

# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



## Virginia: Red to Bluish Purple



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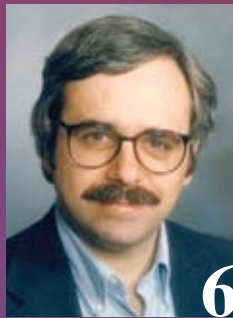
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# “Minority vote played a major role in the 2008 Elections...”

By JULIA TORRES BARDEN

Virginia's minority communities turned out in record numbers last November, helping to turn Virginia “blue” for the first time since presidential candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson won the state in 1964. U.S. Senator-elect, Mark Warner credited his sweeping win in part to the voter turnout generated in the African-American, Hispanic and Asian communities statewide saying “The 2008 elections will go down in history for record-high turnout rates—especially among minorities, new voters and young voters. Our campaign worked hard to build on the successful relationships we forged with diverse minority communities while I had the privilege of serving as Virginia Governor and I’m proud our campaign reflected Virginia’s broad ethnic and cultural diversity.” Warner’s campaign strategies also focused on the various affinity groups via specifically targeted outreach events and coordinated advertising in cultural or ethnic publications.

Secretary of the Commonwealth’s State Board of Elections, Nancy Rodrigues tells of precincts where voters were turning up as early as 3 o’clock in the morning to guarantee their place in line when the polls opened at 6am. Based in part on the media’s reporting of potential voting challenges including very long lines and the influx of 450,000 newly registered voters, Rodrigues said that “in the first four hours the polls were open, we estimate that 40% of Virginians had already voted.”



Minority GOTV efforts were well-organized and visible across the state; launching aggressive voter registration drives far in advance of the election and dedicating many resources to close monitoring of the polls on election day. Although the Central Virginia chapter of the NAACP filed last minute law suits regarding disproportionate voting machine availability and advocating their preference for paper ballots, election day in Virginia went smoothly.

Members of the Asian American Society of Virginia (AASOCV) spent election day monitoring a polling precinct in Midlothian—one of several communities chosen for monitoring given the higher than average Asian population—as part of their partnership with the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) and the Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans of Virginia in their shared Voter Protection Initiative.

Eric Lin, AASOCV’s Programs Committee Chair, arrived at his Midlothian High School precinct to set up his organization’s information table where the group intended to monitor the voting process. Several hours into the voting day an individual voter stated his objection regarding the close proximity of the AASOCV table to the voting booths and registered his complaint with the precinct chief. Lin was instructed to move his organization’s table outside where the long line of voters began. He then filled out the necessary incident report for AALDEF national headquarters. Even so, Lin said that “overall, I do think that here in Virginia, the Asian American

community’s ability to participate in the voting process was fairly good.”

Congressman Bobby Scott, representing Virginia’s 3<sup>rd</sup> district said he felt “good” upon hearing CNN’s projection at 10:58pm on election eve that Virginia was being called for Barack Obama; believing that Obama would need to carry the state in order to win the national election. A combination of aggressive registration drives and even the immigration issue played a significant role in the vote said Scott. “The voter registration drive and the immigration issue created a momentum in Northern Virginia where the vote was going to be lopsided because Fairfax County has 150 different languages spoken in their school system. So, when you adopt the mean-spirited Republican position on immigration you are not only insulting a substantial portion of the population,





you're also insulting everybody's neighbor—who are voters." Scott also mentioned that his slightly-majority Black district went 75% for Obama as compared with the 65% Kerry received in 2004. Given the concern prior to the election that there might be problems at the voting booth, Scott said that "the attitude of the voters was that people didn't care what the barriers were and they were not going to be deterred."

Jorge Figueredo, a native of Colombia, became a U.S. citizen in time to participate in his first presidential election this past November. Highlighting the political issues mattering most to him—Healthcare, Education, Transportation and comprehensive immigration reform—Figueredo reflected that both the Obama and McCain campaigns had reached out to his Hispanic community in Northern Virginia. He also expressed concern for transparency in the voting process. Commenting after his first presidential voting experience, Figueredo seemed relieved to report that "everything went fine."

Noted political pundit, Dr. Larry Sabato at the University of Virginia, reported that "African Americans comprised at least 20% of the November 4<sup>th</sup> (election) turnout in Virginia, and—within this group—close to 95% voted for Obama and other Democrats on the ballot. Hispanics comprised about 5% of the total (statewide) vote, with Asians at 3% and other races (accounting for) 2%. This collective 10% cast a heavy vote for Obama, about 2-to-1," said Sabato. While commenting on the apparent shift in Virginia politics, he added that "the increasing diversity of the Virginia electorate has had a major impact in turning the state from Red to Bluish Purple."

While reporting on the voting results for Virginia, the *Washington Times* ran an article called "GOP gets wake-up call on minority vote" two weeks after the election reporting that "Virginia Republicans say the overwhelming support by Blacks and Hispanics that led to big wins for Democrats on Election Day taught them a valuable lesson: the party must work harder to make minority voters feel included and involved or pay dearly at the polls."

Virginia native and current Chesterfield County resident, Evelyn Morris-Harris is the chairperson of the Democratic Black Caucus in the state. She was thrilled to see that history was made on No-

vember 4<sup>th</sup> and especially relieved that the election went smoothly following the primary election predicament that her county found itself embroiled in last winter. "It has been overwhelming just to realize that it has become a reality. I'm very happy because this means that my grandchildren will have a safe place to grow up in and they have a great future ahead of them," said Harris.

Governor Tim Kaine is also very pleased with the outcome of our most recent elections. With respect to the election of Obama as the country's first-ever African American president, Kaine reflected that "it was a culmination of everything I've worked for in my adult life. I was a civil rights lawyer for 17 years and then started this overlapping career in elective office 15 years ago and it was a perfect fusion of my civil rights work and my career in elected office. I had a candidate who was very simpatico to my way of thinking and it was great to be able to help him. This is more than just an election, it is one of the most historic presidential elections in American history and I love the fact that Virginia was able to play a part in it. The fact that Virginia voters pulled that lever for Obama indicates that we have made a tremendous amount of progress."

*Julia Torres Barden is the proud mother of three sons and is a graduate of both the Sorenson Institute for Political Leadership at UVA and the Minority Political Leadership Institute at VCU. ▮*



# Where Did The Voters Go?

By BILL SHENDOW

While the 2008 presidential race is history and the post election analyses have shed some light on the many reasons for the final outcome, one question remains largely unanswered...Where did the voters go on Election Day? Make no mistake, nationally more people cast ballots this year than in previous presidential elections. Preliminary reports, however, show that the numbers pale in comparison to what was expected because of the large number of newly registered voters. Based on the percentage of registered voters voting, a standard used in calculating voter turnout, the 2008 presidential election did not produce the anticipated significant increase in actual turnout. According to an analysis conducted by American University professor Curtis Gans, between 60.7% and 61.7% percent of the 208.3 million eligible voters nationally cast ballots this year compared with 60.6 % of eligible voters voting in 2004. Gans estimates that between 126.5 million and 128.5 million eligible voters voted this year, versus 122.3 million four years ago. The gross number of ballots cast in 2008 was the highest ever but the percentage of registered voters voting was not substantially different than in 2004 because of the increase of 6.5 million people being added to the voter rolls.

Virginia's voter turnout numbers are even more revealing. While voting numbers in the Commonwealth were up by 250,000, the percentage of registered voters voting actually went down by 2% in comparison with the 2004 presidential election. Statewide an estimated 69% of registered voters went to the polls in the 2008 presidential election. According to the Virginia State Board of Elections, this was the second lowest percentage turnout of registered voters in a presidential election contest since 1976. The percentage of registered Virginia voters voting decreased despite early predictions of voter turnout as high as 80 percent. It was predictions of massive voter turnout in the state which prompted warnings and even a lawsuit from voter rights groups that charged that Virginia was ill prepared for the expected large turnout of voters on Election Day.

Why didn't the huge anticipated voter turnout in Virginia materialize? There is no single answer to the question of why the turnout of



registered voters fell far short of the predictions of so many political pundits. Quentin Kidd a political scientist at Christopher Newport University suggests that the increased number of newly-registered voters, over 500,000, in the Commonwealth artificially raised expectations of a record turnout. Many of these newly-registered voters were the result of a very effective effort by the Obama campaign to register new voters among minorities, young adults and lower income groups. Early indications are that due to lack of motivation or clear understanding of the electoral process many of these newly-registered voters did not vote on Election Day. This helped produce a net decrease in the percentage of registered voters voting in Virginia's statewide 2008 presidential election.

In addition to newly registered voters, two other voter groups contributed to Virginia's relatively low turnout of registered voters during the 2008 presidential election. First, it appears that Republicans in general and religious based, social conservatives in particular did not vote in the same numbers as they had in previous presidential elections. Curtis Gans estimates that nationally 1.3 percent fewer Republicans went to the polls in 2008 than voted in the 2004 presidential election. A lot of these non-voting Republicans were religious-oriented, social conservatives, a powerful voting bloc in rural Virginia which regularly gives Republican candidates a large majority in statewide presidential elections. By one account an estimated 4 million Americans who go to church more than once a week did not vote in 2008. Despite being energized by John McCain's pick of Sarah Palin to be his vice presidential running mate, this group had a problem ideologically with John McCain being at the top of the Republican ticket. It is reasonable to conclude that many religious based, social conservatives in Virginia did as their brethren did nationwide and chose to stay home on Election Day.

The second additional voting group contributing to the low percentage of Virginians voting in the 2008 presidential election was rural Democrats. While Barack Obama ran very well in Roanoke and in medium size cities in the southern, southwest and Shenandoah Valley regions of Virginia, John McCain carried the rural counties in these regions. In many cases his percentage of the vote exceeded that of George Bush in 2000 and 2004. The Republican candidate even carried the southwestern counties of Dickinson and Buchanan which voted for John Kerry in 2004 and had a long history of voting Democratic in presidential elections. Anecdotal information from these regions indicates that these results were not a matter of a large Republican turnout, but rather the result of many Democrats

not voting. The net number of voters voting in Dickinson and Buchanan counties in 2008 was actually less than in 2004. While the reason for some Democrats not voting can be attributed to Obama's position on such issues as the mining of coal and gun control, race appears to have been a major factor. By one account over 50 percent of registered voters in rural Virginia said race played a role in their vote or whether they voted at all. Given the choice of voting for a black man for president or a Republican, it is likely that a number of Democrats in rural Virginia chose not to vote.

Despite the historical significance for race relations of the 2008 presidential election, race played a role in the Commonwealth as it did nationally. It contributed to a reduced number of Democrats voting. Also, a lower than expected turnout of newly-registered voters and social conservatives voting helps explain the decrease in the percentage of registered voters voting in Virginia's 2008 presidential election.

*Dr. Bill Shendow is the Chairman of the Political Science Department at Shenandoah University*



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

By LAUREN C. BELL

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

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

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

More significantly, the official election results over the last three big elections—the Presidential elections of 2008 and 2004, and the 2005 gubernatorial election—show that in 2008, most counties voted exactly as they had in 2004. Democrats gained an advantage in a handful of urban centers, including Henrico County, where in 2004 President Bush won 53.8 percent of the vote; in 2008, John McCain could muster only 43.5 percent of the vote in Henrico. The 2004-to-2008 results were similar in Harrisonburg City, Radford City, and Manassas City; in all of these cases, and in a handful of others, counties that had supported the Republican for president in 2004 shifted their support to the Democrat in 2008. But in most localities in Virginia, voters cast ballots in 2008 just as they had in 2004.


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

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



Looking county-by-county at the 2005 results in the backward context of the 2004 election, it's apparent that Kilgore was unable to translate support for President Bush into support for his own candidacy.




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In many localities—Accomack County, Albemarle County, Allegheny County, Appomattox County, Arlington County (those are just the As, but the rest of the alphabet looks much the same, so you get the idea)—Kilgore's share of the vote was seven to as much as twelve percent less than the share of the vote Bush received just one year prior. In Henrico County, Kilgore's vote share was nearly nine percent less than that Bush had received a year earlier.

Likewise, looking county-by-county in the forward context of the 2008 election, it becomes apparent that Barack Obama didn't fully re-

See *Now That The 2008*, continued on page 6



# What the 2008 Election in VA says about 2009

By STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH

Giddy Virginia Democrats are still celebrating their 2008 victories in the state, but the party may face a rude awakening next year, when voters select the state's next governor.

While no one knows what shape the state and the world will be in next November, early indications are that the coming months will be a lot better for Old Dominion Republicans than 2008 has been.

The state's bizarre odd-year election cycle effectively separates Washington concerns from Richmond concerns, which should help Virginia Republicans next time. Widespread antipathy for President Bush helped push Virginia's Electoral College votes into the Democratic column for the first time in decades in 2008, but Democrats won't be able to run against an ex-president in state elections next fall.

In 2009, Virginia Democrats will need to keep that enthusiasm and the high turnout of 2008 if they expect to win another term in the governor's mansion. That seems unlikely as Obama-mania meets the harsh reality that presidents are rarely as transformational or as successful as their supporters expect when an election is won.

In particular, three segments of the electorate explain Obama's victory in Virginia—high turnout among young voters, African Americans and recent arrivals who settled in Northern Virginia—and all three groups are at risk of being less active in the state's 2009 contests. That would be good news for the GOP.

So far, the results in other southern states are not encouraging for the Democrats running for office when Obama is not also on the ballot. In the month following Obama's victory, southern Republicans won all three run-off elections: a US Senate race in Georgia and two US House seats in Louisiana. All three defeats occurred at least in part because voter enthusiasm for Democrats cooled after Obama's victory.

In other words, Democratic fortunes in the Virginia governor's race depend on convincing those voters who were part of Obama's narrow victory in the state to show up again in November 2009. If the next state electorate looks like the last one, Republicans are going to have a very rough time of it. But Virginia voters usually care a lot more about presidential elections than gubernatorial contests, and Obama won the state by roughly 200,000 votes of more than 3.7 million cast.

Fairfax County voted for Obama by a double-digit margin, as compared to Kerry's narrower win in the county four years ago. Obama



also won a double-digit victory in Prince William County, even though George W. Bush won the county in 2004. But northern Virginia voters are notoriously Washington-focused, and the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, whoever that may be, will need similarly high turnouts in the Washington suburbs to counter traditional Republican strengths in more conservative rural communities.

In the past, outer ring suburban counties of Washington have generated huge GOP margins that helped offset Democratic victories in urban parts of the state. McCain still won these communities, but far more narrowly than Bush did in 2000 and 2004.

In Spotsylvania and Stafford, two representative fast-growing counties near Fredericksburg, McCain received less than 1,000 votes more than Bush did four years ago. But Obama received 15,000 more votes in the two counties than 2004 Democratic nominee John Kerry did. Obama's gains weren't enough for him to win either county, but the Republican margin fell below 55 percent in both jurisdictions, a sharp drop from the 62 percent and 63 percent GOP margins in 2004.

The best case scenario for a Republican gubernatorial victory would include a contested Democratic primary nomination and a clear shot to the nomination for the GOP's favored candidate. That appears to be happening, as three prominent Democrats—all of whom can raise significant amounts of money—are in the running for the party's gubernatorial nomination. A bitter primary fight can discourage supporters of the losing candidates from working all that hard to elect the Democrat who survives to win the nomination.

For the Republicans, Attorney General Bob McDonnell has reached an agreement with Lt. Gov. Bill Bolling that McDonnell will run for governor and Bolling will run for re-election to the state's second highest job. If things remain as quiet on the GOP side as they are at the moment, the party's fortunes may improve in 2009.

Finally, there is the state's economy. If Gov. Tim Kaine (D) is forced to make steadily more severe cuts in public services to balance the state budget, that may hurt the Democratic nominee in 2009 in the same way that Bush's financial policies hurt the GOP presidential nominee in 2008.

*Stephen Farnsworth, Ph.D., teaches courses in political communication and journalism at George Mason University, where he is assistant professor of communication. His most recent book, *Spinner in Chief: How Presidents Sell Their Policies and Themselves*, was published in September.*

## Now That The 2008

from page 5

alize the high proportion of the vote share garnered by Tim Kaine in 2005. For example, in Allegheny County, Kaine obtained 54 percent of the vote in 2005, but Obama polled at just 48 percent in November. Moreover, in many places, the Republican share of the vote increased substantially from 2005 to 2008; in both Bedford and Bland Counties, for example, John McCain received a seven percent greater share of the vote in 2008 than had Kilgore in 2005. In 2008, Republicans increased their share of the vote in Campbell County, Clarke County, Craig County, Floyd County, Franklin County, Giles County, Gloucester County, Goochland County, Grayson County, Greene County, Hanover County, Henry County, New Kent County, Nottoway County, Pulaski County, Rappahannock County, Roanoke County, Rockbridge County, Tazewell County—again, the list goes on and on.

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

What all of this tells me is that rather than being a solid "blue," or even a solid "purple" state, Virginians in 2005 were simply dissatisfied with the Republican candidate for governor, preferring the Democratic candidate—lieutenant to a wildly popular, outgoing Governor, Mark Warner—over his Republican challenger. The return to more normal voting patterns in most places in 2008 suggests that the Republican (large R) spirit remains alive and well in Virginia—but simply was insufficient to counteract the Obama campaign's well-funded and well-run organization. In addition, some Republican voters simply may have been dissatisfied with the national Republican Party's nominee for President.

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

*Lauren C. Bell is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean of the College at Randolph-Macon.*



# Youth Voters— Will They Be Back In 2009?

By GLEN SUSSMAN

The 2008 race for the presidency immediately became a media event as the demographic character of the candidates and the electorate had an impressive impact on the primary season and the general election. Included among the candidates for the presidency were potential firsts—the first African-American president (Barack Obama), the first female president (Hillary Clinton), the first Hispanic president (Bill Richardson) the first Mormon president (Mitt Romney) and perhaps the oldest elected president (John McCain). Moreover, for the first time, a Republican candidate for president selected a woman (Sarah Palin) as his running mate.

What was also important was the nature of the electorate in general and the youthful cohort in particular. What was a fascinating aspect of the presidential campaign was the involvement of a large number of young people—some call it the Millennium generation—who were mobilized in a way not seen since young people organized to lower the voting age from 21 to 18 in the early 1970s.

Young people have a history of not participating in the electoral process. What made the youthful cohort important in 2008 is that young people 18-29 made up approximately 44 million potential voters—about 20% of the total electorate. This statistic was not lost on the Obama campaign. Obama, like Clinton before him, sought to attract young people to his campaign. However, expectations have risen with successive presidential elections about the participation of young people only to lead to disappointment. Would young people turn out for Obama or would they end up sitting home? If Obama was expecting a “youthquake” as described by *Time Magazine*, *CNN* reported that young voters broke 68% for Obama to 30% for McCain.

Issues, technology and a charismatic Democratic candidate played an important role in energizing young people. Issues important to young people included the state of the economy, job opportunities and the war in Iraq. Technology was employed by the Obama campaign that included Facebook and YouTube among others. An attractive and charismatic candidate—Barack Obama—emerged during the primary season and he earned the nomination to lead his party in the Fall campaign. In short, these three factors in addition to polls that indicated that three out of four young people, 18-29, believed that the country was headed in the wrong direction benefit-



ted Obama and cast a dark shadow on the Bush legacy and McCain's campaign fortunes.

As reported by MSNBC on November 5, 2008, “Young Americans can finally shake off their reputation for civic apathy....An estimated 24 million Americans aged 18 to 29 voted in this election, an increase in youth turnout by at least 2.2 million over 2004.” Or as the director of polling for the Harvard Institute of Politics reported, “19 percent more young people voted this year than in 2004.”

According to a CNN exit poll, young people (18-29 years old) comprised 21% of all voters in Virginia on November 4, 2008 up from 17% four short years earlier. Among these youthful voters, 60% supported Obama. Having said this, let us get our heads out of the clouds, since voter turnout remains linked to age. The youthful cohort remains less likely to vote compared with other age groups. In short, as one ages, one is more likely to vote. This leads to the logical question—will young voters return in 2009 as candidates vie for the Virginia governorship and seats in the General Assembly?

It is likely that young voters will not show up to the polls in large numbers in Virginia in November 2009 for several reasons. First, state and local politics are less visible to the youthful cohort. Young voters are less likely to see the linkage between their participation in state level politics and policy outcomes. Second, research shows that state politics receives less media attention than national and local politics. This suggests that young voters, even those who might be interested in state politics, face a political cost—they will have to exercise more of their time to learn about state level candidates. Third, the 2008 presidential election had a charismatic candidate who worked hard to mobilize young voters. It is less likely that such a candidate will emerge among state level candidates for office in Virginia. Fourth, in order to see young voters return on Election Day in November 2009, it would help if they were mobilized during a primary season where partisans campaigned against each other to win the nomination for their respective parties. It is unlikely that state level partisans will energize young voters during the period leading up to the general election to the degree that Obama did during the presidential primary season.


Although the increase in turnout among young voters is a welcome change in U.S. and Virginia politics, what is more likely to happen is that young voters will participate in the upcoming state electorate contests but to a lesser degree compared to 2008. Young voters need to be recruited on a regular basis and need to see the connection between participation and policy outcomes in Virginia. In short, they need to be habituated in state level politics as a precondition that should encourage them to participate in upcoming electoral contests on a regular basis. Only then will Virginia politics reflect participation by all age groups to a larger degree than seen in the past.

*Glen Sussman is a Professor of Political Science at Old Dominion University.* 

## Blue Ridge Public Television in Roanoke launches two new programs “This Week in Richmond” and “Jobquest”

A fixture around Capitol Square for decades, David Bailey will host a new Blue Ridge PBS production called “This Week in Richmond.” The weekly show will spotlight the latest happenings at the General Assembly with timely insights and thoughtful analysis of legislative matters critical to people in Central and Southwest Virginia. Bailey will interview state legislators who represent districts served by Blue Ridge PBS, giving viewers an in-depth look at important developments and decisions coming out of the Capitol. Communities in Central and Western Virginia face unique economic and social challenges. “This Week in Richmond” will keep viewers informed and engaged in issues that are most relevant to this part of the Commonwealth. The show premiered January 9 at 7:30 p.m. with a preview of the General Assembly's agenda and will continue each Friday at the same time through the end of the 2009 session.



“JobQuest,” another new Blue Ridge PBS production that will help people in Central and Southwest Virginia find employment during these challenging economic times. The monthly show, which premiered January 6 at 7:30 p.m., will be a live, call-in program featuring human resource specialists, business representatives and other guests who will share helpful information about employment issues and opportunities. Viewers can call in or e-mail with questions. Many of these calls will be answered live, on air, by guest experts. Other calls will be handled, off camera, by a phone bank staffed by employment professionals. Each episode of “JobQuest” will also feature video segments from the field where station reporters will be talking with area residents affected by the economy and rising unemployment. 

# The Way We Were: The Elections of 2008

By TOM HYLAND

A number of experts on election technology and websites dedicated to election issues in the United States were predicting, arguably, that the likely record levels of voter participation in 2008 elections and the seemingly inherent problems with electronic voting machines could lead to chaotic electoral results throughout the nation, long delays in certification of election results, questionable results, and other related problems. Those worst fears were not realized; but some electoral experts believe that the avoidance of those problems was more a matter of good luck and effective planning on the part of political campaign officials than on the effectiveness of electronic voting technology and their oversight by local voting election officials.

In a November 14, 2008 editorial entitled “Put an end to election messes,” the *Boston Globe* newspaper claimed that “BARACK OBAMA’S superior get-out-the-vote operation spared the country from another squeaker presidential election, with the claims of voter fraud and intimidation that have become so familiar in the previous two cycles. But that doesn’t mean the problems in the nation’s electoral system have disappeared. They’re just not as visible at high tide.”

The *Globe* went on to make the point that “[a]fter the 2000 election made the United States look like something out of a Marx Brothers movie, former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter co-chaired a National Election Commission. Their report concluded that the country has one of the most burdensome voter registration systems—and one of the lowest participation rates—in the developed world. Even with the Obama wave, voter turnout this year was only about 61 percent of registered voters. “According to the *Globe*,” [o]ne simple change would solve several problems that have bedeviled recent national elections: universal voter registration. Under this plan, promoted by the watchdog Brennan Center for Justice and others, the government would be responsible for automatically registering citizens when they turn 18. This would eliminate sometimes sketchy private groups, such as ACORN, from the business of registering voters. It would substantially reduce registration challenges—and lawsuits—that can disenfranchise voters. And, by capturing the 28 percent of Americans who are not now registered to vote, it would add almost 50 million voters to the rolls. Because the conduct of elections is reserved to the states under the Constitution, each state should develop and execute its own plan for registration, with its own rules and identification requirements. But enabling legislation at the federal level would set deadlines and, importantly, allocate funds.

“State election officials and Republicans,” said the *Globe*, “resist the idea, for different reasons: election officials fear another un-



## John G. “Chip” Dicks

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funded federal mandate; Republicans believe a massive infusion of new voters will tilt Democratic.” But, according to the *Globe*, “support is growing—the chairwoman of the federal Election Assistance Commission supports it, and Michael Waldman, director of the Brennan Center, presented a plan last week to the Center for American Progress Action Fund, a project of the increasingly influential think tank whose director, John Podesta, is heading President-elect Barack Obama’s transition team. Change is hard to accept for a Congress that, after all, got elected under the current registration system. But any technical or political obstacles pale in comparison with another election marred by fears of ballot-stuffing, voter suppression, and undermined confidence in democracy.”

Steven Rosenfeld of the weblog *AlterNet* contends that “[t]he electronic voting problems in the 2008 election are broader than recently-publicized snafus such as machines not turning on, voter databases omitting names, or touch screens not properly recording votes, according to an analysis of 1,700 incident reports from the nation’s largest voter hotline.” Moreover, Rosenfeld noted that “the voting machine issues and the confusion they caused among poll workers appear to have compounded the delays faced by untold thousands of voters this fall, a preliminary analysis of 1-800-OUR-VOTE reports by Joseph Lorenzo Hall, a researcher at Princeton University and the University of California, has found.”

“If we can do anything to improve the experience of the average voter facing a machine problem, it should be reduce the amount of time they spend in line,” Hall wrote this week, adding that voters who had machine problems and got back-up paper ballots often were not confident that their votes would count. “Another curious feature of the data,” noted by Hall, “is the voters’ uniformly negative attitudes toward contingency or back-up plans. Voters are often upset and mistrustful.”

“Hall’s analysis is one of the first assessments to look at electronic voting in the 2008 fall election. Many voting rights groups have said the biggest problems this year were inaccurate voter registration records, not enough early voting sites, and planning that did not accommodate high turnout.” His...“findings suggest that the voting machinery used exacerbated these very issues.”

## 1700 Voting Machine Incident Reports

The Election Protection Coalition, which had a volunteer staff of 10,000 lawyers during early voting and on Election Day, received calls via a national hotline. The calls were noted, categorized and posted on [OurVoteLive.org](http://OurVoteLive.org). Of 86,000 calls received this fall, about 1,900—or 2.2 percent—were about the machines. Two-thirds were registration and polling place inquiries.

According to the EPC, NJ and PA experienced “numerous reports of lights and buttons not working on machines.” In addition, there were reports of machines that kept rebooting, “would work only after periodic shaking,” or did not work with other computers in the network.

Hall asserted that “after eliminating duplicates, there were 1700 incidents.” These calls generally did not involve problems encountered later Tuesday night during the vote count. In contrast, the Democratic National Committee’s election protection team monitoring machine issues, including the count, recorded “thousands” of incidents, a volunteer on that team said.

The most common voter hotline complaints were “about broken machinery, long lines, long waits to vote and reports of emergency ballots being used instead of the normal mode of voting,” Hall said. “However, there are some interesting features from these reports.”

Machine breakdowns and electronic poll book bottlenecks—where voters check in before voting—lead to many delays, said Hall. He cited a report from Atlanta where all 15 voting machines in a polling place had stopped working, and a New York City report of one poll book for hundreds of voters. A shortage of e-poll book laptops was reported in Georgia, while in Maryland poll workers could not get their electronic voting systems up and running, Hall notes, citing typical complaints.



One surprise, Hall said, was that the delays in voting did not just come with checking in voters—but with voters wanting to run their ballots through vote-count scanners. “We have reports of people waiting in line for 3 hours in New Jersey, 3.5 hours in Georgia, 5 hours in Ohio, 6 hours in Missouri,” he said. “In many cases, long lines were exacerbated by voters insisting on feeding their own ballot into an optical scan machine, despite it taking a long time to service or replace the affected equipment.”

In 14 states, voters reported “vote flipping,” where the machines selected another candidate other than their pick (FL, OH, PA, VA, GA, MD, MS, TX, NV, MO, NC, SC, IN, WV).

Hall said he was “very encouraged to see that in most cases, emergency ballots were available,” though he noted that in Virginia some precincts ran out of back-up ballots. “What I didn’t count on was that voters consider voting via an emergency ballot to be fundamentally suspect; that is, most were worried that their vote wouldn’t count if cast via emergency ballot. Poll workers compounded this issue,” he said, “by confusing back-up and provisional ballots. The latter are used for unlisted voters and must be verified to count. We saw cases in at least two states where poll workers were refusing to hand out emergency ballots despite significant machine failures,” he said referring to New York and Pennsylvania. “In one case a caller claimed that voters in line were ‘fighting with poll workers’ over emergency ballots,” he said. In addition, some voters were upset their vote was not secret because election officials could see their backup ballots.”

It is impossible to know how many votes were affected by the issues cited in these incident reports. However, depending on the state and location, individual paperless voting machines could be used by 200 to 600 voters, and paper-ballot scanners could be used to count even larger numbers of ballots. While the presidential results would not appear to be undermined by any of these problems, they do reveal that machinery-related problems are more extensive than many people assume.

## Machinery Still Unfamiliar

Hall’s report noted other categories of voting machine issues. Since 2002, federal law has encouraged the use of paperless voting systems, especially for people with disabilities. However, said Hall “disability access equipment simply didn’t work or was not set up properly” in Arizona, California, New York, Missouri, Minnesota and Maryland. He also noted a report of a poll worker not helping a blind voter because too many other voters were in line.

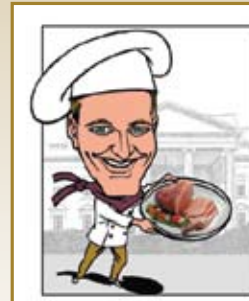
Machinery malfunctions were a common complaint, Hall noted, saying New Jersey and Pennsylvania experienced “numerous reports of lights and buttons not working on machines.” In addition, he said there were reports of machines that kept rebooting, “would work only after periodic shaking,” or did not work with other computers in the network.

In 14 states, voters reported “vote flipping,” where the machines selected another candidate other than their pick (FL, OH, PA, VA, GA, MD, MS, TX, NV, MO, NC, SC, IN, WV).

Voters raised the issue of who was authorized to fix broken machines. In South Carolina, “individuals removed a voting machine from the polling place and took it out to a car to tinker with it,” Hall said. In New York, others, including a policeman, apparently “fixed” voting machines. Voters in Ohio and Pennsylvania also noted clocks on some machines were still set to Daylight Savings time, which prompted them to question whether their votes would count.

The process of paperless voting also confused some voters. “A ‘fleeing voter’ is a voter who leaves a voting machine without having cast their voted ballot,” he said, citing incident reports from New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania where that was an issue. “A ‘premature voter’ is one who accidentally casts their ballot (or has it cast for them) before they are finished voting their ballot,” Hall commented, citing reports from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Florida and Chicago.

See *The Way We Were*, continued on page 10



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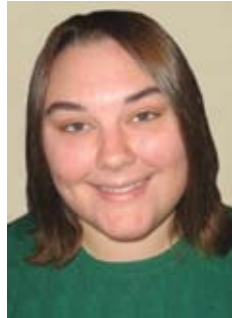
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# Student Voters: Lack of Interest

By CHRISTIE WARTHAN


The lack of student interest in voting seems to get a great deal of attention in each election that I can remember. Other than the general population of political science students, I feel as though the majority of students could care less about exercising their most important right, which is to vote. The reasons that students do not exercise their right to vote are simple to me. Most students don't believe that their vote counts or they don't know enough about government to care about voting. I cannot forget how many



times I have pushed one of my fellow students to vote and have gotten the response, "Why, why should I vote? My vote is not going to change the election or make a difference." But to me the fact is that their vote could have an impact on the election. Especially if 1,000 students who felt that their vote didn't count and then all of them went out and cast a vote, this could change an election if it was considerably close. As former Secretary of State Bill Jones says, "I always like to remind those who believe their vote is not important of how many bills have been passed or rejected because of one vote, or how many city council and school board trustee members have been elected by just one vote." He also goes on to say that one vote change in each precinct of Ohio and California would have defeated John F. Kennedy as President. Needless to say, your vote does count, it counts immensely.

When it comes to the notion that students do not know enough about government to care about voting, I hear this reason given frequently. There are many students who don't vote because they don't know how government works and don't realize that what the government does and does not do directly affects them. The government affects students everyday, whether it is by increasing or decreasing student loans, to passing laws that make it harder for us to download songs online.

It is important that students realize the impact that their vote had on this Presidential election, and other elections for that matter. I truly believe that because people my age flocked to the polls on Election Day we changed this presidential race. Always remember, your vote does count!

Christie Warthan is an employee of David Bailey Associates. 


## The Way We Were from page 9

Straight-party voting or selecting candidates from one political party also had glitches, he noted. In some instances, not all the candidates were selected, as in Washington, D.C. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, there were reports of ballots where the presidential race "was the only contest available," or the opposite, where the presidential race "was the only race missing."

Computer scanners that read paper ballots had other problems. Reports from Ohio, Virginia, Minnesota, Texas and North Carolina found counters on scanners did not record when new ballots were inserted, an issue that raised concerns about vote count accuracy. In

See *The Way We Were*, continued on page 12

## VIG saves Virginia over \$7,500 big ones

*Virginians for Integrity in Government* partnering with David Bailey Associates printed 1,500 desk pad calendars for the use of public officials in and around Capitol Square. The calendar was piloted last year for the first time and is back by popular demand in 2009. It features important dates in Virginia Government as well as the birthdays of many elected officials in the Commonwealth. The printing costs were offset by a gift by Alpha Natural Resources of Abingdon, VA. 



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# Renew Virginia

BY GOVERNOR TIMOTHY M. KAINE

When the General Assembly comes to Richmond January 14th lawmakers will face serious budgetary challenges. Based on advice from economists inside and outside my administration, I expect a revenue shortfall of \$2.9 billion for the 2009-10 biennium.

The steps I have already taken, together with actions I will recommend to the General Assembly, will close that shortfall and balance the budget. Though we have a revenue shortfall, I do not subscribe to the idea that we should fold our tent and refuse to be innovative and creative. Our "Best Managed State" does not stand still but always moves forward.

To that end, we must begin the process of moving the Commonwealth away from the use of energy sources that are increasingly expensive, unreliable, and damaging to our fragile environment. Over the next year, I will be proposing legislative and administrative actions under a new initiative called *Renew Virginia*.

Many of the initiatives will generate new jobs and new tax revenue. Others will result in spending reductions through efficiencies and conservation. Most importantly, all of them will improve our environment. I will continue to reach out for private sector involvement as my administration moves forward with *Renew Virginia* and I firmly believe that this will be a long-term solution to both our economic and energy challenges.

*Renew Virginia* began with a focus on the creation and retention of green jobs. Early last month I announced a new partnership with the United States Department of Defense to create an environmental scorecard for Virginia military installations. The scorecard will grade 20 Virginia military installations on its actions in 7 environmental performance areas:

In December, I convened a meeting with private sector executives representing 10 leading firms in energy industries to discuss ways we



can work together to create green jobs in the Commonwealth while also improving the market for their products.

I have formed an Interagency Task Force for Energy Project Recruitment. This task force is working with our state marketing and business development arm, the Virginia Economic Development Partnership, to build Virginia's compelling business case. The task force includes state agencies, university research centers, and federal research laboratories based in Virginia. The Task Force will develop a marketing plan that will include incentives to bring energy companies to Virginia and to increase the market for energy efficient materials.

*Renew Virginia* includes legislative proposals to expand the existing eligibility for solar tax credits to other alternative energy sources. This will increase the likelihood that companies will manufacture environmentally-sensitive materials, materials such as solar panels and windmill blades, and will also increase the market for these materials.

I have also introduced legislation aimed at improving energy efficiency statewide. These moves will touch every aspect of energy use, from metering and licensing to tax rules and rate structures. Other bills I have introduced address mountain top mining, recycling, greenhouse gas reporting requirements, and water purity.

Finally, I have introduced measures to increase the number of green jobs in the Commonwealth by revamping tax credits to incentivize high tech green jobs and restructuring the biofuels tax credit to allow greater incentives for cellulosic biofuels.

I am also fortunate to be assuming two roles through interstate coalitions this year—one as the Chesapeake Bay Executive Council Chair and the other as the Chairman of the Southern Governor's Association. Through both of these, I want to be able to use Virginia as a model for best practices and innovative programs. Through the Chesapeake Bay Executive Council, we will work for more aggressive policies for Bay cleanup and ensure that the goals we set will have shorter time frames to ensure accountability. Through SGA, I will seek to create a dialogue within the Southern states on the impacts of climate change on the region and how our natural resources can be an asset for the nation in the area of energy independence. [Z]

## Election Reforms

By ATTORNEY GENERAL BOB McDONNELL

Democracy is alive and well in Virginia. We saw that clearly this past Election Day with a record number of first-time voters.

However, for our democratic process to stay healthy, we must constantly seek prudent reforms and improvements based on what we learn each election.

Our office has proposed a broad range of election reforms in our legislative package during this session of the General Assembly. Many of these reform proposals were sparked by issues that arose during the latest election.

During this past election, waits of three to six hours were reported in multiple locations. Among our proposals is a call to reduce the number of registered voters needed to create a voting precinct. Virginians waiting for hours to vote clearly demonstrates we need more precincts.

I have proposed allowing voters to wear political clothing and campaign-related items while in a polling place. There is no threat to our system of fair elections when a voter wears a hat or shirt of a specific candidate into a polling place.

I have also proposed the appointment of a "closing official" at each precinct to assist fatigued election officials who have to count ballots following the closing of the polls and thereby reduce the potential for errors. Poll workers generously give of their time and effort to make our democratic system work. They should have the help they need to get the job done. The addition of a "closing official" at each polling place will help ensure accurate counting of votes at the end of the day. Currently, election officials typically work 13 hours or more before closing the precinct, leading to the possibility of more human errors, and more adjustments during canvassing. The closing official would arrive no earlier than one hour prior to the close of the precinct so there is a fresh election official overseeing all aspects of closing the precinct and reporting accurate election results.

I have proposed legislation to expedite the processing of absentee ballot requests. During this past election, some absentee ballots were sent to voters too late for their timely return, resulting in litigation.

We will support legislation that will be championed by the Lieutenant Governor to fix problems regarding the mailing and counting of military absentee ballots. We should ensure that all overseas ballots cast by military members are counted, by removing the language in state law requiring the address and signature of a witness to the voter's signature, which conflicts with the federal law. This statute became a matter of much controversy, and was ultimately resolved by a formal legal opinion by our office.

I also am working closely with the State Board of Elections to improve the accuracy of voter registration lists to ensure voters are not registered in multiple locations. I recommend increasing criminal penalties for a voter who knowingly votes or assists another to vote in

*See Election Reforms, continued on page 14*



# Governor's Fellows Program Offers Opportunities for Virginia's "Best and Brightest"

By PAUL BROCKWELL, JR.

Like any graduate of a small, well-respected liberal arts university, I remained relatively clueless when it came to exactly what I would do with my degree and (more importantly) whether that enterprise could support me enough to afford both food (outside of Ramen noodles) and shelter (in a stabile structure with modern amenities). After being rejected from Teach for America and a teaching assistantship in the U.K., I was running out of viable options that did not involve living in the proverbial cardboard box. Very fortunately I received an offer to join the Governor's Fellows and would accept the opportunity to become, allegedly, one of "Virginia's best and brightest."



Unwittingly, I would be assigned to work with Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry Bob Bloxom. I assumed that my placement was because of my rural roots in Southside Virginia—and the built-in assumption that I must know something about agriculture or forestry. That assumption could not have been more wrong, if that was the case; but I have found I continue to enjoy these policy areas more than I could have expected (even after departing that office for another opportunity).

I can remember traveling during my first week as a Fellow with the Secretary and his Deputy Bill Dickinson on one of the Governor's Cabinet Community Days in Southside. We detoured from the main party to take a meeting in Chatham with a family of dairy farmers to hear their growing concerns over the ability to stay in business and remain profitable.

It was at that moment, while observing Secretary Bloxom listening to everyday people tell of their struggles, that my hope in state government (which for some time had been waning) was restored. The Fellows Program exposes people to the best in public service. By pairing young energy with experienced public servants, the program creates a dynamic partnership for ensuring continued excellence in the Commonwealth's future.

Established in 1982 by Governor Chuck Robb, the Program offers top students the opportunity to serve in the highest levels of state government. Gov. Robb actually modeled it after the White House Fellows Program. Each administration since then has continued the program and the effort to attract the "best and brightest" of Virginia to give two months' service to the Commonwealth. The alumni of the Fellows Program offer the confirmation of this initially ambitious epithet: many go

on to careers in public service and service in senior policy positions at agencies. Former Fellow Randolph Beales has held the office of Attorney General and now sits on the Court of Appeals.

Anyone desiring a summer opportunity for mindless copying and filing, individuals need not apply. In this program, you get the real job... without all the salary. Afterall, such a great program for encouraging interest in public service careers would be lacking if it did not prepare its participants for the reality of the public sector pay scale. (Here I should also disclose that my university—like many state institutions—was also generous in providing a stipend for summer living expenses).

But the opportunities that a Fellow will have provide ample compensation for two months' time. Fellows are assigned to various posts within the Governor's Office or Cabinet/agency offices. Each assignment carries with it substantive projects which a Fellow (either a graduate student or recent college graduate) will complete over the summer.

My projects included researching consumer privacy issues in Virginia and also exploring how to implement a program for getting Virginia-grown agricultural products in school lunches. As a 22 year-old I was quite intimidated by taking the lead on the research and writing for two reports due from the study groups I staffed. The Governor himself had asked for one of the reports; the legislature, the other. I like to think it was an overwhelming sense of confidence in my abilities which led Secretary Bloxom to trust me with these projects, but in reality it was probably a mix of both his belief in my ability to produce the work and the great demand for any resources available to contribute to getting the job done. This type of "all hands on deck" approach makes working in the program a rewarding experience. I consider myself extremely fortunate to have seen two of the legislative proposals I researched and helped to draft get passed into law and signed by Governor Kaine during the following legislative session.

In addition, numerous trips around the Commonwealth allow an opportunity to explore Virginia's diverse regions and agency operations. Fellows enjoy unprecedented access to the Governor's Cabinet and senior staff. Each Secretary sits down with the fellows for brown bag lunches—an opportunity for Fellows to learn more about what each Secretariat does in relation to the bigger picture and to ask questions ranging from personal background to any Secretary's view on important policy issues. Fellows can expect to (and should prepare for) interacting with the Governor during their two month sojourn into state government. Governor Kaine has been especially active and engaged with his Fellows, often hosting them for events at the Mansion and taking the time for casual roundtables during the program. Another fine tradition the Governor has continued: ensuring that classes reflect the make-up of Virginia. His emphasis on diversity results in the best representatives of varying geographical, ethnic and political persuasions. That the Governor shields such an experience from the increasingly partisan politics of Richmond gives me hope that programs like this will continue to produce and attract leaders from both sides of the aisle to work together on Virginia's challenges.

And it's certainly to its merit that this program is not a bad perch from which to view state governance!

This year's 2009 Fellows Program runs from June 1 through August 7. For prospective Fellows, applications should be postmarked March 6, and will be available at <http://www.governor.virginia.gov/servingvirginia/fellows.cfm>. For more information, e-mail Amber Amato, director of the program, at [GovFellows@governor.virginia.gov](mailto:GovFellows@governor.virginia.gov).

*Paul Brockwell, Jr. is a 2007 graduate in Religious Studies from the College of William and Mary and proudly hails from Southside Virginia (Brunswick County). Since the Fellows Program, he has worked as a Special Projects Assistant in the Secretariat of Agriculture and Forestry and as Conflict of Interest Director for the Secretary of the Commonwealth's Office.*

## The Way We Were from page 10

Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and California, printers attached to paperless voting machines to create a paper record of electronic votes failed. In Virginia, scanners could not read wet or humid paper ballots. In Florida and California, using the wrong kind of pen caused votes to be misread, the incident reports said.

Poll workers also were confused with how to handle back-up paper ballots, Hall said. In California, New York and Pennsylvania, it was not clear where to put these ballots after people voted, he said. Some security seals on boxes were broken, he said, and in some cases ballots were "just laying around" or "stacked on top of machines," as was the case in Minnesota.

"In a few cases, poll workers intentionally or mistakenly cast a voter's ballot before they are finished voting or before they've had a chance to revise their ballot," Hall said, citing examples from New York, Virginia, Illinois, Arizona.

*Tom Hyland is the Executive Director of Virginians for Integrity in Government.*



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# The Port Of Richmond “Right Here in River City”

By CHARLES TODD



The Port of Richmond is located on Deepwater Terminal Road, which tells much about this little known and rarely visited facility. In the most southern part of Richmond, the Port is within a few hundred yards of three major arteries of communications: The James River, I-95, and CSX Railroad. As a deep water port, oceangoing vessels with a draft of 23 feet may be accommodated.

In Colonial days, sailing ships traveled up the rivers of the New World to rapids which prevented further exploration. At these points, called the “fall line,” trading villages were established with many becoming major cities on the east coast. Richmond was one of these.

The Port is owned by the City and is a self-sufficient, free enterprise agency, managed by the Port of Richmond Commission and operated by the privately owned Federal Marine Terminals, Inc.

In mid October, I visited the Port and talked with the General Manager M. David McNeel, who had arrived in July from Gulfport, Mississippi where he was Deputy Director of Operations for the Mississippi State Port Authority, and the vice-chairman of the Commission, John Reiner Smith of Richmond. Commissioners are appointed by the Richmond City Council.



Manager McNeel said, “The Port is a Department of the City and pays for its own capital improvements. Two shipping lines serve the port. Eimskip Shipping Line, Iceland’s top shipper, makes runs every two weeks and serves Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Iceland; and Independent Container Line, of Richmond, makes weekly trips to northern Europe and the United Kingdom.

“Some 25,000 cargo containers are handled annually at the Port. Cargos handled include chemicals, steel, seafood, logs, vehicles, pipe, wire rods, aplite, bottled water, aluminum, local produce, and livestock.” Mr. McNeel pointed out that some of the containers are refrigerated by their own diesel operated generators.

The Port is on a 121-acre site. “Ninety percent of the land is developed with buildings or paved surfaces,” said McNeel. There is additional acreage for expansion on the river near the I-895 overpass.

Some of the advantages of the Port indicated were:

- It is centrally located on the East Coast, halfway between Maine and Florida in an area that has excellent transportation connections.
- There is easy access to highways I-95, I-64, I-81, and I-85.
- Regional distribution lying within a 350-mile radius includes cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Charlotte, and Nashville.
- More than 100 motor freight companies and brokers serve the area.

## Election Reforms from page 11

a jurisdiction where the voter is not qualified to vote. The application to register to vote will also contain a statement informing the voter that if they vote more than once in the same election they shall be guilty of a felony. Along with the State Board of Elections, we’re developing other ways within existing law to maintain an accurate voter registration list to prevent voters from being registered in more than one place.

We should do a better job ensuring that voters know where to vote on Election Day, by requiring that when a voter’s precinct is changed prior to an election that the general registrar contact them via e-mail and/or phone, if such information is available, in addition to sending a new voter registration card indicating the new voting precinct. Some voters were greatly inconvenienced waiting for long periods in line only to find out that their precinct had changed.

We should expand absentee voting to first responders, including law-enforcement officers, firefighters, rescue squads and emergency medical personnel. Virginia does not have “early voting” like some states, so allowing these public servants to vote absentee is appropriate and reasonable.

And we have proposed amending the statutory definition of residence, including the criteria for domicile and place of abode. This amendment will track language provided by Virginia courts and help clarify ambiguity that currently exists in the code. This will also require the State Board of Elections to promulgate uniform guidelines to assist local registrars with determining a voter’s residence.

Every election gives us an opportunity to improve our system and empower our democratic process.

Together we can provide voter relief and curtail voter fraud, to keep Virginia’s electoral system safe and strong.





- CSX provides direct rail connection with local switch service via Norfolk Southern.
- Richmond International Airport is only 20 minutes away.
- The Port provides U.S. Customs and Border Protection.
- The Port is well-lighted with 24-hour security, 7 days a week.

McNeel said that “about 100 persons are employed at the Port and they are well-trained and dedicated members of the Teamsters union. They are a loyal labor force devoted to giving personal service and attention to Port clients.”

Due in part to its location near rail, sea, highways, and airports, the Port is involved in “domestic transfers.” Products are brought in by rail and distributed by truck as well as brought by ships and trucks and distributed by rail. McNeel is interested in serving more companies that see shipping as an alternative to rail or highway distribution.

While the Port has run a deficit in operations for several years, there are encouraging signs from a recent development. The U. S. Department of Transportation has a plan for a network of “marine highways” to move cargo and at the same time cut congestion on the nations’ busiest roads. The Norfolk-based James River Barge service received a 3-year, \$2.3-million Congestion Mitigation and Air Quality Improvement Program grant from the Richmond Regional Planning District to help get the service started.

According to the Manager, container-on-barge service between Virginia International Terminal in Norfolk and the Port of Richmond will begin in January. The Maritime Administration identified the Hampton Roads–Norfolk corridor as a likely route to test its marine highways initiative.

The James River will be an alternative route for intermodal traffic. The tug-barge service will demonstrate lower fuel costs, and relieve congestion on highways that parallel the river, especially in Hampton Roads. It has been estimated that the barge service will shift about 4,000 truckloads of cargo a year off Interstate 64 on to the waterway. Manufacturers will have to consider time as well as costs in evaluating the use of this new service. “Barges make the run from Norfolk to Richmond in 10-12 hours. Trucks can make 1-2 trips per day but may have delays due to roadwork, accidents, or tunnels,” McNeel added, “We won’t have to deal with tunnels!”

The mission of the Port of Richmond is to contribute to the economic vitality of Central Virginia through waterborne, highway, rail, and intermodal commerce. A ride-around inspection of the Port and facilities showed an orderly and neat port which indicated it is in “shipshape” condition and ready for more service to the area and the state.

*Charles Todd is a retired teacher and school administrator. ▮*



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# Ed Willey

What is a legend? Few names rise to the level of “legend,” but in the history of the politics of the Commonwealth of Virginia, no list would fail to include the late Senator Edward (“Ed”) Eugene Willey, Sr., of the City of Richmond.

The legend is that Willey started out as “just another drugstore fellow” (from Bernie Day in *Notes from the Sausage Factory*, Brunswick Publishing, 2005) living and working in the charming old neighborhood that they still call Bellevue in north Richmond. Willey was a pharmacist, a family man, with loyal customers.

“He had a good bedside manner,” said E. M. Miller, Jr., a neighbor, younger colleague, and lifetime friend. Though he was a druggist and not a physician, his customers called him “Dr. Willey,” and his close family and friends called him “Pops.”

Willey was born in 1910, graduated from Medical College of Virginia, and was the pharmacist at the old Willey Drug Company, next to the A&P. From there he went to Richmond City government, then on to state government, eventually working his way up to Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. At his death a quarter of a century ago, Willey’s name was synonymous with “power.”

Friends remember him as strong, strategic, fair, no-nonsense, nonpartisan, and honest to the point of painful. Legislators are almost drowning in requests for legislation, to an extent that most constituents do not comprehend. It’s easier to say “yes” to everybody, but Willey never took the easy way out, say his fellow legislators, who still respect him for that. If a request was not one that he could support, said Miller, now Director of Legislative Services for the General Assembly, Willey could look you in the eye and say “no.”

Willey has said more than once, that “I knew when I came here, I couldn’t please everybody.”

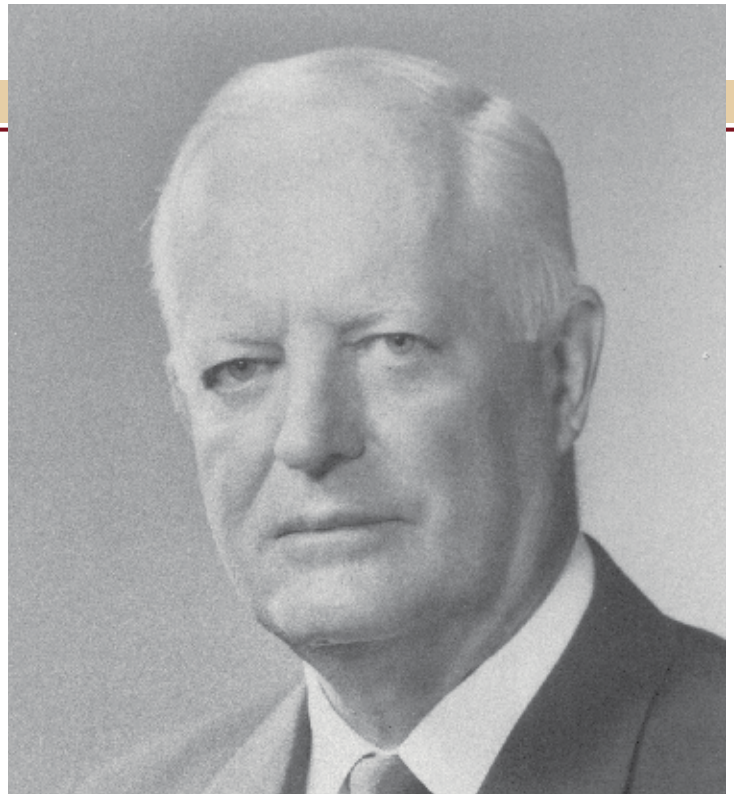
Willey’s political rise began at City Hall in Richmond. He was appointed to the City Council in 1949 to succeed R. Hugh Rudd, who had died. He served there only to resign when he was elected to the Virginia Senate in 1952. Though his time in City Council was short, his impact on the City was profound, and carried through his three decades at the Senate.

Willey’s appearance, office, and even his rusty Pontiac station wagon were part of the legend, part of the high drama of the old Virginia General Assembly. He carried himself powerfully, and he looked the part.

“He was the southern senator of the old school,” said former Finance Committee Chief of Staff, Paul Timmreck, now retired. “He was straight out of central casting.”

“He was tall, over six feet, and straighter than a ramrod,” said Senator Charles (“Chuck”) J. Colgan, Sr., who was a freshman senator when he met Willey, and now serves as President Pro Tempore of the Senate. People remember Willey’s snow-white hair and intense expression.

“He had a gruff courtliness about him,” said Gary S. O’Neal, who was an assistant for Delegate Edward E. Layne, and Speaker John Warren Cooke, among other roles. “He was an immaculate dresser. Of all the legislators I can remember, he looked the part.” To the influx of women in the legislature, he was “very deferential, the consummate gentleman.”



Willey was a conservative Democrat, at least that was the label according to that particular time of history. Yet his fiscally conservative reputation always included his understanding of the needs of the state, his commitment to Virginia’s core services. His era was a time of tremendous transition. Times were changing, locally and globally. In the early seventies, legislators were retiring in rapid succession, and Willey’s star of seniority was rising fast.

As a Democrat in those early years, Willey was a part of the old Byrd machine, which supported Massive Resistance. However, Willey was ultimately willing to change, and went on record in support of the Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday. Richmond’s Mayor Doug Wilder said that Willey claimed his hand hit the “aye” button by accident, but Wilder said he thinks the vote was deliberate. [Editor’s note: At the time of publication, Wilder’s term will have expired. He is also known as a former Governor of Virginia.] The MLK vote was always seen as a decisive moment in the politics of the Commonwealth. Wilder said that Willey also received the endorsement of the City’s historically African-American’s Crusade for Richmond Voters.

“He knew enough to change,” said Wilder. “And his bark was always worse than his bite.”

When it came to business or government he “knew where every dime went,” said Wilder. Willey controlled the multi-billion dollar budget; he had no patience for unnecessary taxes.

“He was not one to allow himself to be cajoled into something he didn’t want to do,” said the immediate past Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, recently retired Senator John H. Chichester. He was “a stickler for balancing the budget, but he was pro-education, both secondary and higher.” Willey is also known for moving Virginia forward in the area of mental health rights.

“One thing he could not tolerate was people with a phony demeanor,” said Chichester. “He had a knack to see through that well...He treated everybody the same, unless you tried to snooker him. Then he wouldn’t forgive you, at least for a long time.”

Chichester is one of many Willey friends who cherish their memories and their mementos: Chichester has handwritten notes, Miller has old documents, Timmreck has a WCVE videotape of funeral footage.

Miller said he thinks he has an old spittoon from the Capitol, a reminder that in this tobacco state, decisions were literally made in smoke-filled rooms. Deals were more likely to be hashed out privately, off the record, even off-site.





No one knew that better than the press, with which he had a sometimes harsh relationship. Willey denied the allegations of secret meetings, claiming that Senate Committee meetings were public, but sometimes early in the morning (especially in comparison with the House of Delegates), before reporters would show up. He also chastised the press for neglecting to report on its own corporate meetings. (WCVE videotape.)

One particular news reporter risked life and limb to get the story. Here's where legend perhaps meets urban legend? It was known that there was a "Secret Seven"—a group of legislators who Willey could count on to seal a vote. They were members of the Senate Finance Committee.

On the floor of the Senate, it is rumored there was a "secret sign" indicating the number of votes on a bill. A nod to the colorful Senator Hunter Andrews would signal the vote was a fait accompli. Willey never lost a vote, said Bill Leighty, Chief of Staff to many governors, and currently to the incoming Mayor of Richmond. (Incidentally, Willey has said he "never made a deal.")

Rumor had it the Secret Seven met in private to decide which legislative items would move forward. A couple of times, remembered Miller, they were found by one correspondent—Joe Gatins of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. (Author's note: Gatins I knew as a delightfully aggressive reporter, so that part of the story, I believe.)

On one occasion, it is said that a legislative committee cast a public vote in Senate Room B, then conspired to gather on the 10<sup>th</sup> floor to privately reconsider. When the Senators reached the upstairs conference room, who was discovered behind the curtain, and out on the widow ledge, listening to all this? Mr. Gatins. The lawmakers got a laugh out of it, and threatened to throw Gatins out the window. (Apparently all—or much—was forgiven. Gatins is one of those who spoke highly of Willey on the videotape made by WCVE. Said Gatins: "I remember how he used the power...efficiently and wisely.")

All who were there, at that special time and place, agree that it was, for better or worse, a different time. One thing hasn't changed, and Willey realized this at his start: the importance of money. That was the cornerstone to his wisdom and the key to his power.

"If you control the money, you control all the action," Miller recalled Willey saying. His ardent admirers will say that it was just that he knew the effective way to get things done: He rewarded and punished, using money. More than one person recounted the time that Virgil Goode, a state legislator who moved up to Congress, voted counter to Willey's wishes—and Goode suffered Willey's revenge. "Everything was taken away," said Miller. All of Goode's budget items were stricken. (They say that peace, and some budget restoration, may have come later.)

A lot of those deals, rifts, jokes, power calls, and amends were made in Willey's legendary Capitol office. Everybody still talks about the office, where everyone from legislative aides to the governor himself came to sit on the cracked red leather sofa and talk politics with the most powerful politician in the state—Senator Willey.

"He was accessible," remembered Colgan. "You could walk in and sit down." Maybe so. But as far as governors were concerned, the visits were always on Willey's turf. Governors went to see *him*, not vice versa.

So how did Willey use his philosophy to become a man of such power? He outsmarted the "coups" that were designed to strip his authority. In the mid-seventies, Willey was in the enviable position of being Chairman of the Rules Committee, Chairman of Finance, and President Pro Tem of the Senate. His legislative colleagues, in a meeting without him, determined that no one would henceforth be allowed all three titles. Not to be outdone, and true to his instincts about the money committees, Willey chose Finance, and his power remained intact.

Willey knew that the distribution of money (not to mention population and power) in Virginia was shifting fast. Some still remember

when Tidewater was all beach, McLean was horse farms, Tyson's Corner was a dirt bike track, and Roslyn was a place that nice girls did not go. Willey is said to have looked out for Virginia as a whole, rural counties included, and the City of Richmond in particular. The druggist from northside Richmond did not forget his own. Among his many contributions to the City, said Wilder, was his legislation of "PILOT": payment in lieu of taxes, whereby the City received funds from the many state buildings occupying its real estate. Some said that he at one time aspired to become governor, but in the end, he had more power where he was.

Part of Willey's art of controlling the money was to make sure that the Senate had access to the proposed budget at the same time that it was introduced in the House. This was part of his influence on where the dollars ultimately went, and his permanent legacy, said Wilder.

Wilder was one of many legislators and staff personnel who considered Willey as a mentor. (Senator Colgan said the best floor debates ever were between Willey and Wilder, over shoplifting legislation.) Colgan said that Willey moved his career forward in half the time usually expected by a freshman senator. Chichester said that Willey was "a kind, gentle, understanding teacher."

Senator Walter Stosch, now Republican Leader Emeritus, said that he remembered Willey supporting one of his first bills: to allow Little League teams to sell hot dogs without adhering to the strictest health department regulations. During a winter blizzard, Stosch had the little boys at the Capitol, suited up and ready to testify about the finer points of hot dog fundraising. Senator Willey simply said, "I'm familiar with it, and I support it." The baseball team was declared safe.

E.M. Miller gives Willey "almost 100 percent credit" for his long, successful career with the state legislature. Miller enjoyed his work with the most powerful person in the state. He remembers Willey as being a person who was "easy to work with" and "included me in a lot of things." Miller smiled when he remembered receiving a small bonus (miniscule by today's standards) about 1970, with which he bought a stereo that he still uses.

Colgan was there when Willey collapsed in a meeting as the result of a heart attack. After that, the once robust Willey looked "frail," people said.

"I saw him," said Timmreck. "It was very touching. Very humbling."

When he died in 1986, everybody said it was the end of an era. Willey left specific instructions that his staff from the Senate Finance Committee should be his pallbearers. People joked that he needed an extra pallbearer "because he had so many members' bills tucked in his suitcoat pocket." (another "Sausage" quote.) His funeral was at Centenary Methodist Church, in Richmond, where his coffin was draped with the Virginia state flag, and his final resting place was Forest Lawn Cemetery, near his old Richmond neighborhood. An estimated 600 people attended his funeral.

Ed Willey was said to be proud of his colleagues, calling the younger ones "son." Likewise, he was proud of his own family. (There was tragedy in the family: his son in law died in a plane crash; his son died of suicide; and his daughter-in-law made allegations against President Bill Clinton. Those who remember Senator Ed Willey dwell on the positive.)

All agree that Willey was a person with power. E.M. Miller speaks for many when he says that Willey knew how to use that power for the betterment of his constituents and the Commonwealth. That's the legend of Senator Ed Willey.

Bonnie Atwood is an award-winning freelance writer, working for Tall Poppies Freelance Writing LLC. She can be contacted at [atwood@tallpoppiesfreelance.com](mailto:atwood@tallpoppiesfreelance.com). 

# A Pioneer

## First African American Delegate Elected in Virginia after Reconstruction

By DELEGATE JENNIFER MCCLELLAN

Accomplishing many firsts, Dr. Ferguson Reid overcame many barriers and served as a leader and advocate, empowering African Americans to achieve their dreams. Despite restrictions put in place by the Jim Crow laws, Dr. Reid received his undergraduate degree from Virginia Union University and his medical degree from Howard University School of Medicine. Because only a few hospitals accepted African Americans, he interned and served as a resident at Howard University before serving in the military in the United States Marine Corps and later at the United States Naval Hospital. In 1995, Dr. Reid was able to fulfill his goal and established a private practice in Richmond, at which time, he was appointed to serve as a regional medical officer with the U.S. Department of State. He was the first African American to establish a private practice in Richmond, Virginia. After retiring from the U.S. Department of State, he became a certified addictive diseases specialist.



Due to his struggles within the medical field, Dr. Reid led the fight to desegregate medicine. His efforts made it possible for African American physicians to obtain membership in local, state, and national medical education associations and societies.

Serving as community leader and advocate, Dr. Reid struggled against injustice and pursued equal opportunities and rights for all people. He strived to register and elect more African Americans, and co-founded the Richmond Crusade For Voters in 1956, an organization dedicated to supporting candidates for office, still in place today.

It was through this effort that Dr. Reid was able to gain community support from the Crusade and was elected to office in 1967 as the 35<sup>th</sup> House District Representative. He was the first African American elected to the Virginia General Assembly since Reconstruction, and the only one during his three terms. He said his election gave whites an opportunity to be exposed to blacks who could compete with them.

Dr. Reid represented the City of Richmond and Henrico County in the House of Delegates from 1968 to 1973. His committee assignments included the Chesapeake and Its Tributaries, Corporations, Insurance and Banking, General Laws, and Labor, which he also chaired.

## A New Mayor in Town

By CHRISTIAN RICKERS

Delegate Dwight C. Jones (D-70) won a 5-way race to succeed Doug Wilder as Mayor of the City of Richmond to become the second popularly elected mayor in over 60 years. Previously, city council elected the mayor from within its ranks. The campaign featured well known city council president Bill Pantele who represented Ginter Park, Northside, Carver, the Fan, and Jackson Ward. Robert Grey a corporate lawyer with Hunton Williams and former president of the American Bar Association joined the race as did perennial candidate Lawrence Williams, a Richmond Architect. Paul Goldman, a former aide and political counsel for Doug Wilder sought the mayors job, but withdrew weeks before the election endorsing Delegate Jones.



Opened in 1980, Franklin Military Academy is the nation's first public military high school. Located in Richmond's East End, the Franklin Military program allows student-cadets to experience a comprehensive academic course of study while participating in a Junior Reserve Officer Training Program. One of three, open-enrollment, alternative high schools in the city, Franklin provides students in grades nine through 12 with a strict regimented military style program. Students wear uniforms and must apply to attend the school.

Franklin Military Academy is fully accredited based on results from Virginia's Standards of Learning (SOL) test. In fact, last year the school was one of just five schools in the state to achieve a perfect score of 100 on the SOL English test. The school's on-time, four-year graduation rate is also an impressive 93.8 percent.

Franklin Military Academy, the nation's first public military high school and home of the Royal Knights. [V]

Dr. Reid was instrumental in opening doors to minorities and females serving as pages in the General Assembly.

Since my own election to the House in 2005, I have had the pleasure of getting to know Dr. Reid, and the benefit of his advice. As a result, during the 2008 Session, I was pleased to introduce HJ 139 to commend Dr. Reid on his exceptional service to the Commonwealth and its people and commemorate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his swearing-in as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates.

Dr. Reid paved the way for the 16 current members of the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus. We are each proud to follow in his footsteps, and hope to extend his legacy to future generations.

*Delegate McClellan (D-71<sup>st</sup>) represents parts of Richmond and Henrico in the Virginia House of Delegates.* [V]

## 2008 Results

Winner must carry a majority (5 of 9) districts to avoid a runoff

Candidate	% of the Popular Vote	Number of Districts
Dwight Jones	39.37%	6
Bill Pantele	33.28%	3
Robert Grey	21.20%	0
Lawrence Williams	2.82%	0

Dwight Jones takes office in January and he will be up for re-election in 2012. A special election was held January 6th to fill his 70th district seat (Parts of Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield) in the House of Delegates. The Vice Mayor of Richmond, Delores McQuinn, a Democrat, was unopposed for the seat. [V]



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# The Health and Cultural Benefits of Smoke-Free Public Space

By PETER DEFUR

The public and political demand for smoke-free legislation in Virginia is stronger than ever before. But despite widespread interest in restricting the use of lighted tobacco products in shared public spaces, proposed legislation in the past has met with stubborn resistance from some corners. Certainly such laws would be a big step for a state long identified with the tobacco industry. However, a closer inspection reveals that smoke-free legislation is the appropriate answer to balancing the reality of modern-day Virginia culture with the Commonwealth's historical roots in tobacco.



The health risks posed by tobacco smoke are well-documented, with some 9,000 Virginians losing their lives each year to tobacco-related illnesses. These statistics alone ought to be reason enough to warrant strong tobacco control laws such as cigarette tax increases and increasing funding of tobacco prevention programs, but every year new studies show that the harmful effects of smoking not only affect the smoker, but also the workers and general public exposed to secondhand smoke. Scientific research continues to reveal the hazardous effects of secondhand smoke on nonsmokers. Secondhand smoke has been linked to a wide variety of health disorders, including asthma, strokes, cancer, coronary disease, and developmental disorders and SIDS in children. In many cases, secondhand smoke is fatal; the deaths of an estimated 1,000 nonsmoking Virginians every year are attributed to tobacco smoke.

Just as the health effects of smoking are well-documented, so too are the benefits of smoke-free legislation. As communities began experimenting with limiting the public use of tobacco products, their success did not go unnoticed. Since 2006 when the American Lung Association issued the challenge to have comprehensive smoke-free laws passed in all 50 states by 2010, some 14 states and Puerto Rico have enacted such regulations. Even the District of Columbia, though famed for its "cigars and Scotch" culture, has eliminated indoor smoking, and many other states have enacted some form of statewide tobacco control law. Many nations have enacted smoke-free public place laws, including some with a reputation for tobacco tolerance.

These communities that limit tobacco use also benefit economically. The tobacco lobby frequently argues that what is good for health is bad for business, although the opposite has proved to be true. Studies have consistently shown that localities enacting smoking bans experienced no drop in business activity, or have actually witnessed increases in such business activity. For example, a recent study by the Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research examined gross sales and employment levels in the state's leisure and hospitality industry before and after the state smoke-free workplace law took effect. The study failed to find any significant negative effect on employment in the leisure and hospitality industry. That study also found that of six areas of the industry studied the percent of retail sales from restaurants, lunchrooms and catering services; the employment in drinking and eating places; and the employment in leisure and hospitality industry as a whole went up after the smoke-free law took effect.

Some have written off smoke-free legislation as a near-impossibility in a state that traces much of its origins to tobacco farming and processing activities. But Virginia's current culture and economic dependence on tobacco is seriously overstated—the reality is that less than one of five Virginians currently smokes. In fact, Virginia's rate of tobacco usage is actually *below* the national average. In 1990, recognizing that Virginia was already headed toward becoming smoke-free, the tobacco lobby supported misleading legislation that now preempts individual communities within the Commonwealth from limiting the use of tobacco in excess of state-wide regulations and allowing only those communities whose tobacco restrictions predated the rule to be smoke-free. Today, the whole of Virginia is ready to stand behind smoke-free legislation.

No Virginian should be asked to choose between health and sharing all that the Old Dominion's public spaces have to offer. With so many proven benefits and so little to lose, there is no good reason for failing to enact comprehensive statewide tobacco control regulations. It is time to enact legislation acknowledging what 75% of Virginians want: a smoke-free Virginia.

*Peter deFur has been Chair of the Advocacy Committee of the American Lung Association of Virginia for the past 5 years. He is an environmental consultant and is also a part time faculty member at VCU's Center for Environmental Studies.* [V]





# One eight hour shift, 4,000 chemicals with every breath.

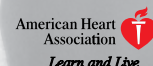
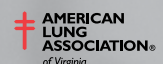
With every breath in a restaurant  
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All Virginians have the right to breathe  
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every hour, every day.

Secondhand smoke:  
It's time we *all*  
got sick of it.

RUTH





# Virginia House Bill 1260 Allows 16 Year Olds a Chance to Donate Blood

BY KRISTEN HATFIELD

When I was 16 years old, I could not wait to get my driver's license. This was the start of all things good in my eyes. There would be the driver's license at sixteen, followed by the ability to see an R rated movie and donate blood at seventeen, then at 18, I could vote, buy cigarettes, or play the lottery. Yes, sixteen kicked off all the new great privileges of adulthood that were coming up fast in my upcoming teen years.

Today, sixteen is not just the major milestone for getting one's driver's license; it is also the age at which one can begin donating blood in the state of Virginia. This year Virginia House Bill 1260 was passed. This bill allows individuals 16 years or older to donate blood if they meet the criteria and have consent of a parent or legal guardian. Over eighteen states along with Virginia and the more recent addition, North Carolina, have passed legislation that has lowered the age of blood donors with the proper consent. Donors must weigh at least 110 pounds and be in overall good health.

It's a September night at Western Branch High School in Chesapeake, Virginia; the auditorium is filled with high schoolers. Some are donating blood on the beds, others are waiting patiently to donate, and there is also a group with colorful bandaged arms enjoying some pizza and snacks at the canteen. Patty Parker is a sixteen year old Western Branch junior. When asked why she chose to donate today for the first time, she was quick to respond, "I wanted to donate blood for my grandfather who has leukemia." Patty's family connection to having a loved one who needs blood is not unique. Ninety-seven percent of us will either need blood or know someone who needs blood in our lifetimes. Think about that for a second. That is almost all of us who will know someone or need blood ourselves. Patty also reveals that her blood type is O negative. This blood type is special. Not only is it rare; approximately 7% of the U.S. population has it, but O negative is the universal donor. In an emergency situation when there is not enough time to cross match someone's blood type, hospitals transfuse O negative blood into the patient. This blood type can be given to anyone and those that have it, have the ability to be very philanthropic. Patty's mother, Mary Parker, joined Patty in donating blood. Mary explains that Patty's grandfather needs blood transfusions twice a week and that inspired her daughter to donate. "She (Patty) wanted to give to make sure that blood is available for Grandpa," adds her mother. Kaven Duong, another 16 year old junior, explains why he came out to donate blood for the first time, "I just did it to try to save some lives, I guess."

Although House Bill 1260 only became effective July 1st in Virginia, the Red Cross began collecting blood from 16 year olds on September 1, 2008 in the states of Virginia and North Carolina which encompasses the Mid-Atlantic Region. In this short time, over five


hundred 16 year olds have rolled up their sleeves to give blood donation a try. Paul Regal, Chief Executive Officer of the American Red Cross Mid-Atlantic Blood Services Region says, "We expect to see an increase in blood donations of approximately 6,000 across the state of Virginia over the course of the year. These sixteen year old donors have shown us that they are really excited and eager to donate blood." Close to twenty percent of the Mid-Atlantic Region donor base is made up of high school and college students. Regal adds, "We'd love to see these sixteen year olds become lifelong donors." With advances in medical technology, people are living longer and more serious illnesses are being treated. The need for blood has increased. Blood is perishable and only has a shelf life of 42 days. You can donate blood every 56 days, up to 6 times a year.

Whether you are sixteen or sixty, it's a good idea to get a full night's sleep prior to donating as well as drink plenty of non-caffeinated beverages like juice and water before and after a blood donation. Donors should also refrain from smoking until 30 minutes after their donation.

The American Red Cross Mid-Atlantic Region collects between 500-600 units of blood every day just to meet the needs of the close to 50 hospitals it serves. Interested sixteen year old donors can log on to [wenedblood.org](http://wenedblood.org) or call 1-800-GIVE LIFE to request a parental consent packet. There's no upper age limit for blood donors and as long as a person meets the criteria, they are a good candidate to donate blood.

Maybe soon, the American Red Cross will see the day when every 16 year old's driver's license is in their wallet, adjacent to their blood donor card. That would be nice, really nice.

*Kristen Hatfield is a Regional Communications Manager with the American Red Cross* 



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## A.L. Philpott's golfing buddies named

The persons in the photo below were correctly identified by Bill Wilson, E.M. Miller, Bill Axselle, and Stan Tretiak.




front row George Murphy, A. L. Philpott, Bill Wilson and Dick Cranwell;  
second row: Ted Morrison, Bill Crump and Shad Soloman.

## From Bill Wilson (front row, in the red shirt)

I was really pleased to see the article in your recent Capital Connections magazine about A. L. Philpott. He was a close personal friend of mine, as you know, and I thought he was the most knowledgeable person in Virginia about politics, the law, and Virginia's geography. I spent many hours talking to him about all kinds of issues. He was a fascinating person and too little has been said about him since his death. Someone needs to do a really in-depth biography about him.

With regard to the photograph on page 18 of your magazine, on the front row are the following: George Murphy, A. L. Philpott, Bill Wilson and Dick Cranwell. On the second row: Ted Morrison, Bill Crump and Shad Soloman. Shad and A.L. are gone but the rest of us are still kicking and occasionally hit a golf ball.

Thank you for publishing the article. It was excellent. I hope all is well with you. Stay in touch.

Sincerely,  
William T. Wilson 



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### Leslie Herdegen Rohrer: A tribute from friends and colleagues

By SALLIE EISSLER, MELANIE GERHEART, AND BECKY BOWERS-LANIER

Leslie Herdegen Rohrer, a General Assembly lobbyist and wife of Bert L. Rohrer, died peacefully at her home on the Northern Neck in November after a long battle with cancer. We remembered Leslie at a packed memorial service at a little white clapboard church a mile from the Victorian farmhouse Leslie shared with her husband, Bert, her beloved dog, Pearl, and two cats.

Leslie had been a fixture at the Capitol for more than 20 years. She was indefatigable, tenacious, and smart. She could draft legislation better than most lawyers, and she had an ear for the word or phrase that would get a bill past a balking committee member.

Who can forget her high heels clicking down those marble halls, chasing down just one more legislator—tugging on just one more sleeve—bending just one more ear.

She avoided corporate clients that would have made her wealthy, focusing her immense talents and boundless energy to get help for those who needed it the most.

Moving to the country a decade ago meant switching from a minivan to a Jeep and buying most of her clothes at Peebles Department Store in Tappahannock. Her favorite restaurant was Cracker Barrel.

Most of what she wanted was for others: nurses, autistic children, and Virginians in need of mental health services. And she was dauntless when she went after something.

"She was our guiding light, a strategic thinker, and one who would loved a good political battle, and took us all—willingly—with her into the fray," said Carola Bruflat, President of the Virginia Council of Nurse Practitioners. "She could recount extemporaneously past legislative efforts and outcomes—something that just amazed me."

"She was our guide in leading the largest grassroots effort ever seen in the General Assembly for HB-818 (Prescriptive Authority) which sealed our reputation as a force to be reckoned with," Ms. Bruflat said.

Shirley Gibson, Interim Vice President of Nursing Relations at VCU Health Systems, cited Leslie's ability to frame a complex issue into a message laymen could easily digest.

"When Leslie was first diagnosed with cancer, she said, 'You are not allowed to send me any sappy cards!' From that day forward and almost on a weekly basis for 2 years, I found funny inspirational cards which she enjoyed and I found very therapeutic," Ms. Gibson said.

"Leslie was truly an outstanding role model and one of the strongest and most intelligent women I have ever known. Her memory will live on in so many of ways because of what she taught us about how to tackle professional situations and personal ones."

She received numerous honors for her work, including the prestigious 2005 Gartlan Award for her advocacy on behalf of the Virginia Association of Community Services Boards, which provide Virginians with mental health services.

Before moving from Richmond to the Northern Neck, Leslie also served as chairman of the Richmond Behavioral Health Authority. She led RBHA through a difficult leadership transition, while assuring that Richmond's citizens received the needed services.

In 2007, The Virginia Nurses Association established the Leslie Herdegen Rohrer Political Leadership Scholarship for Nurses to allow nurses to attend the Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership at the University of Virginia.

This fall, the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners announced that it will posthumously bestow its "Nurse Practitioner Advocate of the

See *Leslie Herdegen Rohrer*, continued on page 27

### William E. Fears

Former Virginia State Senator William E. "Bill" Fears passed away on Monday, August 25, 2008 at the Hermitage (a continuing care retirement home) in Onancock on Virginia's Eastern Shore, which he represented for 24 years in the General Assembly.

Born in Jonesboro, Arkansas, Senator Fears received a bachelor's degree in engineering from Yale University and a law degree from the University of Cincinnati. A former patent attorney in Pittsburgh and New York, he moved his law practice to Accomack, the county seat of Accomack County, in 1950, where he practiced law for 50 years. He served as Commonwealth's Attorney in Accomack County before being elected to the Virginia Senate.

Mr. Fears, a decorated World War II bomber pilot, was an outspoken, frank and gifted speaker in the Virginia State Senate, where he chaired the Commerce and Labor Committee. One of his former colleagues referred to him as "the Bull Halsey of the Eastern Shore" after the famous and blunt U.S. Navy World War II admiral. One obituary characterized Senator Fears as "...never without an opinion or ever at a loss for words about the way things should be." Fears admitted that his advocacy for what he characterized as "sin legislation" e.g. liquor by the drink, pari-mutuel horse racing, and a state lottery as well as his colorful speeches on the Senate floor, contributed his political defeat in 1991.

After his political loss, Mr. Fears authored a book, entitled "The Brass Ring: One Man's Memoirs" which describes in humorous, folksy, and revealing language the many twists and turns in his professional life. Some of the chapter titles include "How I Got into Political Trouble," "One Can't Teach an Old Dog New Tricks," and "Life's Greatest Disappointment."

He is survived by his wife of 64 years, the former Belle DeCoromis, a native of Accomack; a daughter Barbara Fears Haynes of Nassawadox; a son, Dr. Richard B. Fears of Horseheads, New York; and several grandchildren. ▮

### Robert E. Shepherd, Jr.

All of those who stood up for "the best interests of the child" are mourning the loss of Robert E. Shepherd, Jr., beloved law professor and well-known advocate for Virginia's children. Professor Shepherd, 71, died December 11 at his home in Richmond after a long battle with cancer.

Professor Shepherd joined the faculty of the University of Richmond School of Law in 1978. He retired in 2001, though he continued to teach. An expert in children's law and family law, he was known throughout the Virginia's court system and General Assembly as a staunch advocate for children and adolescents. He spoke throughout the U.S. about issues related to children's rights. He influenced and drafted legislation about child abuse.

Professor Shepherd was a native of Richmond, with bachelor's and law degrees from Washington and Lee University in Lexington. He served in the Army JAG Corps and then went into private practice in Richmond. In 1975 he became a fulltime faculty member at the University of Baltimore before returning to Richmond. Professor Shepherd was highly recognized for his advocacy.

Professor Shepherd was truly larger than life, funny, smart, and compassionate. He will be missed.

A memorial service was held December 15 at River Road Church Baptist in Richmond. The family has asked that, in lieu of flowers, contributions be made to The Robert E. Shepherd, Jr. Endowed Fellowship Fund, University of Richmond School of Law, 28 Westhampton Way, Richmond, VA 23173. ▮



# A Case for Support of the Arts in Virginia: The Arts Build Communities

Arts and cultural institutions are a vital part of building strong and vibrant communities in every corner of Virginia, from the most rural areas, to the largest cities and everywhere in between. The arts institutions constitute an important industry employing 20,000 individuals and generating hundreds of millions of dollars in economic activities. They are a powerful magnet for tourism, an important educational asset for youngsters and a unique catalyst for building and redeveloping communities. The funding provided by the Virginia Commission for the Arts to artists and arts organizations brings returns that benefit all Virginians.



For two decades, Virginia governors and legislators have agreed that the state's "seed money" support for the arts through the Virginia Commission for the Arts should be no less than one dollar per resident of the state. For two decades, Virginia has failed to reach that goal, which when achieved will still leave her well below the national average. The state investment of \$6.4 million in FY 2007-2008 for arts grants funding through the VCA was matched by over \$33 million in private and local government support for the arts, a 7:1 return. Each \$1 million in arts revenue generates receipts for Virginia businesses of \$2 million, value-added \$1 million, labor compensation of \$700,000 and employment of 45 individuals.

## The Arts Are a Vital Part of the State Economy

Arts and culture are increasingly used as economic development tools to spur growth in communities experiencing economic downturn. As an example, the Roanoke Valley Economic Development Partnership is using the arts as a critical part of its current strategy to boost the region's sluggish population growth. In South Boston, the newly renovated *Prizery* has spawned a renaissance in the downtown historic warehouse district. Staunton's American Shakespeare Center has been a catalyst for downtown redevelopment and tourism that brings visitors from across the country and the world.

## The Arts Are Essential to Learning in the Schools

Knowledge of the arts is part of a well-rounded education that benefits every child, whether the child grows up to be a scientist, an artist, or a basketball player. The arts enhance learning by providing effective learning opportunities that yield increased academic performance, reduced absenteeism, and better skill-building in problem-solving,

in teamwork, and in self-discipline. These are skills necessary for readiness in today's challenging workplace. Of the arts organizations that receive funding from the Virginia Commission for the Arts, over 90% have programs for people under age 18. As schools increasingly look for resources to strengthen education, they view artists and arts organizations as valuable assets.

## The Arts Contribute to Our Quality of Life

The arts help to create a positive social environment and build bridges across neighborhood, class and ethnic divisions. They entertain us, provide experiences outside of our normal day-to-day activities and give us perspectives into the lives of others. Museums, galleries and performance halls are "people magnets," bringing people together for shared experiences which in turn lead to a stronger sense of community. Perhaps most important in today's world, the arts help people to understand and appreciate other cultures.

## It Is Important for State Government to Invest in the Arts

The state's share is a small percentage of the overall funding for the arts in Virginia. Most of the support for the arts comes from individuals, businesses, and local governments. The money that the state puts into the arts each year, however, is an investment in our future. Support for the arts is a public-private partnership.

Some people say that public funding for the arts is a subsidy for the elite. The opposite is true. Larger arts organizations will continue to produce their main stage season for subscribers with or without state funding. Without state funding, however, these organizations will not be able to continue the programs offered to schools or continue touring to rural areas. The state support ensures that the arts are available to the entire community and not just the well-to-do.

In this difficult environment it is to be expected that state arts funding will be cut. It is important, however, for the cuts to be equitable with those affecting other state services. Deep cuts would harm the delicate infrastructure of the arts and lead to the loss of cherished cultural institutions. The arts community is grateful for the support of both Governor Kaine and the General Assembly.

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# The Way I See It

By DAVID L. BAILEY

I cannot get his words out of my mind. They torment and haunt me the way that few words do from 2008. Our enjoyable New Year's Eve political talk had given way to 'fixing' Virginia government, and we were discussing prisons and the Department of Corrections.

The story I told him led to his pronouncement. It went something like this: I heard about one of the members of the House of Delegates from another good friend. This friend, a chaplain with hospice, ran into a brick wall trying to get a mother out of prison to attend her son's funeral. Oh 'Corrections' would let her come dressed in prison clothes with shackles around her ankles. Thankfully my friend did not take this for the final answer, so he turned to his House of Delegates member. And did he help! In a short time my friend got a call saying, "Jack, you won't believe what I'm about to tell you." The call from this House member resulted in the mother being released. "Cor-



rections" discovered that she had enough good time and should have already been out of prison.

With the looming battle to reduce the Commonwealth's budget, my New Year's Eve editorial comments went something like this. *If there's one, I wonder how many others. Why not get everyone out of prison that is ready to get out. It's not only the humane thing to do, it would significantly reduce the budget – and do no harm.*

Then in the last hour of 2008, he said it: "They have no constituency." Or perhaps he said, "There's no constituency representing them."

Sharp as a dagger. I tried for three days to rationalize those words away, telling myself that it's 'interference' surfacing from my upbringing and my theological studies, and that it's none of my business. Then the *Richmond Times Dispatch* ran a major story January 4th on aging prisoners, and the New Year's Eve words came back to me – *no constituency.*

Amid the discussions and battles over the budget, let's hope that 'Corrections' gets the attention that it deserves.

If not, there's always another year. Who knows, 'they' may have a *constituency.* ▮

## David Bailey Associates announces new Capitol Square Group associates



**Charles E. Judd** brings a wealth of experience to the DBA team: He has held elective office; served as executive director of two state political parties; designed winning strategies for campaigns and grass-roots mobilization; created and led a successful small business; and has assisted both for-profit and non-profit organizations with strategic planning, marketing, and development. He has been a teacher in many business and political venues such as the Direct Marketing Association, the Republican National Committee, NRCC, NFIB, and GOPAC with a focus on messaging and fundraising. He believes in being active in the community and has served on the boards of Junior Achievement of Central Virginia and Covenant School. During his recent tenure in Richmond, he has worked with and earned the respect of many members of the General Assembly and understands the importance of winning the right to be heard when representing clients.

**Julia Torres Barden** is a graduate of the Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership at the University of Virginia, the inaugural class of the Minority Political Leadership Institute at Virginia Commonwealth University, and Leadership Metro Richmond. She is the former spokesperson for Richmond's local cable company where she also directed public relations, media relations, education and community relations objectives. In that position, Julia created the company's award-winning student internship program, winning national awards for partnerships with CNN Student Bureau and the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Julia is dedicated to advocacy work in the political arena and has been appointed by former Governor Mark Warner to the Minority Business Enterprise Commission and Virginia's first-ever Latino Advisory Commission. She is a native of New York City and a graduate of Emerson College in Boston where she received her B.S. in Interpersonal Communications. Currently, she is enjoying a career as a freelance writer while remaining committed to youth mentor-



ing and serving on related boards and committees. She has three sons who keep her very connected to the needs of our young people.



**Tyler C. Millner** is a Public Affairs Professional, Higher Education Administrator, Pastor, Civil Leader and Project Visionary.

TC has honed his skills as an effective public affairs professional at Dominion Power, a higher education administrator, a community organizer and very savvy networker, project manager and voice for responsible government and social justice issues. TC is a gifted public speaker, fundraiser, and community builder. He has broad experience in

leadership training and organizational development, legislative and political affairs, ethnic relations and corporate affairs.

His leadership as a clergyman and civic leader has resulted in several transformative projects. Two examples are: Richmond's Community Learning Week—a National Model for celebrating the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday; and Citizens Awareness Program—the Blue Ribbon Campaign for ministry outreach and encouraging greater citizen engagement.

TC has a strong record on advocacy, corporate social responsibility, civil rights and heritage preservation. He is also passionate about youth and education, interfaith and inter-racial cooperation, and outreach and mentoring to the black male. He is a writer, with experience analyzing public policy issues and community dialogue on critical issues.

**Antione M. Green** is an energetic Richmond native with a passion for politics and community activism. He graduated from Hermitage High School in 1997, and currently attends Virginia Commonwealth University, where he will graduate with a Bachelor's degree in 2009.

Others have recognized Antione's talent: In 1998, he was recruited to join the Richmond Crusade for Voters. In 2003, at the age of 24, he decided to apply his Crusade educa-





## Leslie Herdegen Rohrer from page 24

Year” award to Leslie. Last year, she was awarded the Human Rights Award by the Psychiatric Society of Virginia, and she also has received a service award from The Commonwealth Autism Service.

“Leslie was a great advocate for smart public policy. She was smart, creative and passionate about better health care access for Virginians. I was lucky to know her and she will be greatly missed,” Gov. Tim Kaine said in a statement after her death.

House speaker William Howell called her “a constant and caring presence around the State Capitol. She was an effective advocate for many worthwhile causes and did a superb job at whatever she set her mind to.”

Our Commonwealth has lost an influential leader who had such a beneficial impact on literally thousands of people in need,” said Del. Howell, who also read from the Bible at Leslie’s memorial service.

After receiving initial treatments at VCU, she enrolled in clinical trials at the National Cancer Institute at Bethesda, Md., where she became the poster child for their star treatment team.

“I miss my early morning phone calls with Leslie. There were days I came to work struggling with my own issues and she had her special way of lifting my spirits and helping me put those thoughts aside. I think she helped me more than I helped her!” NCI Research Nurse Debbie Draper, Leslie’s liaison to the treatment team, said in an e-mail to Bert several weeks after her death.

During her illness, Leslie taught us how to live in the face of terrible odds—how to think critically of options that weren’t always good, how to face uncertainty with grace and an uncommon sense of humor, and how to live life to the fullest.

We miss her, and we know that we’ll never forget what she taught us and how our lives were enriched by our dear friend, Leslie Herdegen Rohrer. She left this Commonwealth, and this world, a better place than she found it.

One tribute at her service drew from Robert Kennedy’s eulogy on the death of John F. Kennedy. Paraphrasing Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, Mary Ann Bergeron, the Executive Director of the Virginia Association of Community Services Boards, quoted:

“And when she dies, cut her out in little stars  
And she will make the face of heaven so fine  
That all the world will be in love with night  
And pay no heed to the garish day.” ■

tion and run for a seat on the Henrico County School Board, in which he received a respectable 986 votes.


Antione went on to become the youngest president of the Richmond Crusade for Voters. He was installed in January 2007. Antione has been a strong advocate for greater voter empowerment in the Metropolitan Richmond area and in strengthening the Crusade’s legacy by adding new members who will continue the Crusade’s proud heritage. In addition to his Crusade role and responsibilities, Antione serves as a member of the Richmond City Democratic Committee; fundraising chair for the Richmond Council of Parent-Teacher Associations; and Treasurer for the Virginia State Conference NAACP. Antione is an avid reader of history and political biographies.

**John Sours** remembers the days spent creating publications and illustrations BEFORE everything was done on computers. Even though it’s all computer-based now, he still gets to express himself designing publications, web sites, and CD’s for David Bailey Associates.


John is responsible for the professional quality of all the print and electronic media produced. John has a Bachelor of Arts degree, in Art, from the University of South



# Running right.




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John also enjoys kayaking, along with his wife and two children, near his home in the New River Valley of Southwest Virginia. ■

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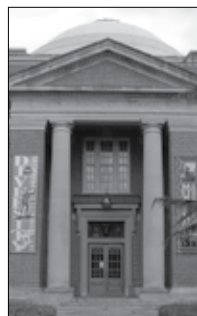
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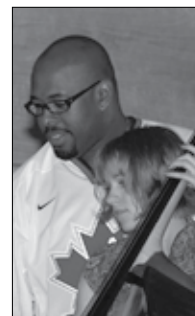
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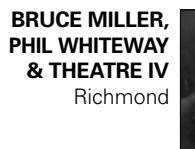
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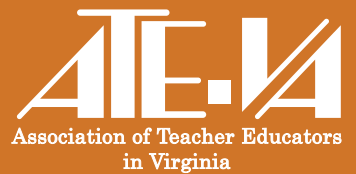
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