



Jon Bowerbank

Lieutenant Governor



**P.O. Box 800
Rosedale, VA 24280
(276) 596-9642**

www.jonbowerbank.com

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VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

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SUMMER-FALL 2008 ISSUE



Bill Shendow



Stephen J. Farnsworth



Civil Rights Memorial Dedication

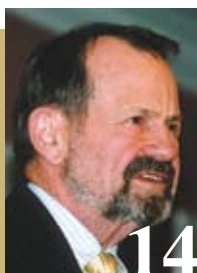
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Virginia's Appalachian Vote and the Commonwealth's Presidential Race

By BILL SHENDOW

Recently, I had occasion to drive a colleague home from work. At a traffic light I pulled-up behind an old pickup truck covered with bumper strips. It included a Bush-Cheney sticker from the 2004 election. This prompted my colleague to ask what this obviously low income voter had in common with George Bush and Dick Cheney. As the light changed, I searched for a quick response to my friend's comment. The only thing I could quickly come-up with was that the driver of the pickup obviously believed he shared values with the President and his party. Later, as I thought about my friend's question, I realized that the question he posed might well have relevance for Virginia's statewide Presidential race.



Barack Obama's campaign has generated a lot of enthusiasm throughout the state leading many political analysts to conclude that for the first time in over 40 years the state is up for grabs in this year's Presidential election. The enthusiasm for Barack Obama has however been somewhat limited to the urban areas of the Commonwealth. This enthusiasm does not yet appear to have reached the more rural areas of the state such as Southwest Virginia and portions of the Shenandoah Valley. There except for larger towns and cities, voter allegiance appears to remain with the incumbent President and the Republican Party. This is particularly true in the Appalachian regions which include Southwest Virginia and adjoining portions of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. In these latter three states the allegiance of low income, white voters to the Republican Party is contributing to sizeable statewide leads for John McCain.

Much attention has been paid to the voting behavior of low income whites in Appalachia. Some have written off Republican support by residents of the area as one of the "mysteries of the redneck culture". Fellow Winchester native Joe Bageant tries to unravel the mysteries of this culture in his book, *Deer Hunting with Jesus: Dispatches From America's Class War*. In the book's chapter titled "Republicans by Default" Bageant, a self-proclaimed redneck, attributes much of the voting behavior of low income, whites in Appalachia to general mistrust of government, even a government which has undertaken to improve the quality of life in the region through education, affordable housing, healthcare and social security. There are still pockets of "yellow dog" Democrats in Appalachia who fondly remember the positive impact to the region of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. However, the Democratic message of greater opportunity for the region supported by government has largely been drowned-out in Appalachia by a Republican message which focuses on the erosion of traditional values and links Democrats to shameful entitlement programs, gun regulations, deterioration of Christian values and environmental regulations which threaten their livelihood. Bageant says the reason for this message resonating with Appalachian voters lies with the Democrats failure to challenge the Republican message. He says that in the recent past the case for voting Democratic in presidential elections has not been made. The result is that Republicans prevailed in the region largely by default.

If Bageant is right, why haven't Democratic candidates in the recent past chosen to allow the Republican message to go uncontested in Appalachia? A rather obvious reason is limited resources and the need to put campaign resources where it would produce the greatest return. The 2008 Democratic presidential nominee promised not to follow earlier strategies. With more resources than predecessors the Obama campaign has indicated a willingness to target formerly red states and regions. This strategy is employed in the belief

that the investment of resources in these regions will reduce the gap in votes, thereby contributing to the possibility of victory statewide. The Obama campaign has implemented this approach in the Appalachian region of Virginia with a growing number of campaign ads, paid staffers and volunteers. The campaign has even located one of the 23 statewide campaign offices in Castlewood which is located in the farthest southwest corner of Virginia.

Will the investment of campaign resources prove to be a good strategy? While some political analysts are skeptical, calling the strategy a fool's errand, most believe that the increased effort will produce positive results. The extent of the difference made by this strategy will depend on a number of factors. Merely raising the Democratic flag in Appalachia will not produce the desired results. The 2008 presidential election results will depend on the Democratic message and messengers in the region.

The message and messengers of the Barack Obama campaign cannot be seen as condescending or patronizing of the proud people of Appalachia. The voters in the region know their life and values are seen by some as different, but they are offended to have someone suggest they are too dim to know what is in their own best interest. Barack Obama chanced doing this during the primary season by inferring that out of economic despair low income citizens in more rural areas clung to their faith and guns. This was a wrong message. The low income, largely white voters of Appalachia don't cling to their faith and guns, they simply value them as they value other important aspects of to their life and lifestyle. They resent the assumption that their vote should go to whoever offers the greatest economic benefits. The economy is but one of a number of issues which determines their vote.

Not only the message, but who delivers the message and how the message is delivered will be a primary determinant in the outcome of the 2008 presidential election in the Appalachian region of Virginia. The region is populated by those who still network the old fashion way, face to face. A messenger who possesses a populist style is the messenger of choice. In choosing the message and messenger the Obama campaign has to be careful. While Barack Obama's thoughtful, eloquence has propelled his candidacy; he and his style may not resonate with voters in the hill country of Appalachia. It does not follow that he should change his style. In fact, any change of style to appeal to voters of Appalachia would be seen as patronizing. Barack Obama is best at being himself. His style is not the style of a populist. However, his message focusing on "the people versus the powerful" and a national government which has largely been unresponsive to the needs of people over the last eight years is a powerful populist message.

Because of limited time remaining until Election Day, the Obama campaign in Appalachia will have to look to surrogate messengers. Their choice does not have to be Willy Nelson the choice of Democrats in the recent movie "Swing Vote". Indeed the Barack Obama campaign staff in Appalachia needs to look no further than within their state. In Virginia there are a number surrogates who have been effective in bringing the Democratic message to voters of the region. They include U.S. Senator Jim Webb, former Governor and current U.S. Senate candidate Mark Warner and current Virginia Governor, Tim Kaine. In previous elections all have run well in the region.

Not to be overlooked by the Obama campaign is the incumbent congressman from Virginia's Ninth Congressional District. Congressman Rick Boucher represents a congressional district which makes-up a large portion of Appalachian Virginia. He understands the voting behavior of those who reside in the region. In the 2004 election when President Bush carried the district with 59% of the vote, Boucher carried the district by a like amount thus proving not only his appeal but the fact Appalachian voters have been known to split their votes between parties on Election Day. Rick Boucher provides

Continued on next page

Whither Virginia U.S. Senate Campaign?

By **STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH**

The uphill U.S. Senate campaign of former Gov. Jim Gilmore (R), like that of underdog Senate challenger Jim Webb (D) two years ago, enters the fall campaign season desperately underfunded. Only a huge change in the governor's ability to raise money—or an earth-shattering gaffe by the front-runner—can make this year's Senate race competitive.

But former Gov. Mark Warner (D), the front runner in this year's Senate campaign, is no shoot-from-the-hip campaigner like former Sen. George Allen (R), whose "maccaca moment" in 2006 torpedoed his re-election campaign. Allen's gaffe, along with several subsequent campaign missteps, convinced Democrats that Webb, a former secretary of the Navy in the Reagan administration but a novice campaigner, was worth backing.

This year, the numbers are daunting. Campaign finance reports released in mid-July, roughly that Gilmore's campaign had \$117,000 in the bank, compared to \$5.1 million for Warner. The huge advantage in campaign dollars made it possible for Warner to start advertising on television more than 100 days before the November 4 election. Gilmore, in contrast, is traveling to communities around the state to re-introduce himself, voter by voter.

With Warner's fundraising advantages, he can dominate the political discourse. The former Democratic governor is using the money to define—or redefine—himself to voters. His fundraising advantage can also be used to blunt any of the highly critical ads that the Gilmore team will almost certainly use to try to reverse their huge double-digit deficit in the polls.

When your opponent is more popular than you are and is way ahead, victory depends on one of two things happening: you can either cut your opponent down to size with nasty attacks or hope the rival campaign stumbles big-time. While there is always the risk that harsh campaign ads will backfire, when you are behind by more than 20 points risky measures are essential.



Unfortunately for Gilmore, this looks like a bad year to be a Republican trying to raise money. Republican presidential nominee Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) trails Democratic rival Sen. Barack Obama (D-IL), and so McCain and interest groups allied him are likely to soak up every GOP dollar they can find. The Democratic Party appears likely to increase its legislative majorities this November, meaning that Republicans see McCain as their only chance to avoid being shut out of power in Washington.

As a result of this concern, at least some GOP Senate candidates will not get the money that they would have raised in a year when Republicans were less desperate. To make matters worse for Gilmore, the GOP senate contributions flow to contests seen as closer. Senate contests in New Mexico, Colorado, New Hampshire, Minnesota and Alaska are all more competitive than the race to replace retiring Sen. John Warner (R-VA), meaning that nearly all GOP money will go elsewhere.

To make matters worse, Gilmore's problems within his party—he nearly lost the GOP nomination to a little-known member of the House of Delegates and a number of Republican moderates feel he has crippled the party—also hurt his fundraising potential.

If Warner stumbles in a major way, Republican donors may rethink their money allocations and Gilmore's finances may improve. That's what happened to Webb two years ago, who lagged badly in the money chase until Allen's missteps. As Webb started to look like a possible victor, he started getting the money he needed to challenge Allen effectively on TV.

Gilmore does have some advantages on campaign issues. The Democrats have stumbled repeatedly lately on how to deal with high gas prices, creating a valuable opening for Gilmore. Gilmore rode to victory as governor in 1997 on an anti-tax platform, and that topic tends to play well in traditionally tax-averse Virginia.

Unfortunately for Gilmore, issues won't matter all that much in this election if he cannot find a lot more cash. Gilmore may not need as much money as Warner, but the underdog won't be able to place his campaign themes before the voters effectively without a lot of 30-second television spots in the next two months.

Stephen Farnsworth teaches courses in political communication and journalism at George Mason University, where he is assistant professor of communication. His next book, Spinner in Chief: How Presidents Sell Their Policies and Themselves, is being published in September. [V]

Virginia's Appalachian Vote from previous page

a potential wealth of guidance and support to the Obama campaign in the region.

What conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of the Appalachian vote and Virginia's statewide presidential race. First of all, the race in the Appalachian region of Virginia is important. It will play a significant role in the outcome of the statewide election. Barack Obama does not have to completely reverse the Republican tide in the region. He does have to do well enough to significantly reduce the margin of defeat which has historically plagued the past campaigns of Democratic candidates for President in Virginia. How well Obama runs in the region will be effected by the amount of resources his campaign puts into the region. However, the prime determinant will be his message and bearers of that message.

The Obama campaign in the region has the resources to be very competitive. What is needed is fine tuning the message and the effective use of available surrogates and campaign staffers who relate to voters of Appalachia. Obama campaign staffers cannot be seen as outsiders. They have to be sensitive to the unique culture of the region while unlocking sentiment for change. As to the use of surrogates, much can be learned about the message and messenger from the success of the June 5th Obama rally in Bristol, Virginia featuring the candidate accompanied by Senator Webb. With Obama's

busy campaign schedule, it is doubtful if the Appalachian region of Virginia will see the candidate again before the election. However, an effective message coupled with the effective use of surrogates and campaign staffers are key to the Obama campaign achieving its goal of running a race in Appalachia which contributes to a statewide victory on Election Day.

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

John G. "Chip" Dicks

FutureLaw, L.L.C. Attorneys-at-Law

Phone: 804-225-5507

888-252-6299

Fax: 804-225-5508

Website: www.futurelaw.net

823 East Main Street

Suite 1801

Richmond, Virginia 23219

E-mail: chipdicks@futurelaw.net

Presidential Characteristics Voters Like

By CHARLES TODD

Every 4 years we vote for a Presidential candidate because we favor him over the other for several reasons. Our personal preference may be influenced by his (they have all been men) leadership, experience, party affiliation, charisma, communications, intelligence, and a host of other valuable attributes. For reasons not easily explained, there are certain unimportant characteristics that emerge more frequently among those who have held this office. For example, nearly all of our Presidents were raised in small towns or country places. Taft of Cincinnati and Teddy Roosevelt of New York are notable exceptions. Some of the small towns that produced Presidents have now become parts of large cities.



Virginia, "the mother of Presidents," has produced 8 followed by Ohio with 7, Massachusetts with 4, and New York with 4.

We have never had an only child as President. Franklin Roosevelt had a half brother as did Ford who was never elected President or Vice President. Twenty-five Presidents have been the oldest son or the only son. Until George H. W. Bush was elected, we had not had a President born in the month of June. October and November are the leading months for the births of Presidents.

Our Presidents have been largely of Anglo-Saxon descent. The 2 Roosevelts and Van Buren were of Dutch extraction. Hoover and Ike were Swiss-German, Jefferson was Welsh, and Kennedy was Irish.

When we select a President from 2 major parties, we tend to favor the one with the longer name. In the last 100 years there have been few violations of this "rule" and these included Bush II (incumbent) over Kerry, Taft over Bryan, Nixon over Humphrey, and Bush I over Dukakis.

There have been 6 Presidents named James, including Jimmy Carter, and 4 named John of the 43 who have served in this office. We

seem to like surnames ending in "son" which included Madison, Jefferson, Jackson, the 2 Harrisons, the 2 Johnsons, Wilson, and phonetically, Nixon. Five Presidents have had last names beginning with H, 4 with T, 4 with J, and 4 with C.

The President's age at first inauguration has been about 56 years and the range has been from 42 to 70. T. Roosevelt was the youngest to become President while Kennedy was the youngest elected to the office. Reagan was the oldest. Between the final two major candidates, the taller almost always has won with a recent exception being George W. Bush, the incumbent, winning over John Kerry.

All of our Presidents have married with the exception of Buchanan. Cleveland married during his first term. Six Presidents married widows including 4 of our first 6. Presidents tend to have 3.7 children although 6, including George Washington, the father of our country, had no children. John Tyler had 15 sons and daughters by 2 wives. Ronald Reagan was the only divorced President.


Five Presidents held degrees from Harvard; three from Yale. Thirty-four of the 43 Presidents attended or graduated from college. Twenty-five have practiced law, 7 have been farmers, and 4 have been teachers.

Twenty-seven Presidents were in the military with 10 becoming generals. In recent history, the navy has been the favored branch with Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Bush I serving as navy officers.

Twelve Presidents have been Episcopalians when we include Church of England membership. Seven have been Presbyterians.

If you identify 14 categories of trivia from the above and apply them to the candidates, McCain and Obama, you may find the resulting numbers too close to be significant. Should you apply a weight (of your choosing) to more significant trivia (an oxymoron), then you may successfully predict the outcome.

Charlie Todd, who was born during the Coolidge administration, has had a long-time interest in the Presidency. ▣




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Cracking Down on Counterfeiters

By ATTORNEY GENERAL BOB MCDONNELL

There has been an increase in sophisticated counterfeit operations in Virginia.

For example, in May 2007 Newport News authorities confiscated \$1.8 million worth of counterfeit goods from 11 stores. And, a couple months ago, Suffolk Police seized more than \$32,000 in counterfeit goods from a downtown store, including 260 pairs of counterfeit shoes.

Thanks to new laws that went into effect July 1 that were part of our Office's legislative agenda, Virginia consumers and businesses have new safeguards against counterfeit and unsafe products.

Counterfeit products have included: automotive brake pads, diabetes test strips, airline mechanical parts, smoke alarms, baby food, prescription drugs, cancer-fighting drugs, surgical products, batteries, wine, clothing, shoes, DVDs/CDs, toys, toothpaste and jewelry.



"Virginia is one of the first states to pass a law toughening penalties and making it harder for counterfeiters to sell their fake merchandise," said Del. Ben Cline, who was the chief patron of the legislation in the General Assembly.

It is estimated that counterfeiting and piracy cost the United States about \$250 billion each year and has led to the loss of more than 750,000 jobs. Plus, many of these "knockoff" products, like medical supplies and car parts, also endanger the user.

The Food and Drug Administration estimates that counterfeit drugs account for 10 percent of all drugs sold in the nation. The Federal Aviation Administration estimates that 2 percent of the 26 million airline parts installed each year are counterfeit - about 520,000 parts.

"Counterfeiting and piracy threaten consumers' health and safety, while shaking our confidence in the products we rely on and the brands we trust," said Caroline Joiner, vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Global Intellectual Property Center. "This legislation will protect Virgin-

ia's consumers from dangerous and defective counterfeit and pirated products, while sending a strong message to the perpetrators of these crimes."

Here are some tips for consumers to avoid dangerous counterfeit products:

- If the price is too good to be true, it probably is. Know the usual price range for your intended purchases.
- Inspect the quality of the product. Scrutinize labels and packaging. Are there any misspellings? Does the country of origin match the country that normally produces the product?
- Seek authorized dealers for the product you are planning to purchase and make your purchases from the most legitimate source possible.
- Report questionable and faulty products to law enforcement.

Consumer protection is an important statutory duty of the Office of the Attorney General, and our staff can help. In an age of increased consumer issues, we all must continue to be educated and vigilant. █

Regulatory and Infrastructure Reforms

By LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BILL BOLLING

On June 20, I was appointed by Attorney General Bob McDonnell to serve as Co-Chair of his Government and Regulatory Reform Task Force, as well as Chair of the newly formed Working Group on Infrastructure in Virginia. The focus of which will be on infrastructure needs in the Commonwealth as they relate to transportation and education.

It is truly an honor that Attorney General McDonnell has asked me to Co-Chair the Regulatory Reform Task Force and lead the Working Group on Infrastructure in Virginia.

Bob McDonnell has been a leader in government reform, and I am proud to work with him to look for ways to streamline regulations and their impact on Virginia's families and businesses. The work of the Regulatory Reform Task Force is very important. Government is intended to work for the people of Virginia, not against them; but unfortunately and more times than not, that isn't always the case. Sometimes misguided regulations, or regulations that become antiquated over time, can serve as an impediment to building a better Virginia.

The newly established Working Group on Infrastructure will begin by analyzing and revising regulations in the Virginia Department of Transportation for efficiency in order to accelerate, streamline, and conserve funds on construction of infrastructure in Virginia. It will focus on helping us find solutions to the challenges we face in Virginia today, with a particular emphasis on innovations in transportation and education infrastructure. By looking for ways to enact regulatory changes in these areas, we can do more to make certain that our tax dollars are spent wisely and efficiently when it comes to building infrastructure in Virginia. Quite simply, the cost of constructing educational facilities and transportation infrastructure in a



timely fashion in Virginia is too high, and certain regulations need to be evaluated. I am eager to begin working to thin out unnecessary and redundant regulations from the Virginia Administrative Code in order to decrease spending on construction of infrastructure. This is a long-term process and will take time, but no doubt the benefits to the Virginia taxpayers will also be long-term.

We will be systematic in our approach and will not simply eliminate regulations for the purpose of eliminating regulations. This is a serious topic and one that will be thoroughly discussed and vetted. Our approach when evaluating regulations will be:

- What is the purpose of the regulation?
- Does the regulation exceed its statutory authority?
- Does the regulation have a bona fide purpose that makes sense in the 21st Century?
- Does the regulation contribute to the health, safety and/or welfare of the Commonwealth?
- Are the benefits to the overall good of the people outweighed by the cost of the regulation to the public and the Commonwealth?
- Can the regulation be monitored and enforced in a manner that retains the benefit to the Commonwealth with a lower burden (e.g.-electronic reporting methods)?
- Does the regulation conflict with another regulation on the books?

I very much look forward to working together with Attorney General McDonnell and the Task Force to weed out unnecessary and overly burdensome regulations and make certain that government is working for the people of Virginia. The efforts of this new Working Group will be a great start in mapping out a blueprint for a better Virginia and help to ensure that Virginia continues to be not only the best managed state in the nation, but a friendly place to do business. █

The New Capitol Square

By GOVERNOR TIMOTHY M. KAINE

Thank you all so much and welcome. This is a remarkable day and I want to first thank my Secretary of Administration, Viola Baskerville for her generous contribution, introduction and leadership on this project. I reminded Viola when we sat down that she and I began public life together on the same day, both elected to City Council of Richmond and sworn in on July 1, 1994, and we have been friends and colleagues for 14-plus years. In addition to so many other wonderful things, Viola has played a key leadership role in changing the physical landscape of our city. She led the effort to construct the statue of Arthur Ashe on Monument Avenue and she led the effort, with others, to construct a statue of Abraham Lincoln and his son Tad at the Civil War Visitor Center. She has played a leadership role today in opening up our Capitol. Viola, you have been a wonderful friend and public servant. Thank you so much.



Let me ask you this question, How Do You Like the New Virginia? Because this is the new Virginia. With the unveiling of this statue we do three things on Capitol Square that have not ever been done before.

The first: with this statue we open up Capitol Square to all who have been Virginians. The statues we have are great and we recognize people of great accomplishments, but let us be honest, they only recognize one kind of person. They don't recognize all who have been Virginians and in our 400-plus year history there has been so much and so many worthy of recognition. Women came to the Commonwealth in 1608 and until today there has never been a statue on the Square of our Capitol where women play a key role. African-Americans came to Virginia in 1619. In fact, I am struck by a parallel with Julian Bond standing here. I am reminded, if you'll allow me a digression, when Julian Bond was elected to the legislature in Georgia, he was refused the ability to take his seat because he was opposed to the Vietnam War. And there was a protest on the Capitol Square in Georgia where Martin Luther King spoke and Martin Luther King referred to Virginians and Jamestown and he said, "We were here since before the pilgrims came to Plymouth Rock," referring to Jamestown in 1619, but until today there has never been a recognition on this Capitol ground for the contributions of African-Americans. So the first thing we do today that is long overdue that does make this a new Virginia is we open up Capitol Square to recognize women, recognize African-Americans, recognize all who have been part of the history, the tragic but triumphant history of this wonderful Commonwealth.

That is the first thing we do. And we do a second thing: the most common visitors to Capitol Square are children and yet there is not a monument, there is not a recognition of the role that children have played in the life of this Commonwealth. There is a wonderful prophesy, a spooky prophesy, in the book of Isaiah -- "and a little child shall lead them." That theme occurs throughout history and has occurred throughout the history of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1951, Barbara Johns leading the walkout in Moton High School. During the Birmingham civil rights struggle in the 1960s when the days were dark and it looked like Reverend King's effort to break the back of segregation and public accommodations in Birmingham was not going to be successful, young children stepped up and marched into the hoses and marched into the dogs to say that we are children and yet the adults want to keep us out of this, but this is about us. I am sitting here with my wife Anne and when my wife Anne was a young girl in the Governor's Mansion and the history of Governors of this Commonwealth had been to turn their backs on inclusion and fight to maintain separation on the grounds of race, Anne, together with her brothers and sisters and her mother and father, embraced the notion of an integrated Commonwealth, integrated schools and the pictures of Anne and her brothers and sisters walking into school buildings, integrated schools in Virginia made news nationally and across the country. Children had been in the forefront for so much and so now today children who visit Capitol Square will be able to see the role that children have played, the leadership role that children have played in this Commonwealth, in this nation and in this world. Why is it that a little child will lead? Children show us important things, humility, reliance on others, but most especially optimism or hope. Hope can be a bad word sometimes as if it is just naive or blissfully ignorant but without hope Barbara Johns would not have done what she did. It wasn't just about a protest; she believed that life could be different. She hoped that life could be different and so it was.

And we are doing a third thing. We are opening up the Commonwealth by this statue, we are acknowledging the role of children but this is also the first statue on the grounds that isn't just about yesterday, it is about today and tomorrow. William Faulkner said and I love this quote, "History is about the effort to create a usable past." If it is just about the past, save that for the historians, but for us regular folks, it has got to be usable. We have got to learn and then put it to use to live better and better every day and that is what this statue is all about. Without giving it away, when it is unveiled and you have a chance to take a look at it, you will see that there are four sides to this statue and three represent figures of history that we can learn from but the fourth side is about the young people of today and tomorrow. This monument opens up Capitol Square. We are not just here about the past, it is about the future.

This is a wonderful day to be a Virginian. We will all remember this for the rest of our lives. Thanks to all who have played such a key role in making this day happen, thank you. ▮

We are here today to applaud the dreamers. We are here today to applaud the contributors, and we are here today to applaud the courageous men and women and children who will be commemorated here on the state capitol grounds for years and years and years to come.



When I was elected in 1993 to the House of Delegates and came in 1994, I have to admit that I didn't get the "warm and fuzzies" when I came on the capitol grounds. There was a spirit that gripped me that was exclusive rather than inclusive. But today I want you to know, that history is being made and the tide has changed. Because now the thousands of young people that come from schools all over the commonwealth of Virginia will not get half of the story or part of the story, but they will get the whole story. They will be taught that Virginia is not just for a select few. But Virginia is for all Virginians—regardless of the color

of your skin, regardless of the communities you came from whether you were from the right side or the wrong side of the tracks.

This is our state. This is our commonwealth and this statue helps us acknowledge that.

I want to take the liberty to change the words of the great poet. The lives of great men and women and children all remind us that us that we too must make our lives sublime. And everyone who is here today and the families we represent must place our footprints in the sands of time.

Let me say this for the faith community. I know it is on your spirits. Because when Carlton Blount sang amazing grace I heard your response. I want you to know:

We have come this far by faith, leaning on the Lord.

Trusting in His holy word.

He has never, He has never, failed us yet!

Delegate Dwight Jones, (D-Richmond), is the chairman of the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus representing five Senators and eleven Delegates from across the Commonwealth. ▮

Virginia Civil Rights Memorial Dedication

By VIOLA BASKERVILLE, SECRETARY OF ADMINISTRATION

On July 21st, Lisa Collis, the former First Lady of Virginia, spoke to the thousands of people that were assembled for the unveiling of the Civil Rights Memorial. She recalled a conversation she had with her youngest daughter, Eliza, one evening while walking around the state Capitol. Eliza asked of her mother why Rosa Parks was not memorialized on the grounds. Lisa Collis responded that, while Rosa Parks was an important public figure, “she was from Alabama and this is Virginia.” She acknowledged that the “Civil Rights Movement and its heroes were nowhere to be found in Capitol Square.” The Civil Rights Memorial, in part the brainchild of Ms. Collis, is meant to raise the public awareness level of the significance of unsung Virginia Civil Rights heroes—heroes such as Barbara Johns, Oliver Hill, Spottswood Robinson III, and Reverend L. Francis Griffin—who pursued equality and educational excellence for all. The Memorial, celebrating Ms. Johns’ courageous efforts over half-a-century ago, is an apt reminder of her status in Virginia’s history as someone who stood up for a cause and whose influence is felt to this day. It will remind all visitors that any person of any age possesses the ability to influence and improve upon the society in which we all live.



One of the many highlights of the unveiling ceremony came when Governor Kaine posed a question to the citizens of Virginia. He asked, “How do you like the new Virginia?” The audience answered with resounding applause and cheers. In the blistering heat and stifling humidity, 4,500 visitors gathered on the grounds of the state Capitol to see the birth of this new Virginia. The unveiling of the Civil Rights Memorial was meant to be a public celebration, and the public did not disappoint. They arrived in droves to see such mega-luminaries as Julian Bond, who spoke to the history of the Civil Rights struggle, Nikki Giovanni, who spoke to the central role of the African-American woman in the struggle, and Blair Underwood, who represented the promise of future generations. This celebration was made even more extraordinary by the attendance of the executive, legislative, and judicial leadership, including former governors Mark Warner and A. Linwood Holton, Speaker Bill Howell and Chief Justice Leroy Hassell.

In the afternoon preceding the unveiling, over 400 people gathered at the Library of Virginia for an education symposium titled “From Struggle to Triumph to Tomorrow” that examined the current and future state of the public education system in Virginia and the United States. The Symposium, comprised of an engaged panel consisting of fourteen educators, judges, lawyers and business people, wrestled with the question of whether our schools, in post-segregation America, are better off. From their answers it was gathered that, while public education has changed for the better, it currently faces problems that must be addressed. The Symposium acted not only as a precursor to the unveiling of the Memorial, it also helped to achieve the educational goals of this two-day celebration.

The success of these events, however, depended on a variety of factors. Of particular note is the able assistance and guidance provided by the Capitol Square Civil Rights Memorial Foundation and the extensive media coverage provided by various local, state, national and international press outlets. The Memorial and the celebratory events held in July could not have been made possible without the joint collaborative effort of various state and local governmental, private and corporate entities who, together, helped to raise more than \$2.6 million from over 500 donors to fund the memorial and the two-day celebratory events. Of tremendous help were our volunteers, particularly our state employees, who all expressed their excitement to be a part of these historic events. The communal bonds created by these public and private partnerships

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Around Capitol Square



Judith Anderson (Chair of Capitol Civil Rights Memorial Foundation), Stanley Bleifeld (Sculptor), Speaker Bill Howell, Delegate Dwight Jones

“May those who learn about and ponder the lasting legacy it [the Virginia’s Civil Rights Memorial] commemorates know that we are all created equal in the eyes of God. ... may each of us—our children and future generations—recognize that we also must be equal in the eyes of each other.”

“So let us strive—like those to whom this Memorial is dedicated—to fulfill the promise of America, with liberty and justice for all.”

Speaker of the House, Bill Howell



Lisa Collis, former first lady of Virginia





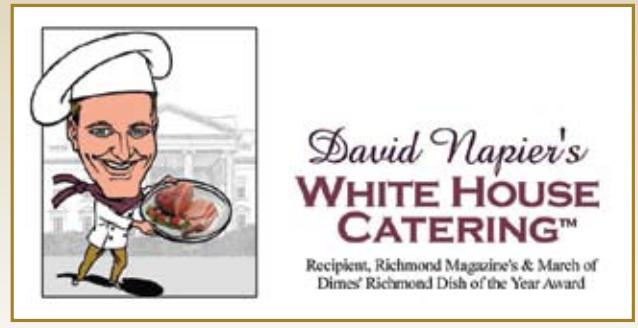
All photos by Michael L. White



“One of the first things you learn in law school is equal and impartial justice under the law should be offered to everybody. For a long time in Virginia, we didn’t always do the right thing.”

“This commemoration is another step that we make collectively here in Virginia to say that we want to have an enduring symbol that equal justice and fairness and equality under the law is a hallmark of our tradition.”

*Virginia Attorney General,
Bob McDonnell*



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Virginia Civil Rights Memorial Dedication Celebration

by JULIAN BOND

I am particularly pleased to be here, not least because I am the Chairman of the Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the NAACP's history is intertwined with what happened in Virginia more than five decades ago and what calls us here today. . . .

I am the grandson of a slave. My grandfather was born in Kentucky in 1863, and because of this, freedom didn't come for him until the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified in 1865.

He and his mother were property, like a horse or a chair. As a young girl, she had been given away as a wedding gift to a new bride, and when that bride became pregnant, her husband—that's my great-grandmother's master and owner—exercised his right to take his wife's slave as his mistress. The union produced two children, one of them my grandfather.

He grew up to become an educator, and he would honor, as we do, those Virginians whose actions led to *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court decision that ended legalized school segregation.

Barbara Johns was only 16 years old on April 23, 1951, when she led the entire 450-member student body on a walkout to protest the deplorable conditions at Robert Russa Moton High School, their segregated school, in Prince Edward County. The young Barbara Johns came by her activism naturally. Her uncle, Vernon Johns, was Martin Luther King's predecessor at Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

The author Taylor Branch writes of Barbara, "[o]f all the Johns clan she was regarded as the one with a fiery temperament, most like her uncle's."¹

And make no mistake – the events in Prince Edward County were made possible in spite of the adults and because of the students. Following the walk-out, as Branch tells us:

"Before the Negro adults had decided what to do, and before most of the white people had noticed the controversy at all, Barbara Johns and her little band sent out appeals to NAACP lawyers, who, completely misreading the source of the initiative, agreed to come to Farmville for a meeting, provided it was not with 'the children'. . . . A few more days into the strike, an almost surreal tide swept through the entire Negro community, overwhelming the solid conservative leadership that had always held sway. A young preacher . . . delivered a thunderous oration at a mass meeting. 'Anybody who would not back these children when they stepped out on a limb is not a man,' he declared, and the assembly voted to proceed with an attack on segregation itself."²

Barbara's sister, Joan Johns Cobb, remembers:

"My sister decided to call Spottswood Robinson and Oliver Hill in Richmond to see if they could help. Spottswood Robinson and Oliver Hill were lawyers. . . . They were busy and didn't have time to come to Farmville to see what was going on. However, Mr. Hill would tell me later that he got a call from Barbara and she was very persistent. She told him that we needed him and he just had to come. He said she said to him, 'You just have to come.' He said she just kept calling him until he decided to take the case."³

The NAACP filed suit one month after the student walkout. Three years later, after being consolidated with four similar suits, the case would be decided as part of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Rather than abide by the *Brown* decision and integrate its schools, in 1959 Prince Edward County shut them down, choosing ignorance over

education. They remained closed for five years—giving the county the dastardly distinction of being the only school district in the United States to close public schools for such a long time to avoid desegregation.

In 1959, Shirley Davidson was six years old—the only African-American child on her Farmville block. In preparation for school, her mother made sure she had all her shots and new school clothes. Every day she watched the school bus from the new tax-supported all-white private school roll down her street, pick up every white child, and pass her by. No bus came for Shirley.

That was when she began her make-believe school. She would gather her books together in the morning and go outside on the sidewalk. The school bus would pass her by. Every afternoon when the school bus returned, she'd be on the sidewalk, pretending.

I hope, friends, that as you contemplate this memorial, you will think of Shirley Davidson. And of the tens of thousands of others who experienced the tragedy and triumph that is the history of Prince Edward County and the history of our national struggle to come to grips with the unresolved problem of race.

And I hope you will not pretend that this struggle has nothing to do with you.

When the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in 1954, a vast army of nonviolent protestors, including students, rose up to challenge segregation's morality as well.

From the first it was a people's movement, made up of ordinary women and men. The cumulative acts of their passive resistance became our modern democracy's finest hour. By 1965, Jim Crow was legally dead.

A vote-less people had voted with their bodies and their feet and paved the way for other social protest. The anti-war movement of the 1960s drew its earliest soldiers from the southern freedom army. The reborn

movement for women's rights took many of its cues and much of its momentum from the southern movement for civil rights.

Most of those who made the movement were not famous; they were faceless. They were not notable; they were nameless—marchers with tired feet, protestors beaten back by billy clubs and fire hoses, unknown women and men who risked job and home and life.

As we honor those Virginians who risked all in pursuit of educational rights for all, let us remember what they and other civil rights protestors achieved for you.

They helped you learn how to be free.

They gave you the freedom to enter the larger world protected from its worst abuses.

If you are black or female, their struggles prevent your race or gender from being the arbitrary handicap today it was then.

If you belong to an ethnic minority or if you are disabled, your ethnicity or disability cannot now be used to discriminate against you as it was then.

If you are Catholic or Muslim or Jewish, your faith cannot be an impediment to your success.

As you grow older, because of what they did then, you will be able to work as long as you are able.

My grandfather speaks to us now. He said in 1892:

"The pessimist from his corner looks out on the world of wickedness and sin and blinded by all that is good or hopeful in the condition and progress of the human race, bewails the present state of affairs and predicts woeful things for the future.

In every cloud he beholds a destructive storm, in every flash of lightning an omen of evil, and in every shadow that falls across his path a lurking foe.

Continued on next page



Photo by Michael L. White

Stardate Number 18628.190

WRITTEN BY NIKKI GIOVANNI

This is not a poem...this is hot chocolate at the beginning of Spring...topped with hand whipped double cream...a splash of brandy to give it sass...and just a little cinnamon to give it class...This is not a poem

This is a summer quilt...log cabin pattern...see the corner piece...that was grandmother's wedding dress...that was grandpappa's favorite Sunday tie...that white strip there...is the baby who died...Mommy had pneumonia so that red flannel shows the healing...This does not hang from museum walls...nor will it sell for thousands...This is here to keep me warm

This is not a sonnet...though it will sing...Precious Lord...take my hand...Amazing Grace...how sweet the sound...Go down, Moses...Way down to the past...Way up to the future...It will swell with the voice of Marion Anderson...lilt on the arias of Leontyne...dance on the trilling of Battle...do the dirty dirty with Bessie...moan with Dinah Washington...rock and roll through the Sixties...rap its way into the Nineties...and go on out into Space with Etta James saying At Last...No, this is not a sonnet...but the truth of the beauty that the only authentic voice of Planet Earth comes from the black soil...tilled and mined...by the Daughters of Diaspora

This is a rocking chair...rock me gently in the bosom of Abraham...This is a bus seat: No, I'm not going to move today...This is a porch...where they sat spitting at fireflies...telling young Alex the story of The African...This is a hook rug...to cover a dirt floor...This is an iron pot...with the left over vegetables...making a slow cooking soup...This is pork...simmering chitterlings...surprising everybody with our ability to make a way...out of no way...This is not rest when we are weary...nor comfort when we are sad...It is laughter...when we are in pain...It is "N'mind" when we are confused...It is "Keep climbing, chile" when the road takes the unfair turn...It is "Don't let nobody turn you round"...when our way is dark...It is the faith of our Mothers...who plaited our hair...put Vaseline on our faces...polished our run down shoes...patched our dresses...wore sweaters so that we could wear coats...who welcomed us and our children...when we were left alone to rear them...who said "Get your education...and nobody can put you back"

Virginia Civil Rights Memorial from previous page

He forgets that the clouds also bring life and hope, that lightning purifies the atmosphere, that shadow and darkness prepare for sunshine and growth, and that hardships and adversity nerve the race, as the individual, for greater efforts and grander victories."⁴

"Greater efforts and grander victories." That was the promise the generation born in slavery made a century and a half ago. That was the promise made by the generation that won the great world war for democracy six decades ago. That was the promise made by those who brought democracy to America's darkest corners four decades ago.

And that is the promise we all must seek to honor as we leave these ceremonies today.

Julian Bond has been Chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors since February 1998. He is a distinguished Professor in the School of Government at American University in Washington, DC, and a Professor in the Department of History at the University of Virginia.

(Endnotes)

1 Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, p. 20, Simon & Schuster (1988).

2 *Id.* at 20 - 21.

3 Joan Johns Cobb, "Eyewitness to History, CORE Website.


4 Commencement Address by James Bond, *Berea College Reporter* (June 1892). 




Photo by Michael L. White

This is not a poem...No...It is a celebration of the road we have traveled...It is a prayer...for the roads yet to come... This is an explosion...The original Big Bang...that makes the world a hopeful...loving place

This is the Black woman...in all our trouble and glory...in all our past history and future forbearance...in all that ever made love a possibility.....This is about us... bleached and natural...braided and straightened hair... made up...or...beaten up faces... tall...short...stately...bent... CC Riders...junkies...whores... wives...mothers...grandmothers...aunts working in the home or outside... working in the system or outside... working praying working to survive... giving pride...giving succor...giving voice...giving encouragement...giving whatever...we can give

This is a flag...that we placed over Peter Salem and Peter Poor...the 54th Regiment from Massachusetts...All the men and women lynched in the name of rape...Emmett Till...Medgar Evers...Malcolm X...Martin Luther King, Jr...This a banner we fly for Respect...Dignity...the Assumption of Integrity...for a future generation to rally around

This is about us...Celebrating ourselves...And a well deserved honor it is...Light the candles, ...This is a Rocket...Let's ride
Nikki Giovanni is a Grammy-nominated American poet, activist, and author. Giovanni is a Distinguished Professor of English at Virginia Tech. 



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The Future of Economic Development In Southern Virginia

By PATRICK O. GOTTSCHALK, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND TRADE

Historically, Southern Virginia's economy was anchored in textiles, furniture, and tobacco. In the past decade, most of the jobs in textiles and furniture went offshore and demand for tobacco declined. Accordingly, the economy of Southern Virginia is in transition. However, with our recent economic development achievements, the region appears to be transforming into one of the Commonwealth's largest success stories.

Since Governor Timothy M. Kaine took office in January 2006, we have announced \$2.1 billion in new investments and more than 8,500 new jobs in Southern Virginia—making it the top Virginia region in capital investment gained and No. 3 in job creation behind Hampton Roads and Northern Virginia. Announcements like Swedwood/IKEA and Com.40 in Danville, and RTI International Metals in Martinsville have reversed the downward trend in the region's employment and jumpstarted Southern Virginia's economy. Expansions of existing businesses, like AREVA in Lynchburg, ABB in South Boston and Goodyear in Danville have reinforced the strength of Southern Virginia's business climate.

Economic development successes such as those mentioned above don't happen without substantial teamwork and effort. The areas of the Commonwealth that take a regional approach to economic development, such as Southern Virginia, usually experience the most success. The City of Danville and Pittsylvania County, and the City of Martinsville and Henry County, have done an excellent job of working together toward common goals. These communities recognize that companies do not pay attention to political boundaries, and neither should they. The employment offered provides work for people from the entire region, not just the jurisdiction in which the business is located.

There is a tremendous amount of behind-the-scenes work taking place to prepare sites and communities for potential prospects—years before an announcement of any project. That work is tackled by numerous partners and organizations at the local, regional, state and sometimes federal levels.

Take the RTI International Metals project in Martinsville, for example. Eleven years ago, Henry County bought land, partnered with the City of Martinsville, and developed and equipped Patriot Centre industrial park with the necessary infrastructure that a prospect company would require. What they found was that an empty tract of land—while fully prepared—remained an empty piece of land. Something else was needed to raise the community's profile and generate traffic, and the Patriot Centre Shell Building was born. The 75,000-square-foot building, boasting 30-foot ceilings, separated the community from its competition—and was exactly the facility that RTI International Metals was seeking. Thanks to the community's foresight, Martinsville-Henry County could offer the company something that others couldn't—a speedy six-month turnaround time.



Like the Martinsville-Henry County community, Southern Virginia—and the Commonwealth as a whole—must plan in advance to be successful in the future. Major economic development projects are becoming larger in scope, more complex, more competitive, and more global. Companies are demanding less start-up time in order to meet growing business demands. For Southern Virginia to continue its winning streak, planning and preparation must remain a high priority.

Larger scale "megaprojects" can have a transformational and catalytic impact on a regional economy. Projects like Swedwood/IKEA in Danville fit the definition of a megaproject. Announced in October 2006, the Swedwood/IKEA manufacturing facility represents in excess of \$280 million investment and will create 740 new jobs.

The transformation of Southside continued in February 2008 as Swedwood/IKEA supplier Com.40, a Polish company, announced an investment of \$36.3 million to open a manufacturing facility in Danville, creating 813 jobs. Swedwood/IKEA, Com.40 and others will be able to recruit from a region that enjoys a wealth of furniture manufacturing experience. The region also has the means to upgrade the skills of its workforce thanks to regional assets such as Danville Community College, the Regional Center for Advanced Technology and Training and the Institute for Advanced Learning and Research.

Building on this success, workforce investment boards in Southside Virginia are teaming with their counterparts from the Upper Piedmont Triad of North Carolina to help the broader region better prepare the labor force for jobs in the new economy. This pioneering collaborative effort is being funded through a special Regional Innovation Grant from the U.S. Department of Labor.

Another "megaproject" worthy of discussion is the Rolls-Royce aeroengine project in Prince George County. This project demonstrates similar progress and lessons in multi-organizational cooperation. Last year, the company announced an investment of \$500 million and more than 500 new jobs.

The project will not only have an enormous impact on Prince George County, but the Commonwealth as a whole. Beyond jobs and capital investment, Virginia's human capital will also be upgraded as a result of this partnership. In support of Rolls-Royce's advanced manufacturing for its defense and aerospace businesses, two of our major Virginia universities, The University of Virginia and Virginia Tech, will provide research and development capabilities and a continuous pipeline of qualified engineers. Our Virginia Community College System will also play an important role as the coordinator of the workforce training. These initiatives will help us create a new template for economic development allowing all of Virginia to compete effectively in the innovation economy.

We believe this success will continue. Thanks to the relationships that Virginia has developed with Swedwood/IKEA and Rolls-Royce, Governor Kaine and the Virginia Economic Development Partnership continue to market Virginia to companies that serve as Swedwood/IKEA and Rolls-Royce suppliers.

We have to be ready for future investments. To continue gaining corporate partners and keep existing relationships in Virginia, our signature sites must be publicly controlled, fully equipped with all the necessary infrastructure and ready to go. In addition to the site itself, we must provide a skilled labor force, connectivity to our research universities, advanced training programs, and incentives to induce prospects from a financial perspective. These are the lessons that RTI, Swedwood/IKEA, and Rolls-Royce projects have taught us.

It will take significant capital investment and the willingness to plan for the future. Without early investment, there is often no reward in the competitive world of economic development. Together, we can continue the momentum Southern Virginia has enjoyed and continue to build on the Commonwealth's economic success as the Forbes.com "Best State for Business," three years running. ▮



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The Economic Resurgence of Southern Virginia

By FRANK RUFF

During the 90's the town of Clarksville, a town of 1,400 had 3,000 employees between Burlington Industries and Russell Stover Candies. Before the twenty-first century was fully begun both employers had announced they would no longer have a presence in Clarksville.

This was the front-page story in newspapers throughout the region as employers sought cost savings by moving production elsewhere. Our region was not the only area



to lose jobs, however, the fact that the region was so heavily dependent on the manufacturing sector meant that Southern Virginia was devastated by those job loses. Just a few years ago Henry County and Martinsville with 72,000 citizens had more manufacturing jobs than Fairfax County that has almost a million citizens.

After World War II, manufacturing companies chose Southern Virginia because of a strong work ethic of the people as well as lower tax rates. They were good fits for the region because they allowed those coming back from the war a chance to stay on the farms where they were reared. Many chose to work those farms while also working in the factories. Between tobacco crops and the factory jobs, many were able to provide well for their families.

However the world economy was changing around us. No longer were we the cheapest place to produce the goods needed for the world. No longer was tobacco the number one export of Virginia. The American economy was changing from a manufacturing economy to a service economy. The service economy required different skills and more education than the jobs that were leaving the area.

As community leaders faced the new challenges that were before them, they had change not only the type of employers they sought but also the way that the citizens thought. People wanted those 2,000 job employers to be replaced. However those days were over and unlikely to return.

Each community had to deal with these challenges the best way they could. Each town had to re-evaluate their assets and their opportunities.

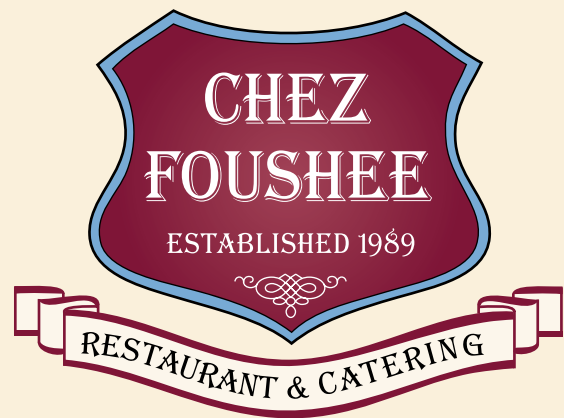
I am proud that community after community has done that. No longer are communities selling themselves as low cost places to do business but rather as a great place to live and raise a family. The closeness of the people in our communities provides a sense of closeness and belonging that often does not occur in more populated communities.

With this better understanding of who we are and what is important has led the communities to attract some of the most sophisticated international corporations in the world. Well-respected corporations have or are in the process of beginning operations. Corporations such as EDS, Rolls Royce, Ikea, and ABB have chosen Southern Virginia to spend not millions but billions of dollars.

At the same time small and start up companies are finding the region a friendly location to do business. Nano technology is finding Danville a good place to produce products for the twenty-first century. Likewise VIR (Virginia International Raceway) is working with the automotive industry to better test automobiles as well as attracting international racecar owners to the region to test and compete.

Education opportunities that have lagged much of the state for the last half-century is also playing catch-up. New efforts such as The New College in Martinsville, The Advanced Learning and Research Center in Danville, and The Southern Virginia Higher Ed Center in South Boston, each give opportunities to those from the region to

See *Economic Resurgence*, continued on page 18



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Southside Virginia's Motorsports' Resort

By CHARLES TODD

In mid July, David Bailey and I were taken on a tour of the Virginia International Raceway by its General Manager Josh Lief. Josh, who possesses many skills, demonstrated his driving ability with his Volkswagen Touareg van that fortunately was equipped with automatic suspension leveling devices. The racetrack is "a natural track," according to Josh, "which means it has hills as well as curves." It was an exciting ride!



The Virginia International Raceway is commonly known as "VIR." It is a "road course" located in the town of Alton between Danville and South Boston and is close to Route 58 and the Dan River. VIR hosts amateur and professional automobile and motorcycle events, driving schools, club days, and private test rentals. The manager said, "The VIR and supporting industries provide about 400 jobs."

In 1955, four North Carolina sports car enthusiasts formed a company called Sports Car Enterprises, Inc. with the idea of building their own racetrack. They found a favorable location near Danville that had been the Foote family farm that they leased with the help of a fifth partner.

VIR opened for business in 1957 but competition with stock car racing prevented it from attracting large crowds. Col. Paul Rembold of Danville took over the lease and was more successful in attracting fans to sports car, motorcycle, and kart races.

The track fell on hard times in the early 1970s and the Foote family property reverted to farmland for 25 years. In 1998, Harvey Siegel, a New York real estate developer, leased the property. Under the guiding hands of Siegel and his partner, Connie Nyholm, the facility was enlarged to 4 tracks and began receiving recognition as the world's most beautiful and challenging circuit.

VIR offers six track configurations, two of which can be run simultaneously. The "Full Course" is 3.27 miles in length while the "Patriot Course" stretches for 1.1 miles entirely inside the Full Course. The site is also home to JOUSTER (Joint Unmanned Systems Testing Engineering), Synergy Racing, and SascoSports; all are associated with racecar design, renovation, repair, testing, and improvement.

Southside Virginia is well known in the Mid-Atlantic region as "Motorsports Alley." Companies who establish a presence here have the added advantage of operating in close proximity to other race support and automotive businesses.

In 2006, the new Virginia Motorsport Technology Park opened. It houses VIPER (Virginia Institute for Performance Engineering and Research), a national center for ground vehicle performance research and engineering; JOUSTER, an innovative center for research solutions meeting the needs of military, security and commercial unmanned systems (robots) for ground-, air- and water-based applications; a museum dedicated to the Healey marque; and a 10,000-sq.ft. divisible spec building, on the VIR grounds.

VIR has gained a reputation as one of the best test facilities on the East Coast and hosts a wide range of testing, including major manufacturers, NASCAR Sprint Cup and Nationwide series teams, Grand-Am Rolex teams, a wide range of formula cars, motorcycles, ALMS teams, vintage car prep shops, Volkswagen headquarters for their special events, and more. They all test products at VIR facilities.

VIR's RacePlex™ Motorsports Industrial Park gives its tenants a unique opportunity to develop products from a track side location

with optimum vehicle testing capabilities including four distinct road courses, a 5/8-mile karting course, and a variety of off-road courses and terrain. Shop size ranges from 2,500 to 20,000 square feet.

VMTP tenant VIPER boasts a custom designed 8-post test rig representing the next generation of suspension testing equipment, and independent third-party researchers, who provide insightful feedback while maintaining confidentiality. According to General Manager Josh Lief, "Graduate engineering students from VPI and Old Dominion University take part in this work."

At the VIR site, a gated community, there are 1,500 acres, large new houses selling for less than \$500,000, 3-bedroom villas adjacent to the track, The Plantation House for dining, a much larger reception facility for 2-300 guests, a 27-room hotel, and businesses connected with racing. These first-class accommodations make the location a desirable place for corporate America to hold board meetings, retreats, or conventions.

Mr. Lief said, "VIR attracts participants from a 250-mile radius—from Columbia, SC to Baltimore, and to Lexington, KY. Our biggest race of the year brought 60,000 spectators along with their campers, cookout gear, and vehicles," which makes it a big contributor to the region's economy.

Mr. Lief received his law degree, *magna cum laude*, from Syracuse University College of Law and was admitted to the bar in New York and Virginia. He practiced law in Richmond and served for three years at the Attorney General's Office, as Senior Assistant Attorney General in the Insurance and Utilities Regulatory Section and as an Assistant Attorney General in the Antitrust and Consumer Litigation Section. He was appointed Deputy Secretary of Economic Development and later Secretary of Commerce and Trade by Governor James Gilmore. During his tenure in state government, Mr. Lief was the administration's pro-business advocate in the General Assembly, speaking in favor of businesses on a wide range of issues.

Josh became General Manager of VIR in 2000 and has been the key player in its role as a leader in Southside Virginia's recovery from the demise of the tobacco and textile industries. Josh said he "still has a few legal clients in Richmond, and goes there for NASCAR events."

VIR is the cornerstone of VIR Club, America's first motor sports country club. The Oak Tree Tavern is located within the circa-1840 Plantation Clubhouse. Josh pointed to the oak tree near the track and said, "It is 400 years old."

The track is frequently used for test sessions by NASCAR teams although it is not currently active on the NASCAR circuit. It is also used by manufacturers in testing new or updated vehicles.

The Plantation Valley Kart Track, located at Virginia International Raceway, offers an opportunity to hone racing skills on a state-of-the-art 5/8-mile, 24-foot-wide, paved karting circuit. Karts are available for rent, or visitors can bring their own. Almost every successful pro driver in the world today got his or her start in karting, where the dynamics of driving are amplified, more easily understood, and often more readily practiced than in full-sized cars.

With onsite lodging, go karts, corporate events, fine and fun dining, the VIR Club, Camp Motorsport, the Oak Tree Spa, and southern hospitality, VIR truly is America's Motorsport Resort.

"If there's a heaven on Earth, it's VIR."

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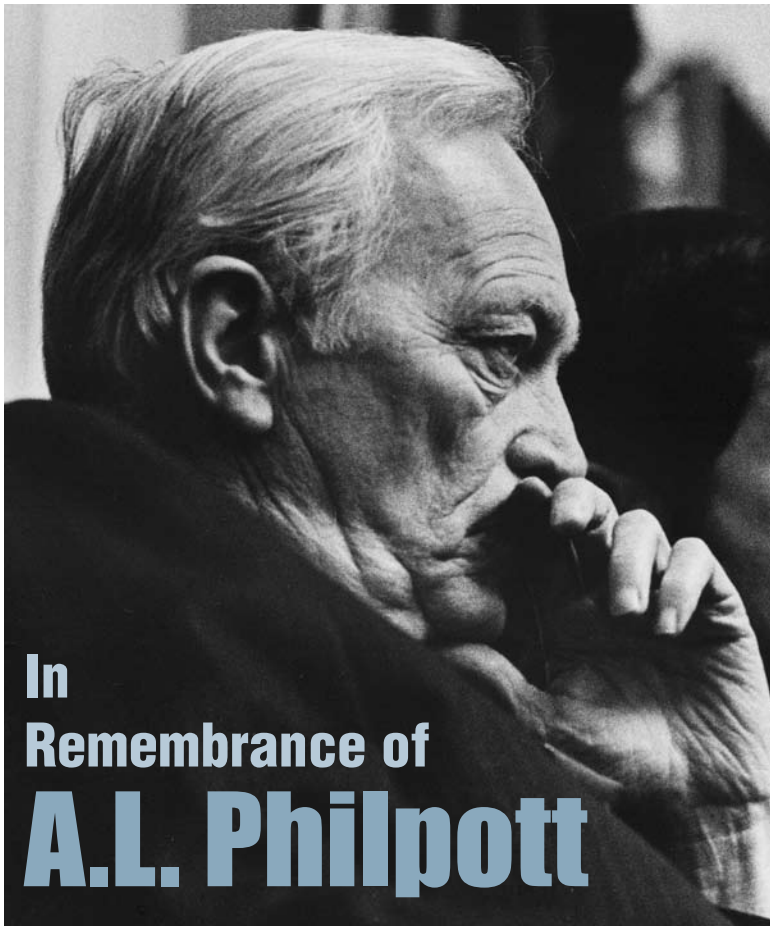
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In Remembrance of A.L. Philpott

Those who knew him personally say his name with respect, even reverence. Then they inevitably break into a smile. He is Albert Lee Philpott. He was known by all as “A.L.” and, more importantly, “Mr. Speaker.”

Until his death in 1991 at age 72, A.L. Philpott was the powerful, feared, and yet cherished Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates. He is what politics is about: getting to know the voters at home, taking care of their business at the Capitol, learning the letter of the law and the rules of the game, and relating to your colleagues in the legislature in such a way as to make things happen. He forever changed Southside Virginia and well beyond. From his Richmond podium, he shook and shaped the Commonwealth, and paved the way for the first African-American Lieutenant Governor and Governor in U.S. history.

Philpott was a country lawyer from Henry County, Virginia. The Philpotts had settled there generations earlier and the little close-knit community was, indeed, called “Philpott.” A.L. was born in 1919. When letters came to the U.S. Post Office addressed just to “Mama Philpott,” the postmistress knew just where they were to go.

Philpott was an attorney by vocation, a gentleman farmer by ancestry.

Philpott’s daughter, Judy, remembers:

“They had a farm,” she said, “with 60 head of cattle.” Now living in Richmond, she remembers “setting up the hay” and riding on the tractor. “We had to get the farm work done.” That strong work ethic stayed with Philpott as he moved up in his career. He met his wife-to-be, the former Katherine Apperson Spencer from Lynchburg in college. He went to University of Richmond and “Kitty” was a Latin major at Westhampton.

Kitty was happy to adjust to life in the country, said her daughter, as Philpott moved up to become Commonwealth’s Attorney. They had three children. Tragedy struck without warning, however, when the family’s oldest daughter, Carole, died suddenly in her sleep while just a pre-teenager.

The family was in shock. Judy Philpott vividly remembers that awful time in their lives. Her parents, prone to being strict, became even stricter with their two surviving children. Judy and her younger brother were given medical tests, but proved healthy. Their sister’s death was explained as just an unavoidable twist of fate, something similar to crib death.

But the happy time came when A.L. Philpott, a conservative Democrat, aspired to be part of Virginia’s citizen legislature. Getting elected meant getting the family to pitch in for community dinners of Brunswick stew and other local delights. At that time, which seems long ago, but really was not, politicians didn’t forge their careers under the lights of television cameras. They didn’t speak in sound bytes. A.L. Philpott’s style was personal, said Judy, and “he could afford to be more of a statesman than a politician.”

By the time Philpott was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, Judy, by now in the fifth grade, remembers staying at the Richmond Hotel (now the Ninth Street Office Building) and sliding down the long banister from the mezzanine to the lobby. She remembers staying at the Hotel Jefferson (“the old Jefferson”) when hotel guests warmed their food on hotplates. It was 1957 and a very different time. The legislature met every other year, not yearly as it does now.

The Honorable A.L. Philpott cut a dashing figure. He was not especially tall (“maybe 5’10” says Judy), but he was strong and athletic (“in later years, portly”) and had an “infectious smile.” Judy said he used to say that during election season he would socialize with his neighbors, but then it was on to Richmond “to do the people’s business.”

The A.L. Philpott reputation was built, according to all accounts, on integrity, a brilliant knowledge of the law, and charm. He was a rock solid fiscal conservative, a pay-as-you-go man, both in his personal life and in the legislature. In his 33-year-career, the rural conservative became Virginia’s most powerful legislator. He became majority leader in the House of Delegates in 1978 and was chosen as Speaker in 1980.

His leadership became the stuff of legends. One look over his eyeglasses could determine success or failure of legislation. One glance could send a younger colleague into stark terror or sighs of relief. When it was all over, the A. L. Philpott name amounted to respect and admiration, and it has endured.

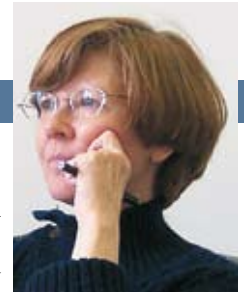
He brought a new style to Richmond, too. Most of the fundraisers there were rather formal occasions; one might even say “stuffy.” Philpott, in contrast hosted what might have been the Capitol’s first square dance, in an airplane hangar in nearby Hanover County. Leaving tuxes at home, the guests wore jeans and danced to country music.

What may have been one of the most remarkable things about Philpott’s coming of age in politics was that it was during a shift in public attitudes about race and race relations. A.L. Philpott’s public reputation was not always syncopatic with the civil rights movement. He did not, for example, favor the establishment of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. holiday, which put him at odds with The Honorable State Senator L. Douglas Wilder.

But growing up with A.L., said Judy, was to witness how her father’s actions spoke louder than words. He was representing a rural, southern region on the cusp of desegregation, said Judy, and some of that “old boy” reputation was bound to stick. But she remembers her upbringing as one of fairness and respect for all.

“We were expected to trust all people equally,” she said. “We were taught to say ‘yes, ma’am’ and ‘no, ma’am.’”

Wilder (presently Mayor of the City of Richmond) gives a final assessment of Philpott as overwhelmingly positive, although they did have their moments back in the day. Wilder makes reference to Philpott’s unfortunate choice of the word “boy,” but quickly glides past it.



"He was a very smart person," said Wilder. "He was a lawyer, a very smart lawyer. . . He valued his roots in Henry County, and the whole area. Northern Virginia had begun an explosion in development, with new transportation system, with a huge influx of immigrants looking for work and homes and offering a wide variation of skills. Chesapeake, too, was growing fast.

"He made a study of Virginia history and Virginia politics that was never wasted," said Wilder. He said Philpott studied Jefferson's Manual, the Rules of the House and Senate, and "yet he had a style of this own."

The Mayor remembered one of Philpott's major impacts as his time and expertise on the Virginia Code Commission. The Commission, where Philpott served with John Knowles and Ted Morrison, gave Philpott a front row seat on all changes in Virginia law. Philpott's knowledge of the subject was "almost encyclopedic," said Wilder.

Wilder said that Philpott didn't talk about his knowledge a great deal, but "it showed in the legislature." All observers agree that people deferred to him. He controlled the House. "He was an excellent parliamentarian," said Wilder. "He knew the rules and he knew how to preside."

Wilder was a keen observer. When Wilder set his eye on the office of Lieutenant Governor, he knew that if he won, he would want to preside over the Senate with the same caliber as Philpott steered the House. He used to say that lack of decorum detracts from effectiveness of the legislature. Philpott demanded order, and he got it.

"He didn't suffer fools gladly," said Wilder, and yet he didn't hold grudges. Philpott knew the workings of politics.

Wilder's campaign would be a "first" for an African-American, a truly uphill, if not impossible, battle. Our children, (who watch as Senator Barack Obama campaigns worldwide), and their children, may never fully appreciate what a challenge Wilder took on.

Wilder made a strategic decision to begin his campaign in the Southwestern regions of the Commonwealth. Philpott's support was, said Wilder, "essential."

"It was the turning point," said Wilder, of his exhaustive 60-day tour of the state. Wilder visited very individual city and town, and worked on every day of that tour, except Sundays. Starting in Southwest Virginia, he said, put him where few African-Americans lived.

"I needed to establish credibility," said Wilder, who did not come into the campaign with widespread urban support, or even a huge base of people who knew him. The campaign was making its way toward Martinsville when Jay Shropshire (former Clerk of Virginia Senate, and later Chief of Staff to Wilder) called Wilder to say that there was to be a Wilder campaign breakfast at Martinsville's local favorite place, the Dutch Inn. The best part? A.L. said he'd host the event.

And, Wilder is the first to credit Philpott with this: the place was

packed. "He had such a reputation," said Wilder. Without the support of Philpott, the election of the nation's first African-American Lieutenant Governor, and subsequent Governor, could have gone the other way.

Walter MacFarlane, now Superintendent of Correctional Education for the Commonwealth, remembers A.L. Philpott well. He sat under a pen and ink drawing of Mr. Speaker that hangs in his downtown Richmond office. He described how he felt earlier in his career, when he would testify about bills on behalf of the Virginia Attorney General's Office:

"He scared the crap out of me," laughed MacFarlane, thinking of that "look" we mentioned earlier. He said Philpott would peer over his eyeglasses and scrutinize every point.

Former Virginia Delegate Bernie Day confirmed the feeling when he described "The Scowl," (note the capitol letters) in his fascinating account of Philpott reprinted in "Notes of the Sausage Factory" (edited by Bernie Day and Becky Dale, Brunswick Publishing, 2005):

"One look at his face and delegates know how they stand with Speaker of the House A.L. Philpott," wrote Day. "If it's 'The Scowl,' they're in trouble."

Disapproving facial expressions notwithstanding, Philpott was loved by those on Capitol Square. At that time, it was customary to present the Speaker with a nice gift at the end of a session. One year, said Judy, Philpott received a gun for hunting. A later year, his colleagues presented him with a hunting dog.

Also loved, if not as famously, was Philpott's wife, Kitty, who died seven years after her husband, in 1998.

"She had a fabulous sense of humor," said Judy. "And she loved to entertain." She was used to people "dropping by." Her style was

inclusive and informal, and she'd just "set another plate on the table."

She always wanted to write the great American novel, and, indeed, did write children's stories for her family.

The Capitol Police adored her, and the feeling was mutual. She never forgot their service, and she regularly honored them with her homemade pecan tarts and chocolate balls.

If you could ask A.L. Philpott to name his greatest source of pride, he would undoubtedly say his family, but close behind that would be his work to connect the parts of U.S. Highway 58, an east-west highway that can now take you from the far reaching towns on the Southwest Virginia-Tennessee border all the way east to Virginia Beach. This connection was vital to the economy. Judy Philpott said that he would have been proud to know that after his death, this road was named "A.L. Philpott Highway" in his honor.

While serving the Commonwealth, Philpott battled cancer for some

See *A.L. Philpott*, continued on page 18



A.L. and Kitty Philpott

A State Legislator's Rural Perspective By ROSLYN TYLER

Historically, when one speaks of Southside Virginia, Danville, South Boston comes to mind. Southside Virginia also includes counties along Highway 460 and I-95 before entering into the state of North Carolina. Delegate Roslyn Tyler is working hard to create a greater awareness of her areas in Southside Virginia.

Delegate Roslyn Tyler (Sussex), representative of the 75th District, is serving her second term in the Virginia General Assembly. She serves the largest rural district in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The 75th District, which is a two hours long one way, consists of Sussex County, Greensville County, City of Emporia and Parts of Brunswick County, Southampton County, Isle of Wright County, Lunenburg County and the City of Franklin. In these cities and counties, real estate, agribusiness, small family owned businesses, and tourism are the economic base for the operations of local government. These residents are retired, elderly and hardworking middle-aged families who are taxpaying citizens in the Commonwealth who take pride in their centennial farms, Afro-American and Indian Heritage. Unlike Northern Virginia and Hampton Roads, Southside Virginia does not have the transportation gridlock and overcrowding. One may travel for hours and enjoy the peace and serenity of nature and country living.

We are concerned about the transportation issues affecting the Commonwealth. However, our major concerns are education and jobs/employment opportunities. It is imperative to provide continuous funding for our local schools to maintain and increase teacher's salary and support the Pre-School Initiatives and 4 year old programs to give children a Head Start in building a solid educational foundation. Secondly, our community colleges, Paul D. Camp and Southside Community Colleges require increases in state funding to expand programs and provide work force skills to meet the demands of our growing economy. The General Assembly approved \$500,000 towards the funding of the Southern Virginia Education/Workforce Center in Greensville County. Southside Community College will start classes their in 2009.

Southside Virginia is known for preserving the arts, culture and heritage. The General Assembly has funded the Southampton Agriculture Museum, Wakefield Foundation, and Emporia/Greensville Arts Foundation.



Lastly, No one leaves Southside Virginia without enjoying a country meal at Virginia Diner on Highway 460.

It is a pleasure to work in the Virginia General Assembly to address the needs of Southside Virginia. However, it is an extreme pleasure to return to the peace and tranquility of Southside Virginia.

Roslyn Tyler is a Democrat representing the 75th district in the Virginia House of Delegates. She was elected in 2005.

Virginia Civil Rights Memorial Dedication from page 8

are testaments to the amity and unity present in a progressive Virginia. I believe that, with this Memorial, there is no more important accomplishment in our Commonwealth's history. To see the truth in this statement one only needs to visit the Memorial and see the families and schoolchildren who come from all over to relive the story of a young girl named Barbara Johns.

Economic Resurgence from page 13

earn degrees closer to home. Likewise the Community colleges have stepped forward to provide additional opportunities to learn work-force skills needed for the jobs that are being created. Each community college has stepped forward to provide those opportunities when and where needed.

Much of what we have accomplished has been aided by funds provided by the Tobacco Commission. The Commission has aided attracting employers. It has helped communities update traditional infrastructure such as water and sewer lines as well as the fiber needed for Worldwide Web. The Commission has helped the educational institutions as they have started or enhanced needed training programs.

Clearly we have had to make major changes in the region. We will continue to make those needed changes. Southern Virginia wants to once again be a productive part of Virginia's economy. If we continue as we have in the last several years, we will.

Frank Ruff a Republican elected in 2000 represents the 15th district in the Virginia Senate. He served in the House of Delegates from the 61st district from 1993-2000.

A.L. Philpott from page 17



Name A.L. Philpott's golfing buddies?
Tell us who's in this picture and win a free 1 year subscription to VCC

20 years. In September of 1991, he evoked a flood of reaction when he announced he would not seek reelection. He died three days later.

Just before A.L. Philpott died, Judy said, he summoned her and her mother and brother into his bedroom. He told them he had always tried to do the right thing. He said that he may not be leaving them a lot of money, but for him it was more important to use politics for the good of all, and not for self-aggrandizement or accumulation of property.

"He said he had to look in the mirror when he shaved," said Judy. "He thought a great deal about the importance of integrity in your actions."

A. L. Philpott lay in state at the Capitol. Funeral services were held in Richmond. Then his coffin was flown home to his beloved Henry County. It was there that people came to the family and told stories they had never known. "Your father did such and such," said Judy. Sometimes he was paid, not with money, but with a sack of potatoes.

"He didn't turn people away."

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

Southside Rising:

The Resurrection of Political Leadership from Virginia's Southside

BY CHRISTIAN RICKERS

Fans of old radio or early television western action/adventure series will have fond memories of the announcers' enthusiastic introductory words to the Lone Ranger program which he always ended with the phrase "Return with us now to the exciting days of yesteryear . . ."

For Southside Virginia, to go back to the exciting days of yesterday, in a political power sense, one need only go back as far as 1990: two short redistrictings ago of the Virginia General Assembly and the U. S. Congress. At that time, the Southside was represented legislatively by 11 members of the Virginia House of Delegates, 4 members of the Virginia State Senate, and 2 members of the U. S. House of Representatives. These elected leaders were then among the most influential members of the Virginia General Assembly and the U. S. congress.

Probably the best known, respected, and feared political leader from the Southside in 1981 was Henry County's Albert Lee (A. L.) Philpott, the Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates. First elected to the Virginia General Assembly in 1957, he served in the House for thirty-three years until his death in 1991. Elected as Majority Leader in 1978, A. L. Philpott was selected as Speaker in 1980 and ruled the House of Delegates, and some say the whole General Assembly, not with a mailed fist or velvet glove, but by means of a smile or a scowl.

The U. S. Congressman representing the major portion of the Southside in 1981 was Danville's Wilbur Clarence ("Dan") Daniel. Dean of the Virginia delegation to the Congress at the time of his death in 1988, Daniel was first elected to congress in 1968, served for ten terms in the Congress from the 5th congressional district, and was Ranking Member of the U. S. House Armed Services Committee at the time of his death.

Another well-known Southside political leader in 1981 was Patrick County's Mary Sue Terry, who served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1978 to 1986. In 1985, Terry was the first woman elected to a statewide office in Virginia, as Attorney General, and only the second woman to serve as an Attorney General of any state. She served as Virginia Attorney General for two terms and in 1993 was the nominee of the Democratic Party for Governor of Virginia.

Three other Southside political leaders of that era, two of whom are no longer active in state politics and one who continues to serve (thus bridging the decades from 1980 to 2008) also merit mention.

The first is Senator Howard P. Anderson of Halifax County who was first elected to the House of Delegates in 1958 and served there until 1971 when he was elected to the state Senate, where he served until from 1972 until 1991. Senator Anderson served as Chair of the



Agriculture Conservation and Natural Resources Committee and was an influential member of the Senate Finance Committee.

The second is Delegate Lewis W. ("Lew") Parker, Jr. who represented the Counties of Brunswick and Mecklenburg in the House of Delegates from 1972 to 1993. Delegate Parker also chaired the Corporations, Insurance, and Banking Committee of the House of Delegates and the State Water Commission.

The Southside political leader who has bridged all three of these eras is Congressman Virgil H. Goode, Jr. of Rocky Mount. He was first elected to the Virginia Senate to represent the 20th Senate District in 1973 and remained there until he was elected to the U. S. Congress in 1996 to serve the Southside's 5th Congressional District. Currently, he serves on the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives and two of its major subcommittees. In the Virginia Senate, he served as Chairman of the Senate Local Government Committee.

Although population changes in the commonwealth over the past three decades have served to diminish the total number of legislators representing Southside jurisdictions in both the Virginia General Assembly and the U. S. Congress, this fact has in no way diminished the quality of legislative representation received by the Southside in the Virginia General Assembly or the U. S. Congress (as exemplified by the influential committee assignments held by Congressman Virgil Goode).

Other highly influential representatives of Southside jurisdictions in the current General Assembly include the following individuals:

House Minority Leader Ward Armstrong D-Henry, 16th in seniority in the House, who was first elected to the House in 1992;

Senator William R. (Roscoe) Reynolds D-Henry, 19th in seniority in the Senate, Deputy Floor Leader of the Senate, who was elected to the Senate in 1997 after having served in the House of Delegates from 1986 to 1997;

Senator L. Louise Lucas D-Portsmouth, 9th in seniority in the Senate, who also represents several Southside jurisdictions and was elected to the Senate in 1992 and currently chairs the Senate Committee on Local Government;

Delegate Watkins Abbitt I-Appomattox was elected as a Democrat in 1986, as an independent in 2007, and is currently 7th in seniority. He serves as a high ranking member of the powerful Appropriations and Rules Committees.

Other Members Representing Southside Virginia include Senators Frank Ruff R-Mecklenburg, Robert Hurt R-Pittsylvania, Delegates Rosalyn Dance D-Petersburg, Kathy Byron R-Campbell, Clarke Hogan R-Halifax, Danny Marshall R-Danville, Donald Merricks R-Pittsylvania, Charles Poindexter R-Franklin, and Roslyn C. Tyler D-Sussex.

Christian Rickers is a native of Southside Virginia and serves as Assistant Editor of Virginia Capitol Connections. [V]



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Southside Revival: Fact or Hope?

By TOM MCLAUGHLIN

Here in my hometown of South Boston, folks are excited that our local higher education center is receiving \$6 million to create an advanced manufacturing center for the wood and furniture industries. We've all seen what has happened up the road in Danville, where furniture makers IKEA and Com.40 Ltd. are coming to town with an estimated 1,540 jobs. Every community in Southside Virginia wants a piece of that action. When I asked a local official how South Boston's new advanced manufacturing center would help us stack up against Danville, he didn't hold back: "The type of workforce we want to develop here is light years above what IKEA has."

Whoa. Wait a second. Something about this statement struck me the wrong way—maybe because I've heard similar latest-and-greatest claims so many times before, albeit in different contexts. The wood initiative seems solid, but the mentality is off-kilter. More than any grandiose statements, what people around here crave is a record of success. Before small communities run with big-dog competitors, first they must show they can walk.

Here in Southside Virginia, the region is trying to whip itself into shape for the global economy sprint—and the leader in the effort is the Virginia Tobacco Indemnification and Community Revitalization Commission, known to most simply as the Tobacco Commission. The Tobacco Commission, with its \$1 billion endowment, has underwritten some 900 projects in the historic tobacco growing regions of Southside and Southwest Virginia since its inception in 1999. Two weeks ago the commission shelled out the \$6 million grant to create South Boston's wood manufacturing center. But is the Tobacco Commission on track to achieve the kind of transformational change it was designed to bring about? How you answer that question could depend on which approach to economic development strikes you as best: top-down versus bottom-up.

In Danville, the Institute for Advanced Learning and Research is the most visible manifestation of Tobacco Commission largesse; the gleaming palace on a hill represents the commission's biggest—and priciest—stab at creating a high-tech research presence in Southside. Another top-shelf initiative is the Mid-Atlantic Broadband Cooperative, a 700-mile, \$40 million fiber optic network that anchors the region's bid to compete in the information economy. These efforts are widely admired for their audacity, but it's an open question whether they'll be enough to remake rural Virginia—in tandem, of course, with hundreds of millions of dollars sprinkled on more prosaic infrastructure projects, from water lines to industry parks, business incubators to office building makeovers, all the way down to open-air downtown pavilions and museum exhibits.

This spring, an ad-hoc Blue Ribbon Review Panel chaired by former Virginia Gov. Gerald Baliles and comprised of some of the state's sharpest business minds took stock of the Tobacco Commission's first decade—and found the results wanting. "Given the existing state of the Southside and Southwest economies," wrote the Blue Ribbon Review Panel, "it is fair to ask whether the expenditure of over \$400 million by the TICR since the year 2000 on 'regional transformation' projects has had the desired transformative effect on the regions." Clearly the answer is no: Southside and Southwest continue to fare poorly on just about every economic metric you can think of—and



the educational lay of the land is arguably worse. Here in South Boston and Halifax County, for instance, less than 10 percent of adults have bachelor's degrees or higher, and 36 percent never finished high school. Upon such flimsy foundations a 21st century economy is difficult to fathom.

Of the Blue Ribbon Panel's many recommendations, one stands out: invest heavily in education in order to build the human capital necessary to invigorate the Tobacco Commission's service regions. The panel flatly states that "education from preschool to high school and beyond high school is the future of Southside and Southwest Virginia. No miles of highways constructed, no tens of thousands of feet of water or sewer lines laid, nor any number of industrial park buildings erected can change this." There's only one problem with this recommendation: it cuts across the grain of the Tobacco Commission's conception of itself as a game changer—one that leaves the laborious, unglamorous job of addressing the regions' yawning social and educational needs to someone else.

Look at the Commission's efforts to establish high-tech research programs and institutions; although some of these professional jobs will be filled by native sons and daughters returning home, the vast majority of residents who formerly worked in decimated industries such as tobacco and textiles will find little relevance in these efforts to graft high-tech tissue onto a low-tech body. In this, the Baliles panel cuts to the quick: how, really, can Southside and Southwest compete on a lofty economic plane when so many quality-of-life pieces—schools, health care, culture and recreation—lag decades behind what any resident can find in Richmond, Virginia, to say nothing of Redmond, Washington, home of software giant Microsoft?

Members of the Tobacco Commission will tell you that Southside and Southwest Virginia would be much worse off without the \$432 million the commission has invested since 1999. And they're probably right—no one seriously argues that the Commission has been a complete boondoggle (although it has its days). But as the Tobacco Commission enters its second decade, questions are mounting about the efficacy of its approach and its business model, which lacks a strong bottom-line focus. Can Southside and Southwest rise on the wings of the Tobacco Commission's targeted investments, with the strong bent towards high tech, or is a more fundamental rehabilitation of Southside and Southwest needed before the regions achieve economic prosperity?

The Blue Ribbon Review Panel's report takes note of the Tobacco Commission's "once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to economically transform these regions to successfully compete in the global economy." It's a challenge the Commission must work harder and think deeper to solve.

Tom McLaughlin is the publisher of the News & Record newspaper in Halifax County-South Boston, Va. and The Mecklenburg Sun newspaper in Mecklenburg County, Va. ■

Healthcare Challenges in Southside Virginia

By DAVID DIBIASI

The adage “an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure” is right on the money when it comes to health care.

Currently, 75 cents out of every \$1 spent on health care pays for the treatment of chronic diseases, that are long term or recurrent. Nearly a quarter of all of young adults now have a chronic disease, and the number is expected to rise. Yet many chronic diseases such as heart and lung disease are preventable with lifestyle changes that improve nutrition, increase exercise and include smoking prevention and cessation. Virginia spends \$1.6 billion annually on health care expenditures directly caused by tobacco use. If spending could be shifted in the direction of prevention, less would need to be spent on treatment—and our healthcare system and population would be healthier for it.

Spending more for preventative programs makes particular sense for Southside Virginia, an area that faces a number of healthcare challenges.

Southside as a region is medically underserved, with shortages in the amount of providers and types of care available, according to the Virginia Department of Health. In addition, access to health insurance is an issue for area residents. Lastly, at least 23 percent of the region’s adults are cigarette smokers, according to the most recent statistics from the Virginia Tobacco Use Control Project. The smoking rate for the state as a whole is 19.3 percent.

Smoking is the leading cause of preventable diseases and a major factor in causing emphysema, lung cancer, heart disease, stroke and low birth weight in babies. The smoking rate for Southside, combined with the region’s health-care challenges, makes residents particularly vulnerable to preventable diseases.

“This area is tobacco country. People smoke two packs a day, and that’s the norm,” said Shannon E. Runion, the family nurse practitioner at Halifax Primary Care in South Boston. “It has been a real issue trying to convince people that it’s unhealthy.”

Halifax Primary Care is one of four family practice clinics run by the Halifax Regional Health System. Halifax Regional offers community outreach classes and clinics for a number of health issues, but it can be difficult to change people’s minds about their health, Runion said.

An increase in funding for smoking prevention and cessation programs would help Southside’s medical professionals combat



smoking and improve residents’ health. That money could be available if the Virginia legislature chose to make prevention a priority.

The state has funds available from the 1998 master settlement agreement with the tobacco companies, 10 percent of which the state decided should go to a youth smoking-prevention campaign through the Virginia Tobacco Settlement Foundation. But in 2003, the General Assembly raided the prevention fund for \$15.5 million to plug a state budget gap—and the money was never replaced. This year, a scheduled balloon payment gave Virginia an extra \$6.3 million in settlement money that should have put another \$630,000 into the prevention fund annually. The General Assembly did not allocate any of it for prevention. Those two decisions deprived youth smoking-prevention efforts of \$16.3 million.

There is a second option available to obtain funds for smoking prevention efforts: the General Assembly could increase the excise tax on cigarettes. Virginia’s cigarette tax is ranked 46th out of the 50 states, at 30 cents. Research shows that significant increases in tobacco taxes will discourage children from starting to smoke, reduce smoking rates, save lives and reduce health-care costs for generations to come. If Virginia was to increase the tax by 81 cents, putting the total tax at the national average of \$1.11, it would cause a 15.9 percent decrease in youth smoking and 41,400 adult smokers would quit. It would also save more than \$1.7 billion in long-term health care expenditures. These projections are based on research findings that a 10 percent increase in cigarette prices reduces youth smoking rates by 6.5 percent, reduces adult smoking rates by 2 percent, and reduces total cigarette consumption by 4 percent. In addition, an 81-cent cigarette tax increase would raise about \$311 million per year in new revenue that could be used for prevention.

There is money on the table to fund smoking prevention and cessation programs that would help Southside Virginia and the rest of the state. It’s up to Virginia’s legislators to make the financial investment into prevention and make the health of Virginia’s residents and our healthcare system a priority.

David DeBiasi serves as the Director of Advocacy and Public Education for the American Lung Association of Virginia. He earned his Bachelor of Science in Nursing from the University of Connecticut in 1984. In 1991 he worked as the TB-HIV Education Coordinator for the City of Boston, Department of Health and Hospitals. He later served as Director of Tuberculosis Education and Training for the Massachusetts Department of Health from 1992 to 1995.

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Uranium in Virginia Turning Earth into Energy

By SUSAN ELZEY

Beneath the peaceful countryside of Southside Virginia's Pittsylvania County, on a historic farm called Coles Hill, lie more than 100 million pounds of uranium worth an estimated \$10 billion. If mined, the ore could supply the necessary fuel to power all of the nation's nuclear power plants for two years. But under current Virginia law, it cannot be mined.

A Virginia-owned and -managed company, Virginia Uranium Inc., hopes to change that. The company is seeking an independent scientific study, conducted by the National Academy of Sciences or a similarly credible institution, to determine whether the mining can be done safely in the Old Dominion. If scientists determine that mining can be done safely, the company will ask Virginia lawmakers to create appropriate regulations to ensure that such mining is conducted with the utmost respect for environmental and human safety.

Virginia Uranium was formed two years ago by the Coles and Bowen families on whose property the ore deposit was discovered 25 years ago. The company's chairman, Walter Coles, Sr., has repeatedly voiced his concern for safety: "We are not interested in moving forward until an independent, scientific study shows that mining can be undertaken safely. Any concern by the public is also our concern, and we want those issues fully addressed."

During the past Virginia General Assembly session, the Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill approving just such a scientific study, but the measure was killed in a House committee. Supported by the governor, the bill probably would have been approved had it reached the House floor. Despite this setback, Virginia Uranium is exploring other possibilities to achieve an independent scientific study.

If an independent study leads to establishing appropriate regulations, the benefits to the nation, to Virginia and to the Southside region promise to be enormous.

On the national level, production of uranium ("yellowcake") at Coles Hill would make a significant contribution to U.S. energy independence. Currently, the United States produces only 5 million of the approximately 55 million pounds of uranium needed to keep the country's 104 nuclear power plants running each year. This neces-

sitates the importation of most of the uranium from abroad, including about 25 million pounds each year from Russia. The current oil crisis highlights the dangers of dependency on foreign energy supplies. Since more than 30 new nuclear plants are currently proposed for construction in the United States, the need for uranium will only increase.

Virginia's nuclear energy market would also benefit from the availability of the mined uranium since 35 per cent of Virginia's electricity is produced at nuclear plants. Despite efficiency and conservation efforts, the Commonwealth's energy consumption continues to increase. The 2007 Virginia Energy Plan, which cites uranium more than 50 times and urges that it be studied, points out that Virginia's growing economy will require growing energy sources. The energy plan also recognizes that clean, emissions-free energy sources, such as nuclear power, will be required.

There's little question that mining uranium would provide a great boost to the region's economy. The life of this single project could span several generations over 40 years and, in various ways, pump tens of millions of dollars into the state and regional economy.

Pittsylvania and the surrounding counties would receive the proceeds of property and other business-related taxes, which would increase the quality of life in the area with improved schools, health care, recreation and infrastructure. Economic growth would be fueled through secondary impacts in support businesses, such as supply companies, retail, trucking, hotels and restaurants. Area educational institutions could benefit by constructing academic programs taking advantage of the cutting-edge technology the enterprise would bring.

As for the direct benefits to residents in the region, a billion-dollar mining operation would provide stable jobs in an area crippled by the departure of textiles and tobacco and where unemployment rates are more than double the state average. Unlike tobacco and textile jobs, the uranium-connected jobs cannot be outsourced, since a mine cannot be moved as can a factory. The average annual salary in Southside Virginia, which lags behind the state average (\$29,730 to \$41,450 in 2006), would rise dramatically.

Though nearly everyone wants a scientific study to answer important questions, indications are that uranium mining can be done safely. Beginning in 1978 with the passage of the Uranium Mill Tailings Radiation Control Act, safety practices and techniques have greatly evolved over the years. Along with today's technology, safety culture and environmental priorities, new standards have transformed uranium mining. When done properly, multiple levels of safety will be in place to ensure the health and well-being of the nearby people and environment.

The Coles family has lived on the property since the 1700s, and they, along with the Bowens, are committed to mining the uranium safely and in a way to benefit the community and state. The first step of the process is the scientific study to determine the safety of mining the uranium. Reassurance of safe mining could usher in a significantly brighter future for Virginia and the nation.

In a recent Wall Street Journal article, Max Schulz, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, noted that expanding nuclear power's role during this time of "energy insecurity and climate change worries" will require confronting 30 years' worth of anti-nuclear pronouncements from environmentalists.

"The Old Dominion could be a good place for a new start," he wrote.

Susan Elzey is a freelance writer based in Danville.



Core samples being taken from "Coles Hill" in Pittsylvania County near Chatham

Uranium Mining Could Lead to Environmental Problems By ELOISE NENON

Southside is reinventing itself. Tobacco and its decade of history is gone. So are Textiles. Basic values, however, remain strong. Respect for the land, concern for family and community, are long standing priorities.

After a history of mills and factories, we are experiencing great new entrepreneurial development. New shopping centers and new stores of all sorts, making Danville and Pittsylvania county destination markets. Foreign investments have brought ties with Sweden, Poland and other countries. Advanced technology and research companies are growing rapidly. The Institute for advanced Learning and Research on the edge of Danville has led the way in new growth for the 21st century.

People and their history remain top priorities. Hundreds of historic homes are found in the area. Many restorations are taking place. It is a great place to live. People are moving here for that reason, and some are "coming home" after living elsewhere. I did. Chatham and Danville have Historic districts, with active historical organizations. My house in Chatham was built in 1782 by James Johnson who brought the railroad west.

Education has grown through the years. Hargrave Military Academy and Chatham Hall, boarding schools located in Chatham, have been here for a century. Averett University, Danville Community College and other schools have continued to grow.

Developing the outdoors, recreation areas, cleaning up the rivers, are enhancing the quality of our life here, making it a healthier community. Smith Mountain Lake is another one of the rapidly growing areas.

Uranium has come back too, much to the surprise of man of us. In the 80's it was Marline Uranium and the Union Carbide. Carbide officials told my Colorado cousin in a Rotary meeting that they left, "because the environmentalists are much too strong." The price of uranium was also dropping. Their mine and mill at Uravan which I visited in the 80's, now cleared over, is a Federal superfund Site. Many of the miners, as well as their families and neighbors have died of cancer and other uranium related illnesses.

The local uranium deposit may be the largest known on the East coast, but there are others in the Triassic Basin which runs from Maine to Georgia. Deposits out west and certainly in western Canada are much larger.

We hear stories about the money investors will make, but what about the land, the homes, the people, the water, the air, the history?

Perhaps Virginia Uranium can provide answers for a few of our questions:

Can you give us the names of uranium mining communities which have not been polluted by the mining and milling? Give us examples of at least five which are in areas of shallow water tables like we have here on the East Coast.

Also the names of mining areas with a net precipitation climate like ours, ones very likely to have sporadic tornadoes like we do and even hurricane force winds? What about being located on a geological fault, subject to tremors and earthquakes such as the Chatham fault here?

Just what do all these companies you have mean? Virginia Uranium Ltd, a foreign enterprise with foreign investors, Southside Cattle LLC, Holdco LLC, in addition to Virginia Uranium, Inc. Are the LLC's (limited liability corporations), and perhaps the foreign one too, there to get you off the hook on liability?

What kinds of emergency plans do you have for the people of our area? We have them for other kinds of emergencies, hurricanes, floods, tornadoes, forest fires. What kind of an evacuation plan do you have for us, and for our pets, in case of a uranium disaster?

Will we hear the steady blasting 6 miles away in Chatham, or Gretna which is even closer, as well as being heard by the people close by in Sheva? What about the peaceful countryside we now have? What about the huge heavy, noisy trucks lumbering along the roads all day and night, seven days a week for your proposed 30 years of mining?

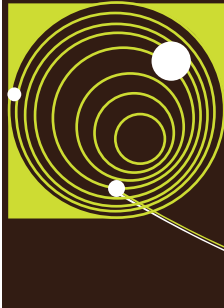
How will you control the radioactive dust polluting the crops and the livestock? And what about the streams and rivers, the watersheds? What about Virginia Beach's drinking water supply which comes from our watershed?

Would we be destined to become the Pittsylvania Dust Bowl, with radioactive tailings dust blowing 40 miles and more, polluting us all for the next 30 years?

No, we don't want uranium! Southside is reinventing itself! We want to go forward in the advanced research direction which is greatly impacting our community in the 21st century! We want to live! We want to take care of our land and the water which God has given us. We want to lead healthy lives and preserve the land for our children, our grandchildren and many more generations to come.

It is our heritage, help us preserve it!

Eloise Nenon was the founding Chair of the Southside Concerned Citizens in 1980. She now serves on the board and lived in Chatham. Eloise is available to speak to groups and can be reached at 434.432.4381 or nenonef@verizon.net.



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Wilson Center at Hampden-Sydney College By DR. DAVID MARION

There is considerable significance in the fact that Hampden-Sydney College, the oldest men's college in the United States, was named for seventeenth century English heroes who gave their lives in the cause of republican liberty. The linkage with John Hampden and Algernon Sydney unmistakably associated the institution with the principles of representative government and civil liberty as well as with the American independence movement. Then, as now, the college was committed to preparing young men to be leaders within their professions, communities, states and the nation.

The tenth oldest college in America, with a student body of approximately 1100 undergraduate men, Hampden-Sydney College requires that students participate in a liberal arts program that is designed to promote the skills and substantive knowledge essential for successful citizenship in a modern democratic republic. The college established the Wilson Center for Leadership in the Public Interest in the mid-1990s to oversee a variety of leadership, public service and public affairs programs that serve current students, alumni, teachers across the United States, and its many neighbors in south-central Virginia. To date, more than ten thousand students, alumni, vot-

ers and teachers have benefited from the conferences, workshops, town meetings, debates, and internships sponsored by the Center.

Building on its historical commitment to the education of young men, the College established the James Madison Public Service program in 1994, an academic minor requiring coursework, research, and an internship, and the Military Leadership and National Security Studies minor in 2004. Students enrolled in these program have interned at the White House, in the offices of U.S. Senator and Representatives, with state and local governments, in U. S. embassies in Brazil and Turkey, as well as with the European Parliament and the Human Rights Commission in Ghana, the Fulbright Commission Office in Prague, and with organizations such as the Heritage Foundation. Graduates of the program work on Capitol Hill, with federal agencies such as the CIA and FBI, and with the Departments of Justice, Defense, Homeland Security, Commerce, Education and Energy. They serve as officers in various branches of the military, and with state and local governments. They have been admitted to graduate and professional programs at Harvard, UVA, Cornell, UPenn, Chicago, Oxford, Cambridge, Georgetown, and Duke.

To supplement regular classroom instruction, the Wilson Center has arranged visits by officials who are well positioned to link theory to practice. Visiting speakers and lecturers have included Prime Minister Rasmussen of Denmark, Generals Wayne Downing and Peter Schoomacher, Senator John McCain, former Secretary of State Law-

rence Eagleburger, President Al Broadus of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, Congressmen L. F. Payne and Virgil Goode, former Virginia Governors Douglas Wilder and Gerald Baliles, and Ambassadors William Jones (Haiti) and Jack Matlock (Russia). The Center has hosted a Fulbright Scholar, a Czech political scientist who witnessed both the Nazi and Soviet occupations of his country. General Samuel Wilson, president emeritus of the college and a former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, General William Boykin, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence under President George W. Bush, and Dr. Curtis Smith, former director of the Federal Executive Institute, all hold continuing positions with the Wilson Center.

The Wilson Center also hosts several Central Virginia Public Affairs Forum events each year. These events are open to the public at no charge. Recent conferences have examined the war on terrorism, healthcare in America, globalization, energy policy, and the human genome project. The Center is a co-sponsor of Leadership Farmville, an adult leadership program for residents of Prince Edward and Cumberland Counties, and collaborates with the Center for Civic Education and the Bill of Rights Institute of Arlington on workshops for high school teachers and their students and on the preparation of instructional material for history and government teachers.

The mission of the Wilson Center is civic education and its flag has been carried by teachers and interns to almost every corner of the United States and the world. Information about Hampden-Sydney College and the Wilson Center is available on the world wide web at www.HSC.edu.

Dr Marion is a professor of Political Science at Hampden-Sydney College and Director of the Wilson Center for Political Leadership. ▣



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SVCC Growing, Improving, Changing Through the Years

In people years, Southside Virginia Community College is at midlife; in institutional years, the college shows no signs of slowing down or coasting but has rejuvenated and revised its mission and commitment to the people of the region. President John J. Cavan, at the helm for 25 years, also refuses to stop until the college touches the lives of everyone in the largest geographical service region of a community college in the state.

Innovation is the key to much of the success of SVCC. Established in 1970, the college enrollment slumped in the early 1980's. When Dr. Cavan came on board, there was a threat of closing the facility. With new programs and inspiration, the transformation began and during the 1990s the college was one of the fastest growing in the nation. This year, enrollments are at an all time high. Currently, the Summer 2008 enrollment is 788 Semester Full Time Equivalent students which represents a 13 % increase over Summer 2007. Both the Fall 2007 and Spring 2008 were record highs for the 'aging' college.

Much of the innovation that has occurred has been in the form of "if you build it, they will come" programs. These offerings have been made possible with innumerable support from the area's representatives in the Virginia General Assembly.

With a service region of 4,200 square miles (just a bit smaller than the state of Connecticut), the college serves ten counties and the city of Emporia. With just two dedicated campuses (Alberta and Keysville), SVCC had to find creative ways to connect with people of the surrounding areas. Off-campus centers have been established around the region and provided the answer to this outreach effort. Today, with the ever-increasing cost of gasoline in an area with very little public transportation, the centers have become golden opportunities.

The newest members of the center-brigade have been established in the Eastern and Western regions of the service area. The Educational Advancement Center of the Cumberland Community Center in Cumberland opened in September of 2007. The highly successful Middle College program is housed in this facility with plans for expansion of college offerings. The Southside Higher Education Center in Greensville County will open in the fall of 2008. This brand new \$4,000,000 facility offers 30,000 square feet of space to include a public resource center, ten classrooms, including two computer labs, faculty offices, a student lounge bookstore and a 9,000 square foot multipurpose hall (Phase II). In addition, there is a 1,000 square foot Health Science Lab and a 2,000 square foot industrial training lab.

Communities in the area have answered the call for space and programs to be developed regionally. In South Boston, a renovated tobacco warehouse is home to the Southern Virginia Higher Education Center with classes offered by SVCC and Danville Community College, a Middle College, Adult Education and programs offered by Longwood University, Old Dominion University, University of Virginia, Mary Baldwin College, Troy University and Cambridge College.

In Chase City, the Estes Community Center features a state of the art simulation laboratory for nursing as well as classrooms, a banquet room and other facilities for use by the residents. The Estes family challenged the community to match their offer of \$200,000 and within 90 days, the figure raised was \$390,000. An 18,000 square foot addition to the existing facility was opened in 2007 and is named The Garland Building.

When Fort Pickett closed as a military base, the college seized the opportunity for space to locate its Truck Driver Training school, followed by Heavy Equipment Operation and the Diesel Technician Program. The Truck driver Training program also expanded to South Boston and Emporia. The Occupational Technical Center is a facility built through the SVCC Foundation using Tobacco Indemnification funds. The facility also houses the Virginia Center for Onsite Waste-water Training.

The Lake Country Advanced Knowledge Center in South Hill is located in the former Heilig-Meyers building and was purchased by local government and renovated under the direction of Joyce French

and the late Randolph Jones. This facility provides educational opportunities for employees of new and existing business and industry in the region, offers college classes as well as the High Performance Technology Program (a dual enrollment offering), GED, Command Spanish, computer classes and houses a cyber café.

Southside Virginia Community College is one of the pilot colleges for an initiative called Great Expectations that will reach out to foster children between the ages of 13 and 17. It will offer after-school programs that will address the needs of these students with life skills training, career education, financial literacy and other necessary skills. Glenn DuBois, Chancellor of the Virginia Community College System, rode his bicycle 700 miles across the state this summer to raise funds for and bring awareness to this program.

"We will go anywhere, at any time to offer any program to the people of Southside Virginia," are words often heard coming from Dr. Cavan's mouth. These promises keep the faculty, staff and administration of SVCC hopping but his leadership inspires commitment to each project with successful outcomes.

For a college once on the verge of closure, mid-life is a welcomed reprieve. Not one to rest on the laurels of the past, SVCC continues to grow, improve, sharpen and redefine its' mission into the next decade and beyond. █



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VA State Firefighters Association recognizes Jack Finley, Smithfield, for his outstanding service—including years of effectively representing volunteer firefighters at the Capitol. Left to right: Norman Rice (President), Dickie Atkins (Secretary) and Jack Finley of Smithfield

Photo by Warren Wimmer

In Memoriam—Joe Gartlan

Former State Senator Joseph (Joe) V. Gartlan Jr. of Mason Neck in Fairfax County passed away on July 18, 2008 from sepsis at Mount Vernon Hospital in Fairfax. Gartlan, eighty-two years of age at the time of his death, served for seven terms in the Senate of Virginia (1972-2000). During that time, he served as a Chairman of the Courts of Justice Committee, Privileges and Elections Committee, and the Social Services and Rehabilitation Committee, as well as Chairman of the Human Resources of the influential Senate Finance Committee. At the time of his retirement, he was second in seniority in the Senate and served as co-chairman of the Northern Virginia delegation to the General Assembly.

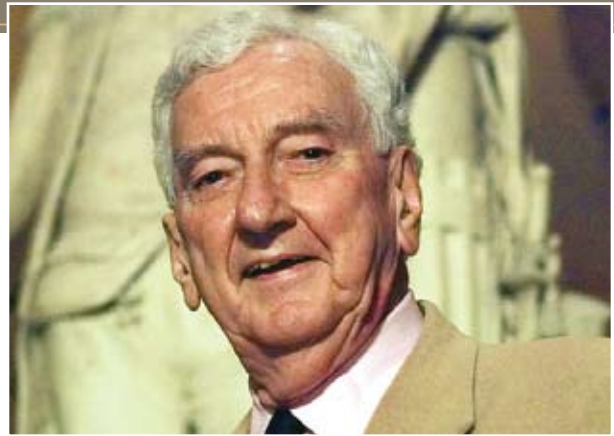
Gartlan was born in Great Neck, N. Y. and raised in Glen Head, a hamlet on Long Island, N. Y. He served in the U. S. Naval Reserve from 1943 through 1946 and came to the Washington, D. C. area to attend Georgetown University and later its law school. Gartlan was a partner and attorney in the Washington, D. C. law firm of Melrod, Redmond, and Gartlan from the mid-1950s to 1986. He also served as an advance man for the John F. Kennedy Presidential Campaign in 1960 and the Hubert H. Humphrey Presidential campaign in 1968. Following his retirement from the Senate in 2000, Gartlan continued his work on behalf of the environment and mental health issues. He was a member of the Good Shepherd Catholic Church in Mount Vernon.

A highly skilled trial attorney and contemporaneous orator, Joe Gartlan was also well known for his strong sense of integrity, high intellect, and unusual innovativeness in governmental processes. As a freshman senator in 1972, he rose to the Senate floor to tell his colleagues that their budgetary judgment was “appalling” and two years later, he questioned the ethical conduct of legislators who accepted per diem expenses for days that they were not present at the General Assembly. He often was willing to arise beyond party affiliation to criticize even those in his own party for what he believed to be breaches of proper ethical legislative behavior, as when he led a Senate censorship resolution in 1977 of a long time Senate friend for improper financial conduct or excoriated the actions of a sitting governor over management of the Commonwealth’s finances.

In 1976, he outwitted the powerful Speaker of the House to kill a bill to weaken the state’s existing conflict-of-interest statute. Gartlan also was the leader of a legislative group which successfully developed a non-partisan judicial selection process for the legislative-appointed court judgeships for Northern Virginia, a process now followed by most jurisdictions in the Commonwealth. As a frequent and outspoken critic of lobbyist conduct before the Virginia General Assembly, Gartlan played an influential role in encouraging a number of long-time Virginia lobbyists to form a Virginia Association of Professional Lobbyists and to develop and adopt a Code of Conduct and Standards of Professional Practice for the lobbying industry in Virginia.

Senator Gartlan’s primary legislative concerns involved environmental protection and health care issues, particularly for the mentally ill. During his terms in the General Assembly, he introduced and led to passage numerous bills affecting environmental and public health matters. From 1981 through 1987, he was Chairman of the Chesapeake Bay Commission (which coordinates environmental policies for the states of the bay area) and led the legislative efforts in Virginia to ban phosphate detergents in the Commonwealth.

Gartlan, in his farewell speech in 2000, reminded his colleagues that they “hold the proxies of the people” and noted that a crucial choice for public servants is whether they should “follow the voices of their own informed judgment or the opinions of the people they represented.” He then quoted the words of Sir Edmund Burke, the great British parliamentarian, that “a representative owes his



constituency not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving his people if he sacrifices his informed judgment for their opinion.” Then-State Senator Mark Early described Gartlan as “an intellectual giant leaving at the top of his game,” . . . [a man] with a golden tongue and steel-trap mind, and “a feisty Irishman who believes in what he fights for.” Senator Charles Colgan then noted that “if someone speaks ill of Joe Gartlan, no one will believe them.” In amusement at the unvarnished praise, Gartlan remarked that “you have left footprints on my heart – indeed some on my backside.”

Governor Tim Kaine praised Gartlan as a “true statesman . . . [who] wore his heart on his sleeve” and

as “. . . a tireless and effective advocate for the environment, the mentally and physically-disabled, and

. . . abused and neglected children. He spearheaded efforts for funding natural resources and human-service programs during his almost three decades of public service. His role was critical in galvanizing regional efforts to clean up the Chesapeake Bay.”

Chris Spanos, a longtime legislative aide and personal friend of Joe Gartlan noted that while Gartlan “had a quick temper, . . . you have to understand that he was a Commonwealth person, . . . he voted for what was in the interests of the Commonwealth, not Joe Gartlan, the 36th [Senate] District, or Fairfax County, and that would put him at odds with the county board.”

One anonymous internet blogger [*Keydet*] responding to a column on Senator Gartlan’s death in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* on July 19, 2008 praised the Senator with the following statement: “Joe was an adversary and dear friend during my days in politics. He was universally admired and respected. He stood apart from most because he deeply believed in his policy positions and never abandoned them for political considerations, though he never forgot that governing involves compromise. Today too many politicians overlook this necessity of the legislative process. Joe was charming, intelligent, principled and compassionate. We need more like him. He will be missed by all.”

Another anonymous blogger [*Whazzat?*] at the same site, signed as “Ed,” said: “My old colleague Joe is gone too soon. He was a bright wit and you needed your act together when you set about tangling with him on a legislative item. . . . I am glad that I was more on his team than off. The fights were often Arlington [County] (and Falls Church) vs. Fairfax [County] where I had my work cut out for me. I miss you, Joe, even if you did beat me up a lot.”

Senator Gartlan is survived by his wife of fifty-eight years, Fedonia Manderfield Gartlan of Mason Neck, six children: Michael Gartlan of Fairfax, Anne Gartlan-Steele of Yonkers, N. Y., Joan Gartlan of Washington, D. C., Peter Gartlan of Alexandria, Paul Gartlan of Coral Gables, Florida, and Joseph V. Gartlan, III of Maui, Hawaii, and seven grandchildren. ▣

I first met Strother Smith in May of 2001, when I was running for the House of Delegates from the 56th House District. I came to see Strother because I needed his help. As I was a VMI man, and a fellow Republican, he gladly gave it. Not only was he a prominent opinion leader in Goochland, Strother Smith was a legend in Richmond area GOP politics. Strother Smith was one of the “*Watchdogs*.” I was running for the first time for a seat that was held by a powerful and well-entrenched veteran Democrat, and included the counties of Louisa and Goochland, as well as the environs of Greater Short Pump in Henrico County. V. Earl Dickinson, of Mineral, was a former Chairman of House Appropriations, and had held the seat for 29 years. The last Republican to represent Mineral had ridden into town with George Armstrong Custer!

“No problem.” To hear Strother tell the story, as one of only six GOP candidates elected to the House in November 1963, Strother was one of the first two Republicans elected to represent the City of Richmond and Henrico County since Reconstruction. When Strother and his GOP friends arrived in the House, they were not met hospitably by the Democrats who had run the place since Sherman and his boys had left town. Democrat Speaker, E. Blackburn Moore, had been elected to the House in 1933, and had served by that time for seven consecutive terms as Speaker. He would go on to be the second longest serving Speaker in history. To say that “Blackie” Moore, was “*less than enthusiastic*” about Strother’s election would be an understatement. Strother Smith was not given to understatement. To hear Strother tell the story, Blackie Moore refused to assign the Republicans to any committees. “No problem.” They simply huddled, divided up the committees among themselves based on their interests and experience, and assigned *themselves* to the committees. To hear Strother tell the story, when the Republicans arrived at the committee meetings, they were not met with enthusiasm by the Democrat committee chairmen. Not surprisingly, the members of the “Party of Lincoln” were not assigned places at the committee table. “No problem.” Like Lincoln, being of the people, by the people and for the people, the Republicans sat with the people, in the seats reserved for the general public. To say that Blackie Moore was decidedly “*not amused*” would be an understatement. Strother Smith was not given to understatement. To hear Strother tell the story, Blackie Moore was furious. He called the Chief of the Capitol Police to his office, and instructed him to “*do something about those d@&m Republicans....*” To his credit, the Colonel informed Blackie that, if the meetings were open to the general public, he didn’t see how he could rightly bar admission to certain elected members of the House, even if they happened to be Republicans. To say that Blackie “*didn’t much like that answer*” would be an understatement.....

Strother Smith and his Republican cohorts earned the sobriquet “*The Watchdogs*,” because, at a time and place when members of their party had been systematically excluded from the electoral and legislative process, they simply showed up, observed, and reported on the activities of Blackie Moore and the Democrats who had run state government as their exclusive personal fiefdom for almost a century. With a particular flair for political theatre and an understanding of what sold newspapers of the day, Strother Smith could always be counted on for good copy. Long before the 24-7-365 cable television news cycle, the Internet, cellular phones, video cameras, You-Tube, or the Blogosphere, Strother and the Watchdogs directed the type of political heat on their Democrat nemeses that sunshine always generates, and blazed a fiery trail for every Virginia Republican candidate who followed in their considerable wake. The competitive two party electoral system, and the resulting open, transparent and accountable state government we enjoy today are their principle legacy to those of us who currently serve in the General Assembly—regardless of our partisan identification. To hear Strother tell the story, in November 1965, Blackie Moore and the Democrats came for Strother Smith with a vengeance. Before he lost his first and only bid for re-election however, Strother had fought tenaciously to secure much-

needed state funding for several important programs and projects within his community, most notably Richmond Professional Institute. This funding would constitute the initial seed money for its meteoric growth and evolution into the modern, world-class institution of higher learning we know today as VCU. Having been informed that, despite a hostile, competitive budgetary climate, from which members of his party had been summarily excluded, the money for RPI would survive the malign attentions of his partisan adversaries, Strother promptly staged a “corny” photo op on the grounds of the Capitol, complete with bank bags filled with newspaper clippings to appear like they were stuffed with cash, and a shovel: “*Freshman Delegate Digs Up Big Bucks for RPI....*”

Upon leaving public office, Strother Smith continued to remain actively engaged in politics, policy-making, and government, providing leadership and service to the Republican Party and wise counsel to his Republican friends, most notably serving as Aide-de-Camp to Governor A. Linwood Holton, Jr., from 1970 to 1973. It is fair to say that, but for the groundwork laid by Strother Smith and the Watchdogs, Linwood Holton could not have won election as a Republican. Holton’s kind remarks about Strother in the Richmond Times Dispatch recognized that role. The even kinder gesture of Holton’s son-in-law, Democrat Governor Tim Kaine, in ordering that Virginia flags be flown at half-staff in honor of Strother Smith, are an even more tangible demonstration of just how far we really have come since November 1963.

Whether it was the Boy Scouts, St. Christopher’s School, VMI, the Anglican Church, goose hunting or the Grand Old Party, Strother Smith was an “avid enthusiast.” More than one person I spoke with for this story corrected me: “*Strother was more like a rabid enthusiast....*” His battle cry was “*Lead, follow, or get the hell out of the way!*”

I saw Strother at a Republican luncheon in 2006. I had not seen him in sometime and had heard that he had been diagnosed with cancer behind his eye:

“*What are the doctors telling you?*”

“*The Doctors tell me I have three options. Chemotherapy, which my heart won’t stand and will most likely kill me outright. Surgery, which will also be very stressful, and most likely make me lose my sight in the eye. Or radiation, which is less stressful, but could blind me in both eyes.*”

“*What did you decide to do?*”

“*I told them that I was going to take Option Four.*”

“*Option Four?*” I asked, “*What is Option Four?*”

“*Intercessory prayer!*”

“*How much time did the doctors say you’d have if you don’t follow one of their medical options?*”

“*Three to six months*” Strother replied matter-of-factly.

“*When did they tell you this, exactly?*” I asked, now growing very much concerned for my friend.

“*Oh, about two and a half years ago.....*”

When last I visited with Strother at St. Mary’s Hospital, his heart was brave again and his arms were strong. He had, in characteristic fashion and meticulous detail, just completed the planning for his imminent funeral, including selecting the honorary pallbearers, the musical selections and the appointed readings. “*From the time I was a Boy Scout, I’ve always tried to ‘Be Prepared....’*”

On July 3, 2008, as the “golden evening brightened in the West,” the Honorable S. Strother Smith, Jr., Eagle Scout and Saint, businessman and politician, Keydet, soldier, patriot, and faithful warrior for Christ, was called to take his place in the sweet peace of Paradise the blest.

I once asked Strother whether he thought he might have been able to accomplish more had he kept a lower profile, not been so confrontational, had he not invited the fierce electoral attentions of his partisan adversaries, been more accommodating and compromising, you know, “go along to get along....” He replied “*I’d decided very early in my life that I would never be anyone’s lapdog....I’d rather be a watchdog than a lapdog.*”

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Alpha Natural Resources
One Alpha Place • P.O. Box 2345
Abingdon, Virginia 24212
276.619.4479 (office) • 276.623.2891 (fax)
276.275.1423 (cell) • dratliff@alphanr.com
www.alphanr.com



Settle and Associates LLC

Richard L. Settle

Settle and Associates LLC
288 Clubhouse Drive
Abingdon, Virginia 24211—3839

Phone: 276-676-4444
Mobile: 804-240-1850
Richard@settleandassociates.com



Madeline I Abbitt

P.O. Box 5392
Richmond, Virginia 23220-0392
(804) 334-5497 Direct Line
(804) 257-5497 Direct Fax
m.abbitt@comcast.net

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