





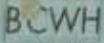
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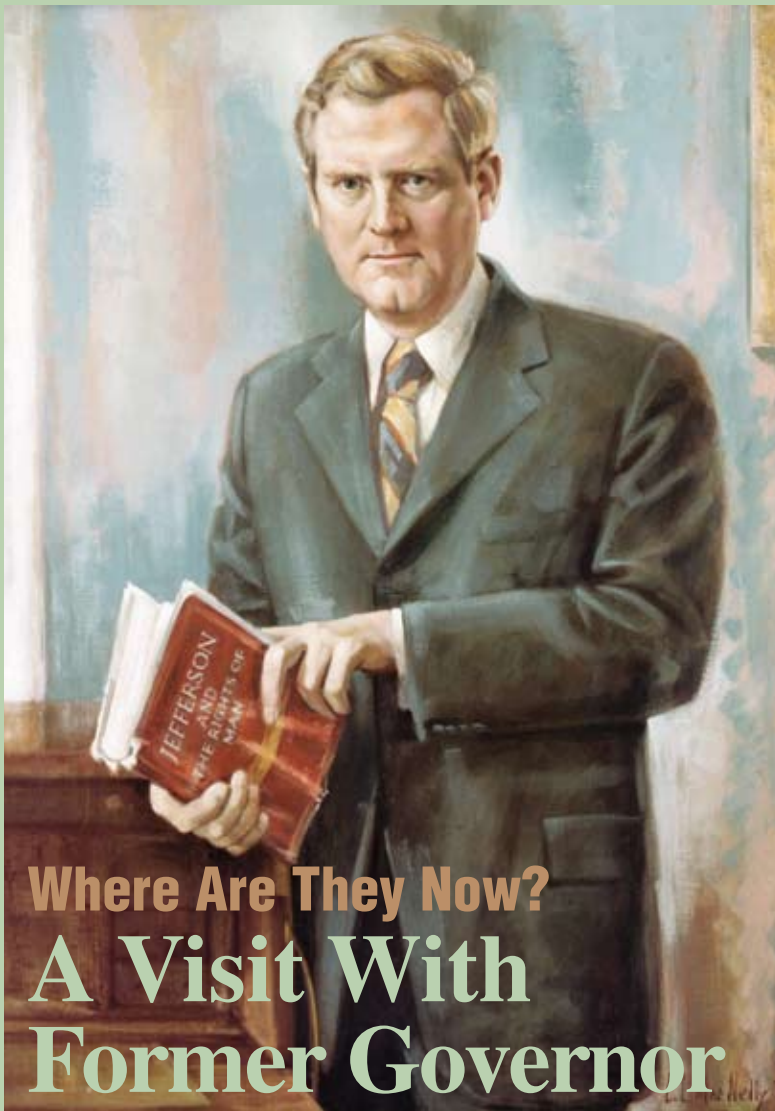


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## Where Are They Now? A Visit With Former Governor

# Linwood Holton

**O**n a glorious mid-November afternoon, David Bailey and I sat on the wraparound back porch of former Governor A. Linwood Holton's retirement home in Weems and talked about the governorship of Virginia. The affable, alert, able, and attentive Holton, who was Governor of Virginia from 1970 to 1974, talked about his years in office and expressed his opinions on current politics.

Holton and his wife Jinks have lived for the past seven years in a one-story, well-appointed house on their secluded estate on an inlet of the Rappahannock River in rural Lancaster County. When he answered the door, we knew immediately that we were in the company of a Southern gentleman.

Governor Holton's lifelong goal, he told us, "Was to develop a two-party system in Virginia by defeating the Harry Byrd machine." He did! As the first elected Republican governor in the 20th century, Holton initiated the return of the competitive elective process. Now, as the father-in-law of the present Governor, he said the family is not greedy: "We only want one Governor per generation." The Holtons have a 17-year old grandson with an interest in politics.

The 83-year-old former Governor talked readily about his years in office and about current politics in the state. He said someone lent him an automobile for his first run for Governor in 1965. He and

a friend started out in Martinsville and drove eastward across the state and finally reached Cape Charles, stopping at drugstores en route to eat and converse with the people. In Cape Charles they talked with a man who said, "Mr. Holton, I'm going to vote for you." Holton said he asked, "Why?" and the stranger said, "I'm a drug salesman and I've shaken hands with you five days this week." A legacy of the Holton years was a reorganization of state government. "It was inherently wrong to have one-hundred or more state agencies reporting to the Governor." Holton campaigned on this issue and promised to put together a study of state government independent of the General Assembly and to implement its outcome. Private funds were secured from E. Claiborne Robins, and Robins delayed his own retirement for six months so that his designated replacement, William L. Zimmer, III, could lead the study. Having agreed to implement whatever the study indicated was needed, Holton developed the cabinet system which has served Virginia so well. He started with five cabinet posts. Now there are eleven.

There was considerable opposition to the change among members of the General Assembly. Late on the last day of the General Assembly session, the Senate voted to refer the enabling legislation for study,



By CHARLES C. TODD



Virginia Governors Gilmore, Allen, Holton, Wilder and Baliles



Governor Holton at home enjoying conversation on his porch

Governor Holton's Cabinet—the first Virginia Governor to name a Cabinet



The Holton's children in the early 1970s

which time did not permit and would have killed the proposal. Then, Senator L. Douglas Wilder (of the opposition party and later Governor) moved that the Senate reconsider its vote, and the measure was approved.

When asked how things have changed since he left the Governor's office in 1974, Holton said, "It's money. The combined budgets have grown from seven or eight billion to about seventy-four billion now; about ten times what they were. This is due to growth in population, the economy, inflation, and interest rates." He continued by saying "The economic growth is partly due to education. We made a big investment in the Community College system." When asked if he initiated the system, he said, "Governors Harrison and Godwin studied the need and get credit for starting the Community Colleges. I raised the income tax, tobacco tax, gasoline taxes, and the sales tax to pay for them, and it was worth it."

Governors in Virginia are "strong," according to the former Governor. "It is a very strong position. The budget is prepared under the direction of the Governor. It is exclusively the Governor's doing. Members of the General Assembly may make changes in the Governor's

recommendations to please the folks back home," he said, "but they are insignificant amounts in terms of the total budget."

Furthermore he said, "the Legislature tries to assert itself, but the Governor has the power."

Holton recounted a conversation with someone in the highway department (now the VDOT) when he was in office. The department head told him that there was nothing political about locating highways, and that they were built according to need. Holton observed that there was a four-lane highway across southern Virginia through Henry County, the home of Governor Stanley; Halifax County, the home of Governor Tuck; Brunswick County, the home of Governor Harrison; and Southampton County, the home of Governor Darden. The official said, "That just happened to be where the need was."

As the first Republican Governor of Virginia in the twentieth century, A. Linwood Holton, Jr. played a key role in shaping the Commonwealth's modern history. Although some of his programs were unpopular at the time of their inception, he left office with an

See *Where Are They Now?*, continued on page 5



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## Where Are They Now? from page 5

80 percent approval rating and a solid legacy for future Republican governors. Known for his positive contributions to race relations and the institution of the Governor's Cabinet, Linwood Holton reinvigorated the two-party system in Virginia through his election and administration.

Holton believes that the recent close election for U. S. Senator put Virginia "in play as a two-party state" which both parties will pay attention to in the future. He was highly critical of negative campaign practices. "When I ran against Bill Battle," he said, "I never mentioned him except in complimentary ways. We've remained friends ever since." He said that "No one could have scripted a worse campaign than the one in which George Allen was engaged." Holton stated that he met with candidate Kaine's father frequently during the gubernatorial race in 2005, and they both encouraged *positive* rather than *negative* campaigning.

The former Governor said that during his successful campaign, he and his team met every week and made decisions and set policy. If the twelve members voted one way and he was of another opinion, they did it his way, "The candidate should be in charge," he emphasized.

As for election reform, the Governor said, "I would like to reduce the need for money, but I don't know how to do it. The court equated spending money with free speech," Holton would like to set limitations on campaign spending. He suggested a partial solution which would require radio and television stations to give free time to candidates as a provision for obtaining a license to operate in the state.

Governor Holton expressed himself clearly on the question of allowing a Virginia Governor to succeed himself; *i.e.*—serve two consecutive terms. If allowed, "The first thing a Governor would do would be to telephone friends to raise money for the next election. This is an unacceptable conflict of interest," he said. Mr. Holton did show an interest in electing the Governor for 6 years but didn't feel that this would happen anytime soon.

Our conversation turned to the rumor in 1973 that President Nixon was going to nominate him to fill the Vice-Presidency following the resignation of Spiro Agnew. Governor Holton was not reluctant to talk about the rumor. "A story, which was never printed, was given to the *Washington Post* to that effect. There was nothing to it." Reporters picked it up, however, including Charley McDowell who accompanied him to Washington and attended the press conference when Mr. Nixon announced he was naming Gerald Ford.

Governor Holton believes that the "wackoes" in the Nixon administration resented his views on race and planted the rumor in an attempt to embarrass both him and the *Washington Post*.

The service Governor Linwood Holton has given Virginia has made him a true Political Hero, and we should all be thankful that he devoted so many years of his life to make Virginia what it is today. We appreciate his continued interest in good government in Virginia and we wish him many happy years of retirement.

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

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# Virginia: A Purple state?

By LARRY J. SABATO

“The Democrats have been on a winning streak since Mark Warner restored them to power in the 2001 election. Gaining General Assembly seats and electing a second Governor, Tim Kaine, in 2005 was sweet for a party that had been on the ropes since 1991. But the sweetest treat of all for Mr. Jefferson’s party was the defeat of Senator George Allen in 2006. Allen had begun an era of GOP statewide victories in 1993 as he captured the Governorship, and almost no one thought he would lose in ’06.

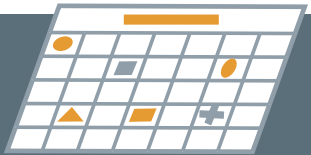


After all, Allen was supposed to be a strong candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008. Jim Webb’s own campaign manager, Steve Jarding, told Webb early in the year he had just a 15% chance of winning. But that was before ‘macaca’ and all of Allen’s other campaign gaffes. Moreover, President Bush’s popularity plummeted, the Iraq War became deeply unpopular, and Allen’s 96% voting record with Bush became a sizeable burden. Webb’s Northern Virginia-fed, 9,300-vote margin out of nearly 2.4 million votes was close, yet it was larger than the number of votes that elected Senator John Warner in 1978 or Governor Doug Wilder in 1989. Big things came in this small package: Allen was deposed, his presidential candidacy lay in ruins, and the Democrats grabbed the crucial 51st seat to control the United States Senate.

Does the GOP have reason to worry in 2007? You bet, even though the Republicans appear to be favored to retain control of the General Assembly at the starting gate. Redistricting protects the GOP majorities in the House of Delegates and the Senate of Virginia, but no more so than clever line-drawing ‘guaranteed’ a national Republican majority in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2006. It’s far too soon to handicap the November contests. We don’t know how many open seats there will be, or how many strong challengers will run. But this one is worth watching. In modern-day Virginia, ‘sure things’ have a way of turning into upsets. Red is not yet Blue in Virginia, but the Color Purple isn’t just a book title anymore.”

*Dr. Larry J. Sabato is Director-Center for Politics, Robert Kent Gooch Professor and University Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia.*

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# The GOP’s Northern Problem

By STEPHEN FARNSWORTH

George Allen’s 2006 Senate defeat demonstrates that the Old Dominion’s Republican Party has a severe northern Virginia problem, and that malady continues to worsen. While Allen lost the region to incumbent Sen. Chuck Robb six years ago, the margin was only three percentage points—far less than the seventeen percentage point margin that separated Sen. Allen from Democratic challenger Jim Webb last November.



Three major top-of-the-ticket statewide elections have gone to the Democrats in the past five years (along with Webb’s senate victory, Mark Warner won the governor’s mansion in 2001 and Tim Kaine kept it in Democratic hands in 2005). While George Bush won Virginia handily during the 2004 presidential election, even Massachusetts Democrat John Kerry prevailed in northern Virginia.

Fortunately for the Republican incumbents of the state legislature, they do not run statewide. But the declining number of Republicans elected in Virginia Senate and House districts north of the Rappahannock may shrink even further when the votes are counted in November 2007.

Recent Democratic statewide victories and the narrower-than-usual Republican victories in northern Virginia’s two GOP-held US House seats last November will encourage the region’s strongest Democratic challengers to run for the legislature in 2007. Add to the anger many northern Virginia voters have over the failure of Republican legislative majorities to spend more on transportation, and you have a recipe for highly competitive challenges for the remaining Republicans in the region (among the most threatened GOP incumbent delegates in northern Virginia are David Albo of Fairfax County and Michele McQuigg and Jeff Frederick of Prince William County).

The real challenge for the GOP Caucus in 2007, therefore, will be to figure out a way to protect vulnerable northern Virginia Republicans. How can Republicans provide those highly vulnerable incumbents some transportation legislative victory that they can tout in their campaigns without offending the party’s downstate anti-tax-increase majority?

The struggle to balance the conflicting needs of the party’s incumbent lawmakers should make for an interesting session in Richmond and a very competitive election season, particularly in precincts not far from the Capitol Beltway.

*Stephen Farnsworth is associate professor of political science at the University of Mary Washington in Fredericksburg.*

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# After the 2006 Elections

By TONI-MICHELLE C. TRAVIS

The election of all of Virginia's U.S. House members at the same time that as an apparently popular incumbent Republican U.S. Senator was defeated sends definitive signals that the Republican party should not take its majority in the General Assembly for granted. Virginia has shown signs of shifting from solidly Republican to a partisan toss-up, especially as Northern Virginia has turned more Democratic. Allen's defeat looks like a trend because it followed the successive election of two Democratic governors who pulled heavily from Northern Virginia counties, the Commonwealth's fastest growing region. This gives the Democrats an opening to run energetic candidates in November to defeat some of the anti-tax Northern Virginia Republicans who are not providing financial solutions for the region's pressing transportation problems. Virginia Democrats are likely to begin a campaign which starts to chip away at the Republican majority in Richmond.

The electoral clout of voter-rich Northern Virginia was not lost on either party as the Washington suburbs are finally starting to call

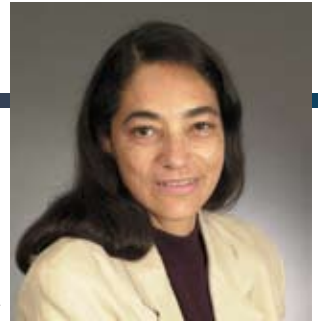
the tune in the Virginia elections. However, as NOVA, (Northern Virginia) flexes its muscles it only widens the split with ROVA, (the rest of Virginia), which traditionally dominated state politics. However, myriad differences are present—urban vs. rural, northern vs. southern, the "Real Virginia" vs. the newcomers portends for a serious philosophic difference over policy priorities between the two Virginias.

**“Virginia has shown signs of shifting from solidly Republican to a partisan toss-up, especially as Northern Virginia has turned more Democratic.”**

Ultimately, this leads to a hardening of regional perspectives in the General Assembly, that will cause fissures among Republicans. Northern Virginia legislators must push to modify the Dillon Rule so a regional authority can address the transportation crisis, so the tax structure (which makes NOVA the giver and ROVA the receiver) can be revised, and the growing needs of the region's immigrants can be more fully addressed.

One unanticipated benefit of the Webb-Allen senate race is increased visibility and enhanced national stature for Virginia. Indeed, Webb's victory not only handed Democrats the majority in the U.S. Senate, but it also signals that Virginia will now be scrutinized more by the national press and 2008 presidential hopefuls. As Virginia changes colors, a realignment of voting preferences is afoot that will shake up traditional Virginia politics and values.

*Toni-Michelle C. Travis is Associate Professor of Government and Politics at George Mason University—Fairfax, Virginia. ▮*



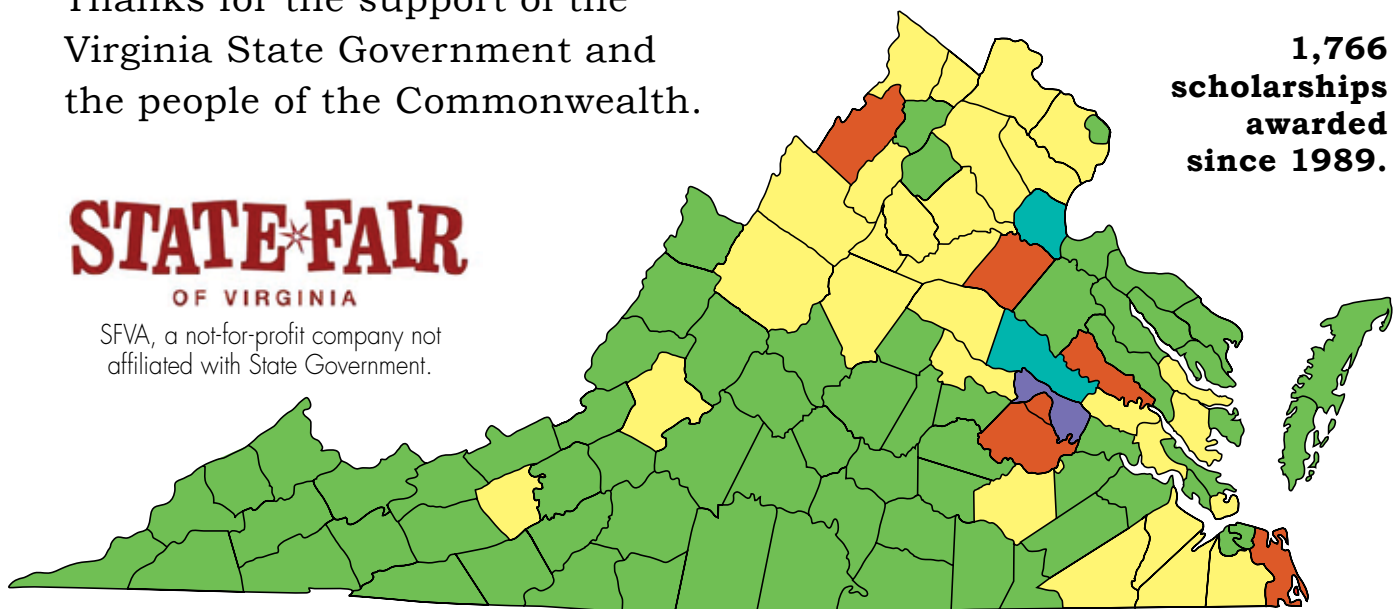
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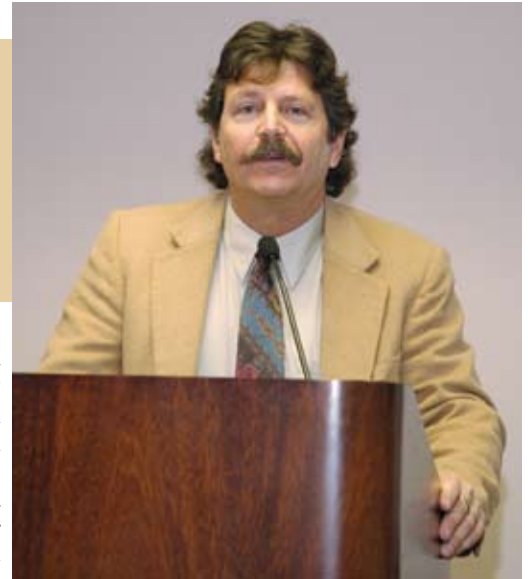


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# Virginia General Assembly: Campaign 2007

By GLEN SUSSMAN



In November 2007, Virginia citizens will go to the polls and their votes will decide which political party will have a majority in each chamber of the General Assembly. In the elections that occurred in November 2006, Democrats picked up seats in state legislatures across the country and have majorities in both chambers in more legislatures than Republicans (several legislatures are split while Nebraska has a unicameral legislature). Do the results of this recent election offer a glimpse of what might occur in Virginia?

Heading into the 2007 Virginia legislative elections, Republicans control both chambers of the Virginia General Assembly with a majority of 57 seats to 40 seats for Democrats (with 3 Independents) in the House of Delegates and 23 seats in the Senate to 17 seats among Democrats in the Senate. Democrats are optimistic since their two most recent gubernatorial candidates won back-to-back elections. On the other hand, the fact that most Republican Congressional candidates performed quite well in November 2006 suggests that Republicans might expect to do well in district-level electoral contests in 2007. Another important factor concerns the role played by self-identified Independents who helped Democrats and hurt Republicans in 2006. Will Independents play the same role in the Virginia legislative elections in November 2007?

How will electoral politics play out in Virginia in November? First, as a result of electoral success in the Congressional elections and state-level gubernatorial and legislative contests in 2006 that provided partisan momentum, Democrats feel energized and enthusiastic. Can Republicans sustain their ability to raise campaign contributions and mobilize successful grassroots efforts as they have done in the past?

Second, as the majority party, Republicans have been advantaged by redistricting. However, if Independents lean Democrat and Republican voter turnout is weak on election day, seats can and will change from Republican to Democrat.

Third, northern Virginia is an increasingly important area of the state and its role in the U.S. Senate race in support of Webb over Allen should provide concern for the Republican party. Republican can-

didates will find it increasingly difficult to win office in northern Virginia unless they promote a moderate rather than conservative philosophy.

Fourth, after back-to-back Republican governors—George Allen and Jim Gilmore—Virginia voters put two Democrats—Mark Warner and Tim Kaine—in the Governor's Mansion. Democratic electoral success in November will be influenced, in part, by the success or failure of the Democratic governor and his policy making agenda heading into the election.

Fifth, the success of Republicans in holding on to their majority in both chambers of the Virginia legislature will be influenced by continuing factionalism within the party. Divisive relations in the Virginia legislature are increasingly between Republicans in the House of Delegates and the Senate and among Republicans within each chamber. Continued conflict among Republicans suggests trouble on election day.

Sixth, the 2007 legislative session is a short one while pressing issues (e.g., transportation needs) demand attention. Will the Republican majority “do something” or risk “doing nothing” heading into the November election?

Political pundits and media observers have characterized Virginia as no longer red but not quite blue—rather, it is now purple. The November 2007 state-level election will offer a better picture of the dynamics of Virginia politics.

*Dr. Glen Sussman (Ph.D. in Political Science) is a Professor of Political Science at Old Dominion University. His scholarship includes three books and over seventy journal articles, book chapters and professional papers. ▣*

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Are there any restrictions on who may be employed as a lobbyist at the Virginia General Assembly?

### Answer:

*Other than a general requirement that all lobbyists must be registered with the Secretary of the Commonwealth and file appropriate disclosure reports on lobbying expenditures, the Code of Virginia (§ 2.2-435. Prohibition for state party chairman) requires that “[t]he chairman or any full-time paid employee of a state political party, as defined in § 24.2-101, or a member of his immediate family, as defined in § 2.2-3101, shall not be employed as a lobbyist by any principal.” ▣*



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# Virginia: Still Red or Turning Purple?

By BRIAN TURNER

Will the Democrats' success in the 2006 congressional races put wind in the sails of Democratic Party candidates in the 2007 General Assembly elections? Recent history suggests that it is unlikely.

The Democrats face several major challenges. The state remains basically "red" in voters' preferences. More importantly, few races for the Virginia General Assembly are remotely competitive due to gerrymandering. Virginia suffers from a "democracy deficit," in that for most of us our votes simply have no impact on which party controls the General Assembly.

It is hard to demonstrate the existence of a strong relationship between the national elections in one year and Virginia elections the next. The last three election cycles in which a mid-term federal election was followed by Virginia elections for all seats in both the House of Delegates and the Senate are instructive. In 1994, the Republicans swept to power in the U.S. House and the Senate for the first time in over forty years, but picked up just one of their gains in Virginia. In state elections in 1995, the Democrats retained control of the House of Delegates, although the Republicans won the Senate for the first time ever.

The 1998-1999 election cycles were good ones for Republicans nationally and in the state. The trend towards Republican dominance in Virginia continued, as the GOP won both houses of the General Assembly in 1999. The same trend held in 2002-2003, as the Republicans retained solid majorities in the U.S. Congress and tightened their grip on the General Assembly.

The current situation does feel different. Democrats have won stunning victories in Congress, and have also won three of the last four marquee state-wide Senate and gubernatorial races. Republican-leaning suburbs in both Northern Virginia and in the rest of the state are producing more votes for Democrats.

But gerrymandering will protect Virginia's Republicans for the time being. By observing the previous elections we can see the trend. In 1995, forty-eight House races and twenty-one Senate races were at least minimally competitive (in which a Democrat and a Republican contested the seat, with the losing candidate receiving at least one-third of the votes). By 1999, only thirty-two House races and fourteen Senate races were competitive, and most of these were uncontested by one of the major parties. This trend continued in 2003, with just twenty-eight House races drawing minimally-competitive candidates from both parties.

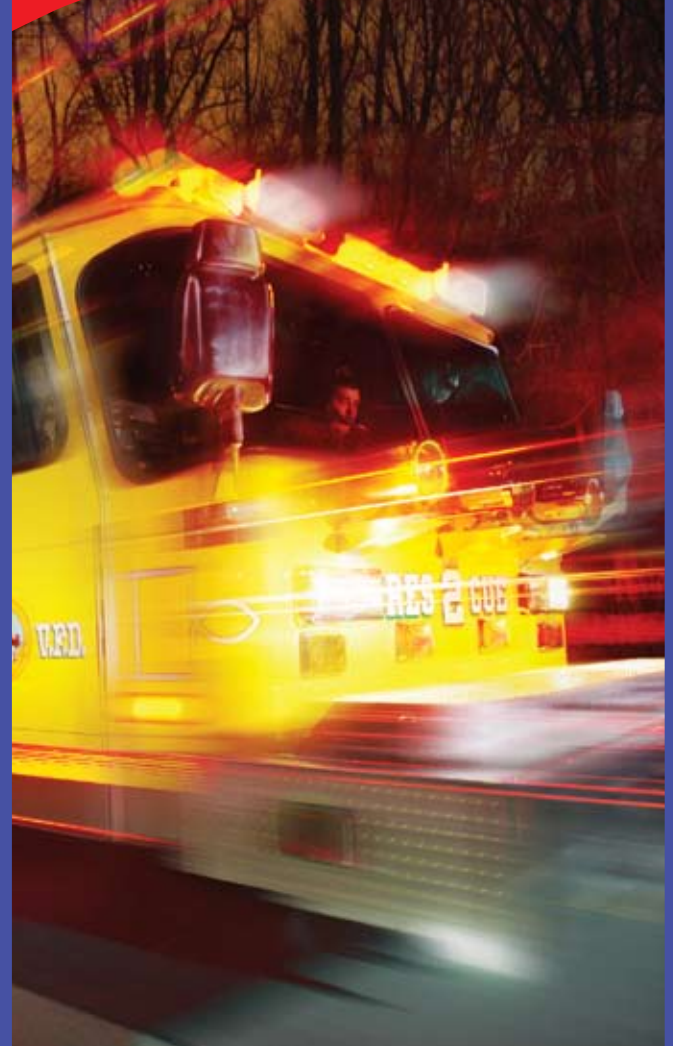
The 2007 elections may produce a few more challenges by Democrats in Northern Virginia's suburbs. More campaigns may be focused on issues that attract moderate candidates and voters, such as resolving funding challenges in transportation and education. State GOP leaders are recognizing that mobilizing conservatives on social issues is no longer a sure winner. But the surest prediction is that Virginia's democracy deficit will remain severe.

*Brian Turner is Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Randolph-Macon College.*



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a grantwriter?

I'm not on that  
committee.

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money?

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rich friends!

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# The Top 3 Issues for 2007

I'm looking forward to keeping the short session short, and to helping Governor Kaine build on the successes of recent years.

*Delegate Mark Sickles*

Dedicated funding for metro and other Northern Virginia transportation needs  
Eminent Domain  
Human Trafficking

*Delegate Adam Ebbin*

Beyond achieving sustained, dedicated funding for transportation, my top concerns are making housing and health care more affordable, strengthening public education, and working for policies that are grounded in social justice that give every member of our community—including the poor, the elderly, the weak, and the oppressed—a fair shake and an equal shot at the American dream.

*Delegate David Englin*

Healthcare  
Pre-school education  
Teacher and state  
employee compensation

*Delegate Ward L. Armstrong*

Transportation  
Health and Human Services

*Senator Dick Saslaw*

Transportation, budget/  
spending reform, and  
addressing land-use issues  
(including eminent domain).

*Delegate Jeff Frederick*

Budget—transportation—  
hopeful we can work something  
out without general tax increase.

Payday Lending—sunset or  
significantly regulate, hopefully.

Education—do we really need a  
big new program for preK?

*Delegate John O'Bannon*

It is critical that transportation funding be addressed. We are far worse off than when ongoing, sustained, adequate revenue was last addressed 20 years ago. We must act. I fear that we will not.

Any form of basic birth control that prevents a fertilized egg from being implanted will be debated because the federal government has OK'd the over the counter sale of the morning after pill to women over 18 without prescription.

A homestead exemption to provide real estate tax relief for those hit hardest by year after year of double digit increases in the value of their home.

*Delegate Vivian Watts*

I am not Nostradamus,  
but I predict it will  
be Transportation!

*Delegate Dave Albo*

A continuing stable and reliable source of funding for transportation and further aid to services to the mentally ill and disabled, plus support for financial aid for Virginia students attending state colleges and universities.

*Delegate Jim Scott*

Transportation  
Managing Growth  
Improving Public Education

*Senator Mark R. Herring*

Transportation  
Pre-K Education  
Budget

*Senator Toddy Puller*

I believe that there will be an attempt to raise funds for transportation needs in the Commonwealth, but I'm not sanguine that a compromise will be reached. Other two major issues—Chesapeake Bay clean-up efforts and more attention to early childhood needs.

*Delegate Al Eisenberg*

Eminent Domain  
Transportation  
COPN

*Delegate Chris Peace*

Many (of my constituents) are very concerned with finding a solution to the transportation concerns of the commonwealth. After returning from a special session without a solution, this session we should again make this a primary focus. Finding ways to preserve farmland while properly managing growth. Finally, continuing our efforts with the federal government to seek exemptions from No Child Left Behind.

*Delegate Matthew J. Lohr*

I think the three major issues of the 2007 regular session are budget; transportation; and eminent domain.

*Delegate Bill Barlow*

The budget; long-term care; career and technical education.

*Delegate Phil Hamilton*

Education and Transportation are on-going needs that must be addressed every session. Energy and Conservation Issues. Physical and Behavioral Health Issues.

*Delegate Anne B. Crockett-Stark*

Transportation Budget/Transportation Budget

*Senator Ken Stolle*

In my district, which will soon absorb 22,000 new jobs moving to Fort Belvoir, the top three issues are transportation, transportation, and transportation. Voters in Northern Virginia are looking for real solutions, not bromides.

*Delegate Kris Amundson*

The top three major issues will be transportation, transportation and—oh, yes—transportation.

*Delegate David Poisson*

Ensuring that we have adequate revenue for our established budget priorities, finding new revenue for transportation, and preparing for the election year.

*Delegate Bob Hull*

Transportation  
Education-Early Childhood Education in particular  
Pay Day Lending

*Delegate Paula Miller*

Transportation  
Immigration  
Off Shore Drilling

*Delegate Bob Tata*

Transportation  
Minimum wage  
Payday lending

*Senator Mary Margaret Whipple*



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