

VIRGINIA
CAPITOL
CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

Attorney
General

McDonnell

Lt.
Gov.

Deeds,
McAuliffe,
or Moran

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VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

SPRING 2009 ISSUE



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Bonnie Atwood



Charlie Judd



Delegate Sam Nixon



Delegate Ken Plum



Senator Tommy Norment



Senator Dick Saslaw

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Costly Mistake

By GOVERNOR TIMOTHY M. KAINE

At the end of what was otherwise a productive and positive General Assembly session this year, House Republicans made a huge and costly mistake: They rejected \$125 million in relief for Virginians who have lost their jobs during the ongoing economic recession. With nearly 300,000 workers now unemployed in the Commonwealth, it's unfathomable to me that Republican members of the House of Delegates have given their grievances with the federal government priority over Virginia families.



The challenges we're facing today aren't about politics—they are about real people with real economic hardships. When unemployment in Williamsburg is 19.5 percent, and up to 20.2 percent in Martinsville, partisan politics shouldn't matter. What matters is that families across the Commonwealth are sitting around their kitchen tables wondering how they are going to afford groceries, medical bills, rent and utilities this month. A lot of people are hurting in Virginia—people who lost their jobs through no fault of their own—and they need solutions now.

The changes I proposed would have meant additional dollars to help Virginia families who are piecing together part-time jobs to survive and support workers who are getting training during this economic downturn, ensuring a more skilled workforce in the future. Instead, the decision to reject the \$125 million by members of the House will hurt both businesses and families in Virginia. This decision has me strongly concerned, since these funds could have been used to help families face day-to-day financial challenges and at the same time delay unemployment insurance rate hikes for businesses facing increases as the state unemployment trust fund approaches its insolvency trigger.

It's hard to understand why those who opposed this measure would want to block millions in tax dollars—paid by Virginians to the federal

government—from coming back to Virginia. Even more puzzling is why, of more than \$4 billion in stimulus funding for Virginia, the only money the House Republicans chose to block was the \$125 million allocated to help people hit hardest by the worst economic downturn in 50 years.

That being said, I will be doing everything in my power to ease the impact of the down economy on Virginians and help displaced workers weather the storm. I traveled to Martinsville recently to announce the opening of a special VEC office to help people facing job losses in Southside. And, we are working hard to bring more jobs to Virginia, with a special focus on areas where the unemployment rates are high. But, I also call on the legislators to re-think their rejection of \$125 million in unemployment funds. If House members come and tell me that they are ready to use these dollars to help hard-hit Virginians, I will be glad to bring the legislature back for a quick special session to fix this error. [V]

Letter to the Editor

Ms Bonnie Atwood

Tall Poppies Freelance Writing, LLC

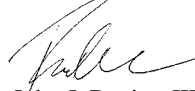
4808 Monumental Street • Richmond, Virginia 23226-1204

Dear Bonnie:

It was great to read your article on Ed Willey. I have fond memories of that era. I was just getting involved in politics and had returned to law school when he was at the height of his influence. It was wonderful to hear about Holton's backdoor visits.

Thank you for a very sensitive portrait of a fine gentleman.

Sincerely,



John J. Davies, III

Thank you

Governor Kaine, Speaker Howell and members of the General Assembly. By removing smoking from restaurants, you made a significant step in improving the health of Virginians.



American Lung Association
in Virginia

David Bailey,
David Bailey Associates

Kids First Virginia

Convention vs. Primary

By DAVID RAY

This year, Virginia Republicans will choose their three statewide nominees by convention in Richmond. But why would a political party choose to nominate by convention instead of a government-run primary?

In most states, parties nominate exclusively by primary. (Interestingly, both major parties still actually nominate their Presidential candidates by convention.) In Virginia, however, parties frequently have the option of nominating by convention instead of primary.

Conventions significantly reduce the edge enjoyed by both incumbents and wealthy or well-funded candidates. Conventions reward candidates with broader grassroots support and organization, rather than those who run the most television commercials. Such convention organizations transfer readily to the fall.

Convention delegates are a rich source of potential campaign volunteers, party committee recruits, and donors. This pool is far more valuable than a primary voter list, which is riddled with tens of thousands of crossover voters, independents, and marginally engaged voters. Sifting through a primary voter list takes weeks, if not months, and is often a waste of campaign time.

Parties are strongest in convention states, and weakest in non-convention states. Strong local party committees provide even the most poorly-funded nominee a campaign-ready volunteer staff, motivated for the fall the morning after a convention—something a primary list could never offer as quickly or effectively.

Conventions keep intraparty nomination fights largely out of public view. The opposing nominee can still drag your candidate through the mud in the fall, but why make his job easier?

Finally, conventions make money. Convention sponsorships and ads sold in convention programs cover convention costs and provide funds to support the eventual nominees.

These practical reasons are sufficiently compelling to choose conventions over primaries. But the philosophical reasons prove ultimately persuasive.

Primaries are intrusions of state power into the First Amendment free association rights of a private association. If the state tried to regulate the endorsement processes of other private organizations, such meddling would guarantee lawsuits.

Government has no justifiable or compelling interest in usurping a political party's free association rights. It is no concern of the state if a party selects an unelectable, or even an ineligible, candidate. The state's only valid interests in elections are conducting an honest general election and ensuring the winner is eligible to hold the office.

Primaries cost taxpayers thousands of dollars. Conventions cost taxpayers nothing.

Conventions ensure greater accountability from incumbents to their party. Incumbents often see themselves as presumptively entitled to renomination. However, incumbents are merely job applicants for the position they already hold. Incumbents should have to seek renomination from the party activists who worked to elect them.

Nominations are a gift bestowed by a party—not an entitlement. Nominations ultimately belong to the party conferring them—not the candidates receiving them and not the general public.

The practical and philosophical merits of conventions, as well as the fact that primaries are a gross violation of a fundamental constitutional liberty, show that primaries should be abolished, and parties should nominate exclusively by convention.

The Honorable David C.F. Ray currently works in Washington, D.C., for a non-profit educational organization. Since 1992, he has represented the 11th Congressional District on the State Central Committee of the Republican Party of Virginia. From 1991 to 1999, he also served as an elected member of the Northern Virginia Soil and Water Conservation District Board of Directors. ■

The Primary: The People's choice

By PAUL GOLDMAN

Often times, choosing a method of selecting party nominees is rooted in perceived practical advantage, as opposed to adhering to the principle of the greatly expanded democratic participation of the primary process over a local caucus/convention system frequently dominated by party officials, interest groups and activists. When the Virginia Democratic Party abandoned its historic commitment to gubernatorial primaries in 1981, I was the only Democrat who was willing to challenge the proposed delegate allocation formula even though it discriminated—as proved mathematically—against hundreds of thousands of loyal Democratic voters especially in rural counties and inner city neighborhoods. Fortunately, the United States Department of Justice, in a seminal decision, agreed to review the matter, and ultimately agreed with me, leading to an agreement for a fairer, more representative convention process. I recite this history to help illustrate one of the major differences between the two methods of selection: in a close convention contest, the winner is all too often decided by the campaign best able to “game” the rules. In 1985, as related in the book *When Hell Froze Over* (Taylor Pub, 1989), the decision to nominate by convention played a major role in the historic nomination of Doug Wilder for Lt. Governor, and Jerry Baliles for Governor, in considerable measure due to their decision to run as a team as the delegate selection process began in earnest. Had a primary process been used instead, it is likely that both would have not been nominated, in part because they would have lacked sufficient resources to effectively compete.

Bottom line: The choice—given by Virginia law to each state party—between a convention and primary in every gubernatorial year is therefore not necessarily rooted in an issue of principled policy, but may be calculated to be more beneficial—and conversely more of a hurdle—to particular candidates. Accordingly, this is one reason my preference has always been for a permanent pro-primary policy, thus eliminating the natural human tendency by members of a party central committee [or local committees for that matter] to base their decision in some measure on which process seems best for their favored candidate.

Many states—perhaps for this very reason—mandate primaries, thereby removing the decision from party officials. Yet it is also necessary to note, as indicated above, that the primary process also has some potential structural advantages and disadvantages not related to the relative policy views, leadership potential or qualitative experiences of the various contestants. Primaries are more expensive, and this, therefore, generally gives a considerable advantage to a candidate who can spend significantly more money than his or her opponents. Yet this is not always true: The winner of the last contested Democratic gubernatorial was outspent 10 to 1, and couldn't even afford to run a television campaign. Still—such an outcome is a very rare exception around the country—disparities in campaign resources invariably are far more decisive than qualitative differences in policies and records.

There is no ideal process, no system based purely on “choosing the best person” unencumbered by practical, even unfortunate, factors. Accordingly, one's preference for either a convention or primary by necessity involves deciding which one or two principles are most important in the scheme of things. For me, the principle of providing the broadest possible voting participation is paramount. In theory, a convention process is open to anyone, but in practicality, primary participation is many times greater.

This year, the Democratic Party central committee has wisely chosen to have a gubernatorial primary, agreeing with those of us who believe in the principle of maximum voter participation. They

See *The Primary*, continued on page 5



Public Service is a Calling

By BONNIE ATWOOD

“Aren’t you someone famous?” In response to those words from a coffee shop patron, Creigh Deeds extended his hand and introduced himself. “I’m Creigh Deeds, and I’m running for Governor.” The gesture was done with humility—not so much with the trappings of the “famous.”

Deeds’ persona should be familiar to all Virginians. This Democrat is no newcomer to the Virginia political scene. He has been a public servant for two decades. He started as a Bath County prosecutor and moved up to become a state delegate, and then a state senator for the 25th District, representing the City of

Charlottesville and points west to the West Virginia border. He ran in a close, albeit unsuccessful, campaign for Attorney General. Deeds refers to his life in public service as a “calling,” as he works to “bring vision into reality.”

One of his themes is energy research, and he says he wants the Commonwealth of Virginia to lead the way. Renewable energy, says Deeds is “the next generation of high-paying jobs.” He acknowledges that some of those research jobs are already here, but he wants to bring more.

Deeds takes a long view of history, explaining that Virginia, through the American Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and up to the present, has proven it has “the greatest workforce in the world.”

He said that a key to providing employment for that great workforce is through “re-tooling” the community colleges, all of which are within an hour’s drive for every Virginian. Deeds wants to match curriculum with the work needs of employers.

“Other states have done this,” he said, and he wants Virginia to follow suit.

Deeds is proud of his work on “Megan’s Law,” which allows public access to the state sex offender registry. He also sponsored Virginia’s “Amber Alert” program which fast-tracks information about missing children. Deeds comes from a part of the state that is known for its environmental vigilance. He has been recognized for his environmental work, in particular the cleanup of the Kim-Stan landfill in

Allegheny, Va. He supported the restaurant smoking ban.

High on Deeds’ list of priorities is protecting Virginia’s consumers. He says that most transactions, in this low tax and regulation state, are good for everyone. But he expresses concern about unscrupulous people who exploit homebuyers or other borrowers. He is looking at the fast-growth of identity theft, and especially vulnerable groups like senior citizens.

Deeds says he has a record of fighting for legislation to protect homeowners from irresponsible lenders. He says he wants tough penalties for those who knowingly break the law. He has a list of consumer protections issues, including: ensuring the best loans, ending prepayment penalties that force bankruptcy, background checks for those given access to personal information, and elimination of certain hidden costs.

Like the opposing Democratic candidates, Deeds talks about a good working relationship with both Governor Tim Kaine and his predecessor Mark Warner. His history with the legislature dates to the same decade as opponent Brian Moran. Deeds was first elected as a delegate in 1991, and repeatedly reelected. Upon the death of Senator Emily Couric in 2001, he was elected to fill her Senate seat in a special election.

When the Democratic primary election comes around, on June 9, Deeds’ challenge will be winning in a three race with two fellow Dems, Terry McAuliffe and Brian Moran.

Like his opponents, he says the Commonwealth’s biggest need is jobs.

“I grew up without a whole lot of stuff,” said Deeds. He lived in a trailer for a time. He said what is hitting him the hardest now is hearing about “people losing jobs.” Deeds’ wife, Pam, struggles with this, too, as she works for the Virginia Employment Commission and has taken calls from desperate men who cry.

Deeds is proud of her (“she’s the best mother I’ve ever known”) and their four children—one in Americorps, two in college, one in high school. The two middle kids, Rebecca and Gus, spoke at the Jefferson Jackson Day dinner on behalf of their Dad, and stole the show.

But his role model, said Deeds, is his grandfather, a man who inspired him. Then he added some political friends whom he also admires: Gerry Baliles, Mark Warner, Doug Wilder, and Mary Sue Terry.

The coffee shop customer who recognized Deeds stopped to talk about his own concerns for the state. He said he is a public school teacher, and he wants to keep moving forward with better teacher pay, keeping the students supported with sports and uniforms, and increased parental involvement. Deeds listened with full attention.

Bonnie Atwood can be reached at BonAtwood@capitol-square.com



Protecting Virginia’s Consumers
Investing in Our Children’s Future
Preserving Virginia’s Natural Beauty



Meet Senator Creigh Deeds

Senator Deeds has spent the last two decades serving constituents from all walks of life—from his start as Bath County prosecutor to his current position as a State Senator representing the City of Charlottesville and a district that stretches to the West Virginia border. Whether he was working to clean up one of Virginia’s largest Superfund sites, fighting for economic development, or writing some of the toughest legislation to keep our families safe and secure, Deeds has built his career as a consensus builder **who delivers results.**

www.DeedsForVirginia.com

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★ **DEEDS**
★
★ DEMOCRAT FOR GOVERNOR



Terry McAuliffe, like most politicians, likes to compete. This Northern Virginia businessman may be in for the competition of his career as he takes on two strong challengers for the Democratic nomination for governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

McAuliffe shares the Democratic ballot with Brian Moran and Creigh Deeds. The winner of this three-way race will take on former Attorney General Bob McDonnell to see who lives in Virginia's Executive Mansion subsequent to Governor Tim Kaine.

McAuliffe differs from his opponents in that he has not been as much of a regular around Richmond's Capitol Square, where the Legislative Branch and the Executive Branch are duking it out almost every day, and overtime during General Assembly Sessions.

McAuliffe has been very active in the Democratic National Committee, however, where he has served as chairman, and a volunteer for Democratic candidates and causes. He said he brought a business approach to the DNC, and "got the party out of debt for the first time in modern history." He hopes that he and Governor Kaine will be swapping places, as Kaine takes the reins as DNC chair and McAuliffe eyes Kaine's office in the Capitol of the Old Dominion. The Governor has not shown favor toward any of the Democratic candidates, and likely will not do so before backing the nominee.

McAuliffe and his wife Dorothy moved to Virginia 20 years ago. They are raising five children in Fairfax County. He said they chose Virginia for the "diversity, the quality of life, and it's a crossroads of what's going on."

He has a long record as an entrepreneur, dating from his boyhood, when he helped earn the money for college. He said he started a driveway maintenance business, McAuliffe Driveway Maintenance, by typing and distributing letters of introduction to neighbors. Pulling in customers from the first day of business, he paved driveways and parking lots. He pulled in a few more bucks as a caddy. Every summer there were lots of jobs and lots of industrious kids to work with.

McAuliffe worked in banking and became one of the youngest chairmen ever, at the very young age of 30. He said he turned the

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made the right decision. This is particularly telling since their choice actually is working to the disadvantage of the candidate favored by the most members, former Delegate Brian Moran, who would be the clear favorite in a convention process.

Some say primaries are more likely to create divisions harder to bridge in the general election. Yet in Virginia, the 1994 GOP Convention that chose Ollie North as the Republican Senate nominee set a record for unbridgeable intra-party divisions. I respect those who prefer the local caucus/convention process. It has certain practical advantages. But, on balance, it is not consistent with the principle of broad democratic participation. Primaries put the broadest possible spectrum of voters in charge and in my view, this is best in the long run.

Paul Goldman is former Chairman of the Virginia Democratic Party.

struggling bank around. McAuliffe said he has started several dozen companies, and saved companies, including a large homebuilding company that was hitting hard times. In the 1980s and early 90s, he says he ran a law firm, focusing on business development, but "did not do any direct lobbying myself."

His campaign refrain, not unlike his competitors, is that he wants to create more jobs for Virginians. Along with the additional jobs, he said he "doesn't believe in raising taxes in a down economy."

McAuliffe has put forth a 36-page "aggressive, alternative energy, green platform for Virginia" to "show the rest of the states, we're serious." The business plan covers everything from green jobs to modernizing transportation infrastructure, and McAuliffe emphasizes that "it's all inter-related!"

"I want us to be a world leader," he said, "on green jobs. I believe in creating green jobs." He said he also believes in a "mandatory renewable energy standard." He speaks often of windmill energy and converting chicken waste as good alternatives. He wants to back those up with tax incentives.

"The greatest challenge is the jumpstarting of the economy in Virginia," he said.

McAuliffe said he wants to bring his "executive management style" to the job as governor. He calls himself someone who "thinks out of the box." He cites his life experience: "I have traveled the world and traveled the country."

The candidate said he offers a "fresh approach." For starters, he wants to donate his salary to charity. He said that his pet projects are gymnasiums in high schools—"everybody ought to have a high school gymnasium"—and reading.

Referring to Virginia citizens as "shareholders in Virginia's future," McAuliffe is investing in the idea that his business approach will outshine two seasoned prosecutors and legislators. He says Virginia has, better than most states, weathered one of the worst recessions in our nation's history.

McAuliffe says he has traveled to "every corner of the Commonwealth" and heard the anxiety, but also the hope.

Asked who would be his role model, McAuliffe immediately answered: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for successfully managing war on two fronts, and well as a depression.

"He instilled hope," said McAuliffe. FDR presided during the most difficult of times, he said, and through his fireside chats, he inspired listeners to believe that "tomorrow will be better than today."

Bonnie Atwood can be reached at BonAtwood@capitolsquare.com

Virginia Democrats will vote in the Democratic primary election, to be held June 9 at official polling places throughout the Commonwealth. Virginia Republicans will send delegates to a convention to be held in Richmond at the end of May. All registered voters may vote in the general election to be held November 3. Here's your scorecard—Remember this is alphabetical.

Candidates for Governor

Creigh Deeds, Democrat	Bob McDonnell, Democrat
Terry McAuliffe, Democrat	Brian Moran, Democrat

Candidates for Lieutenant Governor

Bill Bolling, Republican	Mike Signer, Democrat
Jon Bowerbank, Democrat	Jody Wagner, Democrat
Patrick Muldoon, Republican	

Candidates for Attorney General

John Brownlee, Republican	Dave Foster, Republican
Ken Cuccinelli, Republican	Steve Shannon, Democrat



Bob McDonnell, Republican candidate for Governor of Virginia has been a Virginian since he was one and one-half years of age. He says: "I'm a middle class guy, raised in a middle class neighborhood in Alexandria Virginia by a WWII veteran career Army dad and a working mom who raised five kids."

In his high school years, he ran track, played football, and vividly remembers scoring the touch-down against T. C. Williams

High School—the subject of the movie *Remember the Titans* (2000). He attended Notre Dame University on an ROTC scholarship. During college, while spending summers at home in Mount Vernon, he met Maureen Gardner who lived in McLean and worked at the U. S. State Department. After graduating with a degree in Management, he and Maureen were married and he entered the U.S. Army. He served 21 years both active duty and reserves, and retired as a Lt. Colonel in 1997. Bob worked for the American Hospital Supply Corporation, managing operations in Atlanta, Chicago, and Kansas City.

After 23 years of marriage, Bob and Maureen have five children all of whom are involved in his campaign in one way or another. In fact, the eldest daughter also attended Notre Dame on an ROTC scholarship, served in the U.S. Army including a tour of duty in Iraq, and recently accompanied Bob on his campaign kick-off tour of Virginia. She is an example of the adage: "the acorn does not fall far from the tree."

After relocating to Virginia Beach, Bob earned a law degree, practiced law, became a prosecutor, was elected to Virginia House of Delegates in 1991, served 14 years, and was elected Attorney General of Virginia in 2005.

Bob earned his MBA from Boston University, a Masters Degree in Public Policy, and a Law Degree from Regent University.

It is clear from talking with Bob McDonnell that he is an achiever. It is also clear that he is a man of faith, and cares deeply for his family. When pressed about interests, hobbies, etc, he talks most about family activities—outings that mostly involve sports of family members—although he said his sons are growing a little too big to continue with the scrimmage football. He and three of his Army buddies broke the *Guinness Book of World Records* by carrying a 140 lb person over 94 miles—a record that held for many years.

To the proverbial question: "Why do you want to be Governor of Virginia?" he said:

"I have been a Virginian all my life (except for being stationed in the Army, and a couple of years in Chicago for business)...I love its beauty...its culture. It's the birthplace of American republic...and it is full of opportunity...I believe there are bigger and brighter days ahead for Virginians. For me, and I believe for most Virginians, this election is about jobs and prosperity. It's about big ideas...better schools...and managing government."

And, he concluded: "I believe my experience as an Army officer, business manager, prosecutor, legislator, and Attorney General has prepared me to lead Virginia...in these challenging times ahead."

Charlie Judd is a Marketing/Development Consultant based in the Richmond area. He can be contacted at cej@j4com.com.



09

VIRGINIA

09

BOB'S 4 JOBS

www.BobMcDonnell.com

Authorized by Bob McDonnell. Paid for by McDonnell for Governor.



Brian Moran has earned his reputation as a tried-and-true Virginian. The Moran family, including seven children, was close, athletic, middle-class, civic-minded, and Democratic. Brian Moran took a job as clerk for Arlington County courts. He then became a prosecutor for the county for seven years. He was elected to Virginia's House of Delegates in 1996. He resigned from that post last year, when he decided to devote his time to running for the Democratic nomination for governor, against Terry McAuliffe and Creigh Deeds. The winning nominee, to be elected in the primary election on June 9, will ultimately face former Attorney General Bob McDonnell in the election.

"I've worked with both Mark Warner and Tim Kaine," said Moran. "And I really felt I must continue what they started." He said that he championed their legislation on the floor of the House, citing the pre-kindergarten initiatives and expanded health care.



Moran said he is eager to tackle such huge problems as the worsening economy. Moran started an "Economic Recovery Tour" in March.

"I'm out every day listening to Virginians," he said. They are describing such things as economic woes, high mortgages, and desires for their children to attend college. To address such concerns, Moran said he has proposed a "Homeowners Bill of Rights." He also speaks out on his environmental plan.

Moran said that he has "a great deal of support" from all parts of the state, not just his Northern Virginia district turf. He said the citizens he meets have their "number one question," which is: "jobs." Moran tells them that health care, transportation, taxes questions are all "interconnected," and they all connect us to jobs, now and in the future.

"We have to develop the skills necessary to do the jobs of tomorrow," he said. One of his proposals is to address unemployment through reforms of "SWaM" (Small, Women and Minority) business programs. He would like to double state procurement for these certified businesses. He would do this through providing incentives for contracting, and lowering barriers so that more firms have access. Virginia contracts relatively few of these businesses in comparison with other states.

He said that we have to dispel the notion that there is a "real Virginia," referring to the emotional disconnect that sometimes divides different regions of the state. "We're all Virginians."

"I consider myself a fighter for people," he said. "Now that's what people need. Fighting for Main Street, not Wall Street. The dinner table, not the board room."

Moran said his greatest influence has been "my Dad." His father was a high school teacher and coach, and later a probation officer.

"He demanded a lot of us," Moran said wistfully. "He valued education, and he coached." He credits his mother, too, for keeping the family on track. "They valued education," Moran said. The message from parents to children was "you have to participate."

Moran said he has always participated in civic life in various ways—and enjoyed it. He has served on boards and commissions, advancing organizations, and nonprofits of all kinds. He said on the board of SCAN (Stop Child Abuse Now) with Lisa Collis, wife of Governor (now Senator) Mark Warner. He remembered "the four of us" (Warner, Collis, Moran, and Moran's wife Karyn) sitting together and discussing their "progressive" ideas for Virginia.

Moran has spent 12 years in the legislature, and seven of those years have been in leadership positions, including chairing the House Democratic Caucus after Creigh Deeds moved over to the Senate. Deeds, along with McAuliffe, is vying for the nomination. Why is Moran running his own campaign?

"If you want something done, do it yourself," states Moran. Though there's plenty of competition for the nomination, Moran says he is the one who can "beat Republican Bob McDonnell."

Moran relishes the race. Besides his enthusiasm about the political race, he likes to remember the 1984 Boston Marathon, which he completed in four hours and five minutes, a good showing. On to the race for Governor. *Bonnie Atwood can be reached at BonAtwood@capitolsquare.com.*

Bill Bolling (R)

For the last four years, I've had the high honor of serving as the 40th Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia. While we have accomplished some great things in the last four years, the truth is that we are still facing some very serious challenges in Virginia today, which is why I am hopeful I will get the opportunity to serve you for another four years.

This year, I'm honored to be running alongside with my good friend Bob McDonnell. Bob and I will offer the people of Virginia the most experienced ticket to ever seek the top two elected offices in our state. Collectively, we have 36 years of experience serving the people of Virginia in state and local government.

If we are going to find solutions to these challenges and make certain that the Virginia we leave to our children and grandchildren is even better than the Virginia we inherited from our parents and our grandparents, we have some work to do.

Bob and I will offer the people of Virginia a vision for the future of our state that tackles, head on, the serious challenges that we face. A vision that sets aside partisan politics and instead focuses on working together to make Virginia an even better place to live, work, learn and raise a family.

We'll offer a plan to get our economy moving again and create the jobs that Virginians desperately need to restore their economic security. By looking for ways to provide tax incentives for businesses, reduce unnecessary regulations, and invest in important economic development programs, infrastructure enhancements and educational research, we can position Virginia for a future economic resurgence.

We will make certain that we continue to promote a pro-business environment in Virginia by protecting our right to work law and defeating the horrific card check proposal that will increase unionization, hurt businesses and kill jobs in Virginia.

We'll offer a plan to create new green energy jobs by making Virginia the nation's leader in the development of new and existing forms of energy. That means expanding traditional sources of energy, like nuclear and clean coal; as well as renewable sources of energy, like wind and solar.

We also know that we can't balance our budgets on overly optimistic revenue projections, federal bailouts, raiding the rainy day fund, using one time revenues to pay for ongoing programs and incurring massive amounts of new debt.

In the past three years this approach has created \$5B in budget shortfalls. We will base our budgets on sound revenue projections. We will set spending priorities and make certain that we do not spend more than we take in and finally restore fiscal integrity to Virginia's state government.

To find solutions to the challenges facing our state we must be led by a tried and experienced team, and by a team that has their focus firmly fixed on offering new ideas for a better Virginia. Bob McDonnell and Bill Bolling are that team. █

Patrick Muldoon (R)

What is your motivating force for running this year?

My affection for the commonwealth, its history and my fellow Virginians. Our government continues to move slowly away from our founders' vision irrespective of party control. Virginia is the cradle of liberty, an economic success story with a rich culture, however with the continual erosion of the very source of these riches, individual liberty, the Virginia, I know and love is at risk, and it is incumbent upon each of us individually to take some stand, alone or collectively to stem the tide of an ever intrusive and overreaching government and restore our founders vision and the greatness of this commonwealth.

Jon Bowerbank (D)

What is your Motivating Force for Running this Year?

These are tough times economically. All across the Commonwealth, good, hard-working people are losing their jobs, losing their homes, and losing their retirement money. With my extensive background building businesses and creating jobs, I believe I can help develop Virginia industries, specifically within the alternative energy and infrastructure sectors, to get our economy moving again.

What are your top challenges or opportunities of the job?

The Lieutenant Governor's job has very limited powers and responsibilities. That is the central challenge and opportunity of the role. In addition to presiding over the Senate I would work full time as an advocate and facilitator to bring business to Virginia and expand and grow Virginia's own businesses. I would also use my experience in education. I have been involved in \$2.5 million worth of education projects, to help expand and modernize the resources we provide our educators and our children.

Who is your Political Role Model?

As a Virginia Democrat, I admire a lot of people. I admire to Governor Kaine, and Senators Warner and Webb, who have all taken extensive practical real world experience and used it to improve Virginia's government. And of course I admire my Congressman, Representative Rick Boucher for all he has done for Southwest Virginia and America, working to improve our energy and communications infrastructure.

Tell us something about yourself that nobody knows.

I have contributed \$2.5 million to public education projects in Southwest Virginia, things like building science labs and buying text books. Nothing matters more to our children's future than a quality education.

Why are you the best person for this job?

I am the only candidate running who has a proven record, and experience in creating jobs and growing an industry in Virginia. I've spent my adult life working in business to further develop and expand energy and infrastructure. I moved to Virginia in the early nineties while working for a Fortune 10 energy company to develop and expand the unconventional energy industry, particularly natural gas in the Appalachian region. I'm proud to say I helped accomplish that goal. A few years later, I started my own business. I quit my job, mortgaged my house, cashed in my 401K and started an energy and infrastructure services company above my garage. That company has gone from zero employees to employing hundreds of people all over the Commonwealth in good high paying jobs. I know what it takes to grow Virginia's economy and I know how to create good paying jobs—because I've done it over the course of my career. Virginia has provided me so much opportunity over the years, and now I have the opportunity to give back—doing what I know how to do best. And, that's why I'm running to be Lieutenant Governor. █

What are the top two or three challenges or opportunities of the job?

Developing a transportation funding plan that is fair and effective for all of Virginia. Reducing the tax burden across the board to enable Virginians to keep more of their hard earned dollars. Reaffirming why our government should commit itself to the defense of life, liberty and property, Human Life of course in all its forms being the foundation of all the inalienable rights our government was created in the first place to protect.

Who is your political role model?

Nationally, clearly it was Ronald Reagan. He was ever present in my adolescence to early adulthood. In state government: Delegate Jeff Stafford, who I looked up to, and my father who took me even
See *Muldoon*, continued on page 10

Mike Signer (D)

What is your motivating force for running this year?

Virginia is at a crossroads. We have made a lot of progress toward a New Dominion in the last few years, but we need to make sure that we put the strongest candidate forward with someone who knows how to win tough races, to ensure that Republicans don't win and turn back clock on the progress we have made in the Commonwealth.

Times are tough for a lot of folks all over Virginia, and we have too few statewide offices to waste one of them as a placeholder. I want to make the Lt. Governor's office a public advocate, fighting for working Virginians and creating good jobs for the future.

What are your top two or three challenges or opportunities of the job?

Jobs, Jobs, and Jobs! Unemployment in some parts of Virginia is now over 20 percent, and the state is facing its highest jobless rate in years. Tough times call for clear leadership, and I'm the only candidate with a comprehensive plan to create 50,000 new jobs by 2011. This is also our biggest opportunity—we have a chance to create the kinds of jobs in clean energy that will sustain Virginia for years to come, and in some of the places that have been hardest hit by the economic downturn.

Who is your political role model?

Bobby Kennedy. He was a champion for democracy and poverty, and he took a stand on hard issues. He was always leading the debate and pushing new ideas to the forefront, and I have tried to follow his example. Plus, he was a true fighter on the issues that mattered most.

Tell us something about yourself that nobody knows.

I'm a true movie junkie. If it's in the Netflix "Top 100," I've probably seen it.

Why you are the best person for this job?

Aside from being the only candidate with a jobs plan? I want to turn the office of Lt. Governor from a placeholder to a public advocate and help move Virginia forward. I have the energy, the ideas, and the experience winning races against tough opponents to make that happen. As the next Lieutenant Governor, I will take on the systems that are failing everyday Virginians and shine a spotlight on problems we have ignored for too long. ▣

Jody Wagner (D)

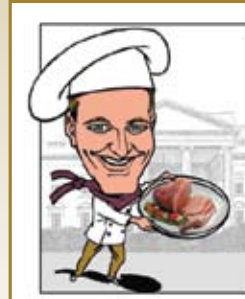
What is your motivating force for running this year?

For the past seven years, I've had the opportunity to work in the Warner and Kaine administrations as Treasurer of the Commonwealth and Secretary of Finance. I consider myself extremely fortunate to have been a member of the teams that got Virginia back on track following the Gilmore years, as we've been able to balance the budget, get the state's fiscal house back in order, and mover Virginia forward. I believe we need to continue this progress over the next four years, and believe I have the experience, knowledge, and fresh ideas to help lead the Commonwealth forward.

What are the top two or three challenges or opportunities of the job?

The biggest challenge we face as a Commonwealth is the challenging economic climate, which has affected so many Virginians. As both a small business owner and a public official whose responsibilities included managing the state's budget and finances, I see that this environment presents both challenges and opportunities. Maintaining fiscal responsibility while still dedicating the necessary resources to important programs like education, health care, and workforce development means difficult decisions must be made. However, I believe that we also have a tremendous opportunity to set forth our priorities for the future, and prepare Virginia for a new period of economic growth and prosperity.

See *Wagner*, continued on page 11



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John Brownlee (R)

I have spent the last 20 years serving the citizens of Virginia and the United States. As a young military officer, I volunteered for the Infantry and successfully graduated from the Army's rigorous Airborne and Ranger programs. In 2001, President Bush appointed me as United States Attorney. As the top federal law enforcement official for the Western half of Virginia, I successfully prosecuted some of our nation's most corrupt corporations and dangerous criminals. I offer the people of Virginia a candidacy based upon conservative values, prosecutorial experience and military service.

I am the proud son of a decorated Army officer and a public schoolteacher. The call to service has been with me from an early age. After graduating from Robinson High School in Fairfax, I attended Washington and Lee University on a ROTC scholarship. I entered the U.S. Army and volunteered for the Infantry. I was selected for the Commandant's List from his Infantry Officer Basic Course, and successfully completed the Airborne, Ranger and Air Assault training programs. I spent four years on active duty, and then served in the Judge Advocate General Corps (USAR). In 2007, I received an honorable discharge at the rank of major.

After graduating from the College of William & Mary Law School, I was selected to serve as a judicial law clerk for U.S. District Judge Sam Wilson. From 1997 through 2001, I served as an Assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, where I prosecuted violent street criminals in our nation's capital. Since 2005, I have taught trial advocacy at the University of Virginia School of Law.

I am uniquely prepared to serve as Virginia's next Attorney General, in part because the offices of the United States Attorney and a state Attorney General are so very similar. I have led a civil division, a criminal division, an appellate division.

The people of Virginia expect their Attorney General to be a prosecutor. In the past quarter century of elections, every time a prosecutor has faced a non-prosecutor for this office, the prosecutor has won. In addition to serving as the top lawyer for the Commonwealth, the people expect their Attorney General will work closely with local law enforcement and focus his energies on keeping Virginians safe. I have the support of more than 100 Sheriffs, Commonwealth's Attorneys and other local law enforcement officials in this campaign. These men and women know that as Attorney General I will work closely with them to assist and support their efforts.

My political role model is Ronald Reagan, and not just for his conservative values. Reagan was a conservative, but he was always trying to encourage others to work with him for the common good. As Reagan said, "My percent friend is not my 20 percent enemy." All of us IN public service need to take this philosophy to heart. █

Muldoon from page 9

in grade school to supervisors' meetings, republican committee meetings and campaign events.

Tell us something about yourself that nobody knows.

Champion sailor, inventor/Patent holder (VTOL airplane, patent, Efficient Sailboat hull, patent and a turbojet engine, patent pending) and an Artist.

Why are you the best person for this job?

I am truly a product of Virginia, Virginia's public schools educated me from kindergarten to law school. I have worked across the state, farming in Giles, built houses across the new river valley, dug ditches in Newport News, worked as a maintenance man in law school in Williamsburg, worked as an engineer for the DOD at Ft. Belvoir, as patent examiner in Arlington and an attorney in Northern Virginia. I have hiked the cascades, natural tunnel and natural bridge in Southwest, sailed the York, James and Chesapeake in Tidewater, and enjoyed the Gold Cup and lamented the traffic in Northern

Continued on next page

Ken Cuccinelli (R)

What is your motivating force for running this year?

To reign in the ever encroaching federal government and its dictates on the hard working people of Virginia—and to ensure the Commonwealth's prerogatives and rights as established under the 10th amendment are protected. My motivation is more fully addressed in the challenges/opportunities question below.

What are the top two or three challenges or opportunities of the job?

Challenge 1: dealing with the legal reach of the federal government and burdens on our ability to have a healthy economy; Challenge 2: continuing GOP leadership on criminal justice issues; Opportunity 1: help reduce the burdens on businesses and families to facilitate economic recovery fiscal health in Virginia.

Who is your political role model?

Ronald Reagan, as he was a tremendous communicator of how a basic conservative philosophy can be applied to any problem that matters to families and businesses.

Tell us something about yourself that nobody knows.

I like elephants.

Why are you the best person for this job?

A voting record of supporting families and businesses at a time when they need relief; and a diverse legal background in criminal, civil and constitutional litigation, as well as business counseling. █

Dave Foster (R)

The coming years will be difficult financially for many Virginia families. With the economic downturn and mismanagement by government, we are facing higher taxes and high costs for energy and other essentials.

Many Virginians are losing jobs they have held for many years. Some others are being forced into early retirement and the limited fixed income that goes with it. Chances are their numbers include someone in your family or among your close friends.

Clearly, such prospects demand decisive and effective action.

Clearly, Virginians need an Attorney General who knows what he's doing when it comes to creating jobs and helping businesses expand or re-locate in the Commonwealth from elsewhere.

Clearly, I am that person.

I understand Virginia and the Virginia Way. My family has been in Virginia for several centuries. I have been involved in public service in the Old Dominion since serving as Congressman Bob Daniel's legislative assistant in the 1970s. I am a husband and a father, and was twice elected chairman of the Arlington County School Board.

For 28 years as an attorney representing businesses, I have the experience and ability to cut the red tape and bureaucratic delays that work against creating jobs for people who need them to house, feed, clothe and educate their families. That will be my top priority as Attorney General. That is why I want to be the next Attorney General of Virginia.

Our challenge is to restore the Reagan coalition that brought strength and prosperity to our citizens. It can be done. It must be done.

Secondly, I believe Virginia needs an Attorney General who knows his way around the federal judiciary—the trial courts, the appellate courts and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Among the continual complaints we hear from Virginia's state and local officials are the unfunded mandates passed down to them by the federal government. Some of these officials are wary that programs emanating from Washington, D.C., will serve to increase that problem. A strong Attorney General, experienced in the procedures of the federal judicial system, will be best able to serve Virginia's interests, and I am that candidate.

What better motivation does a candidate for public office in the Old Dominion need than to carry on Virginia's centuries-old tradition of responsive and responsible governance? That is always needed in Virginia. It is needed now perhaps more than ever. █

Steve Shannon (D)

What is your motivating force for running this year?

I am running for Attorney General to make Virginia a safer place for all of our families to call home. In this important time, I intend to focus on the economic and personal security of our citizens in a way that focuses on bringing people together in order to find solutions to our problems.

What are your top two or three challenges or opportunities of the job?

The greatest challenge of the job is to keep kids and families safe. What this means is making sure that we crack down on gangs and online predators. It also means cracking down on those who would defraud consumers, commit identity theft, or take advantage of families facing foreclosure.

Who is your political role model?

I have had the privilege of working with several outstanding public servants, including Senator Mark Warner and Governor Tim Kaine.

Tell us something about yourself that nobody else knows.

I am an avid reader of *Virginia Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine*.

Why are you the best person for this job?

I believe that my experience in fighting to protect kids, prosecuting criminals, fighting for Virginia families, and putting what's right ahead of partisan attacks is ideal preparation for serving as Attorney General. [Z]



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Wagner from page 9

Who is your political role model?

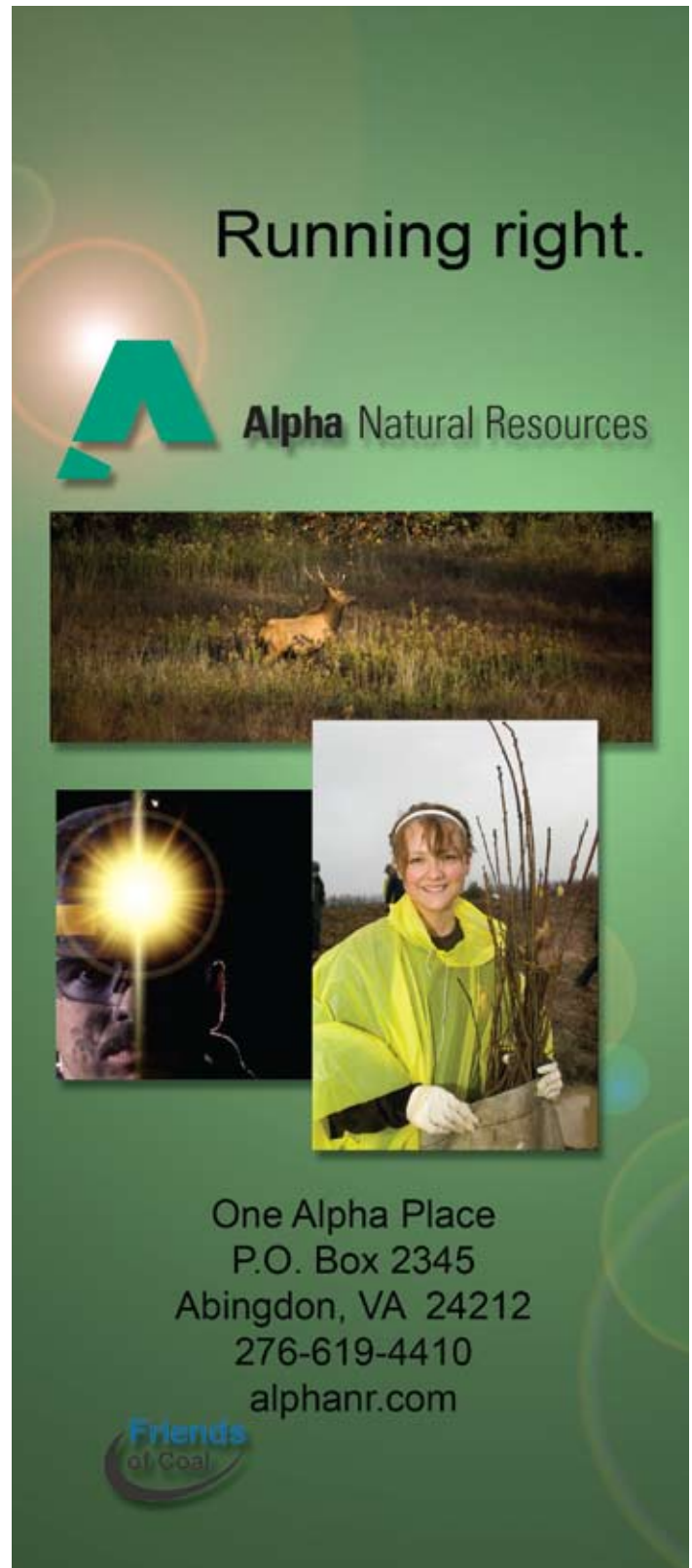
I've been very fortunate to work closely with Mark Warner and Tim Kaine, and I can think of few elected officials who have served the Commonwealth so admirably. They have helped to establish a model of governing that relies on building consensus across party lines, bringing together members of state and local governments, the business community, and our educational institutions to further our Commonwealth's goals. I believe that any elected official would do well to follow in their footsteps.

What's one thing about you that no one knows?

Together with my husband Alan, I opened a gourmet popcorn company in Virginia Beach four years ago. Based on our shared love of sweet treats, our growing business now offers 19 flavors of popcorn, fudge, and other delights, so if you're in Virginia Beach, stop into *Jody's Popcorn* and say hello!

Why are you the best person for the job?

I'd bring to the role of Lt. Governor both proven experience and fresh ideas. My time as a key member of the Warner and Kaine administrations has given me critical experience and insight into managing the state's finances. I'll also offer fresh ideas to help the Commonwealth emerge from the economic downturn well-positioned for sustained economic growth and prosperity. [Z]



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Muldoon from page 10

Virginia, and followed the trail of the Army of Northern Virginia through Petersburg, sailor's creek to Appomattox. I trust Virginians to make their own life decisions and understand they may fail, but will likely pull themselves up even without a government program. I truly believe in limited government. [Z]

Three new members of the House of Delegates were elected in special elections in 2009. They are Charniele Herring (D-46th), Barry Knight (R-81st), and Delores McQuinn (D-70th).

Charniele Herring By Julia Torres Barden

It was thought that the special election held in Alexandria last January would be a traditional romp by the democrats in the 46th district, perceived as overwhelmingly “Blue.” Instead, a political and media circus ensued surrounding the race and Delegate Charniele Herring who ended up winning her race by only 16 votes on January 13th. The special election was prompted by the anticipated, but abrupt, departure of Delegate Brian Moran who vacated the seat in order to declare his full time candidacy for the gubernatorial election later this year.

On the day before the special election, seeming calm and confident about her win expected the next day, Herring reflected on the firehouse caucus process where she first needed to garner the support of the Alexandria Democratic Party on December 16th. After winning the nomination, she then faced Republican opponent Joe Murray, who chose to seek a recount based on Herring’s win amounting to less than 1% of the votes cast.

Simultaneously, Delegate-elect Herring arrived early the next morning at the Capitol ready to be sworn in on January 14th, the first day of the General Assembly session. Determined and excited, Herring attended her first Democratic Caucus meeting prior to the opening session where she was cautioned that there might be a Republican-led attempt to block her from being sworn in. Sure enough, the opening session of the 2009 Virginia General Assembly began with a contentious, partisan debate lasting 45 minutes where Herring was blocked from being sworn in as the Delegate representing the 46th district. Seated in the back of the chamber witnessing the political ping pong were Herring, her mother, Carolyn and her brother, Dr. Charles Herring. Immediately following the decision, Herring was swarmed by the statewide media pool where the delegate-elect worked hard to fight back tears.

The recount process generated a deluge of media coverage around the state until finally being resolved on January 26th. Up until then, Herring attended General Assembly sessions while sitting in the back of the House chamber, taking notes and monitoring the issues in her best attempt to represent the 46th district. Delegate Jeff Frederick, also Republican Party of Virginia chairman, likened the recount process to the U.S. Senate race still undecided between Senator Norm Coleman and Al Franken, while noted political pundit, Dr. Bob Holsworth, tracked the recount process closely on his political blog, Virginia Tomorrow.

Relieved after the recount declared Delegate Herring the lawful winner, gubernatorial candidate, Delegate Brian Moran (formerly representing the 46th district) said “It was a very low turnout, a special election, and these things are difficult to predict. I was surprised (by the results) because I’d always won by 70% of the vote. It was one of these things you can never take anything for granted. It was a narrow race, but next year (November, 2009) won’t be.”

Julia Torres Barden is a graduate of the Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership at UVA and the Minority Political Leadership Institute at VCU. She has also just won her first Virginia Press Association award and is the proud mother of three sons, the youngest of whom just served as a Virginia General Assembly Senate Page.



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Barry Knight

By CHARLIE JUDD

Barry Knight was elected in a special election in the 81st District of the Virginia House of Delegates to complete the unexpired term of Delegate Terry Suit. He recently sat with Charlie Judd and offered the following interview for Capitol Connections Magazine:

CC: Who is Barry Knight?

BK: I'm a farmer from Virginia Beach and have been married to Paula for 25 years. We have three sons aged 19, 16, and 14. My father's family arrived in Virginia on the 'second set of ships' to Jamestown in 1608. And my mother's family received a land grant of 600 acres from the King of England in the mid-1600's, and we never left. In my teens, I went to work on a farm after school and during the summer. I saved enough money to buy a farm down the road, married, started our family, added a couple more farms, and began what is now my life's work as a hog farmer. We raise about 20,000 hogs per year for meat processing. Monday morning, I walk out my back door at home, board my helicopter—which I pilot myself—and fly to Chesterfield County Airport to come to Session. Friday evening, I fly home. Then on Saturday mornings, I'm pouring coffee at our country 7-Eleven to greet and listen to folks.

CC: So, you asked for this job, now, what do you want to do for the people of the 81st District?

BK: I plan to remain active, to listen, and to communicate. I want to be the people's representative. I want to carry their views. I want to vote their conscience. And, I want to help them when I can. Ten days after I was sworn in, the residents in the district that front the ocean realized the permit for the bulkheads had expired in 2006. I realized that the deadline for submitting bills had passed, so I wrote the bill myself—it's called a "blue cover," and it passed the House and the Senate, and I think the Governor is going to sign it.

CC: As a member of the General Assembly, what do you want to do for the people of Virginia?



Photo by WandaJudd.com

BK: Serving in the House of Delegates means representing the people of the 81st District AND the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Most of the legislation we work on here is for all of Virginia, so it is important that we work together and always keep the 'big picture' in mind. I have found my fellow members to be very nice and helpful to this freshman. I said earlier I intend to listen—not just to constituents - but to my fellow delegates. I believe everyone here cares and wants what's best for the Commonwealth. We all are looking for solutions to transportation. We need to put more money in people's pockets and we'll do that by protecting and creating jobs. I am committed to supporting our military installations, and protecting our natural resources.

CC: Any closing thoughts?

BK: Being a member of the House of Delegates is a most humbling experience for me every day. But I remember where I came from and I know who I am. Look at the pictures on my walls here. I have my grandfathers, my wife and kids, downtown Pungo, and even a couple of pigs. I arrive in the building here before six AM to chat in the cafeteria with other Delegates. There are a lot of smart people here, and I am learning from them. After hours, I roam the halls in the Capitol in awe of the significance of Virginia. I read the plaques, names on statues and portraits because I want to get to know those who came before me. This was the birthplace of our Country. I want to 'soak it all up.'

Charlie Judd is a Marketing/Development Consultant based in the Richmond area. He can be contacted at cej@j4com.com.

Photo by WandaJudd.com



Delores McQuinn

By BONNIE ATWOOD

Looking at the Virginia General Assembly from the outside, one might think that the first year in the legislature, especially this year, is a sort of baptism by fire. Whether or not that's true, freshman Delegate Delores L. McQuinn had reason to be ready for the whirlwind. She survived no fewer than three elections in the few weeks preceding the convening of the Session.

First she was re-elected to Richmond City Council, a seat she had held since 1999 (following four years on Richmond's School Board). Then with former Delegate Dwight Jones' announcement of his desire to be Richmond Mayor (he won, by the way), she threw her hat into a primary election for his vacated seat. Finally, she prevailed (unopposed) in a special election to determine who would represent the 70th House District, comprised of part of Chesterfield, Henrico, and Richmond City.

Delegate McQuinn seems comfortable in the new job. She has been assigned to two important committees: Counties, Cities and Towns; and Transportation. McQuinn obviously loves the political process, but her first goal had been to become a missionary. She is an ordained minister.

McQuinn said she was bitten by the political bug when at age 14 she campaigned for Senator Henry March. He was running for City Council and she was part of the NAACP youth organization.

She went on to Virginia Union University and Virginia Commonwealth University where she studied social work. A diagnosis of breast cancer forced her to drop out of school temporarily and she has been a staunch advocate for those affected.

McQuinn said she developed a strong interest in education, which inspired her to run for School Board. Since then, she has accomplished a lot

for the city and metropolitan area, including work on the Richmond Slave Trail Commission, the preservation of some historic Richmond theaters, and providing activities for teenagers.

She said her major interests are economic development, young people, human services, and the Slave Trail.

"I take it very seriously," she said. "This is a calling placed upon me. My intention is to be very attentive to these concerns."

Bonnie Atwood can be reached at BonAtwood@capitolsquare.com.



Capitol Connections *On The Scene*



Delegate Chris Peace with his baby daughter Nina Camden Peace on opening day of the 2009 General Assembly session.



Mayor Dwight Jones, Sindy Benavides (former Latino Liaison for Governor Kaine) and Rummy Mohta, chairman of the Asian American Society of Central Virginia at the organization's legislative event.



Delegate David Englin at the press conference held by the American Lung Association of Virginia and partners, The American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association in support of the proposed cigarette tax increase.



Alie Jo Kvitek testifying at a public hearing regarding the proposed smoking ban legislation.



Capitol Correspondents surround Delegate-Elect Herring after the House refused to seat her pending a recount.



Virginia's Jefferson Jackson 2009 Dinner featured President Bill Clinton held at the Greater Richmond Convention Center.



(left to right) Anthony Dale, Governor Tim Kaine, Felix Sarfo-Kantanka and Antione Green at the Network Connections of Virginia reception honoring Black History Month.

The Honorable John Hager and friends at the Sorensen 2009 GA Reception



Bonnie Atwood coordinates interviews with Senator Creigh Deeds and Delegate Brian Moran for *Capitol Connections Magazine* while attending the Virginia Capitol Correspondents Dinner.



David Bailey, Lillie Branch, Delegate Jimmie Massie and Tracy Keller at the Girl Scout's Reception in Old City Hall.



Delegate Chris Jones, Chairman of the House General Laws Committee, speaking at a news conference called by Governor Kaine and Speaker Howell regarding legislation to make restaurants smokefree.

Photo by Bonnie Atwood

General Assembly 2009:

By DELEGATE SAM NIXON

The budget process was one of the smoothest in years. Cynically, some might assert that this was because legislators had little choice. Forced to make reductions due to a combination of overly optimistic revenue projections by the Kaine Administration and an outright decline in revenues, delegates and senators had to reduce an already austere budget approved a year earlier.

While that reality helped, disagreements between Senate and House conferees were minimal and resolved expeditiously. Since neither body approved a budget that relied upon tax increases, both were based on the same revenues. With agreement on how much money was available to spend, deciding how to spend it was less contentious.

Overall, this session was among the smoothest in years, aided by the House's decision to impose limits on bill introductions. The change forced legislators to prioritize and work collaboratively to reduce duplicate bills.

If the current trend continues, Virginia's populace will have to find new ways to inform themselves about what transpires during General Assembly sessions. The number of reporters and media outlets covering session has declined dramatically over just the last year.

Fewer news organizations have a year-round presence at the Capitol. Fewer still send a reporter to cover session. The Capitol now has just one permanent television bureau. Radio outlets with a daily presence are down to two. Newspapers—which, traditionally, provided the most extensive coverage—are reducing the number of reporters they assign to session, sending reporters only for a few days of session, or leaving Richmond entirely.

If you believe a well-informed populace is essential to a healthy democracy, the current trends are alarming. More troubling, they do not appear to be limited to the current recession, as many of these coverage reductions have the appearance and feel of permanent change.

The fight over expanding Virginia's qualifications for unemployment compensation to part-time workers has included some of the most disingenuous attacks in years. It also marked a milestone for Tim Kaine, clearly transitioning from Governor of Virginia to Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Despite the pitched partisan rhetoric, the General Assembly actually extended unemployment benefits for Virginians. As a result, those currently eligible for benefits can now receive them for up to 59 weeks. Legislators also enacted changes that will reduce by nearly two-thirds the amount unemployed workers have to pay to continue their health insurance. But, you wouldn't know that from listening to Governor Kaine, who has focused on the only change the legislature did not make.

Concurring with the judgment of virtually every Virginia business organization, the General Assembly rejected an expansion of unemployment benefits to part-time workers. The expansion would have increased the cost of hiring new employees, especially unwise in the midst of a recession.

With just nine months remaining before his administration ends, it might be understandable that Governor Kaine is focusing more attention on his new job. It does not, however, excuse the manner in which he has conducted himself in this debate.

Delegate Samuel A. Nixon, Jr., is the House Republican Caucus Chairman.



By DELEGATE KEN PLUM

A ban on smoking in restaurants is the single piece of legislation most observers of General Assembly actions could list as an accomplishment for the 2009 legislative Session. Otherwise, as *The Washington Post* described it, the session was a “lackluster gathering.” Many others called the 46-day session disappointing. Clearly the problem with moving Virginia forward is in the House of Delegates majority and its priorities or lack thereof.



The budget, for example, reported by the Republican dominated Appropriations Committee, contained more references to abortion than it did to economic recovery or workforce development. The budget passed by the House was \$150 million out of balance depending upon Water Quality Improvement funds that were already obligated. Three days later with new revenue projections the budget was a billion dollars out of balance. In spite of all the rhetoric on the floor of the House denouncing President Obama's stimulus package, a billion dollars from the federal stimulus monies allowed the budget to be balanced. Fortunately the Senate stood firm for a second year resisting efforts by the House Republican majority to rewrite the school funding formula in a way that would have cost local public schools millions in lost revenue.

Proposals from the Governor's Climate Change Commission were rebuffed. Even proposals for energy efficiency that had the support of both utilities and environmentalists were rejected if they had Democratic patrons and in some instances lesser bills sponsored by Republicans were passed. An opportunity for Virginia to get into the economically important area of biotechnology was almost lost with the continued insistence that language prohibiting stem cell research be included. An important governmental reform bill that passed the Senate for a second year that established an independent redistricting commission was killed in a House committee along with House bills that would have made the same reform. Assistance to parents of children with autism was denied.

The most disappointing action on the part of the House Republican majority came during the Reconvened Session when they refused to accept \$125 million federal Unemployment Insurance monies that would have delayed an increase in the Unemployment Insurance tax for employers and would have provided economic support for part-time workers who were laid off and other workers who were in training.

Hoped-for reform in how the House conducts its business proved to be more illusionary than real. Recorded votes were permitted in subcommittee, but dozens of bills simply were never included on committee dockets and never heard.

At a time when the public is clearly interested in performance from its governmental institutions, the House will have little to show other than that the binding Republic caucus seems more interested in narrow social issues than the economic strength and vitality of the Commonwealth. The citizen who may have felt left out of consideration during the session will have the final say in November.

Delegate Kenneth R. “Ken” Plum is the House Democratic Caucus Chairman.

Editor's Note: We thank these four leading legislators who responded to our request for their views on 'The Good, The Bad and The Ugly' in the 2009 Session of the General Assembly.

Four Leaders Reflect



By SENATOR TOMMY NORMENT

We arrived in Richmond in January with grand illusions—the forward-looking policy we would debate, the positive PR we would generate, the friendships we would rekindle. We brought with us freshly drafted bills, tins of coffee, mounted wild turkeys to hang on the wall, and—at least for one Senator—baby carriers and diaper bags. And before we had time to brew coffee, hang the turkey, or change a diaper, the work had begun on “the good, bad, and


ugly” of the 2009 session.

Though constrained by the economy, Senate Republicans introduced bills that forced us to think outside the box. While these bills had mixed results, they were among “the good” as they demonstrated new ideas and initiated discussions on issues that will evolve over time. Examples of such bills include Frank Wagner’s bills on creating wind energy off the Virginia coast; Mark Obenshain’s bill on ABC privatization; Ryan McDougle’s bill on streamlining transportation agencies; Ken Stolle’s bill on cooperation between judicial circuits; and Emmett Hanger’s bill on annual adjustment of the gas tax. In spite of the outcomes of some of these bills, they demonstrate innovative thinking that will benefit Virginia in the future.

While these bills were “good,” there were several issues where we found ourselves playing defense. We fought legislation that would have increased health care costs by increasing Virginia’s medical malpractice cap. We defeated legislation designed to grant automatic restoration of rights for convicted felons. We stood up for the interests of Virginia’s small businesses through united opposition to the elimination of the “dealer discount.” And, we fought measures that sought to threaten Virginia’s status as a right-to-work state while working unsuccessfully to add the right-to-work language to Virginia’s constitution.

Yet, what overshadowed everything this year was “the ugly:” the budget shortfall. Coming to Richmond, we were told to plan for a \$2.9 billion shortfall—a figure that jumped to \$3.7 billion by the middle of session. The drastic cuts we anticipated were avoided upon passage of the federal stimulus package which allowed us to delay—though not completely avoid—tough decisions about budget priorities. While the stimulus money made budgeting easier this year, we must not become intoxicated or dependent on such funding and avoid streamlining government.

Early grand illusions always give way to reality in Richmond. Dreams of meaningful policy debates turn to debates over the Eastern Box Turtle. Dreams of positive PR disintegrate with errant remarks about \$1 license plate fees or the cast of Deliverance. Dreams of rekindled friendships are tested with sometimes acrimonious debate. But when the going got toughest this session, our caucus remembered we could have it worse—we could be up for re-election this year...or be in the U.S. Congress.

Senator Thomas K. Norment, Jr., is the Senate Republican Leader 


By SENATOR DICK SASLAW

The 2009 Session of the General Assembly proved to be one of the most challenging that I have participated in over the course of my tenure as an elected official. We went into it during the midst of an economic meltdown. Filling the shortfall in the budget almost exclusively dominated the session.

As we neared the midpoint of the session, Governor Kaine advised us to reduce the projection for the General Fund by an additional \$822 Million. This revision put the revenue shortfall to be addressed during the 2009 session at an unprecedented \$3.7 Billion for the biennium. The Senate Finance Committee, upon advise of its most senior members from both sides of the aisle, delayed finalizing its budget by seven days in order to offset and take advantage of stimulus money from the federal government.

On the other side of the Capitol, the House of Delegates chose to prepare HB1600 without the use of stimulus dollars. The bulk of time spent in conference by the budget negotiators centered on stimulus (money) amendments adopted by the Senate in the budget bill. The Senate strove to preserve funding for Public Education and higher education in the amount of some \$983M. Utilization of those funds as well as additional targeted funds prevented laying-off thousands of state employees including those that are tasked with educating and developing the next generation of Virginia’s professionals and leaders. This along with the Indoor Clean Air Act were the greatest accomplishments of the session.

In my opinion, it is indeed unfortunate that the Republicans in both chambers with the exception of two, chose to reject the \$125M in federal stimulus funds by voting against changing two aspects in Virginia’s unemployment laws. I have made my living as a small businessman in Northern Virginia for more than 30 years. One is hard pressed to think of a single business that would go under for a \$4.50/year increase per employee in Unemployment Insurance. Even as a worse case scenario when the stimulus funds ran out, the law could be repealed. Their argument defied all logic and common sense. The net effect of choosing not to help struggling Virginians, sends funds back to Washington to be distributed to other states as needed. At the same time, Virginia tax payers will pay for the additional interest on the debt created by the stimulus unemployment funds even though we rejected two-thirds of it.

Senator Richard L. Saslaw is the Senate Democratic Majority Leader 



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When It Comes To Lobbying Madison Had It Right

By BILL SHENDOW

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

Continued on next page



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Another Missed Opportunity

By MARK RUSH

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.

When It Comes To Lobbying from previous page

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 the Chairman of the Political Science Department at Shenandoah University.

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.

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 to 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 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.

Dr. Mark Rush is the Robert G. Brown Professor of Law and Politics and the head of the Politics Department at Washington and Lee University.

Virginia GOP Identity Crisis

By STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH

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.

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).

Put Children First

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Feeding the Hungry

By BILL MIMS, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF VIRGINIA

Edith Osterbauer runs a food pantry at her church in Radford. In the 13 years that her program has been feeding the hungry, the situation has never been so grim. She now finds herself at the center of the economic downturn, with major manufacturers laying-off employees.

"We've been hit really hard," Osterbauer said. "It just gets worse and worse, more businesses closing and cutting back. And people come to us because they need food to eat. There's an extreme, desperate need for food."

At this time of year, donations to Virginia's food banks are down. Yet demand is hitting a record high. That's been the focus of this year's "Legal Food Frenzy." And the timing couldn't be better. The 3rd annual statewide "Legal Food Frenzy" has been aiming to raise 1.5 million pounds of food for the hungry, more than 1 million meals.

"The competition could not come at a better time," agreed Leslie Van Horn, executive director of the Federation of Virginia Food Banks. "Food banks throughout the Commonwealth currently are experiencing an historic surge in demand for assistance."

Founded by former Attorney General Bob McDonnell, the benevolent contest is the only statewide food drive in the history of the Federation of Virginia Food Banks, and is a partnership of the Office of the Attorney General and the Virginia Bar Association.

Our food drive has become so popular that other states – including North Carolina, Indiana, New Jersey, Florida and Nebraska -- may copy it.

"With the success of Virginia's first-in-the-nation statewide 'Legal Food Frenzy,' we look to similarly partner with food banks to combat hunger," said Greg Zoeller, Attorney General of Indiana. "I hope our efforts in Indiana help take Virginia's successful Legal Food Frenzy to the next level nationally."

According to Chris Gill of the Virginia Bar Association, "With the downturn in the economy sending so many more Virginians to the food banks' shelves, the success of this project is even more important this year."

Van Horn, of the Federation of Virginia Food Banks, added, "We have always said that there are three faces of hunger – the working poor, children and senior citizens. But now there is a fourth face of hunger and one everyone knows – your neighbor, or a co-worker's spouse, who has been laid off or his or her company has closed and he or she is unable to find a new job."

Lawyers are among the privileged in our society. We have a corresponding obligation to help our neighbors in need. The Legal Food Frenzy has been an excellent way to give back to our communities. █



The Forgotten Party That Ruled Virginia

By CHARLES TODD

From the Revolution until the Civil War, important economic activities of Virginia were the development of railroads, canals, bridges, and turnpikes. In 1784 the state became a stockholder in corporations created for the improvement of the James and Potomac rivers and through a Board of Public Works the state supported these efforts. As demands for funds became greater, the legislature in 1838 authorized the selling of state bonds.

Fiscal conditions seemed satisfactory in the years before the Civil War; the bonded debt of \$38,000,000 was offset by stocks and bonds in railroads and canals, and the constitution of 1850 had provided a sinking fund which appeared adequate and safe. Also, back of debt and speculative assets was a settled population of a million and a half persons (one-third slave) and property worth over a billion dollars. Income from dividends, poll, property, income, and business taxes yielded over 4 million dollars annually of which less than one million was needed for ordinary government purposes. Behind all was a record of fiscal honor and none would question the state's ability or willingness to pay it. This policy, however, was abruptly terminated in 1861.

When the Civil War was over, the state's great system of public works was in utter ruin. The rails were worn out or destroyed, projects were incomplete, and corporations needed time and money before profits or dividends could be restored. The people's tax-paying resources were sadly reduced. In 1866 at its first meeting after the war, the legislature assumed responsibility for the entire debt without recorded opposition.

A new state Constitution was written during 1967-69 by a convention of outsiders, freedmen, carpetbaggers, and other persons with little experience in government. Most previous office holders had been disenfranchised. The participants were mindful of the civil and political rights of the freedmen, and the legislature was empowered to appoint local officials, often exceeding the number of prior leadership positions. While insisting upon democratic ideals, some Republicans, or Radicals as they were known, endeavored to scale down both public and private debt, but without success.

After the new Constitution was approved in 1869, Virginia was returned to the union in 1870, becoming one of the last three Confederate states to do so. This tardy action prevented Virginia from taking part in the election of 1868, which made Ulysses S. Grant President.

In 1870 at the first meeting of the legislature of reconstructed Virginia, the absence of well-known faces was obvious. Chief among the Assembly's problems was the state debt, which now amounted to \$45,000,000. The state's assets paid small dividends, if any, which hampered commerce, real estate was cheap, and agricultural yields were down from their prewar levels.

Under the new constitution, the state was also faced with providing public schools as well as certain internal improvements. A movement to adjust the debt to allow for funding these and other needs was developing. A segment of the Conservative party, or Democrats, supported this view and took the name "Readjusters," adopting the principle that the state's creditors should be compelled to share in the general loss caused by war and reconstruction.

The question involved whether the state debt should be paid off entirely or somehow readjusted downward. The "Funders," who supported paying off the debt, argued that the state had a moral obligation to uphold the original terms of the bonds; a matter of honor. Many Virginians opposed full funding on the grounds that the economic



See *The Forgotten Party*, continued on page 22

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Local Government Hires Ethicist

By BONNIE ATWOOD

Aren't professional ethicists those consultants on the television news who make comments about stem cell research and exotic topics like the suddenly infamous "Octo-Mom"?

It takes a little time to wrap your head around the idea that a city government would hire an ethicist. It's not that a government should not be greatly concerned with ethics. But...an ethicist?

The City of Alexandria has hired ethicist Michael Gillette, 45, based in Lynchburg. When you talk to him about what he does, the connection starts to make sense—and, arguably, not just moral sense—it also makes fiscal sense.

Our Commonwealth and its local governments—not to mention its families—are facing the hard, cold reality that there's just not enough money to go around. The scalpel has been pulled out. We are all feeling some pain. As individuals may have to decide between food and medicine, cities may have to decide between services for the young or services for the old. It is appearing more and more like we just can't have it all.

Gillette spoke in his home office surrounded by dark wood, beautiful travel photos, diplomas, and a multitude of well-organized books. He is a clinical ethicist, who contracts with Community Service Boards (CSBs), part of our Virginia's Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services. One of those contracts is with the CSB of the City of Alexandria. Like other localities, Alexandria is engaged in an intense wrestle with its budget. People and projects wait on hold while decision makers face the unenviable task of allocating scarce resources. The policies they set determine the priorities of the expenditures.

Jim Hartman, Alexandria's City Manager, heard a presentation by Gillette, and thought his ideas would be useful to the City staff and Council in its brutal decision making process. He leads them through

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burdens imposed on them by a destructive war exempted them from such a heavy financial burden. Others said that the counties of western Virginia, now West Virginia, should shoulder their share of the debt. The African-American community felt that they had had no involvement in contracting the debt during the antebellum years, and that they were not responsible. Some voters who advanced these views were not advocates of outright repudiation, but agreed with some favorable adjustment.

The foremost leader of the Readjuster Party was Major General William Mahone, who had received high praise for his performance at the Battle of the Crater. Born in Southampton County in 1826, Mahone was raised in Petersburg and educated at Virginia Military Institute. His early interest in railroads led him to employment in the industry; he became chief engineer of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad and later its president.

General Mahone and his wife, Otelia, had traveled along the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad after its completion in 1858. She had a great interest in Sir Walter Scott's Waverly novels series, and they chose the names of whistle stops which later became towns along the route which parallels what is now Route 460. Windsor, Waverly, Wakefield, and Ivor (from MacIvor) were taken from the novels, and when the couple reached a location near Petersburg where they could not agree, legend has it that they gave it the name "Disputanta."

The funding question catapulted General Mahone into the center of Virginia state politics. Failing to secure the gubernatorial nomination in 1877, Mahone organized the Readjuster party and built in two years a powerful machine composed chiefly of African-Americans and disgruntled Democrats. Once organized, the Readjusters were able to place William E. Cameron in the Governor's mansion and won elections in 6 of the 10 congressional districts. In 1879, the state elected a legislature that sent Mahone to the U. S. Senate where he was able to institute a spoils system and dispense federal patronage throughout Virginia.

processes that clarify their values, an exercise that is not so simple. Efficiency may be one value, but you also look at your prior commitments, the urgency of the needs, the alternatives, the effectiveness, the quality of the outcomes, constituency factors, and more. He helps them define and rank these important considerations. Do you help people in your own "backyard" or do you help people in Africa? How do you leverage your resources? None of these decisions are made in a vacuum. For example, late last year apartments that were being built for the mentally ill were temporarily turned into housing for people with disabilities. That's a rough decision for anyone.

Gillette has much more than a passing interest in how city governments grapple with these issues. He has served on the City Council in Lynchburg since 2004. A former professor, he had begun his own business, Bioethical Services of Virginia, Inc., a medical ethics consulting business, in 1990.

Originally from Connecticut, Gillette whipped through Brandeis and Brown in record time, but his fate has been somewhat of a fortunate accident. He said he almost didn't enter college at all; he was going to be an electrician. When he did enter college, then grad school, it was just because one philosophy teacher was on vacation that he signed up with the other one, and found his perfect fit in the study of ethics.

Bonnie Atwood is an affiliated consultant with David Bailey Associates and a writer for Tall Poppies Freelance Writing LLC. For more information go to: www.tallpoppiesfreelance.com. She is still explaining why her grade of "F" in college ethics was a stand for moral justice. ▣



In 1882, the state debt was readjusted in several ways: One-third of the principal and accrued interest was set aside for West Virginia to pay off. The total debt was declared to be \$21,000,000, for which new bonds were issued in exchange for old ones. The new bonds were known as "Riddlebergers" for Harrison Holt Riddleberger of Woodstock, a former Confederate soldier, state senator, U. S. Senator, and a Readjuster leader.

The significant features of the Readjuster period (1879-83) were mostly economic and social. The legislation tended to serve the interests of the people and to break the power of the privileged classes. Much of it was in line with the best features of the Reconstruction period. Paring the debt was unfortunate but perhaps necessary for the state to move forward. The political machine, developed by Mahone though his skillful use of federal patronage, shaped both appointments and legislation.

A serious setback for the Readjusters occurred in the elections of 1883. A few days prior to voting, a racial riot broke out in Danville, which left 5 men dead. Democrats seized on the riot as the results of Readjuster legislation and went on to win two-thirds of the seats in both branches of the General Assembly.

Having achieved the purposes of the Readjuster party, Mahone proceeded to hand the organization to the opposition, and he and Riddleberger both served in the U. S. Senate and were considered Republicans.

The West Virginia portion of the debt was settled by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1915 when it ordered that the state pay Virginia more than \$12,000,000. A final payment was not made until 1939.

The Readjuster Party, rarely remembered today, was just a chapter in the period 1861-1901 which master storyteller Mark Twain called "The Gilded Age."

Charles Todd is a retired public school teacher and administrator. ▣



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“Little Things Mean A Lot” At Keep Virginia Beautiful

By CHARLES TODD

By the early 1950s, Virginia’s roadways were becoming dumping grounds for everyone’s trash. The agriculturally oriented Virginia State Grange called a meeting of state leaders in the spring of 1953 to discuss this menacing litter problem. The group adopted the slogan “Don’t Be A Litterbug” from the National Council of State Garden Clubs. Thus, the Virginia Anti-Litterbug Council was born. It was not until December 1953 that Keep America Beautiful was incorporated.



In the first year of operation, the Virginia Council distributed slogans and information on anti-litter programs to the media, conducted city and county anti-litter campaigns, and prompted the State Highway Department to place signs warning motorists of the penalty for littering the roadways. In 1956, the Council changed its name to Keep Virginia Beautiful and was granted a charter of affiliation with Keep America Beautiful. During this period, expanded emphasis was placed on publicity and encouragement of local effort in litter prevention through education and cleanup campaigns.

In 1962, Governor Albertis S. Harrison met with representatives of KVB, giving his support to the organization. To encourage statewide interest and activity in the anti-litter program, the slogan “The Governor’s Program to Keep Virginia Beautiful” was adopted. Later, KVB created a system of annual awards to cities, counties, and towns for “outstanding achievement in the field of litter prevention that benefited the county or community as a whole.”



Bob Hundley, Executive Director of KVB

During 1967, a full-time Executive Director was employed. A quarterly news bulletin was published in 1969 and the first Awards Luncheon was held at the Hotel John Marshall. KVB was honored by the Virginia Assembly with a Joint Resolution in 1972. This gave KVB the prestige that enabled the Executive Director to rally support of business, industry, and local government bodies.

In 1976, the General Assembly passed the Litter Control Act and established the Department of Conservation and Economic Development and the Office of Litter Control. By 1978, the Division of Litter Control and KVB worked together toward their common goals and objectives and by 1980, 62 counties and cities were implementing comprehensive, year-round programs of litter prevention.



Maurice Rowe, President of Keep Virginia Beautiful

Dr. Paul Saunders served as Executive Director of KVB from 1969 until 1982. By the time he departed, the organization had become financially sound through charitable contributions and, in the words of the President of Keep America Beautiful, “The finest state effort in America.”

Earl J. Shiflet, a former Cabinet member during Governor Mills Godwin’s administration and the first Secretary of Education in Virginia under Governor Linwood Holton, succeeded Dr. Saunders. During Mr. Shiflet’s tenure, KVB broadened its activities to include an annual award to a business, institution, or facility demonstrating “conspicuous” beautification. Also, a Landscape Excellence Awards Program was formed in conjunction with the Virginia Society of Landscape Designers and Nurserymen’s Association.

In addition, a college and university litter control program on campuses was initiated. Shiflet received a modest grant from the state to promote this program, which included recycling on college campuses. David Bailey worked on this new effort, visiting colleges and encouraging cleanup and recycling. Beginning in 1989, I served for 2 years on this project. During Governor Douglas Wilder’s administration, recycling at all state facilities became mandatory, and the supporting grants became part of state budget reductions.

Following Earl Shiflet’s retirement in 1994, Robert L. Hundley, a Virginia Tech graduate and longtime employee of the Virginia Department of Transportation, became Executive Director. KVB had fallen on hard times financially because no fund-raising efforts were being made. Philip Morris, USA (now Altria) continued an annual contribution as well as several loyal individuals. These gifts enabled the

Continued on next page



Mrs. Susan Allen, Former First Lady of Virginia with Mrs. Frances Hallam Hurt, recipient of the Melba Massie Award of Excellence.

David Bailey Associates announces a new Capitol Square Group associate

Bonnie Atwood is an award-winning writer. She was born and raised in Northern Virginia. She now makes her home in Richmond, but maintains family ties in the Shenandoah Valley.



Bonnie works with all media to achieve business goals. She has a diverse background, having earned a Law degree from the University of Richmond, and a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from George Mason University. She has won state and national awards for writing, editing, speechwriting, photography, and writing for the web. She has been published in a variety of local, state, and national periodicals, newspapers and websites. She is the author of hundreds of articles, co-author of several books, author of one book, and has been the nominator for several national winning awards.

Bonnie is a human rights advocate, particularly in the area of women's rights. The common thread through Bonnie's career is sense of mission and professionalism.

"I have to feel that the world is becoming a better place. I have to be giving the world something that it needs. I want to create and protect beauty and civility. I want to feel each day that I have had a part in the positive evolution of the human race. I want to leave a mark of value."

Little Things Mean A Lot from previous page

organization to maintain an office and to continue the Annual Awards luncheon. Bob has served for the last 14 years without compensation!

It has been an amazing time for KVB. Mrs. Henry C. Hurt of Chatham, Virginia had been recognized for her good work in planting flowers and developing an attractive park in her home community. Bob seized upon her idea of beautifying a small community and began immediately to encourage other small towns and villages to begin similar projects. From Chatham's leadership, the Small Community Program has grown to include:


Belle Haven, Berryville, Boishop, Bowling Green, Cape Charles, Cartersville, Cedar Bluff, Charlotte Court House, Chatham, Chincoteague, Clarksville, Clover, Damascus, Dayton, Dumfries, Exmore, Falls Mills, Gretna, Haymarket, Hot Springs, Marshall, Midlothian, Montross, Mudfork, Narrows, Nassawadox, Onancock, Painter, Parksley, Pocahontas, Powhatan, Richlands, Rocky Mount, Tazewell, Urbanna, Wachapreague, Warrenton, West Point, and Willis Wharf.

For his leadership and good work in developing the Small Communities Program, Bob Hundley was awarded the Melba Massie Award in 2007, the highest honor made by Keep Virginia Beautiful. Mrs. Massie was a strong supporter and a former President of KVB.

The current President is Maurice B. Rowe, who rose through the Virginia Department of Agriculture to become Secretary of Administration under Governor Mills E. Godwin. A steering committee headed by John Devel, Executive Director of Keep Norfolk Beautiful, will conduct a study under a grant from Altria to develop an umbrella organization, such as KVB, to coordinate efforts of other groups across the state including the "Litter Council" and "Scenic Virginia."

Those wishing for more information about Keep Virginia Beautiful may contact Bob Hundley at 1905 Hamilton Street, Suite F, Richmond, Virginia 23230 although he is on the road frequently visiting and encouraging more Small Communities.

Charles Todd is a former Board member and Treasurer of KVB.

Publisher's Note: We welcome Bonnie Atwood 'back' to the David Bailey Team. Through the years she has written more than several fantastic articles, and while we expect those to continue, we are delighted that her responsibilities will include being the Executive Editor of this magazine. 



Running right.

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George Chancellor Rawlings, Jr.

By BERNARD L. HENDERSON, JR.

I became friends with George Rawlings in 1965, when I was President of the Teenage Democratic Clubs of Virginia. I spent many weekends as a volunteer in his historic 1966 congressional campaign. Later, we served together on the Democratic State Central Committee for several years. Our most recent contact was a delightful telephone call I received from him a few weeks before the November election.

In the mid-1960s, except for a few old bankers and the Maytag repair man, George might have been the only person in the world to always wear a bowtie. I never asked him why, probably because by the time I mustered the courage to ask such a personal and impertinent question, I knew it was an outward manifestation of a guy who was just determined to be the way he felt he should be, regardless of what everyone else was doing or thinking. Simply put, his bowties were emblematic of his whole being.

The understatement of this day is that George never even considered conforming to what others considered to be conventional; he had his principles, he was deeply committed to them and he was absolutely intrepid in the application of those principles. Just as he didn't care if he was the only one wearing a bowtie, he also wasn't cowed one bit to be just about the only member of the House of Delegates fighting to repeal the poll tax so all citizens could vote; or advocating a minimum wage so the hardest working Virginians doing the most difficult jobs would be able to provide for the basic needs of themselves and their families; or providing free text books for public school children so all students, regardless of their family economic status, would have the same opportunity to learn; or making mental health facilities more like modern hospitals than medieval dungeons and debtors prisons. He was an early and usually a lonely advocate for these and so many other things that folks today cannot imagine could possibly have been controversial, much less radical. But these were the very things that caused Virginia's political establishment to regard George as dangerously liberal.

Some so-called political experts might look at George's political career and declare it to have been unsuccessful; he lost a few elections and there is no legislation called the Rawlings Act, but those experts expose their own lack of expertise by such an assessment. George's political career is a vivid example of the fact that a person doesn't necessarily lose just because he doesn't get enough votes to win an election, nor does a person necessarily lose just because his bills don't pass; a person loses only when he stops caring enough to fight for what he believes in. George always cared; George always spoke out; George always fought for his principles; and because of that, so many things that George advocated and told us we needed to do decades ago have been achieved or are works in progress.

When the political history of 20th century Virginia is written, there will be clear distinctions between those in public life who pandered to the fears and prejudices of the moment, those who were too timid to say and do what they knew needed to be done, and those brave few who were described so well by Senator Ted Kennedy in his eulogy to his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy, with these words:

Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change.

At any given time we have many politicians and just a few statesmen in office. At one end of that spectrum there are politicians who are quite successful at winning elections, but when they leave office they also leave a blank page of meaningful accomplishments. Then toward the opposite end of that spectrum there are statesmen. They are politicians who take a calculated risk to accomplish something meaningful; they are the ones most likely to get parks and bridges named in their

Charles Wesley "Bunny" Gunn, Jr.

By TOM HYLAND

Former Member of the Virginia House of Delegates, Charles Wesley "Bunny" Gunn Jr., passed away on January 13, 2009 in Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Gunn, born on July 31, 1922, had served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1964 to 1978. He originally was elected to the General Assembly as a Democrat but became an Independent in 1973. From 1962 to 1963, he had served as a judge of the Municipal Court of Buena Vista. After leaving the General Assembly in 1978, Mr. Gunn was appointed as Interim Clerk of the Rockbridge County Circuit Court.

In the Virginia House of Delegates, Mr. Gunn served on the Appropriations; Health, Welfare and Institutions; and the Roads and Internal Navigation Committees, as well as serving as Chair of Conservation and Natural Resources Committee. As the Delegate for the 9th House District, Mr. Gunn represented Rockbridge, Bedford and Franklin Counties and the cities of Lexington, Bedford and Rocky Mount.

Following his retirement from the General Assembly, Mr. Gunn was appointed in 1979 as Director of Administrative services for the Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation. After retiring from this latter position, he was appointed to the Board for Mental Health, Mental Retardation and Substance Abuse Services. For his long-time work on behalf of these populations Mr. Gunn was honored by both the Virginia Association for Retarded Children and the Virginia mental Health Association.

Mr. Gunn also was active in community, regional and state affairs activities. He had served as President of Lexington-Rockbridge Chamber of Commerce, the Lexington Life Saving and First Aid Crew, and the Rockbridge County-Buena Vista Bar Association. He also was a Member of the Council of Virginia State Bar, The Virginia Bar Association, the American Legion, and the Hickory Hill Gun Club. In addition, he had chaired the Board of Stewards of Trinity United Methodist Church, was president of Methodist Men, and Chairman of the Pastoral Committee, as well as teaching in the church Sunday School.

A veteran of the U. S. Navy, Mr. Gunn saw combat in the North Atlantic, Caribbean, and South Pacific in the Second World War and was a Member of the Richmond Chapter of the U. S. Navy, Armed Guard, and Merchant Marine Association. Born in Tallahassee, Florida, Mr. Gunn, as teen-ager, worked as an extra in Johnny Weissmuller's "Tarzan of the Jungle" films. He attended Stetson and Florida State Universities and was a graduate of the Washington and Lee law school. His initial residency in Virginia occurred when he was transferred from Florida by "the telephone Company" to South Boston, Virginia.

Mr. Gunn was preceded in death by his wife, Mary Wilson Sheffield, in 2006. He is survived by a son, Charles Wesley Gunn, III, of Hopewell, a daughter, Annhomer Truitt, of Richmond, and a sister, Lois Cotton, of Tallahassee. ▮

honor. But there is a rare category of politician, almost off the spectrum, one so small that we usually overlook its existence, and we don't always have them among us; these are the political prophets. These are the men and women who willingly take the long, muddy, narrow, bumpy and difficult road at the risk of their own personal political success to boldly, forthrightly and uncompromisingly pursue their convictions of justice, equality, truth and human dignity, usually at their own peril, in order to meaningfully address the most significant needs of society.

The Honorable George Chancellor Rawlings, Jr. will always be one of the Commonwealth of Virginia's greatest political prophets. I am sincerely thankful that God gave George to Virginia and that he gave me the privilege of being one of George's friends.

Bernard L. Henderson, Jr., is Senior Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth. ▮

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