have we not crossed that 21st Century transportation funding bridge but the sad truth is that we have not even decided how to build that critical financial bridge. Even the U. S. Congress with Representative Don Young’s “Bridge to Nowhere” has gotten further along in at least planning some funding for even an implausible project than the lackluster efforts of Virginia General Assembly have gotten in planning for the absolutely essential: an honest and realistic source of adequate funding for the Commonwealth’s current critical transportation needs.

Twenty-two years ago—thanks to the dynamic and courageous leadership of then-Governor Jerry Baliles, assisted by then-Secretary of Transportation Vivian Watts and then-VDOT Commissioner Ray Pethel—Virginians bit the political bullet and agreed to honestly tax themselves to meet most of our then-critical transportation needs, as we were all aware that when it came to adequately funding transportation needs, there was no tooth fairy to put the required money under our legislative pillow. As the then-Chair of the Senate Transportation Committee, I was proud to serve as a patron of the 1986 Virginia Transportation Funding and Reform legislation.

When the level of funding derived from that legislation was not sufficient to meet our Northern Virginia local transportation needs, I responded with additional locally-oriented transportation funding initiatives. In 1987, I introduced and led to passage—against the oppo-



sition of a number of state and local legislative nay-sayers—the Multi-County Tax Improvement District Act which allowed the rural, two-lane Route 28 then serving Dulles International Airport to be expanded, first to four-lanes and then to six-lanes, so that the primary economic engine both for Northern Virginia and the Commonwealth could continue to effectively function. That same funding mechanism is being used to pay a share of the funding for the proposed Dulles Metro-Rail project.

After my Loudoun and Fairfax County constituents were confronted in 1986–1988 with inadequate and highly-congested roads and excessive travel-times in commuting between rapidly developing work and residential centers in western Fairfax and eastern and central Loudoun Counties, I introduced and led to passage—again against a number of state and local legislative nay-sayers—the Virginia Private Toll Road Corporation Act of 1988 which led to the building of the now-named Dulles Greenway.

The point: My constituents quickly and clearly understood that when it came to funding a transportation system adequate to meet their commuting needs, maintain their personal quality of life, and sustain the economic vitality of our communities and region, there was no such thing as a “free lunch” on transportation funding. But, here we are today—still looking backwards because we lack the foresight and political courage to look forward in an honest, realistic, and fiscally-responsible manner.

Political gimmickry such as “no tax increase” slogans or local imposition of “bad driver fees” are not realistic, honest, or fiscally-responsible solutions to Virginia’s current transportation funding problems; admittedly, no one likes to pay higher taxes, but the honest answer is, as U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. once famously remarked, “taxes are the price we pay for civilized society.” Until Virginia legislators are willing to be honest with their constituents and admit there is no such thing as a “free lunch” when it comes to transportation funding, we will never solve our transportation funding problems. As Walt Kelly’s famous cartoon character, Pogo, remarked many years ago “we have met the enemy and he is us.”

Until the Virginia General Assembly actually faces up to these inconvenient facts, the situation will continue to be, as Yogi Berra once said, “Its ‘deja vu’ all over again!”

See *What Ever Happened* continued on page 16

“Instead of raising the sales tax to fund transportation, we ought to add 50 cents a pack to the tax on cigarettes (which would still put Virginia’s cigarette tax well below the national average). This would bring in \$215.4 million per year statewide to cover the maintenance deficit without a general tax increase while also saving \$1 billion in long term health care costs currently coming out of the General Fund.”

The Honorable David Englin represents the 45th House District

Comprehensive Reform from page 7

Northern Virginia took over their maintenance, there wouldn’t be enough money in HB3202 to pay them!

Before closing, I want to commend the effort to tie land use and transportation closer together. However, I am deeply concerned that one provision of HB3202 will “Fairfax” counties throughout Virginia. HB3202 requires that counties who use zoning adopt a master plan must provide for all of the growth projected for the next 20 years concentrated in urban development areas. Fairfax County did something similar in the 1970’s under the assumption that we could use the availability of infrastructure to time development. The Virginia Supreme Court did not uphold the concept and Fairfax had no basis to deny rezonings. Growth occurred unchecked because the Master Plan clearly said it could occur. HB3202 doesn’t provide new tools to deny an immediate rezoning once the 20-year master plan required by HB3202 designates a higher use.

Virginia’s transportation crisis is much worse than we have ever experienced. It will take decades of sustained funding to work our way out. It cannot be solved by small fees paid only by Virginia residents—which is the result of the refusal to consider any tax increase. All users should fund our transportation infrastructure—travelers, truckers, sprawling suburbanites, businesses, urban transit users, as well as local governments in partnership with the state. Voters must understand that HB3202 is a very small band-aid on a gaping wound. Despite headlines, the crisis continues.

This article discusses HB3202 as of 2/24/07

Delegate Vivian E. Watts represents House District 39.

God Is In the Jeffersonian Details from page 6

- The present King of England has really abused us Plundering, ravaging, burning.... You name it, he’s done it.
 - So we hereby declare our independence. And we mean it.
- J. Hancock, et. al.

Tom Hartman, Ph.D. of Richmond, VA., teaches in Richmond Public Schools. For more information about the Jefferson exhibit, contact 1-800-HISTORY or www.colonialwilliamsburg.org.

Lies, Damned Lies, and Faulty Statistics: A Cautionary Tale About the Use of Exit Polls

By LAUREN COHEN BELL, Winter 2005

In the aftermath of the 2004 presidential election, much has been made about how inaccurate exit poll results in several states wrongly predicted that we would be inaugurating “President John Kerry” on Jan. 20. Erroneous exit poll results are even cited in the lawsuit challenging Ohio’s election results filed by 40 voters (aided by the Reverend Jesse Jackson) in early December.



At election time, poll results are reported constantly, but of course Americans have long been fascinated by what their friends and neighbors think. When we pick up the morning paper, sign onto the Internet, or sample a new product, we’re often asked to give our opinions on matters important or mundane.

Despite our reliance on survey research, most people know little about how to interpret poll results. As a result, people end up surprised when the poll results they see in the weeks leading up to an election turn out to be different from the actual election results. Some, like the voters in Ohio who are challenging the 2004 election results, even believe that incongruous poll data and election returns indicate some sort of election fraud.

The truth of the matter is that polling capitalizes on statistical principles to allow a sample—a small subset—of the population of interest to be used to draw conclusions about the way the entire population would behave. It is calculated using the formula $[\sqrt{(\text{var}/N)}]*2$, where N=the size of the sample, and var is the amount of variation in the survey results. We multiply the result of that equation by two because it is standard to report sampling error at two standard deviations away from the mean—in layman’s terms, because by multiplying by two we are able to report a sampling error that gives us 95 percent confidence that the actual population values for the item of interest on our survey would be within the +/- range of the result we reported based upon our sample.

To put this in practical terms, when the exit polls reported on election day that Senator John Kerry would win with 54 percent of the vote (+/- 3 percent), that meant that if we had surveyed every voter in the precincts from which our sample was drawn, we could be 95 percent certain that Kerry would win the election, with his actual share of the vote being between 51 and 57 percent.

Now, I don’t know about all of you, but I might not bet my life savings on a Kerry victory in that scenario. Ninety-five percent confidence in a Kerry victory as narrow as 51 percent hardly seems like a sure thing.

In fact, continuing to capitalize on statistical principles, we can see that at a 99 percent level of confidence, the election would be too close to call; in that case, the actual population value for Kerry’s share of the vote would have fallen between 49.5 percent and 58.5 percent. And even still, we’re only 99 percent confident in our results, so the actual population values could be outside even these extremes. As I tell my students, it’s the “Dumb and Dumber” principle (based on a line from the movie with the same name): Even if the chance is only one in a million that your results could be wrong, there’s still a chance. That is to say that betting your life savings on the election outcome may not ever be a good idea.

In addition to sampling error, a variety of other factors could have contributed to the incongruous poll data and election results. Perhaps Kerry voters were more willing than Bush voters to talk with pollsters, for example. It becomes easier to see at this point how it was that the exit poll data that predicted a Kerry victory in cities and states across the country wasn’t inaccurate. The election results were simply too close to make meaningful conclusions possible from the surveys taken by pollsters on election day.

After the 2000 presidential elections, news organizations across the country learned an important lesson—don’t call elections before the polls close, because exit polls don’t always reveal the whole story. During their coverage of the November 2004 election, these media outlets did somewhat better; some, like CNN, were overly cautious in their election night coverage.

But one thing that hasn’t changed since 2000 is that many journalists and news consumers—the general public—remain committed to the reporting and interpretation of exit poll data even when they don’t understand fully how it is calculated or what the pitfalls of relying on it might be. This might not be a big deal when what people are asked to give their opinion on is a favorite cola or pop star, but as the last two presidential elections demonstrate, this lack of public understanding about the science of polling can have more significant consequences when it comes to picking a president.

Lauren Cohen Bell is Associate Dean and a professor of political science at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, VA. ▣



The Dillon Rule and the Search for a new Middle Ground

By TONI-MICHELLE C. TRAVIS, Winter 2006

Virginia is no longer “the political museum piece,” a southern state with a biracial society and an agricultural economy, described by V.O. Key in 1949. Slowly, Virginia, while still valuing tradition, is becoming a state with major urban/suburban centers, which are home to a multicultural population. Such changes raise challenges for the future of the Dillon Rule. While there is no widespread movement for Home Rule at the local level the economic realities of Virginia’s urban areas is forcing a reassessment of a nineteenth century principle.

The Commonwealth is still laboring under a strict interpretation of the 1868 ruling by an Iowa Supreme Court justice who held that localities could only exercise those powers that were “explicitly granted by the state.” Dillon was writing when most of the U.S. was still rural and there was reason to be wary of local officials who might be corrupt. Much has changed since 1868 in Virginia—urban/suburban areas abound, corruption by government officials has never been a major issue, and professionals trained in public administration often manage local communities.

Virginia joins 38 other states in following some version of the Dillon Rule. As it operates in Virginia, the Dillon Rule tilts power to state legislators versus local officials, forces local office holders to go to Richmond to seek permission on mundane issues, thwarts the efforts of local officials to handle problems created by growth which requires a larger tax base, and insures uniformity in laws across the state which affect businesses. Can a middle ground be found between the reformers and the status quo proponents?

Some Northern Virginia politicians and certainly promoters of information technology enterprises see Dillon’s Rule as archaic and an obstacle to progress. The Virginia Chamber of Commerce, however, supports retaining the Dillon Rule, which promotes uniformity by relying on the General Assembly to decide major issues of government policy.

In Virginia any major policy change is likely to come slowly. A compromise position would be to allow limited Home Rule in the largest urban/suburban areas. Localities such as Fairfax County would then have authority to create new funding formulas for its needs such as transportation. This would begin to shift the balance of power in state/local relations. While state legislators would lose some of their power with a modified Dillon Rule the office of the local officials would gradually become the new ground for aspiring politicians who seek statewide office. The balance of power has to shift for Virginia to meet the needs of twenty-first century urban Virginia. It is time to seriously consider the middle ground.

Continued at the end of the next column



Politics, religion a bad mix

By MICHAEL PAUL WILLIAMS, Spring/Summer 2008

Either we need to elect an atheist as president, or we need to push the preachers and piety out of politics.

Politics and religion are an unholy alliance, to say the least. But political candidates have become convinced that they can’t win unless they thump a Bible and pump up the volume on their faith bona fides.

The nasty falling-out of the Rev. Jeremiah Wright Jr. and Democrat Barack Obama illustrates the pitfalls of mingling politics and the pulpit.

Heading into tomorrow’s primaries in Indiana and North Carolina, Obama again sought to distance himself from Wright’s remarks last week at the National Press Club, describing them as “divisive hateful language” on NBC’s “Meet the Press” yesterday.

“These connections between religion and a specific campaign are fraught with peril,” said the Rev. Barry W. Lynn, executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

What’s not clear, Lynn said, is whether the public wants to know as much about a candidate’s faith as is being revealed.

They shouldn’t. It’s irrelevant. The two most pious U.S. presidents of the modern age are the born-again Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican George W. Bush.

The two worst presidents of that era not nicknamed “Tricky Dick”? Carter and Bush.

If a politician is moral, ethical, competent and wise, why should we care whether he’s got religion or not?

But Wright isn’t the first minister to be politically incorrect.

In the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks, the Rev. Jerry Falwell pointed the finger of blame at pagans, feminists, the ACLU, and gays and lesbians, among others.

The Rev. Pat Robertson concurred. And politicians continued to seek their blessing.

More recently, John McCain, the presumptive Republican nominee for president, has largely gotten a pass on his endorsement courtship of the anti-Catholic televangelist, the Rev. John Hagee, who called Hurricane Katrina God’s punishment to a sinful New Orleans.

Obama, meanwhile, can’t win. Some of the same religious bigots who called him a closet Muslim and conflated him with Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein are gleefully damning him for his association with the Christian Wright.

It needs to stop. Politics and religion are both diminished by their association with each other.

Frankly, I don’t care what Hillary Rodham Clinton’s favorite Bible verse is. Faith is not a legitimate political issue.

“When you think about it, there’s no reason for presidential candidates to have religious advisers,” Lynn said. “Presidents don’t do anything about religion. We have a secular country.”

Lynn said only one question about religion really matters: How, if at all, will a presidential candidate’s religious beliefs affect his or her policies?

There’s only one correct answer, as far as he’s concerned. A president should build policies within the constraints of the Constitution, “which essentially means you can’t impose your religion’s beliefs on others.”

If you can’t do it while president, please don’t do it during your campaign.

Michael Williams’ column appeared on Monday, May 5, 2008, copyright Richmond Times-Dispatch, used with permission. [V]



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Politics of Budgets and Fear: The Illegal Immigration Issue

By BRIAN TURNER, Winter 2008

On January 1, 2008, Prince William County began denying certain county services to illegal immigrants. On that same date, all tariff barriers to agricultural trade between the United States and Mexico were lifted in accordance with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). As Virginia's local authorities struggle with their limited ability to influence immigration policy, powerful economic forces unleashed by NAFTA will continue to push Mexicans off their land and, for many of them, north to find work.



The Prince William County Board of Supervisors first attracted the attention of the national and international news media when on July 10, 2007, it passed a resolution expressing concern about illegal immigration and directing the County Executive to investigate the means by which county services could be denied to illegal aliens. Other jurisdictions, such as Loudoun and Culpeper counties and the town of Herndon, have similarly investigated their options regarding illegal immigration.

County officials have a point. In a study released in December 2007, the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office reported that the fiscal impact of all immigrants, both legal and "unauthorized," to use the CBO's term, at all levels of government was positive. In a point usually omitted in the Virginia debate, immigrants pay taxes. They pay sales and property taxes, and the majority of unauthorized immigrants pay income and payroll taxes. Much of that tax bill goes to the federal government, but the feds restrict a variety of services to illegal immigrants. The CBO finds that the fiscal impact on state and

local governments is usually negative—state and county governments expend more on services presumably used by unauthorized immigrants than they collect in taxes from that population. Much of the ire expressed by Virginia's officials, and those in many other states, is directed at the federal government's policies that leave the local jurisdictions holding the bag.

However, there really is not that much Prince William and the others can do. *Plyler and Dillon* limit their options. In *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could not deny public education to undocumented minors. Thus, the biggest budget item, education, is off the table. Federal and state laws permit "non-enemy" aliens to own property in the Commonwealth, and the local governments cannot deny services to property owners on the basis of their immigration status. Virginia's Dillon Rule permits local governments to act only if expressly authorized by the state or, as Virginia code puts it, if their actions are "expedient to secure the general welfare of inhabitants."

Prince William officials have wisely recognized that many other services, such as fire response, are public goods in the most general sense and their denial would have a negative impact on all inhabitants. Therefore, Prince William is denying illegal immigrants county services ranging from business licensing to Bluebird Bus Tours. The county is paying for seven full-time employees in the police department to staff the new Criminal Alien Unit. The net fiscal impact of the denial of services, and the increased staffing in the police department, is likely to be marginal and not obviously positive.

Clearly, the politics of the illegal immigration debate don't have much to do with the sleepy topic of county budgets. This is a culture conflict, the kind of wedge issue that can mobilize voters by tapping

See *Politics of Budgets and Fear* continued on page 16

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Virginia: on (or falling off of) the cutting edge of political reform?

By MARK RUSH, Spring/Summer 2008

“Give me Liberty or Give me Death.”
“No Taxation without Representation.”
“A Better, Fairer Political Process Through
New Redistricting Procedures!(!?)”

OK. Redistricting reform is hardly as likely to capture the imagination of the public as some of the other great causes in American political history. Nonetheless, the redistricting process is once again making news as we head towards the end of one decade, the beginning of another and the inevitable partisan wrangling that will attend the next round of line drawing.

Redistricting and electoral reform have been on the political agenda in the Commonwealth. But amidst this season of incredibly intense presidential politicking, the excitement of the primaries overshadowed two important reform initiatives. The first was raised by Governor Kaine in his annual address and subsequently pursued by State Senator Creigh Deeds: a proposal to reform the redistricting process in the Commonwealth. The second arose when the federal district and appeals courts struck down section 24.2-509(B) of the Virginia Code (which allows incumbents to choose the method of their renomination).

For many, these aspects of politics may seem to be pretty arcane when compared to the excitement of a presidential primary or a decision by the United States Supreme Court. But, since redistricting and the nomination process have been frequent topics of Supreme Court scrutiny, what's going on in Virginia may have an impact on election law across the land.

A common theme joins Sen. Deeds' call for redistricting reform and the decision by the Federal Appeals Court to strike down section 24.2-509(B): fear of incumbent entrenchment. Deeds' proposal (sb38) called for the establishment of a bipartisan districting commission to replace the current process that empowers our elected officials to redraw the districts in which they campaign. Alas, while Deeds' proposal passed the Senate, it did not survive in the House.

I believe this would have been a great improvement over the current system. Deeds' proposal would have removed at least the veneer of self-interest in the districting process by taking control out of the hands of incumbents and setting forth stringent criteria for drawing district lines, all of which clearly have the interests of the voters—not the incumbents—in mind.

As demonstrated by the redistricting process in the last two decades, partisan concerns have dominated the manner in which district lines were drawn. Incumbents of the same party were pitted against one another, political subdivisions were divided, districts crossed bodies of water and district shapes looked more like the patterns in a Rohrschach test than politically relevant geographic areas. In the 1990s, the Democrats wrought havoc on the Republican incumbents. In the 2000 round of redistricting, turnabouts was fair play and the GOP returned the favor. There was no question that partisan and incumbent self-interest played a determinative role in the drawing of district lines.

I don't mean to offer gratuitous criticism of our incumbents. Campaigning for and serving in the legislature involves great personal sacrifice and time commitment. Nonetheless, the current redistricting process does confront our incumbents with a clear conflict of interest: they have complete control over the process by which they are returned to office.

Critics may argue that taking control of the redistricting process out of the hands of elected officials would somehow weaken the connection between voters and their representatives. In fact, this



is not the case. Many other states have turned at least part of the redistricting process over to nonpartisan or bipartisan commissions.

According to work done by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government and Michael McDonald of George Mason University, at least nine other states employed methods of redistricting at the beginning of this decade that were “nontraditional” in the sense that the legislature did not have complete control over the line-drawing process. The independence (or, if you wish, partisan “neutrality”) of the processes varies from complete independence (in Iowa, the nonpartisan Legislative Services Bureau draws the lines and the legislature votes on its recommendations) to different forms of bipartisan committees (similar in spirit to that proposed by Senator Deeds) that are appointed by the legislature, the governor, etc. 1

The benefits of moving to a more nonpartisan method of drawing district lines are obvious: doing so would remove the appearance of self-interest that currently exists. McDonald (391) notes at the end of his study that, regardless of the method of redistricting, “incumbents and parties work strategically within the constraints of the redistricting process to produce plans they believe to be most favorable to them.” In essence then, political actors act in their own self-interest.

This may seem completely natural: no one would expect a political actor to act against his or her own best interest. Nonetheless, it is sometimes easy to forget that, ultimately, it is the voters' best interests that are at stake in the redistricting process. But, in a process that is designed to enable incumbent officials to select their own electors, it is not inconceivable that the voters' best interest can be forgotten.

This concern about the power of incumbents was an important element of Harvie Wilkinson's opinion in *Miller v. Cunningham* this January where he asserted that section 24.2-509(b) was unconstitutional. In that case, Wilkinson argued that something is wrong when an incumbent can impose his or her will on the party organization—at the expense of voter choice. Section 24.2-509(B) let incumbents choose the means by which they would stand for re-election. No doubt, an incumbent would choose the method that would give him or her the best chance of winning renomination.

Wilkinson argued that this system transfers control over elections from the voters to the legislators. It undermines the democratic process in the same way that letting incumbents draw their own districts does: in both cases, incumbents choose their voters. Democracy requires the opposite: voters should choose their representatives.

Governor Kaine, Senator Deeds and Judge Wilkinson have raised important concerns about the nature of the democratic process, the rules by which it is conducted and the role voters should play vis a vis their elected representatives. As we have seen throughout this long and exciting presidential nomination season, the rules by which politics and elections are conducted are vitally important to the integrity

See *Virginia: on (or falling off of)* continued on page 16

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Global Climate Change

By GLEN SUSSMAN, Summer 2010

In January 2010, Lisa Jackson, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases pose a threat to public health and that under the Clean Air Act, the EPA could and would regulate greenhouse gas emissions. Virginia Attorney General, Ken Cuccinelli's effort to oppose the EPA through a lawsuit sets the tone for this article that examines the issue of global climate change in general and how it impacts Virginians.



Let us begin by providing an overview of global warming and climate change so we have a clear understanding of the issue at hand. To begin, global warming is not a new issue. It can be traced to the work of many researchers including Swedish chemist, Svante Arrhenius who, in 1896, discovered that a buildup of greenhouse gases was associated with the warming of the planet. Research by British engineer, G.S. Callendar in 1938, Roger Revelle and Hans Suess of Scripps Institution of Oceanography in the late 1950s, and Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research in the late 1980s provided the scientific community with increasing evidence that global warming could have a profound impact on human civilization. In 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change issued its 4th report that argued that human activities through the burning of fossil fuels are involved in the warming of the planet. Notwithstanding natural factors that play a part in global warming and climate change, the issue has become politicized and has centered on the role played by human activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the fossil fuel industry and its political supporters are very concerned about the

possibility of increased government regulation of greenhouse gas emissions which would mean, in effect, more big government.

For the purpose of clarity, let us define our terms as described by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the EPA. Global warming refers to an "average increase in the temperature of the Earth's surface and in the troposphere, which can contribute to change in global climate patterns." Climate change concerns "significant changes in measures of climate such as temperature, precipitation or wind." Also involved is rise in sea level. Despite the impact of natural cycles that affect global climate, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the World Meteorological Organization, the U.S. EPA, the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the U.S. Center for Atmospheric Research, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) all accept the proposition that human activities play a major role in global warming and climate change.

Why should Virginians be concerned about this issue and the attempt by Virginia's Attorney General to oppose regulation of greenhouse gases? First, the cumulative impact of a warmer planet, increased residential and commercial development in coastal zones, and rising sea levels along with more severe hurricanes suggests what the Associate Press called a "recipe for potentially serious natural degradation." Second, in April 2007, a conservative U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision, ruled in *Massachusetts v. EPA* that the EPA has the authority to regulate greenhouse gas emissions under the Clean Air Act. Despite Attorney General Cuccinelli's attempt to prohibit action by the EPA, it is the Supreme Court that provided the authority for the EPA to take action. Third, while media celebrities Rush Limbaugh and Glenn Beck along with Senator James Inhofe of Oklahoma may consider human-induced global warming an "environmental hoax" this is not the case for global and national insurance companies. Global warming and climate change are important issues for Lloyds of London Swiss Re, Munich Re in Europe, and American International Group while major insurance companies in the U.S.

See *Global Climate Change* continued on page 16

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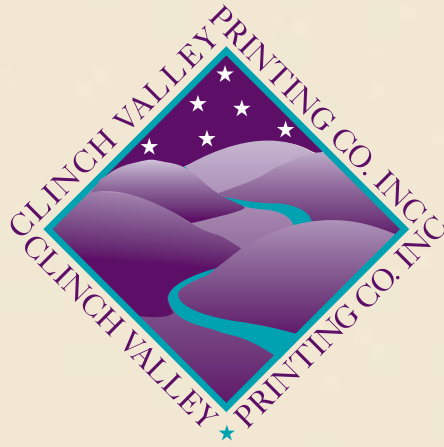
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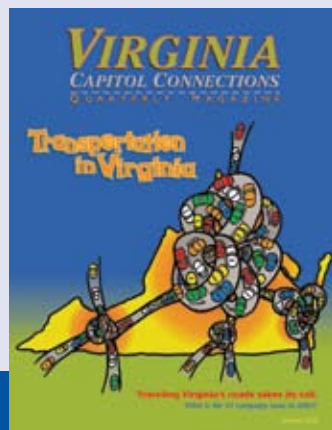
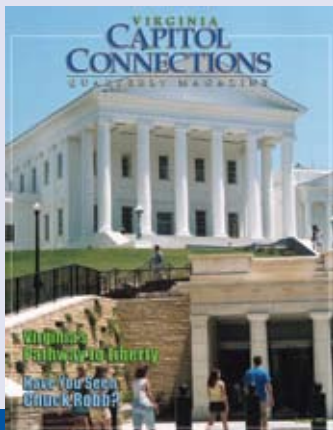
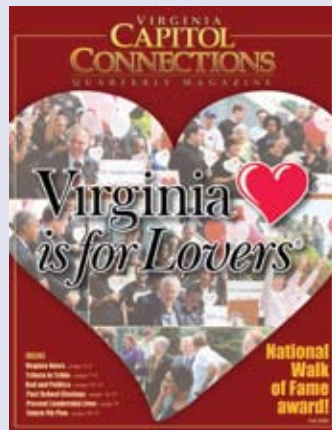
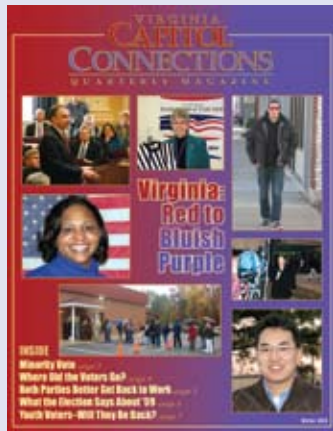
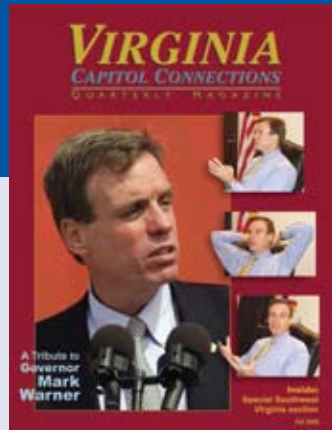
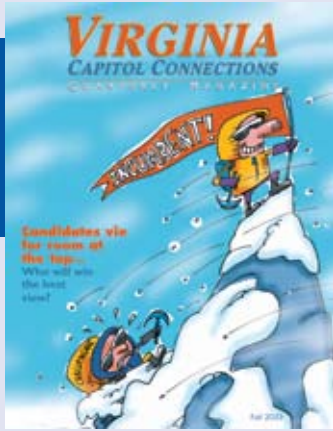
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What Ever Happened from page 8

The Honorable Charles L. Waddell is a former Virginia State Senator who represented Loudoun County and a part of Fairfax County from 1972-1998.

Editor's Note: *The Honorable Gerald Baliles, former Governor of Virginia, was interviewed by Dennis Petersen in the fall of 2006 and this was printed in the November '06-January '07 issue of Virginia Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine.*

Gerald Baliles says history shows it could be 2010 before the next real opportunity arrives and by then Tim Kaine will have joined him in the ex-governor's club.

"Here is the reason," he tells a visitor. "In 2007 every member of the General Assembly is up for reelection and it is unlikely that they will find those significant sums of new revenue in an election year. 2008 is a presidential year...and if you will check the records you will find very few, if any, state legislatures raising new revenue sources during an election year. The following year, 2009, is a gubernatorial election year and the House (of Delegates) is up for reelection. So that suggests 2010 may be the first year in which the legislature will be in a situation which it found itself this year."

Baliles has heard the call for ideas and innovative thinking but, he says, "You can adopt new paradigms, you can adopt a new plan, you can rename the department, you can do a lot of these things but at the end of the day it still takes money to build roads and bridges."

Citing a \$3 billion backlog for highway maintenance that has been deferred, Baliles warns against extended delays in upgrading the transportation infrastructure. "At one point, that becomes a safety issue not to mention quality of life" for Virginians. ▣

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of the political process. Thanks to the efforts of Kaine, Deeds and Wilkinson, Virginia has initiated its own important conversation about the rules of the political game. As we approach the 2010 round of redistricting, there is no question that this conversation will continue with a heightened sense of urgency.

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including Allstate, Traveler's Insurance, State Farm and MetLife are reconsidering their coverage of both private homes and commercial businesses. Obviously, for the insurance industry, global warming is not an "environmental hoax." Fourth, research resulting from the 1st International Summit on Global Warming, Climate Change, and Hurricanes that occurred in June 2007 (I attended and presented a paper) produced further evidence of the dangers posed by human-induced global warming. Climatologists from four continents were less concerned about the frequency of hurricanes and more concerned about the ferocity of hurricanes as they threaten the world's coastal areas including the Gulf and East coasts of the U.S. Fifth, agricultural products ranging from tobacco to wine produced in Virginia would be affected by variation in precipitation patterns. Sixth, tourism could become a victim of global climate change as well which would degrade tax revenues for Virginia. Seventh, in contrast to the position taken by Virginia's attorney general, California Governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger led a coalition of states in an attempt to address greenhouse gas emissions while the Bush (43) administration pushed voluntary rather than mandatory goals and timetables. Eventually, Bush (43)'s EPA administrator opposed Schwarzenegger's efforts.

Now, a comment about the recent so-called scandal referred to as "climategate." Just prior to the December 1999 Copenhagen summit to address global climate change, a political controversy occurred as

Politics of Budgets and Fear from page 11

into their fears. On one side are those who fear that immigrants will not assimilate as English-speaking Americans, and will remain truly "alien" to American culture and values. That this fear has been well-rehearsed throughout American history does not lessen its reality for those who feel it. The fact that many groups campaigning for a more restrictive environment name themselves "Save Our Community" speaks to that sense of fear. On the other side are those who fear that a political environment that promotes "cracking down on illegal aliens" will lead to racial profiling and discrimination against the Hispanic community. Those experiences too are well-rehearsed in our history.

Immigration policy quickly became an emotional issue in last fall's General Assembly races. Undoubtedly, national politicians paid close attention to how the immigration issue "played" with Virginia's voters. The answer to that is not clear. A *Washington Post* poll in October found that three-quarters of likely voters in Virginia thought immigration is an important issue and over half wanted local government to do "a lot" more about it. Those who told the *Post* they felt immigration to be an extremely important issue were more likely to support the GOP, but the election results from November don't show that the issue gave either party a decisive advantage.

Now the debate moves to the General Assembly in Richmond. Local governments will seek greater authority to act in this area. Some legislators, such as Delegate Jeffrey Frederick (R-Prince William), will offer bills that would punish jurisdictions that don't use local resources, such as the police, to identify unauthorized immigrants. Other measures will seek to keep undocumented aliens out of public colleges and universities. However, given the limits on both state and local authority, relatively small steps will be taken, but with much fury and bluster.

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Mark Rush is the Robert G. Brown Professor of Politics and Law and Head of the Department of Politics at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, VA.

¹See generally Michael McDonald, "A Comparative Analysis of Redistricting Institutions in the United States, 2001-02." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* (Winter, 2004) 371-95. ▣

a result of unauthorized release of e-mails from the University of East Anglia's Climate Research Unit in Great Britain that were posted on the Internet. According to the *New York Times*, opponents of human-induced global warming jumped on the e-mails as proof that climate scientists were "manipulating data" and "colluding to keep contrary opinion out of scientific journals." Climate scientists responded that despite this controversy, "there exists a broad consensus that the planet is growing warmer." James Hansen, head of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies considers the controversy as one of global warming deniers engaged in "fishing expeditions" in an effort to "discredit climate science." He also argued that if climatologists have actually manipulated climate data, why haven't the deniers of global warming demonstrated how the data would produce a significantly different global temperature change but they haven't done so. Questionable actions by some climatologists can be explained by their frustration with those who deny human-induced global warming despite decades of evidence to the contrary. Moreover, the distortion of research findings of climate science by political appointees of President George W. Bush drew repeated denunciation from Donald Kennedy, editor of the respected and prestigious journal *Science*.

Finally, a recent article in the *New York Times* published in the *Virginian-Pilot* on April 4 raised the issue of the "chilly divide"

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Shared Vision Key to Effective Leadership

By GIL FAIRHOLM, Summer 2006

Background: The Problem

Given the difficulty we see in getting a budget—or many public programs from internal security, to health care, to economic development, to whatever—passed, agreement obviously involves much more than just technical, procedural skill. Increasingly citizens, interest groups, program administrators and politicians find that the issues they must deal with are not technical or even political; they are philosophical. They deal not so much with how to provide public services, but with what services, to which constituency and in what quantities these services should be allocated. The tasks of the public leader today, as it has always been the case, resolve themselves into questions of values—those of the public leader and of Virginians generally.

The continuing task for public leaders is to create a unified work group and then nurture its values and customs among all stakeholders. The objective is to create a community reflective of the leader's goals and to engage followers in realizing the community's values and goals. In doing this, leaders build community.

Without a sense of community, relationships just do not happen. Government leaders need to concentrate on identifying their personal values and extending them to citizens in ways that reflect Virginia's traditions and that position her for a dynamic, different and more fast-paced future. Unless our leaders can focus their own values and convince a majority of Virginians of their cogency, we can expect more budget deadlocks and competing program contention in the future.

The Leader's Role in Government

The word, "community" derives from the word, "unity." Communities operate out of shared values, a common vision, and accepted patterns of behavior. The communities to which we belong influence how we act, what we value, how we measure ourselves and our actions. It defines our feelings about whom we care about and how we feel about others, the level of personal growth we aspire to and our happiness.

The real purpose of leadership in the public sector is to create a climate and conditions of mutual trust within which all persons can grow and develop to their full potential as leaders and followers of others' lead. It is in building community that Virginia's government leaders can fully empower citizens and the Commonwealth flourish. It is to the task of building these homogeneous communities that program and political leaders need to direct their best efforts. Indeed, that is the nature of the leader's job, the essence of their success and is arguably the surest path to Virginia's future.

The New Values Leadership Model

Given the truth of the above comments, textbook definitions of the functions of leadership no longer reflect the real world, if they ever did. Leadership is not limited to administering programs. It is not just concerned with accountability, measurement and control. While a focus on performance is laudable, research suggests that the key leadership task is to inculcate values among all members of their community. Leading in terms of shared values require public sector leaders to change not only what they do, but how they think and what they value. Tomorrow's leaders will inspire colleagues to standards of excellence, not just motivate them to efficient performance. They will communicate a sense of personal responsibility to all stakeholders for all that goes on in Virginia, not just the few tasks required by their agency. They will share power with others and learn to feel comfortable with a "collegial" role. Obviously, were this mind-set in place in Virginia today the budget impasse would not have happened.

In practical terms, this means that public leaders job is to persuade their colleagues to share their values-laden vision of the future of the



community and get them voluntarily involved instead of merely order them to do so. The task is to pull citizens and colleagues not push them to translate intention into reality and sustain it. It is enlarging their perceptions, getting them to explore possibilities and raising their ability to perform. Leadership in the future will be a task of development—of colleagues, citizens, and service programs. This is leadership based on shared values, values that move the Commonwealth and its people from not just doing, but to becoming.

Building Community in a Changing/Changed World

These changes will place new pressures on leaders to move from technique to philosophy. Of course, they must continue to focus on efficient service delivery. They will need to insure that their actions are appropriate given changed community values. They will set and then work within changing community values and expectations about both method and process of service delivery. And they will measure programs and results by the degree they fit both their individual values and actions and the needs of the evolving Commonwealth community.

Concurrently leaders must consider the changes taking place in and by public employees. There is a transformation also happening with government workers. The task in the next decades will be to integrate disparate worker values, ideas and goals and shape a community that can realize goals shared by workers, colleagues and all Virginians.

The Experience of Virginia's Local Government Leaders.

There is mounting evidence to suggest government leaders are already adapting to meet this change. Several years ago more than 200 Virginia local government executives tested these ideas about values-based leadership. Research sponsored by the Virginia Commonwealth University, School of Community and Public Affairs, explored the extent of use of this new leadership model by municipal chief executives.

The results reveal some interesting and potentially important findings for practicing values leadership. These data suggest commonly held ideas and ideals activate Virginia's government leaders. The precise values fostered by individual leaders varied, but centered around a few that define a community values system centered around respect for individuality, interactive trust, high quality service, high performance and strategic thinking. Typically these values summarize what their communities and the state are and can become.

As we enter fully into the twenty-first century, we may profit from a serious look at the leadership tasks implicit in this new model. Indeed, leadership excellence values may define leadership for the coming century.

See Values Leadership, New York: Praeger, 1991.

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Now that the 2008 Presidential Election's Over, Both Parties Better Get Back to Work

By LAUREN COHEN BELL, Winter 2009

Barely a month after the 2008 presidential election results were in, the Commonwealth's Democrats met in early December to discuss President-elect Barack Obama's historic victory in Virginia and their plans to win next year's gubernatorial election. Party leaders and the pundits who cover them all focused on whether Obama's win in November made the outcome of 2009's gubernatorial contest a foregone conclusion. "Better ideas, better candidates and better organization. I think that has been our route to success in the past and I think that will be our secret to success in the future," said the Chairman of the Democratic Party of Virginia. Virginia's Republicans, disheartened by the November contest, were rumored to be fighting amongst themselves about the future of their party.



They might want to stop bickering and take a closer look at the election returns.

While the Commonwealth's Democrats are clearly on an upswing, a review of the last three major elections in the Commonwealth suggests that it is Democrats, not Republicans, that may need to worry. Although the big news story after the November 2008 election was Virginia's apparent move to the ranks of the "blue" states, there have been few substantive analyses of the party's victory. To be sure, Democrats are to be credited with mobilizing significant numbers of new voters—but it's unclear whether these voters, many of whom voted for the first time in November, will turn out in subsequent, lower-stimulus elections.

More significantly, the official election results over the last three big elections—the Presidential elections of 2008 and 2004, and the 2005 gubernatorial election—show that in 2008, most counties voted exactly as they had in 2004. Democrats gained an advantage in a handful of urban centers, including Henrico County, where in 2004 President Bush won 53.8 percent of the vote; in 2008, John McCain could muster only 43.5 percent of the vote in Henrico. The 2004-to-2008 results were similar in Harrisonburg City, Radford City,

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between climatologists and meteorologists on this issue. Where climatologists are united in their support of the proposition of human-induced global warming we are told that, in contrast, meteorologists are split on the issue. This makes for a nice "great debate" for the news media but distracts from the substance of the issue. My response is as follows: climatologists have an earned Ph.D. while meteorologists have bachelor degrees. With all due respect to hard-working meteorologists, if your child has a serious medical condition and requires brain surgery, what will you do—take your child to Mr. Smith who has a B.A. degree or take your child to Dr. Jones who has an earned M.D.? Some time ago, California Governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger, responded in a similar way about global warming. He stated that if his child were ill, he'd go with the 95% of the scientists who tell him that his child needs treatment, not the 5% who tell him not to worry. In other words, the Governor argued in favor of taking strong measures to deal with global warming.

Global climate change is here, it is happening now, and human activities play a major role in this regard. It is time for Virginians to demand that their political leaders refrain from engaging in an ideologically-based political agenda and instead move forward in pursuing appropriate efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

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and Manassas City; in all of these cases, and in a handful of others, counties that had supported the Republican for president in 2004 shifted their support to the Democrat in 2008. But in most localities in Virginia, voters cast ballots in 2008 just as they had in 2004.

Since the results from four years ago so closely predicted the votes this year, with just a few (albeit crucial) exceptions, one might think that the state's Republicans would be right to worry. But when the 2005 gubernatorial election is factored into the analysis, it becomes clear that presidential elections don't predict gubernatorial ones—something that ought to make jubilant Democrats come back down to Earth and give Republicans reason to hold out hope.

I have to admit, the 2005 gubernatorial election results still vex me a bit. Political scientists frequently refer to ballot "roll-off," where voters cast votes at the top of the ticket, but then fail to cast votes further down the ticket. There's not a theory to describe what happened in 2005, when something different happened in the voting for Republican candidates: voters rolled *on*. Although only 912,000 voters selected Republican Jerry Kilgore as their choice for governor, 979,000 voters selected Bill Bolling as their choice for Lieutenant Governor, and 971,000 voters selected Bob McDonnell as their attorney general.

Looking county-by-county at the 2005 results in the backward context of the 2004 election, it's apparent that Kilgore was unable to translate support for President Bush into support for his own candidacy. In many localities—Accomack County, Albemarle County, Allegheny County, Appomattox County, Arlington County (those are just the As, but the rest of the alphabet looks much the same, so you get the idea)—Kilgore's share of the vote was seven to as much as twelve percent less than the share of the vote Bush received just one year prior. In Henrico County, Kilgore's vote share was nearly nine percent less than that Bush had received a year earlier.

Likewise, looking county-by-county in the forward context of the 2008 election, it becomes apparent that Barack Obama didn't fully realize the high proportion of the vote share garnered by Tim Kaine in 2005. For example, in Allegheny County, Kaine obtained 54 percent of the vote in 2005, but Obama polled at just 48 percent in November. Moreover, in many places, the Republican share of the vote increased substantially from 2005 to 2008; in both Bedford and Bland Counties, for example, John McCain received a seven percent greater share of the vote in 2008 than had Kilgore in 2005. In 2008, Republicans increased their share of the vote in Campbell County, Clarke County, Craig County, Floyd County, Franklin County, Giles County, Gloucester County, Goochland County, Grayson County, Greene County, Hanover County, Henry County, New Kent County, Nottoway County, Pulaski County, Rappahannock County, Roanoke County, Rockbridge County, Tazewell County—again, the list goes on and on.

To be sure, there are places in 2008 where Obama did better than Kaine in 2005, including Culpeper County, Essex County, Greensville County, Halifax County, Prince William County, and the cities of Newport News, Petersburg, and Richmond. But in Alexandria, Bristol and Charlottesville, Obama polled at or slightly below Kaine's 2005 numbers, just as he did in Orange and Nottoway Counties. In Tazewell, Smyth, Rockbridge, Grayson, and Giles Counties, Obama's share of the vote was substantially less than Kaine's in 2005.

What all of this tells me is that rather than being a solid "blue," or even a solid "purple" state, Virginians in 2005 were simply dissatisfied with the Republican candidate for governor, preferring the Democratic candidate—lieutenant to a wildly popular, outgoing Governor, Mark Warner—over his Republican challenger. The return

See *Now that the 2008* continued on page 25

Styles of Political Leadership: *Past and Future* By NELSON WIKSTROM, Fall 2002

S. Vance Wilkins, former Speaker of the House of Delegates, played the crucial role in achieving a decided Republican majority in the lower house of the General Assembly. Wilkins was so dedicated to this goal that he sold his construction business and adopted a full time strategic routine of recruiting promising GOP candidates for the House, providing them with political counseling, and ensuring that they had the requisite political expertise and funding to wage a successful campaign and gain office.

However, as a result of an instance of alleged sexual harassment, Wilkins, after some political skirmishing among his fellow Republicans, resigned his position as Speaker on June 13, and ultimately his seat representing Amherst County in the House of Delegate on Aug. 15.

Serving as Speaker, Wilkins practiced a strong and disciplined leadership (some would assert, an overbearing and iron fisted leadership) style. While Wilkins' focused style (perhaps drawing upon his goal oriented experience in business) served the Republicans well by ensuring a high degree of party cohesion in the House, it also, in a rather ironic sense, created an underlying sense of political resentment toward Wilkins among some Republican delegates. This political resentment, and the perception of some Republican delegates that Wilkins was too closely identified and aligned with Governor Mark Warner on a number of key public policy issues, served to provide the political ammunition and fodder which hastened the downfall of Wilkins.

Following a measure of dialogue and intense political maneuvering among and between several hopeful aspirants, the members of the House Republican Caucus, meeting in Richmond on July 20, bestowed its nomination for Speaker on Delegate William J. Howell of Stafford County. Given that the Republicans enjoy an almost two-thirds majority in the House, Howell is all but certain to

be elected Speaker when the full House will vote on the nomination on January 8.

Howell, a lawyer by profession and fundamentally conservative in his political orientation, has served as chairman of the Committee on Courts. He is known for his quiet, low-keyed conciliatory political style and strong commitment to collegiality. We have every reason to believe that Howell will basically exercise this sort of leadership and style when he assumes the position as Speaker and that he will lend a careful and continuous ear to the members of the House Republican Caucus.

A number of lessons may be learned from the political tragedy of S. Vance Wilkins. First, holding a position of leadership in a democratic institution represents a perilous exercise on a "slippery political slope." Political leaders today may be less than political followers tomorrow. Circumstances and brute political expediency may well ensure that personal political alliances are less solid than cracking ice. Office holders exercising a leadership position inevitably create political malcontents who are "waiting in the wings" to strike back when the opportunity arises.

Second, in stark and strong contrast to several decades ago, the press and electronic media often appear more bent upon fueling a "feeding frenzy" about the personal misfortunes of those holding public office than on promoting among the attentive public a serious discourse concerning the myriad array of issues confronting the Commonwealth.

And finally, individuals holding public office must lead personal lives beyond all possible moral reproach in order not to become a victim of the whirlwind of politics.

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Virginia GOP Identity Crisis

By STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH, Spring 2009

Fresh from a string of dispiriting state-wide electoral defeats—the last two U.S. Senate races, the last two campaigns for governor and even last year’s loss of Virginia’s electoral votes for the first time since 1964—the differences among Virginia Republicans have exploded into an uncivil war.

Virtually every top-ranking GOP officeholder in the state joined forces in April to force out Jeffrey M. Frederick, the state party chairman and a darling of conservative voters. Frederick, an aggressive member of the House of Delegates from Prince William County, immediately said he would encourage party activists to reverse the party’s Central Committee’s decision later this spring.

At the heart of this continuing fight over the GOP’s direction is an uncertainty over how best to present the party in 2009: should it offer a less conservative face to Virginia or should it stick with the hard-right message that has encouraged GOP voters and activists in the past?

Former Attorney General Robert F. McDonnell, the GOP candidate for governor in this November’s election, is trying to split the difference. McDonnell compiled a conservative record in the Legislature and as the state’s top lawyer, but as a gubernatorial candidate he has vigorously sought to present himself as a moderate voice. He has campaigned with party centrists like Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and former New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) to the state to maximize his appeal to swing voters and supported the effort to remove Frederick.



Of course, McDonnell is not ignoring more conservative Republicans. The McDonnell campaign recently brought former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee, a favorite of evangelical voters in the 2008 GOP presidential nomination campaign, to the state to help the campaign.

McDonnell’s ideological balancing efforts are far beyond anything attempted by leading GOP statewide candidates in recent years. George Allen, who lost his Senate seat in 2006, Jim Gilmore, who lost a Senate campaign in 2008, and the failed gubernatorial campaigns of Mark Earley in 2001 and Jerry Kilgore in 2005 all featured unapologetically conservative messages focused on hot-button issues like abortion, guns, taxes and immigration.

As those campaigns failed, the conservative presentation of the party continued to hurt the GOP’s fortunes in vote-rich suburban areas around Hampton Roads, Richmond and Northern Virginia. Swing voters were not persuaded at the state-wide level, and Republicans running in these areas suffered under the party label, even if they presented themselves as moderate or even liberal Republicans.

What a difference a few years makes. In early 2001, when Republicans controlled the governor’s office as well as both chambers of the state legislature, the GOP drew partisan lines that they hoped would secure conservative Republican majorities in both chambers for many years. But that hasn’t happened.

Two years ago, the GOP had 23 seats in the 40-seat Senate. Four seats flipped in 2007, giving the Democrats a 21-19 majority. It was almost much worse for the Republicans. With the shift of roughly 2000 votes, Democrats would have picked up three more seats in Northern Virginia, districts centered in Warrenton/Winchester, Stafford County and western Fairfax County. A once-huge Republican majority in the House of Delegates has also eroded in recent years.

See *Virginia GOP Identity Crisis* continued on page 25

Another Missed Opportunity

By MARK RUSH, Spring 2009

When a member of the academy offers a commentary on or a call for reform to the political process, it is important that he or she bear in mind that the classroom does not compare with the world of practical politics. Bearing all this in mind, I offer the following thoughts on another failed attempt at political reform in the Commonwealth.

This session, the General Assembly once again defeated a proposal to reform the redistricting process. Sadly, this is becoming a predictable ritual: in each of the last several sessions, a small group of legislators—now with the support of the governor—propose to take the first steps to reforming the redistricting process. Each year, somewhere the proposal fails. In 2009, a proposal to establish a bipartisan redistricting process passed the Senate 39-0. But, alas, it died in the House Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The skeptical reader or voter can reasonably ask whether, with so many grave problems such as crime, education, the economy, we need to preoccupy ourselves with an issue as mundane as the drawing of legislative district boundaries. It’s a fair question. Whether a legislative or congressional district boundary runs through my neighborhood or yours certainly pales in importance to whether or not the highways are financed and the public schools funded. Voters don’t march in the streets about the shape of their voting districts. Nonetheless, redistricting reform is as important as it is subtle—and it merits scrutiny.

Perhaps the most misleading comment I have heard about the demise of this session’s redistricting reform proposal came from a member of the General Assembly who suggested that we should



leave control of the process to the elected officials because this would ensure that the voters could hold the legislators who draw the lines accountable. Who could argue with that? The legislator had a point. If his constituents were not lighting up the phones or filling up the emailboxes in his office, there really was no reason to believe that the public was concerned about the redistricting process.

On the other hand, “the public” in Virginia is not marching in the streets about much these days. Yet, we still pass laws, and look to govern ourselves well. Thus it’s also fair to ask whether a lack of public outcry is a good reason not to solve an ongoing problem. I suggest that it is not. “Doing the right thing” should not require a public outcry.

This particular legislator was asking a lot of the voters. One of the reasons why the American Founders called for representative democracy (instead of direct democracy) was that they understood that citizens did not need or desire to be preoccupied constantly with the many minute details of politics. We would elect representatives to deal with the minutiae of legislation and check in with them periodically on Election Day. Citizens, therefore, were not expected to pore over the transcripts of each legislative session or read through the many pages of proposed and passed legislation. That was and is the job of the elected officials—and we trust them to do it well.

A redistricting map is no different than a budget plan. If it takes the entire General Assembly many hours, days and sometimes a special session to work out the details of new voting districts, it is unreasonable for any elected official to expect a constituent (or even a group of them) to do the work of the entire General Assembly, its staff and the Division of Legislative Services and scrutinize the details of a redistricting plan to see whether and where it might need reform or improvement.

See *Another Missed Opportunity* continued on page 25

Who Will Do Congressional Redistricting in 2011

By CHARLES TODD, Fall 2007

The mission of the U. S. Census Bureau is to provide quality data about the nation's people and economy. The census is taken every 10 years as required by the Constitution and preparations are now underway for the 2010 event.

Census data are used to determine the number of Congressional districts allotted to each state and to draw the 435 district lines. Between 1990 and 2000, Virginia grew by 14.4%, at about the same rate as the United States (13.1%). Virginia neither gained nor lost any of its 11 seats, and no change is expected following the 2010 count. Each district after the last census included about 700,000 persons and new districts may exceed 800,000.

Drawing district lines is an important responsibility of each state's legislature. As early as 1812, boundaries were manipulated for electoral advantage, notably in Massachusetts, where Governor Elbridge Gerry, a member of the Whig Party, signed into law a tortuous senatorial district described as "looking like a salamander." Someone said it was a "Gerrymander," a word that became a part of our language.

Gerrymandering may be used to an advantage or disadvantage based on such factors as race, language, religion, or class groups, and often to favor incumbents. A positive use occurred in Arizona, where it was thought inappropriate that the Hopi and Navajo nations would be represented by the same member of the U. S. House of Representatives, because of historic conflicts between the tribes. Since the Hopi reservation was completely surrounded by the Navajo reservation, it required an unusual configuration that featured a line only as wide as a river for several hundred miles in order to attach two regions.

In another somewhat outrageous example, a California district extends over a narrow coastal strip for several hundred miles, ensuring that a community of interest was represented rather than an area dominated by the inland inhabitants. In North Carolina, a strip several miles long that was no wider than a highway connected parts of a district.

In Virginia, both major parties have been accused of gerrymandering to secure the election or reelection of party members. Such use of power reduces competition: the candidate chose his or her constituents! This isn't the way democracy is supposed to work.

Many elections are uncontested, the real election having taken place in party primaries where only a small percentage of the voters may take part. Under the current system, some incumbent lawmakers have districts where they face no serious opponent. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported in an editorial that in the House of Representatives fewer than 50 of the 435 seats are at stake in a typical year. The *Wall Street Journal* put the number of contested seats at 33. This tends to produce a quasi-democracy: When elected officials run for reelection with no opposition, it may be a sign that the democratic process is on life support.

The Virginia Republican Party, as the minority party some 15 years ago, introduced a state constitutional amendment to establish a bipartisan redistricting commission. The proposed amendment was killed by the majority Democrats.

Governor Tim Kaine said while campaigning in 2005 that, "Our current system of legislative redistricting is designed to protect incumbents and dramatically reduces competition in legislative races. I believe that a nonpartisan redistricting commission, made up of individuals who are neither officeholders nor party officials, is the best way to draw legislative districts."



During the 2007 session of the General Assembly, the Republican-dominated Senate approved a bill (22-18) to amend the constitution to provide for a 13-member redistricting commission composed of 6 Democrats, 6 Republicans, and one to be agreed upon by the commission or possibly by a court. The proposal died in the House.

No one knows who will control the Virginia General Assembly in 2011 when redistricting will likely begin. It would appear that the "rules of the game" should be determined in advance since party bickering has become tiresome to voters and has resulted in stalemated legislation.

In an interview with former Governor Chuck Robb in April, Robb said, "Computers are largely to blame in redistricting so that there is less competition in elections. The only way to do redistricting fairly is to do it judicially or by a nonpartisan committee or commission."

The introduction of modern computers and the development of elaborate voter databases alongside special software have made gerrymandering a far more precise science. Using these tools, campaign managers can obtain detailed information about every household including political party preferences, previous campaign donations, and the number of times residents voted in previous elections. Using this information with other predictors of voting behavior such as age, income, race, or level of education, those who draw new electoral maps can predict the voting behavior of each precinct and potential district with an astonishing degree of precision, greatly increasing the efficiency of gerrymandering and reducing the chance of accidentally making a district competitive.

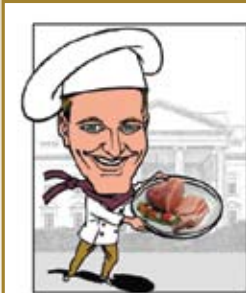
The National Committee for an Effective Congress reports that Virginia is covered by Section V of the Voting Rights Act and must obtain preclearance from the Justice Department by showing that the plan does not dilute minority voting strength. No other specific state requirements exist for the drawing of congressional districts. For state legislative districts, preservation of political subdivisions and "communities of interest," as well as compactness and contiguity rules apply.

Seven states—Arkansas, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nevada, and Washington—have placed redistricting in the hands of commissions. The majority party is always reluctant to give up power, so it is unlikely that the General Assembly will be able to agree on a new redistricting plan.

As reported in *Virginia Capitol Connections*, Summer, 2007, p. 27, the University of Southern California's Annenberg Center for Communication developed THE REDISTRICTING GAME to help people understand how broken our system is. The game may be reached at www.redistrictinggame.org and was described by former independent presidential candidate John Anderson as "a funny and insightful game that sheds light on redistricting and the complexity-yet necessity-of reform." Professor Chris Swain from USC used the game to show Rep. John Tanner (D-TN) and a coalition of reform groups how the crafty manipulation of district lines can yield skewed victories for either party.

It may be too much to hope that *two* gubernatorial candidates will emerge for the 2009 election that will agree before the election to work to establish a nonpartisan method of determining Virginia's Congressional districts. This would strengthen the possibility that the General Assembly would use redistricting to increase democracy in Virginia and throughout America.

Dr. Charles Todd is a former Virginia public school, teacher, principal and superintendent. Todd is retired and lives in Chester, VA. [Z]



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American Nativism Redux

By THE HONORABLE CHARLES L. WADDELL, Fall 2007

While some of the current public furor over immigration may be based upon narrow legitimate concerns over such significant matters as overcrowding in housing and schools, use of public assistance services for indigent and disabled immigrants, street-based social patterns, competition for low-skill jobs, and cultural differences, much of that furor can be attributed to good, old-fashioned American Nativism (Xenophobia) and current political opportunism.

In the mid-1700s, many Americans feared the supposed effects of Jewish immigration upon their communities; others were so worried about the German immigrants to the extent that some Germans pretended to be Dutch. In the early 1800s, concern was expressed about the Scotch-Irish and later Irish Catholics—indeed those self-same Irish of the “lace curtain” class worried about their purported inferiors known as the “shanty” Irish. By the mid-1850s, Chinese immigration became a subject of concern. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, concern was expressed about Eastern and Southern European immigrants.

As to home-grown nativism, we have only to look at the steep price this nation and the Commonwealth of Virginia have paid because of black slavery and the imposition of state-enacted black codes (after the reconstruction period following the Civil War) in the former confederate and border states as a means of limiting or denying civil liberties granted to black citizens under the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution. In Virginia, the program of state “massive resistance” to public school desegregation, which was mandated following the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, resulted in the closing of public schools for a number of years in several Virginia counties, often denying free public education to white as well as black students.

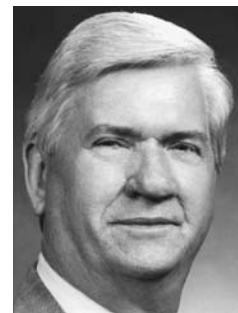
As a life-long Democrat and former state and local government elected official, normally the last thing that I would want to do for the Republican Party would be to give them some good political advice. But as a strong believer in the importance of a competitive two-party system and an American who abhors the scape-goating of any ethnic group, I would caution the Republican Party to at least consider the advice of one of their own party spokesmen and one of their major media sources.

Michael Gerson, a Republican political pundit (and former George W. Bush White House speech writer) recently described the Republican Party emphasis on anti-immigration legislation and public debate as “surfing on a wave of voter resentment...[that] is easier [to promote] than rowing on the calmer waters of inclusion and charity.”

If the Republican Party continues to foster anti-immigrant nativism directed toward the Hispanic community, then it will most likely doom itself to long-term minority political party status in a great many states as well as on the national political level. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (September 15-16, 2007), Hispanics are the fastest-growing minority group in America (now 14% of the total U. S. Population). During the 2002 elections, Hispanics constituted 6% of the electorate; in 2006 elections, they were 8% of the electorate. While the Hispanic support for the Democratic Party has slipped in recent years (from 73 % for Bill Clinton in 1996 to 53% for John Kerry in 2004; the Republican share of Hispanic votes for Dole in 1996 was 21% and increased to 42% for Gorge Bush in 2004).

The *Journal* also noted that “Republican opposition to immigration overhauls could further mobilize Hispanic voters and drive them from the Republican Party...” The *Journal* reported, for example, that in 1994, the state of California enacted a legislative initiative sponsored

See *American Nativism Redux* continued on page 25



Ten Deadly Mistakes First-time Candidates Should Avoid

By CARLYLE GREGORY, Summer 2006

Want to run for office? Good for you. But if you are going to run, try to avoid some of these mistakes....

1. Don't assume people know who you are

They don't. Candidates almost always assume the voters know who they are because they've been active in their community, have lots of friends and business acquaintances, attend church, coach little league teams and are generally good citizens. And they are always shocked when they get polling that states otherwise. A member of the House of Delegates, for instance, represents over 50,000 people, which would be one heck of a Christmas card list. So maybe you don't know as many as you thought, and maybe a lot of folks don't know you from Adam. Well, don't feel bad: it is a rare politician below statewide level who breaks the 50% recognition ceiling until they've served in office several terms. You are going to have to tell people who you are, what your story is and why they should vote for you. You will have to tell them over and over until they get it. And some never will.



2. Don't underestimate how much it's going to cost

Here's a rule of thumb: no matter how much you think it's going to cost to run for office, you are guessing too low. The cost of running goes up every year, and there is no end in sight. Most of the increase is caused by the ever-increasing cost of paid media, and another is that campaigns start sooner and last longer. For whatever reason, you will need more.

3. Don't count on other people to raise your money

Harry Truman once said that if you want a friend in Washington, buy a dog. Properly trained, dogs will do what you ask; people won't. It is the very rare friend who cares enough about you to ask people for money. Raising money is a tough, tough job and those that try their hand at it usually fall by the wayside fairly quickly. Candidates do it because they have to. Face it, you are going to have to do the bulk of it yourself.

4. Don't count on the party to fund your campaign

When Bob Dole lost the Illinois Primary in his bid for the Presidency in 1988 he let most of his staff go. When made aware that some of those who got pink slips took umbrage, his response was typical Bob Dole: "What do you think this is, a federal jobs program?" Political campaigns, and political parties, aren't in the business of handing out money (or jobs!) just to be nice. They have to be tough; they can't spend their resources on candidates they don't think can win. And if you look like you are going to win, they won't waste any money on you either. And another thing, thanks to McCain-Feingold, the parties don't have any money anyway. You may be one of the

fortunate few who will hear the bugle call of the party riding over the hill to your rescue, but you can't count on it.

5. Don't count on your association with a popular politician to win the day

An endorsement from Congressman Schmoe is worth something, but at the end of the day, voters are much more interested in what you are going to do for them than any testimonial from some windbag of a politician. An endorsement early on may give your campaign some credibility, but that will quickly become irrelevant when they learn you have been stealing money from widows and orphans. Also, the other guy always has some endorsements up his sleeve, and they may be stronger than yours. Telling the voters who you are and the differences between you and your opponent is a much better use of your resources. Hey, if this sort of thing always worked we'd be sweating through Al Gore's second term.

6. Don't try to do it all yourself

There's too much to do, and not enough time and, unless you have one of those split personality disorders, there is only one of you. You don't have to have a big money-sucking staff but you do have to have people to help you. That means recruiting volunteers (or hiring paid staff) and letting others carry some of your load. And once you give people tasks, you have to leave them alone to do their jobs. You are better off letting volunteers do a job 60% right than doing it 100% right yourself. Show me a candidate out putting up his own signs and I will show you a loser.

7. Don't think you really understand your district

There is a famous line by Pauline Kael, a writer for *The New York Times*, where she says she couldn't understand how Richard Nixon could have won the Presidency since no one she knew had voted for him. We all live in the cocoons we have spun about ourselves and we avoid the unfamiliar and the different. Yes, you've lived here all your life but there are many places you've never been and people you've never met. Read up about the district you hope to represent, learn to listen to others, seek out people different from yourself, draw them into your campaign, and if you have the money, conduct some polling.

8. Don't believe in magic beans

There are no magic beans. But that didn't stop Jack and it doesn't prevent candidates from believing in them. Magic beans are a secret weapon, a strategy no one has tried before, a group of voters who have switched allegiance, a supporter of Del. Schimoney who has turned traitor, a little known fact about the upcoming election, a change in the district that no one else has noticed – any "short cut" to victory. A little like the Fuhrer in his bunker giving orders to non-existent armies, candidates often rely on magic beans to rescue them from electoral disaster. The problem is that belief in magic prevents campaigns from grappling with their real problems and seeking real solutions. Hey, if Sen. Boggle is so unpopular, lazy, stupid, venal and out-of-touch, why hasn't he lost before now?

9. Don't rely on a "silver bullet"

A variation on magic beans, the silver bullet is the fact we have discovered in our research that will slay our opponent. Once we whip this on Del. Snort he will shrink before our eyes like the Wicked Witch of the West at the touch of water. Of course, sometimes we just can't find that bullet. Or we can't prove it when we do. And sometimes the issue we thought was a killer isn't. We fire our gun and a little flag pops out of the barrel and says "bang." The problem is that we've seen too many movies where the BIG FACT destroyed Sen. Foghorn, and too many TV dramas that turned on one fact or revelation. Campaigns are

See *Ten Deadly Mistakes* continued on page 24

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When It Comes To Lobbying Madison Had It Right

By BILL SHENDOW, SPRING 2009

During the presidential primary season, election campaign and post election period lobbying and lobbyists came under increasing attack from politicians, the media and general public. Lobbyists were portrayed as sleazy, influence peddlers. High profile scandals such as those involving Jack Abramoff who made a practice of wining and dining legislators for their vote and Duke Cunningham who succumbed to the bribes of lobbyists for personal gain confirmed this stereotype. As a result, many were led to conclude that not only was the practice of lobbying dishonorable but, because it frustrated the will of the people, it was also undemocratic. It followed then that all forms of special interest advocacy should be either heavily restricted or altogether banned from the political arena. Some saw in Barack Obama's campaign message support for this proposition. If, in fact, they were correct, this is one Obama campaign promise which will not be fulfilled.



The Founders led by James Madison set-up a system of government which encouraged the petitioning of one's government as one of a number of safeguards necessary to help protect the young nation from tyranny. Madison in *The Federalist* went so far as to say that to eliminate factions, interest groups of his day, was to abolish the very liberty which was essential to our democracy. As one of the first acts of Congress under the new Constitution, Madison helped craft the First Amendment which clearly stated that Congress shall make no law prohibiting the right of citizens "to petition the government for the redress of grievances." This gave special interest advocacy the same protection under the Constitution as freedom of religion, speech, the press and peaceful assemblage.

While Madison supported the freedom of citizens to petition their government, he was keenly aware of the dangers factions posed to the common good. He said the remedy to this threat rests in controlling the effects of factions not in their elimination. In *The Federalist*, Madison prescribed how factions might best be controlled. First, in *Federalist 10* he says the new republic as envisioned under the Constitution would produce representatives of merit who would be able to distinguish the common good from special interests. Secondly, in *Federalist 51* Madison makes the case that the growth of factions would lead to ambition counteracting ambition, thereby preventing any single special interest from subverting the common good.

While support of the freedom of citizens individually or collectively to petition their government has largely gone unchallenged, public opinion suggests that the means of controlling the negative effects of special interest advocacy is in need of re-evaluation. Those arguing for additional controls of lobbying make the case that while there are countervailing interests with almost every issue being considered, the playing field is far from level. For instance, while there are numerous lobbyists advocating for organizations in support of the handicapped, the poor and the elderly, they are often out-gunned in the competition to have their interests expressed by those lobbying in behalf of big business, prescription drug companies, the insurance industry and a host of other wealthy for profit organizations.

Past efforts to reform lobbying have concentrated efforts in three areas. First, they have sought to limit the amount of money special interest political action committees (PACs) spend to influence government and the outcome of elections. Secondly, lobbyist reformers have focused on increasing the requirements of lobbyists to register and disclose their lobbying activities. This was the focus of the most recent legislation restricting lobbying, the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

Finally, those seeking to reform lobbying have sought to extend the "cooling off" period, that period in which former elected and appointed officials are prevented from lobbying their former colleagues. Such a proposal was defeated in the most recent session of Virginia's General Assembly.

What then is the message which emerges when one considers the need for lobbying and lobbying reform in light of the views of James Madison? There is no way that Madison and the Founders could have fathomed that the corrupt practices of professional advocates such as Jack Abramoff and others would have prompted the need for government to consider lobbying reform. Based upon Madison's early recognition of the "dangerous vice" represented by factions and in light of the current state of lobbying, one can conclude that Madison would, in all likelihood, have supported consideration of additional measures to control the negative effects of lobbying. However, in considering such measures Madison would have probably admonished reformers to be mindful of the protection afforded lobbying under the Constitution. He would have also likely reminded reformers that lobbying is neither inherently immoral nor undemocratic, but rather an important component of our democracy.

Dr. Bill Shendow is Chair of the Political Science Department at Shenandoah University in Winchester, VA. [V]

Ten Deadly Mistakes from page 23

much like football games: yes, occasionally you win with a Hail Mary pass but most gains are made a few yards at a time, up the middle in a cloud of dust.

10. Don't lose control of the checkbook and the budget

This is mundane but important. Campaigns that end up with huge debts usually don't know they are running into debt because they have no accounting system to tell them what's going on. Every campaign needs a budget or else the money will be frittered away on the Goodyear Blimp or fingernail files. Every candidate must have final approval on large checks. Bills must be accounted for and debts kept track of. If you aren't any good at this sort of thing (lawyers, military men and doctors rarely are) then find someone who is and put them in charge.

11. Don't rely on winning the debates

Yeah, I know we said ten, but here's a freebie. I can't tell you the number of campaigns I have seen turn themselves inside out over debates. Candidates lose sleep, managers wake up at 3:00AM in a cold

sweat, hours are spent in rehearsal and question and answer practices, and everything in the campaign stops in preparation for the debate. I think it all goes back to the fact that every child in America had to read Hamlet in high school and remembers, "The play's the thing in which we'll catch the conscience of the king." The idea is to get our opponent out there and force his hand before God and everyone and smite him in one apocalyptic battle and win the war. Well, it didn't work for us at Gettysburg (or Colloden for that matter), and it won't work in your campaign. The 50 partisans your opponent dragged to Millard Fillmore Middle School on a Wednesday night are going to be no more impressed by your somber eloquence than the 50 relatives you bribed to attend are by your opponent's leaden wit. The reporter who is covering the event will have already written his "Candidates Debate" story and is actually working on his resume in hopes of leaving your podunk town on the first express bus north. The world will little note nor long remember what was said or done at the debate. Focus on something useful like raising money or winning votes.

There. Was that helpful? Thinking about retiring to Florida to raise rutabagas instead? I can't say I blame you. Running for office is

See Ten Deadly Mistakes continued on page 27

Now that the 2008 from page 18

to more normal voting patterns in most places in 2008 suggests that the Republican (large R) spirit remains alive and well in Virginia—but simply was insufficient to counteract the Obama campaign’s well-funded and well-run organization. In addition, some Republican voters simply may have been dissatisfied with the national Republican Party’s nominee for President.

With the prospect of a three-way race for the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, in which one candidate will emerge victorious but inevitably weakened, and with the Republicans’ clear coalescence around current Attorney Bob McDonnell, who remains popular around the state, Democrats would do well to put away the champagne and focus on getting those newly registered voters, the ones who were crucial to delivering the Commonwealth for Obama, to the polls next November.

Lauren Cohen Bell is Associate Dean and a professor of political science at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, VA.

American Nativism Redux from page 22

by the state Republican Party which denied public services to illegal immigrants which was later found to be unconstitutional by a federal court; that measure so alienated Hispanic citizens that “Republican candidates have fared poorly in the state ever since.” The *Journal* further emphasized that Hispanic votes are becoming increasingly important in such swing states as Florida, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, which all voted for George Bush in 2004.

Also, according to a Johns Hopkins University voting researcher, by 2020 four states—Nevada, New Mexico, Iowa, and Ohio—that voted for George Bush in 2004 (and elected Democrats to statewide offices and the U. S. Senate in 2006) would cast their votes for Democratic Presidential electors.

I believe that Gerry Connolly, the Chairman Fairfax County Board of Supervisors has best expressed the appropriate tone toward the issue of immigration in his *Washington Post* op ed on September 23, 2007:

“We can all recognize the challenge posed by illegal immigration. However, we must not allow politicians to engage in the demagogic politics of fear and intimidation that [has] so divided us in Virginia’s past.”

The Honorable Charles L. Waddell is a former Virginia State Senator who represented Loudoun County and a part of Fairfax County from 1972-1998.

Another Missed Opportunity from page 20

If one were to review the news coverage of the last two rounds of redistricting in Virginia, it would quickly become clear that something needs to be done. Districts cross bodies of water and mountain ranges. They wrap around cities and towns and split counties. In 1990, the Democrats drew them in a manner that lumped Republican incumbents together (forcing some to retire). In the 2000 round, the Republicans returned the favor, lumping for example, Ward Armstrong, Bernie Day and Thomas Jackson together in one district and former Speaker of the House Richard Cranwell and fellow Democrat Clifton Woodrum into another.

Such practices demonstrate that it is disingenuous to suggest that voters can do something about this abuse of power by simply calling up their elected officials and expressing concern. In cases such as these, it is obvious that the process takes elected officials away from the voters—and by the time the voters can actually try do anything about it (at the next election) it is too late. Instead of enabling voters to choose their representatives, our redistricting process allows the representatives to choose their voters. That is democracy in reverse.

The basic problem with the redistricting process as it currently stands is that there is no mechanism for oversight. Our elected

Virginia GOP Identity Crisis from page 20

With all this bad news, no wonder the Virginia GOP is contemplating an image makeover.

It is a truism in politics that the most divided party loses, and much of the Democratic resurgence in Virginia over the past eight years has been as a result of putting aside within-party differences. Mark Warner was elected governor and Senator without having to fight for a party nomination, and the same goes for Tim Kaine, elected governor four years ago.

Fortunately for the GOP, the nasty fight over the party chair may be overshadowed by an even more aggressive campaign for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Terry McAuliffe, a national party leader under President Bill Clinton but a relative newcomer to state-level politics in the Old Dominion, is raising far more money than his two rivals: former Del. Brian Moran of Alexandria and Sen. R. Creigh Deeds of Bath. The three have already sparred over a number of campaign issues. Since polls show the competition remains close, much tougher campaigning almost certainly lies ahead.

So the good news for the arguing Republicans is that as this election year progresses the GOP may look relatively unified and more in touch with Virginia than the Democratic Party and its eventual nominee. The Republicans may not look organized enough right now to win in November, but they can still emerge victorious if the other side’s nomination struggle is highly self-destructive.

Dr. Stephen J. Farnsworth teaches courses in political communication and journalism at George Mason University, where he is an assistant professor of communication. He is the author, most recently, of “Spinner in Chief: How Presidents Sell Their Policies and Themselves” (Paradigm Publishers).



officials have complete control over the process by which they are returned to office. With no disrespect intended, I’d like to note that similar processes of self-policing got us into the savings and loan scandal and the current financial and banking crises. Free markets and democratic government both require oversight.

The various proposed reforms would turn the actual line drawing process over to a non-partisan or bipartisan committee. The General Assembly would retain final control over the process insofar as any districting proposal would have to be passed by both houses and signed into law. Such a modest reform would remove at least the veneer of self-interest from the process and inject into it a sense of best practices.

Redistricting reform will not solve all of our political problems. It may not even solve a few of them. But, it will at least improve upon a practice that generates controversy and criticism while undermining the integrity of the electoral process.

Mark Rush is the Robert G. Brown Professor of Politics and Law and Head of the Department of Politics at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, VA.

New Traditions

By EVA S. TEIG HARDY, Winter 2008

[Editor's Note: This original article from the Summer 1998 issue of Capitol Connections magazine is reprinted because of the valuable advice that Ms. Tieg Hardy then offered to all governmental officials, regardless of gender. That advice is just as timely and valuable ten years later.]

Perhaps nowhere in Virginia is a sense of history and tradition more revered than at the State Capitol. There, in the building Thomas Jefferson designed for the oldest continuously meeting legislative body in the free world, 140 legislators convene each January to carry out the business of the Commonwealth and they do so in accordance with traditions and principles that have evolved over some 200 years.

New traditions and new ways of doing business are on the horizon, though, as increasing numbers of women move into leadership positions as public policy makers, lobbyists and in public affairs.

They do so knowing that change is not a favored Virginia tradition. Sarah Fain and Helen Henderson weren't elected to the House of Delegates until 1924 and it took another 55 years before Eva Scott became the first woman in the Virginia Senate. As recently as 1984 there were only 23 women lobbyists in Virginia, but that was twice the number registered in 1978, just six years earlier.

That's the same year John Dalton became the first governor to appoint a woman to his Cabinet. Since then there has always been at least one woman Cabinet Secretary. I'm especially proud to have been one of three women Gerald Baliles named to his Cabinet—the most of any gubernatorial administration in the country at that time.

Other recent noteworthy gains by women include Elizabeth Lacy's appointment as the first woman justice on Virginia's Supreme Court and her earlier service as the first woman on the State Corporation Commission. Virginia voters proved that a woman could be elected to statewide office by electing Mary Sue Terry the state's first woman Attorney General twice.

Now, with the 21st century almost in sight, there are seven women Senators and 15 women in the House of Delegates. At the 1998 Session, 243 women toiled as registered lobbyists. And just off the Senate floor in Thomas Jefferson's Capitol, what used to be the Lieutenant Governor's office was recently converted to a women's rest room.

After 18 years in government and eight in the private sector, I'm extremely proud of the leadership roles women are playing in the legislative process as elected officials, lobbyists, appointed officials and business executives actively involved in politics and government.

I'm also reminded of the men and women who've been my mentors.

They taught me the ropes, believed in me and encouraged me from the early years in local government to the present. I continue to depend on their advice and friendship and am pleased to pass along in the list below some of the things they taught me that work and are needed to succeed.

- Nothing is more valuable in or outside government than your professional and personal credibility. It takes time and hard work to establish that credibility, but it's the most important qualification you bring to any position you hold. Never let anyone take it away from you.
- Never lie, never overstay your welcome and never raise your voice.
- Be prepared for long hours and a tough job. Lobbying is a year round, full-time job, especially since Virginia's part time legislators' ever-increasing responsibilities extend far beyond "sine die" through study commissions and other legislative activities.
- Get involved, "do your homework" and find out how things work before trying to initiate change. Never be afraid to say "I don't know," but go find the answer. Enthusiasm and dedication are important but are no substitutes for knowledge and ability.
- Listen. Listen carefully. Do far more listening than speaking. Listen to what people say and stay alert to the cues and clues that help you hear the real story behind the words.
- Devote special attention to developing effective working relationships with legislators and other officials. Take the time to get to know them as individuals and colleagues.



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- Whenever you seek to make or influence policy, carefully craft your message so that it meets the tests of clarity, conciseness and correctness—accuracy, not necessarily political correctness.
- Learn how to plan, set goals and build coalitions to accomplish them.
- Expect differences of opinion and develop the ability to devise new approaches so that no one has to "give up" or "give in."
- Be yourself, but don't take yourself too seriously. Treat everyone with the same level of respect you expect to receive.

See *New Traditions* continued on next page

Lobbying: Essential to Democracy

By DONALD L. HALL, Winter 2002

"I'm a lobbyist, but don't tell my mother; she thinks I'm a piano player in a cat house in New Orleans!"

While humorous, this old joke is unfortunately indicative of a widespread perception many people hold of the profession and special interest groups in general.

Such a perception couldn't be further from the truth. If anything, lobbying is an essential and key part of an efficient modern democracy. The alternative would be the direct democracy of ancient Athens.

But imagine a direct democracy in modern Virginia: Imagine the necessity of every Virginia citizen of voting age descending on the Capitol during session to present, debate and vote on each of the thousands of pieces of legislation presented each year. While a boom for Richmond's hotel and restaurant industry, such a system would be ridiculous and certainly a laughable failure.

So accepting representative democracy as a more efficient form of government, imagine it without lobbyists and special interest groups. Legislators would be forced to make decisions in a vacuum. To obtain both sides of each issue each legislator would have to be appropriated a staff of researchers to analyze in detail both sides of every issue. With thousands of pieces of legislation each year, their staffs would have to be enormous indeed, creating an incalculable burden on Virginia's taxpayers.



The Lighter Side of Lobbying

By KEN JESSUP, Winter 2008

Since 1995, I've been trekking around the Capitol talking with elected officials and legislative assistants about disability issues. Being visually impaired, my white cane has been my calling card! I've made so many friends, it seems everyone wants to share a story concerning a relative or friend with a disability sometimes, even themselves.

Now, from time to time, I'd like to share some of the more memorable moments of a lobbyist with a disability as I navigated our Commonwealth's legislative process.

I've been warned not to start with a "blonde" story, but this is so amusing that I must share....

During a session, I entered an elevator wearing my sunglasses and using my white cane, a rather attractive young blonde lady came in behind me. Since we were the only ones and I hate quiet elevators, I decided to break the ice. Looking straight ahead and

Even then, without lobbyists and special interest groups, how would the individual citizen weigh in on each issue? They would be back to traveling to Richmond or calling each legislator on every issue.

Interest groups provide an efficient means for constituents to make their voices heard by lending their support and funding to the organization's collective voice. And they provide an efficient means for lawmakers to obtain insight into both sides of the issues without burdening taxpayers.

For example, the Virginia Automobile Dealers Association represents nearly 600 dealerships across the Commonwealth which employ more than 38,000 Virginians. As an organization we can effectively speak to industry-related issues on behalf of these dealers, their employees, and their families. Instead of 38,000 dealership employees having to travel to Richmond during the Session, they can speak through VADA.

We collect feedback from our members to accurately gauge their position on industry-related issues. We gather detailed information to support their positions and present it on their behalf, just as those on the other side of the issues have the same opportunity.

Winston Churchill is attributed to have once said that "democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others." And while representative democracy presents many challenges, lobbyists and special interest groups are the natural evolution in efficient democracy, providing the opportunity for all voices to be heard.

America is history's greatest example of an effective democracy and Virginia is the mother of the democratic ideals of our nation. As citizens we should be proud to be Virginians and Americans. And as lobbyists we can be proud to be an integral part of the world's most effective democracy.

Donald L. Hall is President of the Virginia Automobile Dealers Association.

not at her I said "you're a blonde, aren't you?" The young woman seemed amazed and asked how I knew. That was all the opening I needed to really play with her head! "People who are blind or visually impaired can tell hair color in an enclosed area because relative humidity changes according to the pigmentation of hair follicles" I told her. That would have been the end of the story and funny enough as she seemed to believe what I had said.

A couple hours later I was on the floor she worked on and I observed her poking a coworker and saying "see that blind man? He could tell I'm blonde by the relative humidity in the elevator".

That moment amuses me every time I think about it!

Ken Jessup, Ken Jessup & Associates represents clients primarily in the Mid-Atlantic region and specializes in the disability and environment arenas.

New Traditions from previous page

It is a genuine pleasure to walk the halls of the General Assembly Building and the Capitol and see so many young women as part of the legislative process both as elected officials and representatives for issues ranging from social concerns to business, environmental and consumer issues.

There are no more real "women's issues"—our issues are everyone's issues and it's going to take every one of us to supply the vision and the hard work to meet future challenges and shape Virginia's new traditions and its future.

Eva Teig Hardy is known by every person who has worked in and around Virginia's Capitol in the last 40 years. Her extensive experience lends the utmost credibility to everything she writes. The publisher of Virginia Capitol Connections expresses his deepest appreciation to Eva for serving the an advisory role at the birth of this publication in 1994.

Ten Deadly Mistakes from page 23

no walk in the park, but it is important work, and ordinary citizens are the only ones who can do it.

Ask anyone who serves in the House of Delegates, or the Virginia Senate, and they will tell you that serving Virginia in the General Assembly has been one of the greatest experiences in their lives. They find the job rich and rewarding and well worth the pain of running for office. And even those who are not successful feel that running taught them valuable lessons, broadened their lives and that they rose to the challenge and accomplished things they never thought they could do.

Give it a try.

The writer is the former Special Assistant for Political Affairs to President Ronald Reagan. Today Carlyle Gregory is a political consultant based in Falls Church, Virginia. e-mail: gopconsult@aol.com

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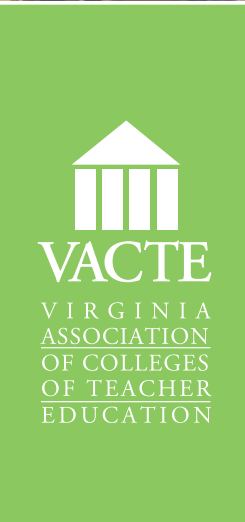
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