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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

804/358-1989

Boyd Marcus - Mgr

Frank Atkinson - Dep Mgr
& Resrch Dir

Ned Monroe - RNC

Coleman For Governor

4914 Fitzhugh Avenue, P.O. Box 17558
Richmond, Virginia 23226
804/358-1989

Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

Coleman-Wilder Differences

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final version, update October 21, 1989

Paid for by Coleman For Governor

L CHARACTER ISSUES

ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman presided over an office that was not only free from hint of scandal, but which worked aggressively to bring governmental wrongdoers to justice. Attorney General Coleman sought and won General Assembly passage of the State Governmental Frauds Act to make bid-rigging in government contracts a felony. As Governor, Marshall Coleman will insist upon the highest ethical standards from all who serve in a Coleman administration.

Lieutenant Governor Wilder cast one of his few tie-breaking votes as President of the Virginia Senate to defeat criminal penalties for conflict-of-interest violations.

USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN

Douglas Wilder has repeatedly violated his public trust by attempting to enrich himself at taxpayer expense.

Charging for Speeches

During his term as lieutenant governor, Douglas Wilder sought and obtained a 100% increase in his office budget. While doubling his budget, Wilder used his taxpayer-paid staff to arrange for an unusually busy schedule of speeches for which Wilder received money. During his first year in office, the Lieutenant Governor accepted more than \$50,000 in speaking fees, much of it for speeches before Virginia groups and organizations -- including public high schools, colleges and universities. Wilder was even paid to speak at the commencement ceremony at the University of Virginia.

After Wilder's unprecedented practice of charging Virginia citizens to hear him speak was publicly disclosed, Wilder received intense criticism and was forced to drop the practice. He now admits it was "wrong." Although he says he turned over the collected fees to charity, he has refused to identify any of the charities or provide documentation to support the claim.

Private Aid Bill

Wilder has flagrantly used his legislature office for personal financial gain. In 1977, Wilder sponsored legislation on behalf of a former legal client seeking to

award her \$50,000 in taxpayer funds. The client was threatening to sue Wilder for malpractice to recover the \$50,000. (Washington Post, January 30, 1979) Thus Wilder was trying to save himself \$50,000 by having the taxpayers foot the bill instead. The legislation was understandably killed in committee.

In legal suits relating to actions with his client, Wilder wrote the court in 1978, "I have been personally harassed by plaintiff, through counsel, and threatened that if I did not retain monies through a relief bill in the General Assembly of Virginia I would be sued." (Virginian-Pilot, July 28, 1989). Wilder was later sued for malpractice. (Baker, Donald. Wilder: Hold Fast to Dreams).

Spending Public Funds for Private Business

In 1989, the Washington Post reported that Wilder spent "taxpayer dollars for couriers, overnight package delivery, and long distance telephone calls to communicate about private business and partisan political matters." Wilder's office also paid Wilder's plane fare for a speech in Michigan, for which Wilder also received a \$2,346 honorarium. (Washington Post, September 12, 1989).

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL MISCONDUCT

In his business and political life, Wilder has been unable to keep his affairs in order. In addition to being incompetent, he has also sought to deceive clients in order to cover up his misconduct.

Supreme Court Reprimand

In 1978, Wilder was formally reprimanded by the Virginia Supreme Court for failure to properly handle a lawsuit filed eleven years earlier by his clients, the family of Cortess Wills. According to the Supreme Court, Wilder was guilty of "unexcused, unreasonable and inordinate procrastination". The Court stated that this "constitutes unprofessional conduct" that "prejudiced and damaged his clients."

In addition to being incompetent, Wilder was also dishonest. According to the Court found that Wilder had written the Willses a letter, falsely claiming that the lawsuit was "proceeding as well as could be expected", even though he knew he had missed a filing deadline. The court charged that letter "could obviously have had no effect other than to mislead his clients."

In 1975, the Willises sued Wilder for \$225,000, accusing him of negligence.. Although Wilder initially claimed that the statute of limitations had expired, he later settled out of court. A decade later, the entire sorry episode was still being cited in the Virginia State Bar guidebook -- as an example of how not to pursue a case (Baker, Donald. Wilder: Hold Fast to Dreams).

Slum Property

Wilder dishonesty and incompetence were also displayed in the way he handled a "slum" house that he owned in Richmond.

In 1985, Wilder was cited for a building code violation because of the condition of the property. For 3 years, the residents of the neighborhood had urged Wilder to repair the broken-down house -- it was a haven for rats and a threat to children playing in the neighborhood. Wilder promised in court to repair the property, but as soon as the case was dismissed, work on the house ceased. A grand jury investigation was similarly ended by promises to fix up the property, which were not kept.

Shortly before he took office as Lieutenant Governor, Wilder was again cited for violating the building code. Wilder claimed that he had sold the house. But, according to a August 17, 1989, Washington Post report, Wilder continued to hold the slum property in a trust in 1986 after he said publicly that the property had been sold. He had simply transferred the title to a trust, of which he was the sole beneficiary. And when filing his financial disclosure form in 1986 and 1987, Wilder did not list the property, as required by law.

In short, Wilder mismanaged the property, and then lied to Virginians in an attempt to limit the political damage. Again, he was incompetent and dishonest.

Undeclared Property

In 1988 and 1989, Wilder violated state ethics laws by failing to disclose the ownership of a 27-acre tract in Louisa County. Wilder received the land as payment for legally defending a murderer who killed a Louisa judge in a courtroom 19 years ago. Wilder failed to pay income tax on the property. And although Wilder accepted the tract in lieu of \$27,000 in legal fees, and paid real estate taxes on the \$32,000 assessment set by Louisa authorities, Wilder claimed that the land was valued at less than \$10,000, and therefore did not need to be declared (Times Herald, September 8, 1989).

Wilder's running mate, Attorney General Mary Sue Terry, ignored requests to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the situation.

Wilder has acknowledged that in the past he failed to disclose "about \$110,000" of his properties disclosure forms for the state senate (Washington Post, September 8, 1985).

Other Issues

Also in 1989, Wilder has accepted \$5,000 from a Virginia man who served ten-and-a-half months in prison for conspiring to bribe two congressmen (Washington Times, October 5, 1989).

II. FIGHTING CRIME AND DRUGS

CRIMINAL SENTENCING

As Governor, Marshall Coleman will act decisively to protect our citizens from the growing crime menace we face. As a member of the General Assembly and as Attorney General, he advocated stiffer penalties for violent criminals, greater certainty in sentencing, and an end to easy parole and early release. As Governor, Marshall Coleman will propose abolition of discretionary parole and adoption of a truth-in-sentencing system.

His Opponent's Record is Wilder

As a member of the General Assembly, Doug Wilder voted against giving the Commonwealth the right to appeal adverse evidentiary rulings in criminal cases (SJR 53, 1984).

He voted against denying parole to twice-convicted felons (SB 257, 1982).

He voted to preserve a law requiring early parole of prisoners with less than 6 months left to serve (SB 493, 1980).

He voted against imposing a minimum 10-year sentence without parole for twice-convicted armed robbers (SB 628, 1977).

He was the only legislator to oppose imposition of mandatory sentences under the habitual offender law (HB 1960, 1977).

Wilder was one of only 2 Senators to vote against allowing merchants to detain shoplifters (RTD, March 6, 1976).

He voted against a five-year mandatory sentence for criminals who use firearms while committing rape, murder, or robbery (SB 34, 1976).

He was one of only 4 senators to vote against a "dangerous weapon" bill that would have punished those who use knives or razors while committing a felony (SB 531, 1976).

He proposed legislation that would shorten the sentences of youthful offenders (RTD, January 17, 1975).

He voted against a bill to impose a two-year mandatory sentence on anyone convicted of using a dangerous weapon while committing a felony (RTD, Feb 26,

1972).

He voted against allowing police to revoke the drivers licenses of drivers who do not pay fines (RTD, June 8, 1971).

He was the only senator to vote against punishing the "willful nonpayment" of fines by nonindigents (RTD, June 8, 1971).

And he proposed legislation to shorten the maximum sentences for prostitutes and vagrants (SB 235, 1970).

Douglas Wilder does not support Marshall Coleman's plan to end liberal parole policies and early release in Virginia. He is also a vocal opponent of Marshall Coleman's Shock Incarceration/boot camps for youthful offenders, a plan recently recommended to the Virginia General Assembly for enactment by the State Crime Commission.

Coleman Endorsed by FOP

Because of the differences that separate the two candidates on criminal justice issues, Marshall Coleman was endorsed by the Virginia State Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police. The 6,500-member FOP, representing rank-and-file law enforcement officers from across the state, endorsed Wilder for Lt. Governor in 1985. Wilder termed the 1985 endorsement by the FOP his key to election.

But according to former FOP president George Austin, "Four years ago, Doug Wilder did not tell us the truth about his weak law enforcement record, about his support for releasing violent criminals early, about his failure to support law enforcement officials when it counted" (Washington Post, September 27, 1989).

PROTECTING OUR POLICE OFFICERS

Death Penalty

Marshall Coleman and Doug Wilder differ on whether criminals who murder police officers should face the death penalty. In 1973, Marshall Coleman co-patroned for legislation (HB 1637) to authorize imposition of the death penalty for murder of a policeman or prison guard. Doug Wilder was one of only 4 Senators to vote against the measure when it reached the State Senate.

Wilder was one of only two members to vote against reinstating the death penalty in 1977 (HB 1329), after the Supreme Court removed doubts about its constitutionality. That same year, Wilder was the only Senator to vote against imposing the death penalty for the killing of a law enforcement officer (SB 337).

Firearms

In 1979, Doug Wilder was one of four state senators to vote against making it a felony to brandish a firearm while attempting to prevent arrest by, or escape from, a police officer (SB 603). Mr. Wilder, in speaking against the legislation, said he feared it might provoke some policeman to commit murder (RTD, January 31, 1979).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Marshall Coleman has always been an advocate of capital punishment. As a freshman delegate in 1973, he co-sponsored death penalty legislation. After the U.S. Supreme Court revived the death penalty in the mid-seventies, Marshall Coleman supported legislation to revise and reactivate the death penalty in Virginia.

As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman led his office's successful defense of the constitutionality of that law in federal court. Marshall Coleman has proposed extending the death penalty to cover drug-related homicides and drug kingpins.

Wilder's Longstanding Opposition to the Death Penalty

In contrast, Doug Wilder consistently opposed the death penalty for almost his entire time in state government. In 1973, he voted against the death penalty for the murder of policemen (RTD, February 10, 1973).

In 1974, he was one of only 3 Senators to vote against the death penalty for the murder of policemen, witnesses, or prison inmates (RTD, February 21, 1974).

In 1975 he was one of only 2 Senators to vote against mandatory death penalty for three types of murder, including that by hired killers (RTD, January 22, 1975).

Later in 1975, he was the only Senator to vote against the death penalty for murder through torture, starvation or while committing rape (RTD, January 31, 1975).

In 1976, he voted against the death penalty for murder by bomb (SB 46, 1976).

Wilder was one of only two state Senators to vote "no" on the key 1977 vote to reinstate the death penalty in Virginia following the Supreme Court ruling removing doubts about the constitutionality of the legislation (HB 1329, 1977; Coleman voted "yes").

Wilder also voted against a bill to impose the death penalty for murder of a police officer (SB 337, 1977; Coleman voted "yes"). He was the only senator voting "no".

In 1980 and 1981, he voted against applying the death penalty to mass murderers (SB 378, 1980; SB 693, 1981). In each case, Wilder was among only a handful of senators to vote "no."

Wilder's Explanations are Confusing and Contradictory

Wilder never voted for any expansion of the death penalty except when he was running for Lt. Governor in 1985 (Virginia-Pilot, September 14, 1989). His explanations for his anti-capital punishment posture have been confusing and contradictory.

Although he continued to vote against death penalty measures long after the statutes passed constitutional muster, Wilder claims he opposed the practice because it was unconstitutional (Richmond News Leader, October 8, 1985).

Wilder has also claimed that he "has always supported the death penalty in theory but consistently voted against capital punishment bills until he saw the law was applied fairly to blacks and whites alike." (Roanoke Times & World-News, October 8, 1985).

But in an interview with Style magazine in 1985, Wilder said, "I don't believe the death penalty is a deterrent to crime." (Style Weekly, August 13, 1985).

In 1975, Wilder called the death penalty "an opiate ... an ancient superstition that the killing of one person prevents the killing of another ... a barbarism." He added that if there was an expansion of the death penalty "we will move further away from real crime prevention" (RTD, February 6, 1975).

Earlier in 1975, Wilder said "the death penalty has never been a deterrent ... from Genesis to 1975. " (RTD January 21, 1975).

And as recently as this year, a January 28, 1989 headline in the Richmond Afro-American proclaimed "Wilder firmly against the death penalty." AFRO staff writer Hazel Trice Edney reported that Wilder "[came] out against the death penalty." It quoted Wilder as saying "I'm against it" at a meeting of the Richmond Crusade for Voters in January of this year.

After Wilder denied making the statement, "Reporter Hazel Trice Edney said she stood by her story, 'and so does my editor.' She said she had Wilder's remarks on tape..." (RTD, January 26, 1989).

Rape Victims and Victims of Crime

Marshall Coleman opposes forcing rape victims to undergo brutal cross-examination during the trial of their assailants.

He also supports a redoubling of efforts to help the victims of crime, assuring them access to courtrooms and a greater role in sentencing. Marshall Coleman supports stiff new penalties for those who exploit children for pornographic purposes and who sell or possess such explicit materials.

Doug Wilder, as a member of the Virginia legislature, sponsored legislation that would have subjected rape victims under the age of fourteen to humiliating courtroom interrogation about their moral reputations and private lives (SB 302, 1972). This legislation, in effect, would have put teenage rape victims on trial.

In 1975, Wilder was one of only 7 senators to vote against the death penalty for murder while committing rape (RTD, February 6, 1975).

In 1978, Wilder was one of only 6 Senators to vote against a sweeping revision of Virginia's rape laws. This revision was designed to protect rape victims from inquiries into their past history and reputation (RTD, February 21, 1978). Wilder voted against similar laws in 1979 and 1980 (SB 291, 1979; SB 258, 1980).

In 1980, Wilder voted against the "Rape Shield" bill to protect rape victims. He only voted for a much watered-down version in 1981.

And on the critical issue of punishing pornographers, Doug Wilder does not propose any new penalties against child pornography.

III. FISCAL ISSUES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

RIGHT TO WORK

In 1977, Marshall Coleman was co-patron for legislation (SJR 139) supporting the Right to Work Law in Virginia. Doug Wilder cast the lone vote in Committee against this resolution which urged Congress to continue to authorize state Right to Work laws (memorializing Section 14(b) of the federal Taft-Hartley Act).

As Attorney General from 1978 to 1982, Coleman accompanied Governor John Dalton on economic development excursions to preach the virtues of Virginia's Right to Work Law and favorable business climate. Coleman also successfully defended the Right to Work Law when it came under a union-sponsored legal attack during his tenure as Attorney General.

As recently as July 30, 1989, Doug Wilder sought to undercut the state's Right to Work law, distancing himself from Governor Baliles decision to dispatch the State Police to uphold the rule of law during the labor strife in Southwest Virginia's coal counties. When asked whether he would follow Baliles' example and order the state police to enforce the Right to Work Law, Wilder responded, "I won't have to send in anybody to do anything." (RTD, July 30, 1989). After he was publicly castigated for his remarks by Marshall Coleman and privately called on the carpet by Governor Baliles, the Lieutenant Governor reversed himself and stated support for Baliles' action.

Also this year, Wilder has willingly accepted the enthusiastic endorsement of the AFL-CIO, UMW, and Virginia Teacher's Union. These are the same unions that strongly embraced the failed liberal policies of Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Marshall Coleman opposes collective bargaining for public employees, concurring with the view that it will lead to government employee strikes. As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman initiated a suit against the City of Richmond over a mandatory dues check-off system for public school teachers.

Doug Wilder co-sponsored a comprehensive mandatory collective bargaining scheme in 1980 and has supported legislation promoting public sector unionism as recently as 1984.

desaparecidos v. Arms

policy - labor oriented

min. wage

{ Tom Donahue
Bob Morgan - Bldg Trades

Bldg Trades
Labor - Millie

Transition - labor supps.

RR never

re-affiliated -
Teamsters
Mineworkers
UAW?

AFL-CIO

~~support for workers/workforce~~

f.p. - Δ in East Eur + what means to workers
total = anti-workers
freedom = pro-workers

Communications?

Tom Kahn - AFL-CIO
discont. programme
cons on int side
heroes? if only Christ knew...

1992? →

worker rights - dicey? TRADE preference
safety / child labor
call for unlightened leadership?
safer, cleaner world - arms, env, work...

★ Geo Meaney Library -
Don Smythe - 120

GMC
Bob Pleasure 431-6400

~~316-2315~~
316-2315

653-7652

Experience with public sector collective bargaining shows that it leads to strikes by teachers, firemen, sanitation workers, paramedics and other emergency services employees. Such strikes that threaten the public health and safety apparently do not concern Wilder. As a state senator, he was one of a handful of senators who voted against outlawing strikes by hospital workers, even when the strike would cripple hospital operations and endanger patients (HB 893, 1970).

Wilder says now, as in his 1985 campaign, that he opposes public sector collective bargaining. According to a recently published book, however, a top AFL-CIO official as said that in 1985, Wilder scored a "100%" on an AFL-CIO questionnaire (Yancey, Dwayne: When Hell Froze Over). The candidate questionnaires submitted by the AFL-CIO contained a question about support for public employee collective bargaining. Thus, Wilder was privately assuring organized labor while expressing the opposite view in public.

TAXES

Marshall Coleman has pledged not to seek a tax increase as Governor.

He opposed Baliles' so-called local option tax increase.

He opposed the five major tax increases initiated by and passed under the Baliles-Wilder administration.

He urged immediate removal of the state tax on federal and state retirees' pensions and called for an eventual phase-out of state taxation on private pensions after the Davis v. Michigan Supreme Court ruling this spring.

He has proposed a cap on annual real estate assessment increases.

Marshall Coleman has said he will veto any tax increase passed by the General Assembly unless it carries with it the provision of passage by a statewide referendum.

Doug Wilder has said he would be willing to sign a tax increase into law as Governor (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). He has called Coleman's plan for a cap on real estate taxes "irresponsible".

As Lieutenant Governor Wilder was a silent partner in the 1986 tax hikes in Virginia and waited until they were safely enacted before claiming that he was

opposed to them.

Mr. Wilder, as a member of the state senate in the 1970's, sponsored legislation to raise income taxes (SB 513), inheritance taxes (SB 498), and motor vehicle taxes (SB 507). In 1982, Wilder voted for a 3 percent motor fuels tax and an increase in the sales tax imposed on distilled spirits (Richmond News Leader, November 1, 1985).

In the final gubernatorial debate (October 19), Marshall Coleman documented that Doug Wilder's tax proposals through the years collectively would have added more than \$6,000 to the annual tax bill of the average Virginia family. Wilder did not challenge the Coleman statement.

SUPPORT FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Marshall Coleman, like President Bush, supports a strong national defense. He would fight for important defense projects, like shipbuilding in Newport News and Norfolk.

Doug Wilder, like Michael Dukakis, does not think that a strong defense is necessary. In September, he told the Richmond Times Dispatch "There is a lack of emphasis on over expenditure of defense" (RTD, September 24, 1989).

He added "I don't think that this country has to look to the future believing that we've got to spend these awesome and inordinate amounts relative to an adequate defense."

He also told the paper that the government "could reassess some of the monies we're spending for some of our defense weaponry" (RTD, September 24, 1989)

In 1988, Doug Wilder campaigned actively for the election of Democrat Michael Dukakis for President. Governor Dukakis, in speeches to Virginia and elsewhere, advocated cutting a vital defense project -- the construction of two aircraft carriers at Newport News Shipbuilding.

Governors Robb and Baliles repudiated Dukakis' anti-defense stance. Wilder never publicly criticized Dukakis.

SPENDING LOTTERY REVENUES

As Governor, Marshall Coleman would return lottery revenues back to local

governments. These revenues could then be used to provide tax relief or fund other priorities as identified at the local level.

Doug Wilder has spent the lottery proceeds many times over by suggesting them as a cure-all that would solve all the state's woes. He has proposed using them for: providing jobs, business opportunities, and affordable housing (RTD, September 24, 1989), guaranteed loans for the private sector (Greene County Record), fighting the war on drugs, and basic aid for local schools (Richmond News Leader, September 11, 1989). Wilder has even proposed substituting lottery revenues for the \$30 million shortfall that would result from his own plan to repeal the sales tax on non-prescription drugs (Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, September 3, 1989). By suggesting that all this can be done with those funds, Wilder is trying to mislead Virginians and cover up his tax increase plans.

IV. EDUCATION

COMMUNITY AND PARENTAL CONTROL

Marshall Coleman favors greater parental involvement in education and greater parental and community control over school curricula.

He supports improving educational opportunities by allowing parents to choose the schools their children attend. This includes both a parental choice program for public schools, as well as tuition tax credits and voucher systems for private schools.

Marshall Coleman favors locally-determined Family Life Education. He will work to rescind the state Family Life Education (sex education) mandate, which usurps the traditional role of parents as well as local control over school curricula. He believes local school boards should determine the content of all FLE curricula with full parental input.

Marshall Coleman also supports the popular election of school boards.

Doug Wilder would take away local and parental involvement in establishing curricula.

As Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate, Wilder cast the tie-breaking vote in 1988 to enact legislation imposing these FLE mandates on every locality. He supports establishing class content for sex education at the state level. "The state determines the curriculum", he said (RTD, September 24, 1989).

Wilder opposes giving parents choice in schooling. Echoing the official position of the teachers' union that endorsed him, Wilder opposes allowing parents to choose among public schools. He also opposes vouchers and tuition tax credits.

Also while Lieutenant Governor, Wilder cast the deciding vote to kill a proposal to allow school administrators to alert parents of suspected drug use by their children (Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 8, 1989)

Improving Teaching Quality

Marshall Coleman wants to improve the quality of teachers by working for real merit pay for outstanding educators. Support for merit pay was a campaign position embraced by 1981 and 1985 gubernatorial candidates Jerry Baliles and

Chuck Robb.

Doug Wilder is firmly against merit pay, also called pay for performance. He wants to pay all teachers the same, from the worst to the best. This puts him in complete agreement with the teachers' union, which enthusiastically supports Wilder.

V. SOCIAL ISSUES

THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

Marshall Coleman supports the constitutional rights of citizens to keep and bear arms. He believes the answer to the criminal use of firearms is not gun control, but tougher measures to control gun-wielding criminals. He supports using instantaneous record checks to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

In 1975, Doug Wilder asked the State Senate "Should not our moral outrage be loosed upon our congressional representatives" for failure to pass stringent handgun control measures? (RTD, January 21, 1975)

In 1984, Wilder patroned legislation giving local governments the authority to regulate possession of firearms (SB 121).

In May of this year, Wilder announced in Craig County that he supports a ban on semi-automatic weapons (New Castle Record, May 17, 1989). Such a ban would prohibit all semi-automatic shotguns used by Virginia sportsmen.

Marshall Coleman supports increasing the mandatory sentence for the use of firearms during the commission of a crime to at least five years in order to provide a better deterrent. He also favors especially severe mandatory penalties for use of semi-automatic or fully automatic firearms during the commission of a crime.

Doug Wilder was the only member of the Senate to oppose a mandatory two-year prison term for the use of a firearm during the commission of a felony. Marshall Coleman strongly supported the measure (HB 231, 1976).

Marshall Coleman supports the computer criminal background check passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1989, requiring that the Virginia State Police immediately notify a licensed gun dealer if a prospective buyer has a felony criminal record.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) reviewed the records of the two gubernatorial candidates on the issues of law enforcement, criminal justice, and gun owner's rights – and joined the FOP to endorse Marshall Coleman. This is the first gubernatorial endorsement the NRA has made since 1977. The NRA awarded Marshall Coleman an "A" on the basis of his record; Doug Wilder received a "D".

ABORTION

Marshall Coleman joins with Presidents Reagan and Bush in seeking to preserve and protect the sanctity of life for unborn babies. He believes an unborn baby's life deserves our compassion and the full protection of the law, and that we are morally obliged to seek alternatives to abortion, such as adoption.

It is the intention of Marshall Coleman to support passage of reasonable pro-life measures consistent with the recent Webster Supreme Court ruling, including continued strong support for passage of legislation requiring parental consent for teen-age girls to seek an abortion.

Contrary to Douglas Wilder's false negative ads, Marshall Coleman has consistently made it clear since Webster that he will not seek to limit abortion in cases of rape or incest. Despite this, Wilder continues to inflame and exploit groundless fears about this on the part of women. His single-issue campaign on abortion has been criticized even by Governor Robb.

Four years ago, Doug Wilder dismissed adoption as an alternative, saying, "No one wants these children." (Richmond News Leader, March 12, 1985)

Soon after the Webster decision was handed down, Wilder acknowledged that restrictions on abortions used for birth control were needed. He said, "I don't think abortions for the purposes of birth control should be available. My God, none of us would be here." (Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 6, 1989). But after Molly Yard of the National Organization for Women (NOW) called his stand "wimpish," he immediately reversed himself and adopted his extreme pro-abortion-on-demand position.

Wilder voted in 1978, 1980, and 1982 to make medicaid money available to pay for abortions (New Dominion, October 1989)

Wilder currently claims to support parental notification legislation "to the extent he supported it in 1985." (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). But in 1985, in a debate at St. Catherine's Girls School, Wilder said "he was opposed to requiring pregnant teenagers to obtain a parent's or judge's consent before undergoing an abortion." (RTD, October 8, 1985). And, as recently as 1985, "he voted to severely weaken a House-passed parental/judicial consent bill." (Robert G. Holland column, RTD, August 16, 1989). Wilder opposed parental notification legislation in 1978 as a member of the State Senate (RTD, July 10, 1989).

DRUNK-DRIVING LEGISLATION

Marshall Coleman supports legislative measures to punish and penalize those who drive drunk.

In 1984, Doug Wilder voted against a bill that would have made a conviction of drunken driving automatic if a driver's blood alcohol level registered 0.10 (HB 958, 1984).

Wilder also voted against a mandatory 30-day driver's license suspension for a motorist convicted of drunken driving. (SB 179, 1984).

In 1972, Wilder was the only Senator to vote against allowing the police to use a breath test to determine a motorist's blood alcohol content (RTD, February 19, 1972).

VI. OTHER ISSUES

Party Allegiance

Marshall Coleman has proudly supported and campaigned aggressively for the election of conservative Republican presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and George Bush. In 1988, Marshall Coleman served as the statewide Co-Chairman of George Bush's Virginia pre-nomination campaign.

Doug Wilder, on the other hand, has supported liberals like Mike Dukakis and Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter and George McGovern for president.

Doug Wilder has said that he supported these liberal candidates because they were Democrats and he was a Democrat (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). But in 1982, when a middle-of-the-road Democrat -- Owen Pickett, now Congressman from the Second District -- won the delegate votes he needed to become the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate, Doug Wilder declared Mr. Pickett was "too conservative" and said he would not support him. Mr. Wilder even threatened to run for the Senate himself as an Independent if Owen Pickett did not surrender the Democratic nomination he had won fair and square.

In 1980, Wilder considered a bid against conservative Democratic Congressman David Satterfield of Richmond, had Satterfield sought re-election. "Wilder said running as an 'independent Democrat' [was] one of the options he [was] considering." (Richmond News Leader, February 20, 1980)

Wilder has also denounced Reagan administration economic policies, derisively criticizing the "nightmare of Reaganomics." (Richmond Afro-American, May 8, 1982). At other times he has referred to President Reagan's policies as "disastrous." (Potomac News, December 11, 1986).

Advocates for Coleman

Hon. Thomas J. Bliley
Honorary Chairman

THE ISSUE IS CHARACTER

Hon. M. Caldwell Butler
Hon. Wyatt B. Durrette, Jr.
Hon. Frank D. Hargrove
Honorary Co-Chairmen

Ultimately, whatever you think of where Marshall Coleman and Douglas Wilder stand on the issues, the central issue is character. Who has the personal integrity to govern honestly and serve the people of Virginia well? Who will honor Virginia's noble tradition of public service, and who will not? All Virginians owe it to themselves and their Commonwealth to ask these questions about the candidates for Governor.

Through the years, Douglas Wilder has compiled a record of personal, professional and official misconduct that renders him ~~and~~ ^{an} undeserving and unfit to hold Virginia's highest position of public trust. Never before have Virginians been asked to reward with the gift of office one who has so flagrantly violated basic standards of integrity.

It is important to consider the facts. Douglas Wilder says it is negative to discuss these facts. But since the facts are true, they should be placed before the people of Virginia as they consider who should be their Governor. To dismiss important facts as "negative campaigning" is to simply hide from the truth behind a cliché.

Harry Truman had a line that fits here. They used to say, "Give 'em hell, Harry." And once he answered, "They say, 'Give 'em hell, Harry.' Well, I don't give 'em hell. I just tell the truth, and they think it's hell."

Well, as long as we are telling the people of Virginia the truth, Doug Wilder may think it's hell. He may call it negative. But the people of Virginia will call it information they have a right to know. And most Virginians I know will call Doug Wilder's conduct outrageous.

Reprimand for Unprofessional Conduct

First and foremost, there is the judgment about Douglas Wilder rendered by our own Supreme Court. We have never had a Governor who has been reprimanded for "unprofessional conduct" by that Court. If he is elected, Mr. Wilder would be the first.

What did he do to earn that type of denunciation by the Commonwealth's highest court? Well, according to the Court's official ruling, which was published and included in a Virginia State Bar handbook used to teach lawyers how not to conduct themselves, he did the following.

He took the case of a family that was injured in an automobile accident. Having done so, it was, in the words of the Supreme Court, "the duty of Wilder to exercise his best professional efforts on behalf of his clients." "The cases were relatively simple," said the Court. They were "routine and required no extraordinary legal expertise, only diligence and promptness." With only minimal concern and attention, Mr. Wilder could have protected the injured family's legal rights. But he did not do so.

The cases were eventually foreclosed by the statute of limitations as a result of what the Supreme Court termed Wilder's "unreasonable and inordinate procrastination and delay." It held that he had "neglected a legal matter entrusted to him; and that he prejudiced and damaged his clients."

Such reprimands are highly unusual. And even among cases of unprofessional conduct, this one was regarded as extreme. According to Mr. Wilder's fellow Democrat, Attorney General Anthony Troy, "A clearer case of neglect could scarcely be imagined."

But there is more. Mr. Wilder did not merely fail to look out for his clients' interests, which was his duty as a matter of professional ethics. He flagrantly misled the family. Even though no lawsuit was pending at the time, he wrote to his clients and told them, "Your case is proceeding as well as can be expected at the moment." The truth was that the case was not proceeding at all because of his neglect. But rather than admit that, Mr. Wilder simply wrote a letter to those who had trusted him

and told them things which he knew were untrue. He neglected their case, and misled them in an effort to cover up his neglect.

The Court denounced this action by Mr. Wilder as well, stating that the letter he sent "could obviously have had no effect other than to mislead his clients."

Even if this were an isolated instance of professional neglect and deceit, it would be deeply disturbing. For how can we entrust the future of all Virginia families to a person who so callously ignored the interests of that one family and then misled them in an effort to avoid accountability for his neglect?

But it is not an isolated instance.

Using Public Office for Personal Gain

The Allen case. The case of Maggie Allen, another of Mr. Wilder's clients, is even more disturbing than the one for which he was formally disciplined by the Supreme Court. It raises questions of public corruption as well as professional neglect.

Mrs. Allen came to Mr. Wilder for help in getting back money which had been wrongly confiscated by police officers. More than \$50,000 dollars were involved. Mr. Wilder filed a motion with the court to have the money returned; the court ruled against the motion; and Wilder endorsed the court's order denying Mrs. Allen's claim. The effect of Mr. Wilder's endorsement of the adverse ruling was to bar Mrs. Allen from appealing the decision. From that moment on, another court later ruled, she had no legal right to get the money back from the government. The court pointed out that her recourse was now against Wilder for wrongly endorsing the adverse ruling.

Faced with a probable malpractice suit right on the heels of his reprimand for neglecting another client's case, Mr. Wilder attempted to have state taxpayers bail him out. He used his position as a state senator to introduce a bill that would have paid more than \$50,000 in public funds to Mrs. Allen, thereby heading off her malpractice lawsuit against him.

There could not be a clearer case of using public office for private gain. And that is how the members of the legislative committee that considered the bill viewed it.

One of them commented that they were being asked to rule on the case of "a defective attorney." The legislation was completely improper, and it was killed by the committee. Mrs. Allen went forward with her lawsuit against Mr. Wilder.

Neither the Supreme Court reprimand nor this personal interest legislation were discussed in the 1985 campaign. And until now, Mr. Wilder has never been held accountable. But all Virginians who view public office as a trust, not an occasion for self-enrichment, must be offended by Mr. Wilder's professional neglect and his effort to spend public funds in order to sweep under the rug an embarrassing and potentially expensive malpractice lawsuit against himself.

Profit-making as Lieutenant Governor. With Douglas Wilder, the use of public office for private gain is a pattern. In the Maggie Allen case, he sought to save himself \$50,000 and plenty of embarrassment by putting in a bill to spend tax dollars to head off a lawsuit. As Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilder doubled the budget of that office, and then used his taxpayer-paid staff to make the arrangements for an unprecedented speech-making schedule, for which Mr. Wilder was paid handsomely.

In his first year in office, Mr. Wilder pocketed more than \$50,000 in speaking fees. And in so doing, he became the only state official in history to charge money for giving speeches to groups of Virginians, his own constituents.

The office of lieutenant governor became a for-profit enterprise under Douglas Wilder. In this campaign, the Washington Post has documented instances where public funds were used to cover expenses associated with Mr. Wilder's speaking schedule and other personal, professional and business matters. As our Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilder cost the taxpayers of Virginia twice as much as his predecessor, then added insult to injury by adding on a charge for the privilege of hearing him speak. Among the speeches for which he received payment was an address during the University of Virginia's commencement ceremony.

It was only after his practice of charging for speeches to Virginians was publicly exposed and a firestorm of criticism followed that Mr. Wilder stopped collecting and pocketing the fees. And although he said at the time that he was turning the funds

over to charity, he has steadfastly refused to identify the charities, account for the funds, or otherwise document that gifts were made.

It is interesting to note also that Mr. Wilder's first reaction was not to acknowledge that his profiteering at public expense was improper, but rather to lash out at unnamed aides to Governors Robb and Baliles, who he charged with leaking the information about his speaking fees to the press. Today, when Mr. Wilder seeks to run on the coattails of those two governors rather than on his own merit or vision, it is instructive that he had such little trust of them and such a poor working relationship with them just a few years ago.

Business Matters and Ethics Law Violations

Mr. Wilder has had a pattern of disregard for the state laws that require public officials to make periodic disclosures of their personal and business interests. These laws are designed to prevent the use of public office for private gain. Mr. Wilder opposed the state ethics law when it was enacted in 1983, and as Lieutenant Governor he voted to remove the criminal penalties for conflict-of-interest violations under that law.

Slum Property. Mr. Wilder's handling of dilapidated rental property he owned in the City of Richmond for eight years shows both his insensitivity to the concerns of ordinary Virginians and his own disdain for Virginia's ethics laws.

As a state senator, Mr. Wilder failed to list on his financial disclosure form various houses he owned in Richmond, among them the "slum" house in the Church Hill section of Richmond that has received extensive publicity because of building code violations.

In 1985, Mr. Wilder was cited for a building code violation because of the condition of the Church Hill property. For three years, residents of the neighborhood had complained to Mr. Wilder and urged him to repair and clean up the broken-down row house. They said that it had become a haven for rats and vagrants, and a threat to children playing in the neighborhood. Mr. Wilder, a millionaire with two Mercedes

VIRGINIA

... 163,183	(70%)	(\$876,877)
... 71,460	(30%)	(\$549,908)
... 30,555	(61%)	
... 19,593	(39%)	
... 82,259	(51%)	(\$407,340)
... 78,447	(48%)	(\$282,600)

1945, Boston, MA; home, Montpelier, VT, 1970, Ph.D. 1984; Harvard U., M.A. 1970, Ph.D. 1984; ah).

Community Col. of VT, 1970-80; Vice President, 1982-88; Lt. Gov. of VT, 1982-86; VT Senate, 1982-86.

19515, 202-225-4115. Also P.O. Box 676, 223-5273; Champlain Mill, 1 Main St., 1-6732; and P.O. Box 397, 121 West St., -3875.

and Labor (13th of 13 R). Subcommittee on Vocational Education; Employment and Vocational Education; Employment and Vocational Education. *Government Operations* and *Intergovernmental Relations*. *Select Committees*: Legislation and National Security; Intergovernmental Relations. *Select Committees*

..... 98,937	(41%)	(\$450,162)
..... 90,026	(36%)	(\$331,284)
..... 45,330	(19%)	(\$260,535)
..... 5,535	(4%)	
..... 37,211	(79%)	
..... 9,954	(21%)	
..... 168,403	(89%)	(\$86,917)
..... 20,314	(11%)	

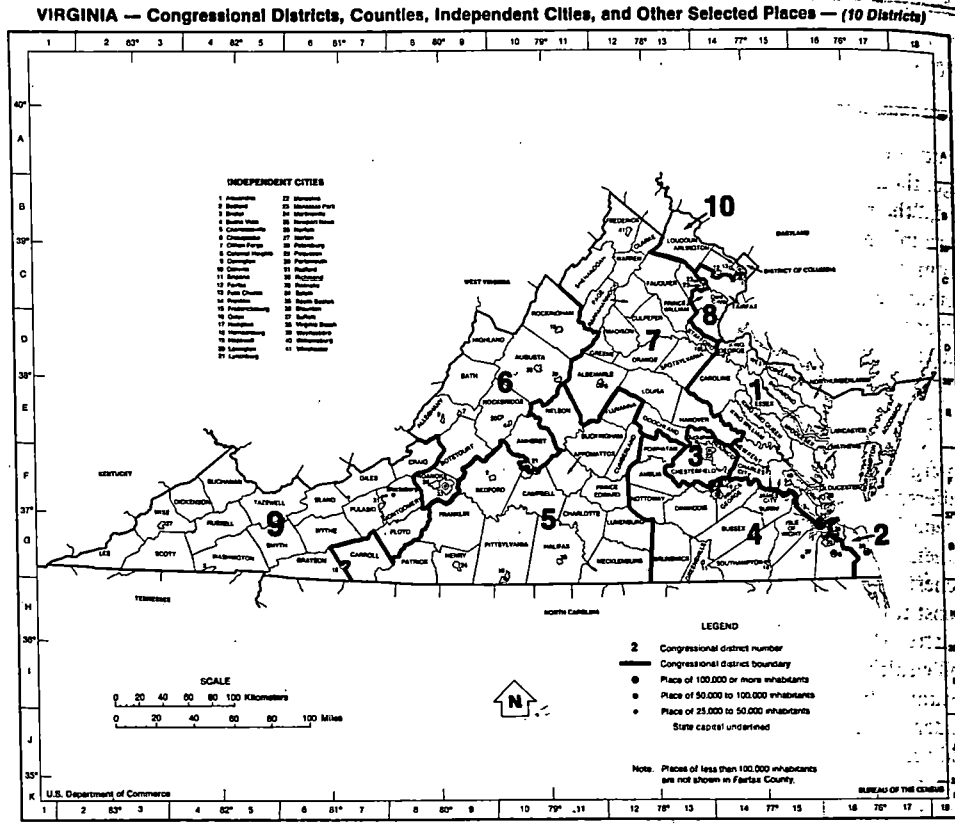
"Incontestably, what runs Virginia is the Byrd machine," wrote John Gunther nearly 50 years ago, though he would have said the same thing any time between 1925 and 1965, adding, as he did, "the most urbane and genteel dictatorship in America." But to the men who ran it, this was certainly not a dictatorship and not really a machine at all. Harry Byrd was a country boy with no money and fine lineage—his ancestor William Byrd was governor of Virginia in the 17th century and his uncle and namesake Hal Flood served in Congress. Byrd himself was elected governor in 1925 and, with an insistence on propriety and a flair for efficiency, imposed a rational structure over what, in Virginia, always had been the natural order of things.

For from the first, this was a commonwealth ruled by its landed gentry. As young men they were taken measure of by their neighbors and, if they were found up to it, were made officers in the local militia and members of the House of Burgesses. From these tobacco-growing counties emerged in the 1770s a group of leaders—George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, James Madison, James Monroe—who in learning, wisdom and strength of character equalled any such group from any similar-sized polity since Periclean Athens. The Virginia they led into the American Revolution was not only the most populous and richest of the 13 colonies, it was also the indispensable creator of the Republic and the Constitution that held together what has become the greatest nation in the world.

After the Revolution, gentry control continued even as Virginia was eclipsed in population and wealth by Pennsylvania and New York and, its tobacco fields exhausted, the commonwealth became a breeding ground for slaves. The dazzling brilliance of the generation of Revolutionary leaders gave way to the eccentricity of John Randolph of Roanoke and the unbridled selfishness and general mediocrity of the generation that followed. Virginia had only two more great heroes, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, both of whom reluctantly and brilliantly fought for their state rather than their country; the state's leadership class was impoverished and embittered by the great war, so much of which was fought on Virginia soil. Industrialization came here and there to Virginia: railroads were built across the state to ship cotton up from the South and coal to the seaports; textile mills were built in Southside towns and tobacco factories in Richmond; the giant Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company was built by railroad magnate Collis Huntington.

But most of the state remained agricultural, sunk in a low-wage economy, and ruled by the local gentry, by then a small class of landowners and bankers and lawyers who worshipped their Revolutionary past and were filled with bitterness over the failure of their Lost Cause. They were pessimists, looking not for economic growth but for stability, bent on maintaining Virginia's segregation and content with its second-class economy, determined to see that the poor masses did not use government to pillage the rich as Yankee troops once had. Organized county courthouse by county courthouse, required to provide honest, efficient, pay-as-you-go local and state government, this natural elite became the Byrd machine.

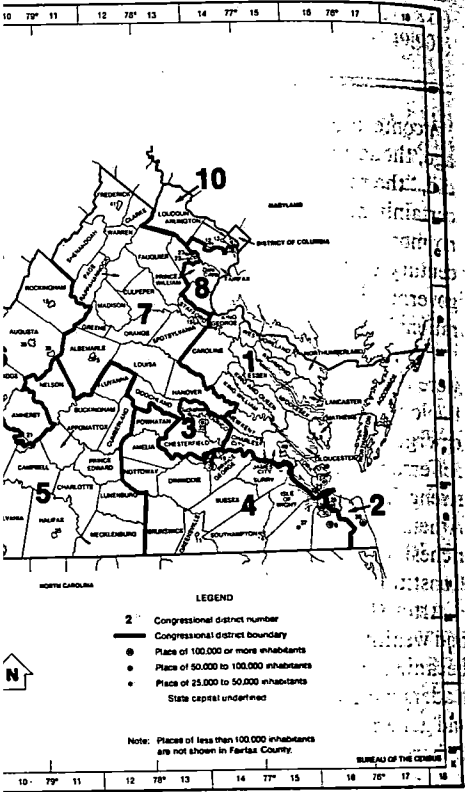
Nationally, the machine lost political battles more often than Lee lost military battles, and less gallantly. But it succeeded in keeping most vestiges of the welfare state and racial equality outside Virginia, even to the point of closing public schools in the late 1950s rather than obey federal court integration orders. But this massive resistance collapsed in the late 1950s. Governor Mills Godwin—a Byrd loyalist—accepted integration and upgraded state government in the late 1960s. Most important, demographics changed the Old Dominion. As the 20th century went on, the peripheral parts of the state grew: the coal-mining counties of the far



southwest, the Tidewater area around the Navy bases in Norfolk and the shipbuilding yards in Newport News, and the government employee-filled suburbs across the Potomac from Washington, D.C. Courthouse politicians here could no longer carry the vote for the Byrd machine by the middle 1960s: Harry Byrd Jr., appointed to his father's Senate seat, was nearly beaten in the 1966 Senate primary, and A. Willis Robertson, 20-year veteran of the Senate—and father of televangelist and 1988 presidential candidate Pat Robertson—was beaten in his primary. Linwood Holton, a Republican and a believer in integration, was elected in 1969. But over the next decade, most of the victories were won by conservatives, some of them Byrd stalwarts turned Republican (like Mills Godwin, who returned to the governorship in 1973), some the sons of former insurgent Republicans (like John Dalton, elected governor in 1977) or Republicans with no deep local roots (like John Warner, elected Senator in 1978). The conservatives, using busing, right-to-work, race or whatever issue came to hand, shrewdly outmaneuvered the liberals; Harry Byrd Jr., for example, avoided perilous primaries by running as an Independent in 1970 and 1976.

Then suddenly in the early 1980s, things began going the other way. The Democrats, shut out in all Virginia presidential elections but one since Byrd Sr.'s "golden silence" in 1952, won the governorship in 1981 after a 16-year political drought and proceeded to not only to hold onto it four years later, but to elect a black lieutenant governor and a woman attorney general. These

ent Cities, and Other Selected Places — (10 Districts)



bases in Norfolk and the shipbuilding yards in filled suburbs across the Potomac from Washington carry the vote for the Byrd machine by the father's Senate seat, was nearly beaten in the 20-year veteran of the Senate—and father of Pat Robertson—was beaten in his primary on integration, was elected in 1969. But over the by conservatives, some of them Byrd stalwarts turned to the governorship in 1973), some the sons alton, elected governor in 1977) or Republicans cted Senator in 1978). The conservatives, using came to hand, shrewdly outmaneuvered the perilous primaries by running as an Independent an going the other way. The Democrats, shut out once Byrd Sr.'s "golden silence" in 1952, won the brought and proceeded to not only to hold onto it t governor and a woman attorney general. These

Democrats had strong black support, they carried the Washington suburbs, the Tidewater and the far western mountains; more important, they carried or ran even in the Richmond area and the rural counties that are geographically and historically the heart of the state. The Democrats won not because they no longer represented an attempt to impose a labor-liberal agenda on an unwilling Virginia, but they argued that they could use government effectively to improve education, build Virginia's economy, and (with bonds, not pay-as-you-go) build roads and improve transportation in boom and coal bust areas alike.

The catalyst in this change was Governor Charles Robb, elected rather narrowly in 1981, but so popular in 1985 that he would have won near-unanimously if Virginia allowed consecutive terms and had he run. He has impeccable military and Democratic credentials: he is the Marine who married Lynda Bird Johnson and then served in combat in Vietnam. Serious, quiet, he has a demeanor that tradition-minded Virginians trust, even when he promoted blacks and women to leadership positions and spent more money on education. After leaving office, Robb became a national figure as head of the Democratic Leadership Council, was mentioned as a possible presidential candidate for 1988, and was easily elected to the Senate in 1988.

Governor Robb's successor as governor, Gerald Baliles, is a Democrat who benefited from Robb's strengths, but has considerable strengths of his own. On the surface he looks grey, quiet, even bookish (he is one of the more voracious readers in American politics today), but he has also proved to be a politician who gets what he wants. In 1981, that was the office of attorney general, for which he won upset victories at the state Democratic convention and in the general election; in 1985, it was the governorship. There he outmaneuvered Lieutenant Governor Richard Davis for convention delegates, by combining support from rural areas (he is from a rural county in the shadow of the Blue Ridge) with votes in northern Virginia (where his pro-choice position on abortion was critical). In the general election, he outcampaigned an attractive Republican, Wyatt Durrette. In office, Baliles was almost completely successful with the legislature. He pushed through a transportation program, sorely needed in Virginia's explosively growing suburban areas, including a gas tax and bonds for highway construction—unheard of in the Virginia of Byrd's pay-as-you-go tradition. He beefed up Virginia's already impressive system of higher education and promoted international trade. Baliles did encounter some problems in his last year in office, namely a strike by coal workers in Pittston, where he sent in state troopers to stabilize the situation. He also faced defeat at the hands of the legislature on a proposal to tax pensions over \$16,000 a year. Still, he is often mentioned as a possible challenger to Republican Senator John Warner in 1990.

The race to succeed Baliles seems likely to be an historic one. The Democratic nomination went to Lieutenant Governor L. Douglas Wilder, who combined years of experience in the state Senate with a record a bit more conservative on some issues than Baliles's; what is remarkable about his candidacy is that he is black. He won the number two job by personally campaigning in dozens of once segregationist rural counties, shaking hands and winning support, and running an endorsement ad showing a white Southside state trooper endorsing him. Widely popular, not outside the consensus on the issues, articulate and knowledgeable, Wilder had an excellent chance in early 1989 to become the first black elected governor of an American state—and a state which, 25 years ago, any observer would have thought would be the last to do so.

To win, however, Wilder will have to beat the Republican nominee in a state which in national politics is solidly Republican. The Republicans, in 1989, decided to jettison the state convention they have used to choose candidates (the 1978 convention, with some 9,000 delegates, may have been the largest elected deliberative body in world history) and to have a June primary instead. The winner was former attorney general Marshall Coleman, who defeated former U.S. Senator Paul Trible, 37%-35%, with 8th District Congressman Stan Parris receiving 28% of the vote. The three candidates spent almost \$10 million total (mostly on media) in the first Virginia statewide Republican primary since 1949.

Senators. Virginia is represented in the Senate by two residents of the greater Washington area, neither of whom comes from the local gentry that manned the Byrd machine, and both of whom first came to public notice because of whom they married; both have since shown more talent and accomplished more than most observers expected.

John Warner is now one of the senior Republicans in the Senate, ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, the winner of a second term by an impressive margin. Warner's secret in the Senate has been hard work. He does not have the Senate's strongest intellect; he is prone to clichés and pomposity; his service as Secretary of the Navy in the Nixon Administration prompted Nixon, perhaps in one of his bibulous moods, to say that proved anyone could do the job. His next appointment, to head the Bicentennial Commission, was not considered a promotion. But Warner does plug away at his homework. Elizabeth Taylor, his wife during his first campaign, complained during divorce proceedings that he spent too much time on dull things. A man who neglects one of the greatest movie stars for his briefing books is obviously bent on doing his duty.

This does not mean that Warner has pleased everyone on the Armed Services Committee and off. He is, as almost every Member of Congress from Virginia must be, a Navy man; Virginia's Tidewater region is the East Coast headquarters of the Navy. But, after first opposing it and then skipping a critical vote, Warner supported Navy Secretary John Lehman's homeporting plan to disperse the Navy's big vessels from its major ports at Norfolk and San Diego, casting the vote that got it through Armed Services 10-9. His statement that he did it because he thought it was in the national interest rings true; it certainly did him no good in Tidewater Virginia.

Nor does he always line up with his party. In 1987, after not announcing his position during the debate, Warner cast his vote against the nomination of Judge Robert Bork; it was not critical in the outcome, but he was the only southern Republican to vote against Bork. In early 1989, he tottered on the brink of voting against the nomination of John Tower, and only after last-minute requests from President Bush did he vote in favor. That probably hurt him with Senate Republicans, all but one of whom voted for Tower in the end; it surely undermines their confidence in him and diminishes their inclination to follow his lead on Armed Services issues, particularly when he takes a bipartisan approach supporting chairman Sam Nunn. On issues generally, Warner has a conservative record. But obviously he does not see himself as a die-hard partisan, and he wants to be known as a supporter of civil rights.

Warner started the 1978 Senate race with few political assets, other than Elizabeth Taylor at his side and a well-stocked campaign treasury. But he fought hard for the Senate nomination at the Republicans' huge convention that year, and when he came in second to longtime party chairman Richard Obenshain he cheerfully and actively supported his candidacy. Then in August Obenshain was killed in a plane crash, and Republican leaders, though reluctant, had no alternative but to give the nomination to Warner. In November, in a year that turned out to be more conservative than pundits expected, Warner won a hairsbreadth victory in the general election over Democrat Andrew Miller. He seemed at first to have an unsteady hold on that seat, but the rise in Republican fortunes in the 1980s and his own hard work on national issues and with local Virginians put him in strong shape for 1984. His Democratic opponent, former Delegate Edythe Harrison, was denigrated by state Democratic leaders just as she was announcing her candidacy against a man they shrank from challenging; she was labelled as an ultraliberal and failed even to carry her home city of Norfolk. For 1990, Warner looks strong on paper—depending on who opposes him. Gerald Baliles, who leaves the governorship at the end of 1989 because of the one-term limit and seems headed for a lucrative Richmond law practice, would certainly give him a hard time; and it's possible that some other Democrat could be a serious candidate. But Warner's hard work may well pay off with another weak opponent and a third Senate term.

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Virginia's junior Senator, Charles Robb, has been in the public eye for more than 20 years. As a young Marine officer, he had duty in the White House, where he met Lynda Bird Johnson and married her in a White House wedding; then he went off to combat in Vietnam. In 1977, as a Washington lawyer, he ran for lieutenant governor and won, while Republicans were carrying the state otherwise; in 1981, he ran for governor and beat Marshall Coleman 54%-46%—the first Democrat to win in 16 years. As governor, he was widely popular and was given credit, rightly or wrongly, for much of Virginia's dynamic growth and the confidence and pride that has accompanied it. He added \$1 billion to the education budget and worked to boost Virginia's coal export industry. He appointed blacks and women to top positions in large numbers.

Even as Robb was succeeding in Virginia, he was branching out into national politics; with Sam Nunn, he was one of the sparkplugs behind the Democratic Leadership Council beginning in 1985, combining an innovative approach to domestic policy—like the DLC community service bill sponsored by Nunn in the Senate—with support for a strong defense. The experience of combat certainly has been central to Robb's life, and he retains an interest in military tactics and strategy as well as foreign policy generally. He began eyeing the 1988 Senate race from afar and was far ahead of Tribble in the polls when the incumbent bowed out; at that point, Robb was effectively presented with a Senate seat for the asking. The Republicans found a candidate in black minister Maurice Dawkins, and newspapers repeatedly printed stories of how Robb had attended parties in Virginia Beach at which drugs were used. But no evidence of any misconduct by Robb was ever presented, and Dawkins made no breakthrough: Robb won with 71% of the vote. In the Senate, he is a member of the Foreign Relations, Commerce and Budget Committees, but he is also watched by many for his stands on issues generally: his record and sense of command, despite a somewhat wooden speaking style, make him one politician who is seriously mentioned for national office. Robb made something of a splash in March of 1989 at a DLC meeting in Philadelphia by stating, while standing next to Jesse Jackson, that Jackson had encouraged perceptions "not conducive to the electoral success we are looking for"—a statement which Jackson countered.

Presidential politics. Virginia, prompted for years by Harry Byrd's 1952 "golden silence," has voted Republican in every presidential election since except 1964, when it went for Lyndon Johnson (who courted Byrd shamelessly); it was almost as solidly for George Bush in 1988 as for Ronald Reagan in 1984. Its biggest urban areas, which once seemed headed toward the national Democratic Party, no longer are: the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington seem increasingly caught up in a free enterprise boom, the Tidewater area is pro-military, and the Richmond area is dominated by conservative suburbanites. Virginia selected its 1988 delegates in the Super Tuesday primary. George Bush won easily among Republicans, while Jesse Jackson surprised many by winning the low-turnout Democratic contest.

Congressional districting. When Charles Robb was elected governor in 1981, Republicans held 9 of Virginia's 10 House seats; this was the most conservative delegation in the nation. Today 5 of the 10 are Democrats. Reapportionment may give Virginia an 11th seat, probably in the farther suburbs of Washington; this would probably be Republican, but adjustments to the other suburban districts by the Democratic legislature could throw one of them to the Democrats. Districts elsewhere in the state are not likely to be changed drastically.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 5,996,000; Pop. 1980: 5,346,818, up 12.1% 1980-88 and 14.9% 1970-80; 2.40% of U.S. total, 13th largest. 15% with 1-3 yrs. col., 19% with 4+ yrs. col.; 11.8% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 15% English, 5% German, 4% Irish, 1% Italian, French, Scottish, Polish. Households (1980): 75% family, 42% with children, 62% married couples; 34.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$207; median house value: \$48,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 3,872,484; 17% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin. Registered voters (1988): 2,878,718; no party registration.

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$22,428,000,000; 2.54% of U.S. total, 11th largest.

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1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total	Non-Defense	Defense
Total Expend	\$35,698m (4.04%)	\$16,277m (2.48%)	\$21,493m (9.41%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,961m (1.71%)	1,955m (1.71%)	6m (5.09%)
Salary/Wages	9,841m (7.33%)	2,043m (3.05%)	7,798m (3.05%)
Pymnts to Indiv	10,597m (2.59%)	9,208m (2.36%)	1,389m (7.45%)
Procurement	12,288m (6.51%)	2,071m (4.46%)	12,288m (6.51%)
Research/Other	1,011m (2.71%)	999m (2.70%)	12m (2.70%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D); Lt. Gov., L. Douglas Wilder (D); Secy. Commonwealth, Sandy Bowen (D); Atty. Gen., Mary Sue Terry (D); Treasurer, Alice W. Handy (D); Controller, Edward J. Mazur (D). State Senate, 40 (30 D and 10 R); State House of Delegates, 100 (6 D, 35 R, and 1 I). Senators, John W. Warner (R) and Charles S. Robb (D). Representatives, 10 (5 R and 5 D).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	1,309,162 (60%)
Dukakis (D)	859,799 (39%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Jackson	164,709 (45%)
Gore	81,419 (22%)
Dukakis	80,183 (22%)
Gephardt	15,935 (4%)
Simon	7,045 (2%)
Hart	6,266 (2%)
Babbitt	2,454 (1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	1,337,078 (62%)
Mondale (D)	796,250 (37%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	124,738 (53%)
Dole	60,921 (26%)
Robertson	32,173 (14%)
Kemp	10,809 (5%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D)



Elected 1985, term expires Jan. 1990; b. July 8, 1940, Patrick Cnty.; home, Richmond; Wesleyan U., B.A. 1963; U. of VA, J.D. 1967; Episcopalian; married (Jeannie).

Career: VA Asst. Atty. Gen., 1967-72; VA Dpty. Atty. Gen. 1972-75; VA House of Del., 1976-82; VA Atty. Gen., 1982-86.

Office: State Capitol, Richmond 23219, 804-786-2211.

Election Results

1985 gen.	Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D)	741,438 (55%)
	Wyatt B. Durette, Jr. (R)	601,652 (44%)
1981 prim.	Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D), nominated by convention	
1981 gen.	Charles S. Robb (D)	760,357 (54%)
	J. Marshall Coleman (R)	659,398 (46%)

SENATORS

Sen. John W. Warner (R)



Elected 1978, seat up 1990; b. Feb. 18, 1927, Washington, D.C.; home, Middleburg; Wash. and Lee U., B.S., 1949, U. of VA, LL.B. 1953; Episcopalian; divorced.

Career: Navy, WWII, USMC, Korea; Law Clerk to U.S. Ct. of Appeals Chf. Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, 1953-54; Practicing atty., 1954-56, 1960-69; Asst. U.S. Atty., 1956-60; Undersecy. of the U.S. Navy, 1969-72, Secy., 1972-74; Dir., Amer. Rev. Bicentennial Comm., 1974-76.

Offices: 225 RSOB 20510, 202-224-2023. Also 1100 E. Main St., Richmond 23219, 804-771-2579; 805 Fed. Bldg., 200 Granby Mall, Norfolk 23570, 804-441-3079; 235 Fed. Bldg., 180 E. Main St., Abingdon 24210, 703-628-8158; and 1003 Dominion Bank Bldg., 213 S. Jefferson St., Roanoke 24011, 703-832-4676.

Committees: *Armed Services* (Ranking Member of 9 R). *Environment and Public Works* (5th of 7 R). Subcommittees: Environmental Protection; Toxic Substances, Environmental Oversight, Research and Development (Ranking Member); Water Resources, Transportation, and Infrastructure. *Special Committee on Aging* (8th of 9 R). *Select Committee on Intelligence* (5th of 7 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	31	17	50	40	87	85	100	86	42
1987	25	—	15	50	—	60	—	—	94	61

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	9%	81%	21%	74%
Social	14%	85%	39%	59%
Foreign	26%	72%	25%	73%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| 1) Cut Aged Housing \$ | AGN | 5) Bork Nomination | AGN | 9) SDI Funding | FOR |
| 2) Override Hwy Veto | AGN | 6) Ban Plastic Guns | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | FOR |
| 3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | FOR | 7) Deny Abortions | FOR | 11) Aid To Contras | FOR |
| 4) Min Wage Increase | AGN | 8) Japanese Reparations | — | 12) Reagan Defense \$ | AGN |

Election Results

1984 general	John W. Warner (R)	1,406,194	(70%)	(\$2,974,498)
	Edythe C. Harrison (D)	601,142	(30%)	(\$492,201)
1984 primary	John W. Warner (R), nominated by convention			
1978 general	John W. Warner (R)	613,232	(50%)	(\$2,897,237)
	Andrew P. Miller (D)	608,511	(50%)	(\$832,773)

Non-Defense	Defense
\$16,277m (2.48%)	\$21,493m (9.41%)
1,955m (1.71%)	6m (5.09%)
2,043m (3.05%)	7,798m (3.05%)
9,208m (2.36%)	1,389m (7.45%)
2,071m (4.46%)	12,288m (6.51%)
999m (2.70%)	12m (2.70%)

... (D); Lt. Gov., L. Douglas Wilder (D); Secy. of ...
 ... Sue Terry (D); Treasurer, Alice W. Handy (D);
 ... 30 D and 10 R); State House of Delegates, 100 (64
 ... Charles S. Robb (D). Representatives, 10 (5 R and

1984 Presidential Vote
 Reagan (R) 1,337,078 (62%)
 Mondale (D) 796,250 (37%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary
 Bush 124,738 (53%)
 Dole 60,921 (26%)
 Robertson 32,173 (14%)
 Kemp 10,809 (5%)

... term expires Jan. 1990; b. July 8, 1940, Patrick
 Richmond; Wesleyan U., B.A. 1963; U. of VA, J.D.
 ... alian; married (Jeannie).

Asst. Atty Gen., 1967-72; VA Dpty. Atty. Gen.,
 House of Del., 1976-82; VA Atty. Gen., 1982-86.
 ... e Capitol, Richmond 23219, 804-786-2211.

... lts

Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D) ...	741,438	(55%)
Wyatt B. Durette, Jr. (R)	601,652	(44%)
Gerald L. (Jerry) Baliles (D), nominated by convention		
Charles S. Robb (D)	760,357	(54%)
J. Marshall Coleman (R)	659,398	(46%)

1250 VIRGINIA

Sen. Charles S. Robb (D)



Elected 1988, seat up 1994; b. June 26, 1939, Phoenix, AZ; home, McLean; U. of WI, B.B.A. 1961, U. of VA, J.D. 1973; Episcopalian; married, (Lynda).

Career: USMC, 1961-1970; Law Clerk to Judge John D. Butzner Jr., U.S. Ct. of Appeals, 1973-74; Practicing atty. 1974-77, 1986-88; VA Lt. Gov. 1978-82; Gov. of VA, 1982-86.

Offices: 493 RSOB, 20515, 202-224-4024. Also 1001 E. Broad St., Richmond, 23219, 804-771-2221.

Committees: *Budget* (13th of 13 D). *Commerce, Science, and Transportation* (11th of 11 D). Subcommittees: Consumer; National Ocean Policy Study; Science, Technology, and Space; Surface Transportation. *Foreign Relations* (10th of 10 D). Subcommittees: Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations; Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1988 general	Charles S. Robb (D)	1,474,086	(71%)	(\$2,881,666)
	Maurice A. Dawkins (R)	593,652	(29%)	(\$282,229)
1988 primary	Charles S. Robb (D), nominated by convention			
1982 general	Paul S. Triple, Jr. (R)	724,571	(51%)	(\$2,170,961)
	Richard J. Davis (D)	690,839	(49%)	(\$1,192,203)

FIRST DISTRICT

When the first British settlers sailed up the sunken estuaries that are the rivers flowing into Chesapeake Bay, they were searching for gold, hoping to sail back soon with their fortunes. But they couldn't help noticing that the spot where the James River feeds into the Bay, Hampton Roads, was a fine natural harbor, with calm, deep water and good anchorages for the tiny wooden vessels that had made it across the Atlantic. There they established a civilization whose elegance is recalled in the craftsmanship of restored Williamsburg and whose coarseness and brutality is brought to life by any narrative of the story of Jamestown or the other beleaguered settlements. Tidewater Virginia brought slavery to America and tobacco to the world, and slave-raised tobacco was the center of its economy in the colonial era and in the years afterward, when its most talented sons left its depleted soil for better opportunities elsewhere.

Now the economy of Tidewater Virginia is based, and the tone of its life is set, by the American military. Fifty years ago, as America was on the brink of world war, the Navy base at Norfolk and the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company across Hampton Roads became the center of American naval might in the Atlantic. Just before World War II, there were some 369,000 people living on both sides of Hampton Roads. Today, after the huge expansion of the fleet in the war and after, there are 1.2 million—a population collected not just from the local rural hinterland but from all over the country, making this a metropolitan area that is not so much southern in atmosphere as it is, in the manner of our military bases abroad, national. But you can still see what has made this area what it is by looking at the Shipbuilding and Drydock Company that lies over the flat neighborhoods lining the baysides, with its huge ships looming larger than life, their turrets and superstructures bristling with armored might. This is, among other things, the biggest private employer in Virginia. At the height of the naval expansion of the 1980s, 30,000 people worked here, and the Defense Department spent \$1.2

billion a year.

Virginia's 1st Congressional District includes Newport News, Hampton, and their Peninsula suburbs, plus Williamsburg and Jamestown, and then goes farther north on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. On the east it includes the southern tip of the Delmarva Peninsula, site of the annual roundup of wild Chincoteague ponies; on the west are the rural Northern Neck counties where George Washington and Robert E. Lee were born and which, in recent years, have shown significant population and economic growth for the first time in decades. There is a large black population in all parts of this district, 31% overall; there were big plantations here before the Civil War, and many blacks moved into the industrial Tidewater to find good jobs. Today there is significant integration, the influence of slavery and segregation having been overcome by life in the integrated military.

Historically Democratic, this is now a Republican district in many contests; the national Democrats' anti-military leanings have moved voters away from them. The current congressman, Herbert Bateman, won the seat in 1982 when Paul Trible, after six vote-winning years, went on to the Senate. Bateman has deep roots in an area where many voters and politicians are newcomers, and his career goes back many years: he was a sometime opponent, sometime ally of the Byrd Democrats who represented Newport News in the Virginia Senate for 15 years and switched parties in 1976. He was outmaneuvered by Trible for the congressional nomination in 1976 and failed to get the Republican lieutenant governor nomination in 1981. But Bateman had the congressional nomination locked up in 1982 and won fairly easily after his first Democratic opponent withdrew from the race in June and another was substituted in his place.

In his second term, Bateman got a seat on the Armed Services Committee—a virtual must for this district—and he also has a helpful seat on Merchant Marine. He is a staunch supporter of high defense spending, in the 1st District and out, and is a detail man, working hard on measures that may or may not be of national importance but on which he often makes a difference. He is, of course, a strong believer in building aircraft carriers, and he has also moved to restrict the pollutant TBT that threatens local waters. To the military base closing bill he attached an amendment requiring the commission making recommendations to take into account historical preservation and environmental costs; this was obviously an attempt to save Fort Monroe, an antique fortress at the entrance of Hampton Roads (Jefferson Davis was held prisoner here after the Civil War), which is often held up as the paradigmatic example of an outmoded base, but which does have genuine historical value. Bateman has been successful: it didn't get on the final list of closings.

The military forces are the least segregated and probably the least racial-minded part of American life, and the attitudes they inculcate are apparent in the election returns in this district where so many voters are or were in the military or work as civilians in military installations. Bateman's toughest opponent since he was elected was Newport News state Senator Robert Scott, who in 1986 held him to 56% of the vote; Scott, a black, is elected to the legislature from a city that is 70% white. Against weaker opposition in 1988, Bateman won with 73% of the vote, and appears to have won between 15% and 25% of votes from blacks.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 584,500, up 9.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 535,092, up 11.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 43% with children, 62% married couples; 33.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$180; median house value: \$41,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 384,328; 29% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	131,341	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	83,291	(38%)

88, seat up 1994; b. June 26, 1939, Phoenix, AZ; home of WI, B.B.A. 1961, U.of VA, J.D. 1973; Episcopalian; ynda).
 ISMC, 1961-1970; Law Clerk to Judge John D. Butzner t. of Appeals, 1973-74; Practicing atty. 1974-77; 1986 Gov. 1978-82; Gov. of VA, 1982-86.

93 RSOB, 20515, 202-224-4024. Also 1001 E. Broad ond, 23219, 804-771-2221.

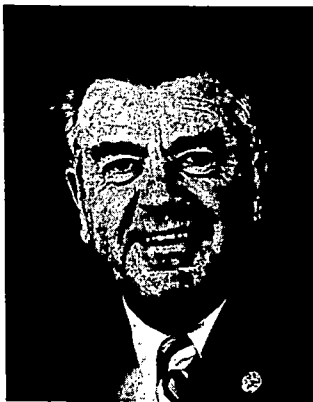
s: Budget (13th of 13 D). Commerce, Science, and tion (11th of 11 D). Subcommittees: Consumer, Na an Policy Study; Science, Technology, and Space; Sur portation. Foreign Relations (10th of 10 D). Subcommit Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Terrorism, Narcotics ational Operations; Western Hemisphere and Peace irs.

.....	1,474,086	(71%)	(\$2,881,666)
.....	593,652	(29%)	(\$282,229)
.....	724,571	(51%)	(\$2,170,961)
.....	690,839	(49%)	(\$1,192,203)

he sunken estuaries that are the rivers flowing into old, hoping to sail back soon with their fortunes. But where the James River feeds into the Bay, Hampton alm, deep water and good anchorages for the tiny Atlantic. There they established a civilization whose of restored Williamsburg and whose coarseness and e of the story of Jamestown or the other beleaguered every to America and tobacco to the world, and slave- y in the colonial era and in the years afterward, when for better opportunities elsewhere.
 nia is based, and the tone of its life is set, by the erica was on the brink of world war, the Navy base at ding and Drydock Company across Hampton Roads ght in the Atlantic. Just before World War II, there h sides of Hampton Roads. Today, after the huge there are 1.2 million—a population collected not just all over the country, making this a metropolitan area e as it is, in the manner of our military bases abroad, de this area what is by looking at the Shipbuilding and neighborhoods lining the baysides, with its huge ships superstructures bristling with armored might. This is, employer in Virginia. At the height of the naval orked here, and the Defense Department spent \$1.2

1252 VIRGINIA

Rep. Herbert H. Bateman (R)



Elected 1982; b. Aug. 7, 1928, Elizabeth City, NC; home, Newport News; Col. of William and Mary, B.A. 1949, Georgetown U., LL.M. 1956; Presbyterian; married (Laura).

Career: Teacher, Hampton Sch., 1949-51; USAF, 1951-53; Law Clerk to Judge W. Bastian, 1956-57; Practicing atty., 1957-82; V. Senate, 1968-82.

Offices: 1230 LHOB 20515, 202-225-4261. Also 739 Thimble Shoals Blvd., Newport News 23606, 804-873-1132; P.O. Box 118, Tappahannock 22560, 804-443-4740; and P.O. Box 447, Accomack 23301, 804-787-7836.

Committees: *Armed Services* (10th of 21 R). Subcommittee: Military Personnel and Compensation (Ranking Member: Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (7th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	20	22	10	27	44	84	54	100	85	56
1987	12	—	9	23	—	74	—	—	79	53

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	24%	— 74%	23%	— 76%
Social	5%	— 95%	19%	— 78%
Foreign	0%	— 84%	25%	— 74%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Herbert H. Bateman (R)	135,937	(73%)	(\$284,70
	James S. Ellenson (D)	49,614	(27%)	(\$30,30
1988 primary	Herbert H. Bateman (R), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Herbert H. Bateman (R)	80,713	(56%)	(\$602,25
	Robert C. Scott (D)	63,365	(44%)	(\$348,48

SECOND DISTRICT

In the quiet days before World War II, the Norfolk waterfront was, according to the *WF Guide*, "a jumble of boats, wharves, warehouses, and industries extracting life from the sea. Plowing through the oily surface of the harbor are powerful little tugs with barges in tow, gleaming white coastal and Bay passenger steamers, rusty-hull coastal freighters, transatlantic steamers, battleships, trawlers and oyster boats, and less frequently transatlantic steamships. In the narrow, tree-lined streets are old brick houses, some in large yards kept green and damp by the sheltering boxwood, magnolia and crepe myrtle, and others shoulder to shoulder, flush with the water.

Aug. 7, 1928, Elizabeth City, NC; home, Newport William and Mary, B.A. 1949, Georgetown U., LL.B. rian; married (Laura).

her, Hampton Sch., 1949-51; USAF, 1951-53; Law W. Bastian, 1956-57; Practicing atty., 1957-82; VA 32.

LHOB 20515, 202-225-4261. Also 739 Thimble Newport News 23606, 804-873-1132; P.O. Box 1183, 22560, 804-443-4740; and P.O. Box 447, Accomac, 7-7836.

Armed Services (10th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Personnel and Compensation (Ranking Member); Strategic and Critical Materials. Merchant Marine (7th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Marine.

CV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
44	84	54	100	85	56
—	74	—	—	79	53

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

23%	—	76%
19%	—	78%
25%	—	74%

Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
th Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

.....	135,937	(73%)	(\$284,702)
.....	49,614	(27%)	(\$30,302)
minated by convention			
.....	80,713	(56%)	(\$602,251)
.....	63,365	(44%)	(\$348,485)

Norfolk waterfront was, according to the WPA uses, and industries extracting life from the sea. Labor are powerful little tugs with barges in tow. Steamers, rusty-hull coastal freighters, tramp tugs, and less frequently transatlantic steamships. In the yards, some in large yards kept green and damp by the water, and others shoulder to shoulder, flush with the

sidewalk. East Main Street, its elegant old brick houses of the colonial elite now in decay, unrolls its wares in curio shops, wienie bars, tattoo clinics, shooting galleries, beer gardens and cheap rooming houses. Nightly, this quarter is patrolled by paired M.P.s, whose brassards and billies come most into play when Saturday shore leave spills recruits from the naval base, sailors from ships, and a goodly number of Marines into downtown Norfolk." As America was girding up to fight the war it wanted to avoid, Norfolk was its main Atlantic naval base, a small southern city whose history was already being overwhelmed by the forces stationed here and the growth they brought.

Today Norfolk is the center of the largest naval installations in the world, with more than 125 warships, 100,000 sailors and Marines and \$2 billion in annual spending. Norfolk is also the center of a metropolitan area, on both sides of Hampton Roads, with over 1.2 million people—four times as many as 50 years ago. Norfolk preserves its antique past more carefully now, but the growth and development that has spilled out beyond the city limits into Virginia Beach on the ocean and the Chesapeake toward the Dismal Swamp has little regional or historic distinctiveness. Even the Christian Broadcasting Network complex built by 1988 presidential candidate Pat Robertson, with its Georgian buildings far bigger than any original Georgian buildings, could be almost anywhere, although in fact it is near a freeway interchange on the Norfolk-Virginia Beach border.

To the Hampton Roads area, the military buildup and economic growth of the last 45 years have brought a population drawn from a wider cross-section of the nation than is usually found in the South. There is no heavy accent here: the brothy Tidewater accent is heard more often farther up the rivers, toward Richmond. Parts of Norfolk have the look and feel of a working-class town, with shipyard workers and many blacks (35% of the total), but most of it is securely white middle-class, as is almost all of Virginia Beach except perhaps for the strip of motels along the ocean front. Norfolk and Virginia Beach together make up Virginia's 2d Congressional District. Once it was solidly Democratic; it voted for Hubert Humphrey in 1968. But that was when Norfolk cast 65,000 votes and Virginia Beach 37,000. After 20 years of metropolitan growth, Norfolk in 1988 cast 69,000 votes and Virginia Beach 111,000, leaving the 2d District solidly for former Navy pilot George Bush and against aircraft carrier critic Michael Dukakis.

Congressional elections have gone the other way, however: in 1986 the 2d district elected Democrat Owen Pickett, when the Republican who had held the seat since 1968 retired. Pickett, though an accountant with little personal magnetism (the kind of guy who gets up at 4 a.m.) had a number of assets. A legislator since 1972, he was known as a fiscal conservative and a hard worker, the man who restructured the state retirement system. He was Democratic state chairman in 1981, when Charles Robb won the governorship and began a string of Democratic victories. He had a setback in 1982, when he was Robb's choice for the Senate but withdrew after Douglas Wilder, then state senator and now lieutenant governor, threatened to run as an independent against him. But by the time he ran for Congress in 1986, the quiet and methodical Pickett had Wilder's support and that of Jesse Jackson's Norfolk coordinator. He also had a Republican opponent plagued by his close relationship with the head of a bankrupt second mortgage company and his partnership with a Richmond stockbroker sentenced to 25 years in jail for embezzlement and business fraud. Pickett carried Norfolk heavily, lost Virginia Beach narrowly, and won 49%-42%.

In the House, Pickett showed his political acumen by getting a new seat created for him on the Armed Services Committee and getting a seat on Merchant Marine as well—the two crucial committees for any Norfolk congressman. There he worked unsuccessfully to let former military spouses into commissaries, helped increase military health benefits, restored \$213 million to the Seawolf submarine program, and helped get approval for two new aircraft carriers. He was a swing vote on contra aid, and on issues generally stood at about the middle of the House. In 1988, he had an interesting opponent, retired General Jerry Curry, a black fundamentalist

1254 VIRGINIA

Christian who had worked on the early stages of Pat Robertson's campaign, who attacked Pickett as insufficiently conservative. But this time Pickett carried Virginia Beach as well as Norfolk and won 61%-36%. He seems to have a safe seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 608,200, up 14.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 529,178, up 10.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 44% with children, 58% married couples; 46.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$202; median house value: \$50,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 383,036; 21% Black, 2% Asian origin, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 107,019 (59%)
 Dukakis (D) 71,558 (40%)

Rep. Owen B. Pickett (D)



Elected 1986; b. Aug. 31, 1930, Richmond; home, Virginia Beach; VA Polytechnic Inst. and St. U., B.S. 1952, U. of Richmond, J.D. 1955; Baptist; married (Sybil).

Career: Practicing atty., CPA; VA House of Del., 1972-86.

Offices: 1429 LHOB 20515, 202-225-4215. Also Fed. Bldg., Rm. 815, Norfolk 23510, 804-624-9124; and 2710 VA Beach Blvd., Virginia Beach 23452, 804-486-3710.

Committees: *Armed Services* (26th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Military Personnel and Compensation; Research and Development; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (18th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Merchant Marine; Oversight and Investigations.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	57	83	73	50	40	22	60	50	25
1987	72	—	81	57	—	22	—	—	40	17

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	60%	37%	57%	40%
Social	57%	42%	50%	49%
Foreign	48%	52%	50%	50%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Owen B. Pickett (D)	106,666	(61%)	(\$414,011)
	Jerry R. Curry (R)	62,567	(36%)	(\$189,391)
1988 primary	Owen B. Pickett (D), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Owen B. Pickett (D)	54,491	(49%)	(\$607,558)
	A.J. (Joe) Canada, Jr. (R)	46,137	(42%)	(\$639,598)
	Stephen P. Shao (I)	9,492	(9%)	

s of Pat Robertson's campaign, who attacked time Pickett carried Virginia Beach as well as a safe seat.

1980-86; Pop. 1980: 529,178, up 10.2% 1970-80, 58% married couples; 46.1% housing units rented; 50,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 383,036; 21% Black,

..... 107,019 (59%)
 71,558 (40%)

b. Aug. 31, 1930, Richmond; home, Virginia Beach; c Inst. and St. U., B.S. 1952, U. of Richmond, J.D. married (Sybil).

ting atty., CPA; VA House of Del., 1972-86.

LHOB 20515, 202-225-4215. Also Fed. Bldg., Rm. 23510, 804-624-9124; and 2710 VA Beach Blvd., 1 23452, 804-486-3710.

Armed Services (26th of 31 D). Subcommittees: nel and Compensation; Research and Development; Strategic and Critical Materials. Merchant Marine (18th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Merchant Marine; Oversight and Investigations.

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
50	40	22	60	50	25
—	22	—	—	40	17

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

57%	—	40%
50%	—	49%
50%	—	50%

Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
th Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

.....	106,666	(61%)	(\$414,011)
.....	62,567	(36%)	(\$189,391)
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.....	54,491	(49%)	(\$607,558)
.....	46,137	(42%)	(\$639,598)
.....	9,492	(9%)	

THIRD DISTRICT

Richmond remains, as it has been since Thomas Jefferson designed its chaste Roman Capitol, the center of Virginia. For years the elite that ran its great institutions—the Virginia Electric and Power Company, the big banks on Main Street and the big law firms like the one that produced Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell, the Philip Morris tobacco company and the Richmond newspapers—operating from the capital of the Confederacy, maintained a way of life highly conscious of Virginia's traditions. "The city's social season, from late fall to Ash Wednesday," the *WPA Guide* noted 50 years ago in a description not rendered entirely obsolete today, "retains its old ritual, with the Monday Germans as highlights. Tea in darkened drawing rooms, dinners served by tradition-trained butlers, frosted mint juleps in ancient goblets, and Smithfield ham and beaten biscuits are party of the ceremony that has continued with no deviation. It is still proper in old Richmond to refer to a guest as So-and-So's granddaughter or the descendant of a founding father. The very broad *a* and the added *y* are indispensable to good breeding. Guests come by street and motor *cyar* to have tea in the *gyarden* at *hahlf pahst* five, and no *tomaytoes* are served in Richmond." Yet underneath this genteel veneer, the city's economic life depended on the same commodity that had given that brilliant founding generation the time for intellectual reflection and public service. "Tobacco is the staple product. Downtown Richmond is fragrant with the odor of the cured leaves being converted into cigars, cigarettes, and smoking and chewing tobacco."

Many of Richmond's old traditions are maintained still and its heritage honored, but racial segregation is not among them: Douglas Wilder, who started working in a hotel where he could not take a room or get a meal is now Lieutenant Governor and may be elected governor in 1989. Yet the Byrd-Democrats-turned-Republicans who have run Richmond's affairs for so many years have seen some of their ideas prevail over their liberal critics: the economic boom has occurred without the labor unions and without the expensive welfare programs the liberals wanted.

Richmond and most of its suburbs in surrounding Henrico and Chesterfield Counties form Virginia's 3d Congressional District. The city itself has a black majority these days, even though the elite still lives in the Fanlight District around Monument Avenue, while the suburbs are heavily white. Overall the metropolitan area has been solidly Republican in presidential elections since Harry Byrd's first "golden silence" in 1952, and easily elects a Republican congressman, Thomas Bliley. Bliley, unusual for Richmond, is a Catholic whose family runs a funeral home. He was mayor (as a nominal Democrat) between 1970 and 1977. First elected to Congress in 1980, he has been something of a workhorse, snaring a seat on the coveted Energy and Commerce Committee by promising to serve on District of Columbia too. On Energy and Commerce and its Health Subcommittee he is predictably a supporter of the tobacco industry and has opposed restrictions on cigarette advertising. But he has also been able to work with Chairman John Dingell on overseeing generic drug regulation. He was the lead sponsor of the law banning dial-a-porn phone calls. Bliley casts occasional liberal votes on cultural and foreign issues favoring, for example, sanctions on South Africa. He is co-chairman of the Congressional Adoption Caucus, and one of those conservatives who seems genuinely concerned about those in need; as an opponent of abortion, he also favors infant health care and nutrition programs. And he keeps up with local Richmond issues, like getting funds to construct a flood wall in Richmond, which has been seriously flooded many times within the last 25 years.

In the old days, Richmond's conservatives seemed inert in national government; Bliley, while conservative, seems an activist. He is reelected without difficulty.

1256 VIRGINIA

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 575,300, up 8.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 533,668, up 12.0% 1970-80
 Households (1980): 71% family, 38% with children, 55% married couples; 39.5% housing units rented
 median monthly rent: \$203; median house value: \$47,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 394,810; 26% Black
 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 151,033 (63%)
 Dukakis (D) 86,678 (36%)

Rep. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R)



Elected 1980; b. Jan. 28, 1932, Chesterfield Cnty.; home, Richmond; Georgetown U., B.A. 1952; Roman Catholic; married (Mary Virginia).

Career: Navy, 1952-55; Owner, funeral home, 1955-80; Richmond City Cncl., Vice Mayor, 1968-70, Mayor, 1970-77.

Offices: 213 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2815. Also 4914 Fitzhugh Ave., Ste. 101, Richmond 23230, 804-771-2809.

Committees: *District of Columbia* (2d of 4 R). Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health (Ranking Member); Judiciary and Education. *Energy and Commerce* (9th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Health and the Environment; Oversight and Investigations (Ranking Member); Telecommunications and Finance. *Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families* (Ranking Member of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	17	12	36	31	96	67	100	93	56
1987	0	—	11	21	—	96	—	—	100	73

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	13%	85%	0%	89%
Social	20%	78%	15%	84%
Foreign	30%	67%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R)	187,354	(100%)	(\$366,816)
1988 primary	Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R)	74,525	(67%)	(\$816,159)
	Kenneth E. Powell (D)	32,961	(30%)	(\$214,498)
	J. Stephen Hodges (I)	3,675	(3%)	(\$13,545)

FOURTH DISTRICT

It took English settlers the better part of a century to explore, clear and cultivate the stretch of mostly rural Virginia from the Tidewater cities on Hampton Roads to rural counties up above the fall line that, politically, is the 4th Congressional District of Virginia. This was the scene of some of America's first settlements and of its first revolution, Bacon's Rebellion in 1676; it was the scene also of bitter fighting in the Civil War, as Union troops invested the battlements of the small industrial city of Petersburg, 25 miles south of Richmond. In between Tidewater and Petersburg are the flat lands of Southside Virginia fanning south from the James River—tobacco lands when the English first settled them; today they produce Virginia's peanut crop and its Smithfield hams. Today's 4th District has more than half its population in Portsmouth, a Navy port and industrial town with a charming old town section, and the newly developing suburbs of Chesapeake and Suffolk; one-third of the rest is concentrated around Petersburg; the remaining population is in rural counties, a few of which are attracting Richmond suburbanites.

More than 300 years ago, planters were bringing in African slaves to work these fields. Today the population of the 4th District is 40% black—the highest percentage of any district in Virginia. Portsmouth has a large and well-established black community, as does Petersburg and many of the tobacco and peanut counties. Politics here for years was run by big landowners, small town bankers, and the like. These people saw themselves as having paternal responsibilities to the community—to help people who are in trouble and, more important to many in Virginia, to keep the community from changing. More recently there has been a kind of plebiscitary democracy which here, in the most Democratic congressional district in Virginia tends to favor the Democrats.

At least it does when they are as shrewd and politically competent as Representative Norman Sisisky. A Pepsi-Cola distributor from Petersburg, as well as a state legislator from a majority black district, he had the money to finance a big campaign plus a base with black voters to prevent the kind of Independent black candidacies which had sunk some Democratic candidates in the past. All that enabled him in 1982 to beat a landowner-type Republican who had held on for 10 years mostly with pluralities. Since then, Sisisky has not had Republican opposition, and doesn't seem likely to given the record he has made in office and the resources he has shown he can bring to a campaign.

In the House, Sisisky began by getting himself assigned to the Armed Services Committee, which is of obvious importance in this base-laden district, and Sisisky is making sure there is no reduction (from 15 to 14) in the Navy's carrier requirements. He has been critical of the military for spending too much and has asked pointed questions about why the different services pay different amounts for the same items. He has come forward with procurement reforms; but he is also a strong challenger of the Navy's "homeporting" plan which would take some installations from Hampton Roads and scatter them to other ports. Overall, his record is rather middle-of-the-road on most issues—a good fit for the 4th District.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 567,600, up 5.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 535,703, up 7.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 79% family, 45% with children, 62% married couples; 32.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$145; median house value: \$38,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 377,071; 37% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 110,155 (55%)
 Dukakis (D) 89,094 (44%)

0-86; Pop. 1980: 533,668, up 12.0% 1970-80.
 39.5% married couples; 39.5% housing units rented;
 26% Black. Voting age pop. (1980): 394,810;

151,033 (63%)
 86,678 (36%)

Jan. 28, 1932, Chesterfield Cnty.; home, Richmond U., B.A. 1952; Roman Catholic; married (Mary)

1952-55; Owner, funeral home, 1955-80; Richmond, Vice Mayor, 1968-70, Mayor, 1970-77.

HOB 20515, 202-225-2815. Also 4914 Fitzhugh Richmond 23230, 804-771-2809.

Member, District of Columbia (2d of 4 R). Subcommittees: Health (Ranking Member); Judiciary and Education and Commerce (9th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Environment; Oversight and Investigations (Ranking Member); Telecommunications and Finance. Select Committee on Health, and Families (Ranking Member of 12 R).

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
31	96	67	100	93	56
—	96	—	—	100	73

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

0%	—	89%
15%	—	84%
0%	—	80%

Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
th Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

187,354	(100%)	(\$366,816)
74,525	(67%)	(\$816,159)
32,961	(30%)	(\$214,498)
3,675	(3%)	(\$13,545)

Rep. Norman Sisisky (D)



Elected 1982; b. June 9, 1927, Baltimore, MD; home, Petersburg, VA Commonwealth U., B.S. 1949; Jewish; married (Rhoda).

Career: Navy, 1945-46; Pres., Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Petersburg, 1949-82; VA House of Del., 1973-82.

Offices: 426 CHOB 20515, 202-225-6365. Also Emporia Exec. Ctr., 425-H S. Main St., Emporia 23847, 804-634-5575; VA First Savings and Loan Bldg., Franklin and Adams St., Rm. 607, Petersburg 23803, 804-732-2544; and 801 Water St., Portsmouth 23704, 804-393-2068.

Committees: *Armed Services* (16th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Investigations; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Small Business* (11th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Exports, Tax Policy and Special Problems (Chairman); Regulation, Business Opportunities, and Energy. *Select Committee on Aging* (22d of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	55	65	73	56	40	27	90	50	21
1987	52	—	61	69	—	39	—	—	60	18

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	57%	41%	52%	48%
Social	50%	48%	47%	53%
Foreign	40%	59%	40%	60%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Arndt | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | FOR | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Norman Sisisky (D)	134,786	(100%)	(\$93,232)
1988 primary	Norman Sisisky (D), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Norman Sisisky (D)	64,699	(100%)	(\$53,807)

FIFTH DISTRICT

Southside Virginia is a geographic name which is also shorthand for a state of mind. Here is Appomattox Court House, the small town where Robert E. Lee surrendered to his onetime subordinate Ulysses S. Grant, who then allowed Confederate troops to keep their horses for spring plowing; here also is Prince Edward County, where Harry Byrd's massive resistance shut down the public schools in 1957 rather than obey a federal court desegregation order. The 5th Congressional District of Virginia includes most of the Southside region, from just past Richmond south to the dividing line Colonel William Byrd surveyed in 1728, and from the Tidewater west to the Blue Ridge. Its eastern counties, those nearest Richmond, are flat and humid; they were the frontier in the late colonial period and were plantation country by 1800.

Currently about 40% of their residents are black. As you go west into the Piedmont, slowly the land gets hillier. Here you find the textile and furniture manufacturing centers of Danville and Martinsville. Farther west, getting nearer the mountains, you find more livestock and less tobacco, more whites with mountain accents and fewer blacks; the black population is about 10%. Altogether, the 5th District is 25% black—significantly less than the 40% in the 4th District just to the east.

Politics here has changed utterly since the days of massive resistance. It has become biracial and bipartisan, and while local bankers and courthouse lawyers continue to play important roles—personified here by the figure of Virginia Speaker A. L. Philpott of Henry County—they have nothing like the monopoly of political power they exercised up through the middle 1960s. That became apparent in the June 1988 special election held to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Dan Daniel. A conservative Democrat first elected in 1968 after a career in Danville's Dan River Mills, he served on the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees and voted a solid conservative record: the last of the Byrd Democrats. Daniel died just after he announced his retirement, and after a Republican had entered the race. Following his death, a rather different Democrat ran, and won.

The Republican, Linda Arey, was a native of Danville and a Reagan White House staffer who came back to Southside and won the nomination in a convention against state Senator Onico Barker; she campaigned against drugs, against liberals, against the Civil Rights Restoration Act. The Democrat, chosen with the support of Governor Gerald Baliles, a 5th District native himself, was L. F. Payne, the developer of the Wintergreen ski resort which, after 15 years, accounts for half the payrolls in rural Nelson County. "Before you ask someone what they will do, ask them what they have done," Payne argued, stressing his experience, biography and work in the district; he was able to finance much of his campaign, and even got Barker, embittered at his rejection, to stand beside him at an appearance. The result wasn't even close: Payne won the special election with 59% of the votes. Arey, in a huff, resigned the nomination for the general election and moved back to Washington. Payne won again in November, this time by a narrower margin; but then this was a district where Michael Dukakis was winning only 37%. With seats on Veterans' Affairs and Public Works, this new kind of Southside politician seems on his way to a long House career.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 538,800, up 1.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 531,308, up 13.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 80% family, 43% with children, 67% married couples; 24.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$109; median house value: \$32,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 382,312; 22% Black, 7% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 119,560 (62%)
 Dukakis (D) 71,107 (37%)

June 9, 1927, Baltimore, MD; home, Petersburg, VA; 10th U., B.S. 1949; Jewish; married (Rhoda).
 1945-46; Pres., Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Petersburg; VA House of Del., 1973-82.

HOB 20515, 202-225-6365. Also Emporia Exec. Office, Main St., Emporia 23847, 804-634-5575; VA First District, 1st Bldg., Franklin and Adams St., Rm. 607, Emporia 23843, 804-732-2544; and 801 Water St., Portsmouth 20668.

Armed Services (16th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Strategic and Critical Materials. Small Business (1st of 10 D). Subcommittees: Exports, Tax Policy and Special Programs; Regulation, Business Opportunities, and Small Business. Committee on Aging (22d of 39 D). Subcommittee: Long-Term Care.

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
56	40	27	90	50	21
—	39	—	—	60	18

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

52%	—	48%
47%	—	53%
40%	—	60%

Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR		AGN
11) Aid to Contras	FOR		FOR
12) Nuclear Testing	AGN		AGN

.....	134,786	(100%)	(\$93,232)
.....	64,699	(100%)	(\$53,807)

which is also shorthand for a state of mind. Here is where Robert E. Lee surrendered to his onetime foe, where Confederate troops to keep their horses for the night, where Harry Byrd's massive resistance shut down a federal court desegregation order. The 5th District is most of the Southside region, from just past the Blue Ridge to the James River, and from the Shenandoah to the James River. The first settlement, William Byrd surveyed in 1728, and from the 18th century, those nearest Richmond, are flat and plantation country by 1800.

1260 VIRGINIA

Rep. Lewis F. Payne, Jr. (D)



Elected June 1988; b. July 9, 1945, Amherst; home, Nellysford, VA Military Inst., B.S. 1967, U. of VA, M.B.A. 1973; Presbyterian; married (Susan).

Career: Engineering Assoc., C&P Telephone, 1970-71; Wintergreen Development Inc., Mgr., 1973-75, Pres., 1976-85, Chmn. 1985-88.

Offices: 1118 LHOB 20515, 202-225-4711. Also 301 P.O. Bldg., Danville 24541, 804-792-1280; and Abbitt Fed. Bldg., 103 S. Main St., Farmville 23901, 804-392-8331.

Committees: *Public Works and Transportation* (25th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Aviation; Economic Development; Surface Transportation. *Veterans' Affairs* (16th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Hospitals and Health Care; Housing and Memorial Affairs.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

1988 general	Lewis F. Payne, Jr. (D)	97,242	(54%)	(\$274,442)
	Charles R. Hawkins (R)	78,396	(44%)	(\$105,872)
1988 primary	Lewis F. Payne, Jr. (D), nominated by convention			
1988 special	Lewis F. Payne, Jr. (D)	55,406	(59%)	(\$563,422)
	Linda Arey (R)	38,086	(41%)	(\$404,468)
1986 general	W. C. (Dan) Daniel (D)	73,085	(82%)	(\$130,231)
	J. F. (Frank) Cole (I)	16,551	(18%)	

SIXTH DISTRICT

West of the Blue Ridge the settlers came down the Valley of Virginia on the great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania, and they included not only Englishmen but Highland and Lowland Scots, German Protestants and Mennonites and Moravians, with nary a slave. In the years before the Revolution, while Jefferson was still designing Monticello east of the Blue Ridge, this heterogeneous lot were streaming down the Wagon Road. East of the Blue Ridge, lands were planted in tobacco, which required lots of labor and exhausted the soil; west, the lands were planted in wheat and corn and hay, crops which could be rotated and which an individual farmer and his family could handle. East of the Blue Ridge, there was little industry outside Richmond; west, Roanoke grew from nothing in 1880 to a significant industrial center by 1940, a town, the *WPA Guide* sniffs, built in an "era of architectural ugliness," with "unsightly areas of houses quickly built and poorly kept, and junk heaps near historic places."

The casual traveler today must look carefully to discern the differences between these two Virginias, noting the different crops and the greater neatness in rural landscape west of the Blue Ridge, looking past the pleasantly renovated cities to see what struck others as ugly 50 years ago. In the election returns of the 1980s, you can trace the route of the old Wagon Road in the Republican majorities that are cast, even in elections the Democrats win, in the upper part of the Valley around Winchester, down through Harrisonburg and Staunton, and then going over the Blue Ridge in Roanoke down to the still Republican-voting cities of Winston-Salem and Charlotte, North Carolina. For much of the 20th century, Valley Republicanism was an insurgent faith, a credo hospitable to economic assistance to the little guy, and Valley Republicans ran brave campaigns against Harry Byrd's Democrats from time to time; some of

them became federal judges during Republican administrations. For 30 years beginning in 1952, the 6th Congressional District, which has included within different boundaries most of the Valley counties, was represented by Republicans.

Now that district, which extends from Roanoke north to Harrisonburg and west to the West Virginia border, and which includes one county and most of the city of Lynchburg east of the Blue Ridge, is represented by a Democrat. He is James Olin, a retired vice president of General Electric, elected in 1982. In that year Olin was a kind of insurgent: Republicans had held the seat for 30 years and the Virginia governorship for 12 of the preceding 13. The Republicans, like southern Democrats of old, were divided; the Democrats united around Olin. He is particularly strong in the Roanoke area, but he has lost or carried only barely the upper Valley around Harrisonburg, where the Byrd family still owns the local newspaper.

Olin began his congressional career after a full life of achievement in business, and without the skittishness of some younger members who quiver in fear of their constituents. Olin seems to vote his conscience, which turns out to be pretty liberal on non-economic issues, and does just fine politically. His committees—Agriculture, Small Business—sound like a good match of district concerns. In fact, Agriculture has been a panel of great importance, especially when the farm bill is rewritten every four years, while Small Business is legislatively almost totally unimportant, bloated in size by politicians who seek a credential useful for reelection but supervising only the most minor of federal programs. Olin has been strengthened politically by his vigorous action in speeding flood relief funds to small businesses after the disastrous Roanoke flood of 1985; he also initiated a disaster relief program for southeastern farmers hurt by the 1986 drought. He is proud of his work on the passage of the Virginia Wilderness Act, which covers 81,000 acres of land, and he worked to secure funding for Lynchburg's airport. Opposition and age just seem to make him stronger: in 1988 Olin won 64% against a former executive director of Jerry Falwell's (now defunct) Moral Majority whom Olin called "mean-spirited" and a "liar."

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 545,900, up 1.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 538,360, up 8.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 39% with children, 62% married couples; 30.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$153; median house value: \$38,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 401,356; 10% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	121,107	(61%)
	Dukakis (D)	74,602	(38%)

1988; b. July 9, 1945, Amherst; home, Nellysford, VA. B.S. 1967, U. of VA, M.B.A. 1973; Presbyterian.

Engineering Assoc., C&P Telephone, 1970-71; Winterment Inc., Mgr., 1973-75, Pres., 1976-85, Chairman.

3 LHOB 20515, 202-225-4711. Also 301 P.O. Bldg., 1, 804-792-1280; and Abbitt Fed. Bldg., 103 S. Main 23901, 804-392-8331.

Public Works and Transportation (25th of 31 D). *Aviation; Economic Development; Surface Transportation's Affairs* (16th of 21 D). *Subcommittees: Hospice Care; Housing and Memorial Affairs.*

.....	97,242	(54%)	(\$274,442)
.....	78,396	(44%)	(\$105,872)
.....	55,406	(59%)	(\$563,422)
.....	38,086	(41%)	(\$404,468)
.....	73,085	(82%)	(\$130,231)
.....	16,551	(18%)	

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1262 VIRGINIA

Rep. James R. (Jim) Olin (D)



Elected 1982; b. Feb. 28, 1920, Chicago, IL; home, Roanoke, Deep Springs Col., Cornell U., B.E.E. 1943; Unitarian; married (Phyllis).

Career: U.S. Army Signal Corps., WWII; Plant Mgr., Vice Pres. and Gen. Mgr., Industrial Electronics Div., General Electric, 1946-82.

Offices: 1314 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5431. Also 406 First St., Rm. 706, Roanoke 24011, 703-982-4672; 925 Main St., 3d Fl., Lynchburg 24504, 804-845-6546; 13 W. Beverly St., 2d Fl., Staunton 24401, 703-885-8178; and Sovran Bank Bldg., Rm. 415, Harrisonburg 22801, 703-433-9433.

Committees: *Agriculture* (14th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Department Operations, Research, and Foreign Agriculture; Forests, Family Farms, and Energy; Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry. *Small Business* (14th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Regulation, Business Opportunities, and Energy; SBA, the General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	70	65	57	64	44	28	43	10	64	38
1987	64	—	54	57	—	26	—	—	47	38

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	31%	— 67%	40%	— 59%
Social	54%	— 45%	54%	— 45%
Foreign	68%	— 28%	64%	— 35%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	James R. Olin (D).....	118,369	(64%)	(\$322,160)
	Charles E. Judd (R).....	66,935	(36%)	(\$110,756)
1988 primary	James R. Olin (D), nominated by convention			
1986 general	James R. (Jim) Olin (D).....	88,230	(70%)	(\$356,857)
	Flo Neher Traywick (R).....	38,051	(30%)	(\$199,880)

SEVENTH DISTRICT

Even as the Constitution was being hammered out in Philadelphia, the rolling green Piedmont of northern Virginia and the fertile mountain-bound lands of the Shenandoah Valley were buzzing with new settlers. From the Piedmont they were coming up the rivers that flow into the Chesapeake, into the Valley from the great Wagon Road south from Pennsylvania, moving onto lands which had been speculated by George Washington and his peers. For the four years of the Civil War, this was some of the most heavily contested land on the continent; afterwards, the surge of movement having propelled new settlers much farther west, this part of Virginia

Feb. 28, 1920, Chicago, IL; home, Roanoke; Deep
 ornell U., B.E.E. 1943; Unitarian; married (Phyllis).
 Army Signal Corps., WWII; Plant Mgr., Vice Pres.
 t., Industrial Electronics Div., General Electric.

LHOB 20515, 202-225-5431. Also 406 First St.
 noke 24011, 703-982-4672; 925 Main St., 3d Fl.
 04, 804-845-6546; 13 W. Beverly St., 2d Fl., Staun-
 3-885-8178; and Sovran Bank Bldg., Rm. 415,
 2801, 703-433-9433.

Agriculture (14th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Depart-
 ns, Research, and Foreign Agriculture; Forests,
 and Energy; Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry. Small
 of 27 D). Subcommittees: Regulation, Business
 and Energy; SBA, the General Economy and Minor-
 Development.

ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
28	43	10	64	38
26	—	—	47	38

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

40%	—	59%
54%	—	45%
64%	—	35%

est	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
ales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
port \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

.....	118,369	(64%)	(\$322,160)
.....	66,935	(36%)	(\$110,756)
by convention			
.....	88,230	(70%)	(\$356,857)
.....	38,051	(30%)	(\$199,880)

ut in Philadelphia, the rolling green Piedmont of
 id lands of the Shenandoah Valley were buzzing
 were coming up the rivers that flow into the
 on Road south from Pennsylvania, moving onto
 shington and his peers. For the four years of the
 ontested land on the continent; afterwards, the
 tlers much farther west, this part of Virginia

became well-settled and long ago was established as prime fox hunting country. In Warrenton 50
 years ago, "in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, old and new Virginia meet. 'Horsey'
 folk in breeches share the crowded little business street with farmers in jeans. Old buildings
 stand beside newer ones in the few steep streets that are liberally shaded by trees."

Today these Virginians are less likely to meet in old Warrenton than in the Safeway on the
 four-lane bypass outside, that carries horse feed and Brie as well as disposable diapers and milk
 in gallon cartons. Metropolitan Washington is rapidly moving out to what was pristine
 countryside. Subdivisions are growing up on old fields, and the horse farms of the Piedmont, long
 the first or second homes of some of the richest people in America, have begun to attract a
 growing population of commuters and weekend residents. What looked like marginal farmlands
 to the settlers of the early 19th century now looks like something close to heaven for city-
 dwellers: rolling green hills, with views of the Blue Ridge and other mountains; antique houses
 and tiny crossroads communities. The region's major towns—Winchester in the valley, Char-
 lottesville and Fredericksburg in the Piedmont, none with a population as large as 45,000—still
 retain an old-fashioned air at least in the narrow streets of their downtowns, although a
 McDonald's culture has developed on the bypass roads of their outskirts.

This is the land of the 7th Congressional District of Virginia, which stretches from the
 outermost Washington suburbs through much of northern Virginia, including Winchester at the
 northern end of the Shenandoah Valley and Charlottesville, home of the University of Virginia.
 It was the home of three Presidents (Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe) and, more recently, the
 home turf of Virginia's Byrd dynasty. In congressional and national elections, the 7th District
 has moved steadily from Byrd Democrats to conservative Republicans—a switch made easier
 because often they are the same people.

A case in point is the current 7th District congressman, who sports one of those uneuphonious
 names with which the men who run things in small Virginia towns seem to get saddled, D.
 French Slaughter Jr. He was first elected to Congress after a lifetime in and out of politics. He
 spent 20 years in the state legislature, and there sponsored bills creating Virginia's community
 college system; he also promoted Virginia's massive resistance to integration, in which the state
 ordered local school systems to close down rather than obey federal court desegregation orders.
 Asked to comment on that in the 1984 campaign, he allowed that the time for such measures
 had passed, but that he had no regrets about having supported them back then.

Slaughter won the seat in that campaign by a 56%-40% vote. He serves on the Science, Space
 and Technology Committee, but he seems to have spent much of his legislative energy on
 another project, a proposal for health care savings accounts—IRAs for health care, in effect,
 into which people could put tax-free money which they could use after 65 for health care—and
 he wants to encourage separate long-term care policies for federal employees. He prides himself
 on his constituency service, but steered largely clear of involvement over the bill to stop a
 shopping center from being built at the edge of the Manassas battlefield in his district. He has
 been reelected twice without opposition. Redistricting may very well create a new district
 combining large parts of the further-in Washington suburbs with much of the 7th. But given the
 strong Republican preference of all the territory involved, Slaughter is likely to retain a safe
 seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 592,500, up 10.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 535,147, up 31.1% 1970-80.
 Households (1980): 77% family, 43% with children, 65% married couples; 30.4% housing units rented;
 median monthly rent: \$190; median house value: \$48,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 383,878; 11% Black,
 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	149,725	(66%)
Dukakis (D)	76,202	(33%)

1264 VIRGINIA

Rep. D. French Slaughter, Jr. (R)



Elected 1984; b. May 20, 1925, Culpeper Cnty.; home, Culpeper, VA Military Inst., 1942-43, U. of VA, B.A. 1949, LL.B. 1953; Episcopalian; widowed.

Career: Army, WWII; VA House of Del., 1958-78; Practicing atty., 1978-84.

Offices: 1404 LHOB 20515, 202-225-6561. Also 100 Crt. Annex Sq., Charlottesville 22902, 804-296-2105; 110 South West St., Culpeper 22701, 703-825-3495; 904 Princess Anne St., Fredericksburg 22401, 703-373-0536; and 112 N. Cameron St., Winchester 22601, 703-667-0990.

Committees: *Judiciary* (10th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice; Immigration, Refugees and International Law. *Science, Space and Technology* (12th of 19 R). Subcommittees: Science Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications. *Small Business* (7th of 17

R). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Impact of Deregulation, and Privatization; Exports, Tax Policy and Special Problems.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	22	15	36	25	92	70	100	93	61
1987	0	—	15	29	—	91	—	—	93	68

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	19%	80%	0%	89%
Social	5%	91%	23%	76%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	D. French Slaughter, Jr. (R)	136,988	(100%)	(\$87,195)
1988 primary	D. French Slaughter, Jr. (R), nominated by convention			
1986 general	D. French Slaughter, Jr. (R)	58,927	(98%)	(\$212,026)

EIGHTH DISTRICT

Two hundred years ago, when George Washington trod the brick sidewalks of Alexandria, Virginia, on his way to market or court or church, this was the largest city in this part of Virginia, dwarfing Georgetown, Maryland, just up the Potomac River; what is now Capitol Hill and downtown Washington were just hills above the river's mud flats. As Washington grew, northern Virginia just across the river seemed left behind; the District of Columbia retroceded its land south of the Potomac—what is now Alexandria and Arlington—to Virginia in 1846 because it was obvious that the federal government would never need it. It was 97 years before the first

chance against former Senator Paul Trible). Many wondered whether Parris's constituents a those who see him frequently on the news think he has the qualities needed in a governor, addition to his generally acknowledged ability to heckle the sometimes deserving-to-be-heckl D.C. government. His constituents did—he won the 8th District, but lost to winner Marsh Coleman and second place Paul Trible in the rest of the state, for a total of about 28% vote. I seems to have a safe seat going into 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 623,500, up 16.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 534,366, up 25.6% 1970-8 Households (1980): 73% family, 45% with children, 63% married couples; 36.8% housing units rente median monthly rent: \$312; median house value: \$86,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,074; 10% Blac 3% Spanish origin, 3% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 157,228 (60%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 102,516 (39%)

Rep. Stanford E. Parris (R)



Elected 1980; b. Sept. 9, 1929, Champaign, IL; home, Fairfax Cnty.; U. of IL, B.S. 1950, Geo. Wash. U., J.D. 1958; Episcopalia; married (Marlie).

Career: Air Force, Korea; Commercial pilot; Practicing atty Fairfax Cnty. Bd. of Spvrs., 1964-67; VA House of Del., 1969-7. U.S. House of Reps., 1972-74; Secy., Commonwealth of VA, 197. Dir., VA Fed. Liaison Ofc., 1978-80.

Offices: 2434 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4376. Also 6901 Old Keen Mill Rd., Ste. 101, Springfield 22150, 703-644-0004; and 1454 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Woodbridge 22191, 703-494-8199.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (4th of 20 R. Subcommittees: Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation an Insurance; General Oversight and Investigations (Ranking Mem ber); Housing and Community Development. *District of Columbi* (Ranking Member of 4 R). Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (4th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	15	26	26	55	38	96	46	100	93	46
1987	8	—	25	29	—	82	—	—	73	52

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	24%	—	74%	—
Social	11%	—	89%	—
Foreign	0%	—	84%	—

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | FOR | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Stanford E. Parris (R).....	154,761	(62%)	(\$689,035)
	David G. Brickley (D)	93,561	(38%)	(\$273,203)
1988 primary	Stanford E. Parris (R), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Stanford E. Parris (R).....	72,670	(61%)	(\$428,788)
	James H. Boren (D)	44,965	(38%)	(\$73,981)

NINTH DISTRICT

Abingdon, in southwest Virginia, "radiates from shady Courthouse Square," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago. "Old houses, chiefly of brick, wall in undulating Main Street, which is crowded on Saturday with townspeople, 'Knobites' in for the day, and Negroes from the King's Mountain quarter. Chemical factories, wagon works, lumber mills, a milk condensory, and a cigar factory are the chief support of the town, though burley tobacco is shipped in quantities." This was one of the first settlements, dating to 1765, in the great valley of Virginia as it bends westward and south toward Tennessee and the Cumberland Gap. The old houses and the tobacco have something in common with the rest of Virginia, but most of these settlers were Scots-Irish rather than English, from the northern colonies rather than Virginia; and the mountainous region where they settled has been a region apart from Virginia since that time. Economically, it has depended more on coal mines and heavy industry, like neighboring West Virginia; politically, it was antislavery territory, skeptical about, if not hostile to, the cause of the Confederacy. The cultural traditions are different too: the federal government here can still mean the hated revenueurs, and the local music is what you hear from bluegrass banjo pickers and the participants at the Galax Old Time Fiddlers' Convention.

Split between secessionists and unionists, southwest Virginia developed a vigorous two-party politics after the Civil War and has had one most of the years since, with both parties resembling their national counterparts more closely than they do in the rest of Virginia. The 9th Congressional District of Virginia covers all of southwest Virginia west of Roanoke. Over the years it became known as the Fighting Ninth, because of its taste for raucous, noisy politics, both conservative and populist; it is getting somewhat more like the rest of Virginia now, with development moving down Interstate 81 to and past Blacksburg, home of Virginia Tech; but its politics still has its own special tang. It has also changed partisan hands four times in 30 years—in 1952 and 1954, in 1966, and again in 1982—electing and then ousting Republican William Wampler, "the bald eagle of the Cumberlands." The current congressman, Democrat Rick Boucher, won in a recession year and has held on handily since.

Boucher, like other Fighting Ninth Democrats, has a record on issues basically in line with national Democratic positions. He is, however, not likely to get way out of line with his district; he is as quick to oppose gun control as he is to champion the interests of coal. In the House, he has seats on the Energy and Commerce, Science and Technology, and Judiciary Committees—a full load. He has done useful work on issues ranging from vocational education to criminal statutes. He has spent much time trying to rewrite the RICO statute whose overbroad definition of "racketeering" has caused it to be used by almost any aggrieved party to a business transaction and by federal prosecutors otherwise lacking much of a case. He also wants to amend the antitrust laws to allow firms to be built for high-definition TV, robotics and superconductors, and he has written a bill to guarantee satellite dish owners access to network TV signals. He is pushing also for federal protection of caves as worthy natural ecosystems.

In this competitive two-party district, Boucher has had tough races in presidential years. In 1984, Republican Jeff Stafford held him to 52% of the vote. In 1988, state Delegate John Brown, forced to give up his teaching and coaching job to run, waged a positive campaign, but

wondered whether Parris's constituents and has the qualities needed in a governor, in ckle the sometimes deserving-to-be-heckled ie 8th District, but lost to winner Marshall the state, for a total of about 28% vote. He

1-86; Pop. 1980: 534,366, up 25.6% 1970-80. % married couples; 36.8% housing units rented; 0. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,074; 10% Black,

.....	157,228	(60%)
.....	102,516	(39%)

Sept. 9, 1929, Champaign, IL; home, Fairfax . 1950, Geo. Wash. U., J.D. 1958; Episcopalian;

3, Korea; Commercial pilot; Practicing atty; f Spvsrs., 1964-67; VA House of Del., 1969-72; ., 1972-74; Secy., Commonwealth of VA, 1978; on Ofc., 1978-80.

OB 20515, 202-225-4376. Also 6901 Old Keene , Springfield 22150, 703-644-0004; and 14546 ry., Woodbridge 22191, 703-494-8199.

king, Finance and Urban Affairs (4th of 20 R). nancial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Oversight and Investigations (Ranking Mem-Community Development. District of Columbia of 4 R). Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and airs. Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and

ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
96	46	100	93	46
82	—	—	73	52

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

24%	—	74%
29%	—	70%
0%	—	80%

AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
t \$ FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

was unable to make much headway outside his home area of Bristol on the Tennessee border surrounding Washington County, and Boucher won with an impressive 63%. There was talk that he might run for the Senate in 1988, before it was clear that Charles Robb was in the race; but with his good committee assignments and strong position in the Fighting Ninth, Boucher is likely to work to stay in the House.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 541,300, up 0.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 538,871, up 19.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 79% family, 44% with children, 68% married couples; 24.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$137; median house value: \$32,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 388,333; 2% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	98,783	(54%)
Dukakis (D)	82,873	(45%)

Rep. Rick Boucher (D)



Elected 1982; b. Aug. 1, 1946, Abingdon; home, Abingdon; Roanoke Col., B.A. 1968, U. of VA, J.D. 1971; United Methodist single.

Career: Practicing atty., 1971-83; VA Senate, 1975-1983.

Offices: 428 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3861. Also 180 E. Main St Abingdon 24210, 703-628-1145; 321 Shawnee Ave. E., Big Stone Gap 24319, 703-523-5450; and 112 N. Washington Ave., Pulask 24301, 703-980-4310.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (22d of 26 D). Subcommittees: Oversight and Investigations; Telecommunications and Finance; Transportation and Hazardous Materials. *Judiciary* (17th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice; Crime. *Science, Space and Technology* (15th of 30 D). Subcommittee: Energy Research and Development.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	75	85	82	64	56	9	9	10	29	12
1987	76	—	79	71	—	0	—	—	7	13

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	71%	—	23%	—
Social	85%	—	14%	0%
Foreign	60%	—	37%	34%
			70%	30%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | — | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | AGN |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | AGN | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | FOR |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | FOR | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | AGN |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | FOR |

Election Results

1988 general	Rick Boucher (D)	113,309	(63%)	(\$606,420)
	John C. Brown (R)	65,410	(37%)	(\$154,515)
1988 primary	Rick Boucher (D), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Rick Boucher (D)	59,864	(100%)	(\$262,606)

TENTH DISTRICT

The biggest center of office space between downtown Washington and Atlanta—or, for that matter, beyond downtown Atlanta—is not in Richmond or one of North Carolina’s Piedmont cities, but in the cluster of office buildings around Tysons Corner, Virginia. Rising on a hill west of Washington and Arlington, Tysons Corner was a back country intersection 50 years ago and a junction of several suburban roads 25 years ago; none of Washington’s cadre of metropolitan experts nor the designers of its Metro system expected office development here. They assumed that office work would still be centralized, and that if Washington’s robust downtown needed to be supplemented it would happen in Crystal City near the Pentagon or Rosslyn just across the river from Georgetown, both in Arlington County. It did, but Crystal City and Rosslyn together are overshadowed by Tysons Corner.

This emergence of “edge cities,” as *Nine Nations of North America* author Joel Garreau calls them, is a new chapter in the history of the northern Virginia counties just across the river from the nation’s capital. Fifty years ago, the atmosphere here was rural: pleasant subdivisions had sprouted up in parts of Arlington, but schools and county services were of the rudimentary sort you’d find in rural Virginia. Then in the years after World War II, Arlington and parts of nearby Fairfax County filled up with suburbanites, young marrieds with large families and whites fleeing the increasingly black District of Columbia. With rising government salaries and local economic growth, they began to live in affluence that many had never anticipated. Politically, this was reflected by the demise of Byrd Democrats, first in Arlington and then in Fairfax, and the emergence of robust competition between two parties which resembled their national counterparts. The congressional seat here, though often bitterly contested, was held from 1952 to 1974 by Republican Joel Broyhill, a real estate developer hostile to D.C. home rule who ran a fine constituency service operation in a district more than one-third of whose residents were federal employees.

In the 1970s, Arlington began to change: families were outnumbered by apartment-dwellers, and Vietnamese and other Asians moved into close-in neighborhoods. The office space in the new “edge cities” was rented mostly not to government agencies but to private firms (some of them, to be sure, government contractors, known locally as “Beltway bandits”); Fairfax grew rapidly, overshadowing Arlington and inhabited less and less by the government employees who used to give the Washington suburbs their tone.

Since 1972, there have been enough people in the northern Virginia suburbs for two congressional districts; by 1992 there may be enough for three. Currently, the 10th district includes Arlington, the northern and western half of Fairfax, the tiny cities of Fairfax and Falls Church, and Loudoun County, once rural and still with estates on rolling hills around Leesburg, but also with some modest, crowded subdivisions, filled with young families and tradition-minded churches. This is a heavily Republican jurisdiction now, in contrast to the Maryland 8th just across the Potomac River, where income levels are almost identical. One difference seems to be that Montgomery County, Maryland attracts many people in health fields (the National Institutes of Health are in Bethesda), while Fairfax County attracts many people in defense businesses. And it may also be that these two areas, with their different mixes of shopping and churches, have taken on personalities that attract people of differing political attitudes.

The congressman from the 10th District is Frank Wolf, a Republican first elected in 1980, whose politics give some insight into the district’s. He is a serious man whose personal attitudes are those of a churchgoing family man; he has a conservative record on national issues generally; but he reserves most of his fervor for local matters. He started off on Post Office and Civil Service, then moved to Appropriations in 1985; federal employees are less numerous here than they used to be, but he does not neglect their causes. He has worked to fund Washington’s Metro

some area of Bristol on the Tennessee border and won with an impressive 63%. There was talk that was clear that Charles Robb was in the race; but position in the Fighting Ninth, Boucher is likely

1980–86; Pop. 1980: 538,871, up 19.2% 1970–80, 68% married couples; 24.9% housing units rented; 32,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 388,333; 2% Black

98,783 (54%)
82,873 (45%)

b. Aug. 1, 1946, Abingdon; home, Abingdon; Roanoke, 1968, U. of VA, J.D. 1971; United Methodist

icating atty., 1971–83; VA Senate, 1975–1983.

HOB 20515, 202-225-3861. Also 180 E. Main St., 0, 703-628-1145; 321 Shawnee Ave. E., Big Stone 3-523-5450; and 112 N. Washington Ave., Pulaski 4-4310.

Energy and Commerce (22d of 26 D). Subcommittee on Energy and Investigations; Telecommunications and Privatization and Hazardous Materials. Judiciary (17th of 18 D). Subcommittees: Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice; Crime. Science, Space and Technology Subcommittee: Energy Research and Development.

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
16	9	9	10	29	12
—	0	—	—	7	13

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
73%	0%
65%	34%
70%	30%

est	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
bles	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
port \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

.....	113,309	(63%)	(\$606,420)
.....	65,410	(37%)	(\$154,515)
by convention	59,864	(100%)	(\$262,606)

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subway lines, which now go far out into Virginia, and to build more highways; he has worked to get the federal government to unload National and Dulles Airports to a local authority. He has also gone far afield to become, with Queens Democrat Gary Ackerman, the House's leading backer of stern measures to feed starving people in the Sudan (making two trips in the first few months of 1989) despite the often uncooperative attitude of its government.

The Democrats do not give Wolf a free ride at election time, but as this district has changed, he has proved unbeatable. In 1986, he beat John Milliken, head of the Arlington County Board and the Metro Board, with 60% of the vote; in 1988, against Williams & Connolly lawyer Robert Weinberg, he won with 68%. With hard work, Wolf seems to have converted what has been a marginal district for most of the last 30 years into a safe seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 608,700, up 13.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 535,125, up 15.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 66% family, 35% with children, 55% married couples; 44.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$317; median house value: \$92,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 401,286; 6% Black, 4% Spanish origin, 4% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 163,211 (57%)
 Dukakis (D) 121,878 (42%)

Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R)



Elected 1980; b. Jan. 30, 1939, Philadelphia, PA; home, Vienna, PA St. U., B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1965; Presbyterian; married (Carolyn).

Career: Army (Reserves), 1962-67; Legis. Asst. to U.S. Rep. Edward Biester, 1968-71; Asst. to U.S. Secy. of Interior Rogers Morton, 1971-74; Dpty. Asst. Secy., U.S. Dept. of Interior, 1974-75; Practicing atty., 1975-80.

Offices: 104 CHOB 20515, 202-225-5136. Also 1651 Old Meadow Rd., Ste. 115, McLean 22102, 703-734-1500; and 19 E. Market St., Rm. 4B, Leesburg 22075, 703-777-4422.

Committees: Appropriations (17th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Transportation; Treasury, Postal Service and General Government. Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families (2d of 12 R). Select Committee on Hunger (10th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	25	39	18	45	56	88	51	100	86	40
1987	12	—	15	43	—	87	—	—	73	55

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	24%	— 74%	23%	— 76%
Social	29%	— 70%	23%	— 76%
Foreign	16%	— 78%	0%	— 80%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | AGN | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | FOR | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Frank R. Wolf (R)	188,550	(68%)	(\$758,365)
	Robert L. Weinberg (D)	88,284	(32%)	(\$241,445)
1988 primary	Frank R. Wolf (R), nominated by convention			
1986 general	Frank R. Wolf (R)	95,724	(60%)	(\$1,124,866)
	John G. Milliken (D)	63,292	(40%)	(\$748,918)

WASHINGTON

The state of Washington, half a century ago, as Americans faced the threat of war in the Pacific, was still being built. Its great ports on Puget Sound, its wheat-processing city of Spokane in the inland empire, its orchard towns and fishing ports had been settled and civilized in the two decades after 1890, when the first Northern Pacific locomotive steamed into Seattle. This fine natural port, shielded from the heavy rains and storms of the Pacific by the Olympic Mountains and the sinuous channels of Puget Sound, became in two decades a serious American city, our outpost on the northern Pacific Rim. It was a lusty town full of lumbermen and railroad workers and, when gold was struck in the Klondike and Alaska, a metropolis of miners and prospectors and get-rich-quick operators—a town where Yesler Way, a street heading down one of Seattle's steep hills to the harborfront area now known as Pioneer Square, became known as Skid Row. In that booming, young, lusty Seattle there developed a turbulent class warfare politics, pitting the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW or Wobblies) against the city's business and civic leaders in the years before World War I; the businessmen, brutally, prevailed. Adding to the distinctiveness of the area were its large numbers of Scandinavian immigrants, who were more favorable to cooperative enterprises (Washington has more businesses owned by workers than any other part of the country) and government ownership than any other Americans.

But with the nation's economy collapsed and the war looming, this Washington of 1.7 million people, almost half of them within 50 miles of Seattle on the Sound, tucked away in the northwest corner of the country, was transformed by a series of national decisions which set the course of its development for decades. One was the decision by the government to develop hydroelectric power. The Columbia River and its tributary the Snake, falling thousands of feet in a relatively short distance, had far greater hydroelectric potential than any other American river system, and Franklin Roosevelt was always specially interested in river valley projects. In 1937, Bonneville Dam was completed on the lower Columbia; in 1940, Grand Coulee Dam, the largest man-made structure in the world at the time, was opened where the Columbia cuts through the arid, surrealistically contoured plains of eastern Washington. At the same time, Washington was proving hospitable to the industrial union movement of the 1930s, and by the 1940s became one of the most heavily unionized states in the nation. When war came, Washington's hydroelectric power—the cheapest electricity in the country—made it the natural site for huge plants to make aluminum, which requires vast amounts of electricity, and the Seattle area became the home not only of shipbuilders, but of the biggest aircraft manufacturer in the country, Boeing. After the war, the Hanford plant on the Columbia was one of the government's main nuclear weapons manufacturing sites. Cheap power, aluminum, aircraft, nuclear weapons and high unionized wages: these became the foundations of Washington's self-sustaining and growing economy in the post-World War II years.

After three decades, that economy faced problems in the 1970s, and Washington had an uncomfortable pause in its growth. With a shortage of orders—standard practice in the unstable

and to build more highways; he has worked to and Dulles Airports to a local authority. He has Democrat Gary Ackerman, the House's leading in the Sudan (making two trips in the first few attitude of its government. t election time, but as this district has changed, n Milliken, head of the Arlington County Board 88, against Williams & Connolly lawyer Robert Wolf seems to have converted what has been a nto a safe seat.

1980-86; Pop. 1980: 535,125, up 15.1% 1970-80, 55% married couples; 44.6% housing units rented; 92,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 401,286; 6% Black,

..... 163,211	(57%)
..... 121,878	(42%)

b. Jan. 30, 1939, Philadelphia, PA; home, Vienna; A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1965; Presbyterian; lyn).

y (Reserves), 1962-67; Legis. Asst. to U.S. Rep. r, 1968-71; Asst. to U.S. Secy. of Interior Rogers -74; Dpty. Asst. Secy., U.S. Dept. of Interior, 1974- atty., 1975-80.

CHOB 20515, 202-225-5136. Also 1651 Old Ste. 115, McLean 22102, 703-734-1500; and 19 E. m. 4B, Leesburg 22075, 703-777-4422.

Appropriations (17th of 22 R). Subcommittees: r; Treasury, Postal Service and General Government. ittee on Children, Youth, and Families (2d of 12 R). ittee on Hunger (10th of 12 R).

LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
56	88	51	100	86	40
—	87	—	—	73	55

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

23%	—	76%
23%	—	76%
0%	—	80%

Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
th Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Experience with public sector collective bargaining shows that it leads to strikes by teachers, firemen, sanitation workers, paramedics and other emergency services employees. Such strikes that threaten the public health and safety apparently do not concern Wilder. As a state senator, he was one of a handful of senators who voted against outlawing strikes by hospital workers, even when the strike would cripple hospital operations and endanger patients (HB 893, 1970).

Wilder says now, as in his 1985 campaign, that he opposes public sector collective bargaining. According to a recently published book, however, a top AFL-CIO official as said that in 1985, Wilder scored a "100%" on an AFL-CIO questionnaire (Yancey, Dwayne: When Hell Froze Over). The candidate questionnaires submitted by the AFL-CIO contained a question about support for public employee collective bargaining. Thus, Wilder was privately assuring organized labor while expressing the opposite view in public.

TAXES

Marshall Coleman has pledged not to seek a tax increase as Governor.

He opposed Baliles' so-called local option tax increase.

He opposed the five major tax increases initiated by and passed under the Baliles-Wilder administration.

He urged immediate removal of the state tax on federal and state retirees' pensions and called for an eventual phase-out of state taxation on private pensions after the Davis v. Michigan Supreme Court ruling this spring.

He has proposed a cap on annual real estate assessment increases.

Marshall Coleman has said he will veto any tax increase passed by the General Assembly unless it carries with it the provision of passage by a statewide referendum.

Doug Wilder has said he would be willing to sign a tax increase into law as Governor (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). He has called Coleman's plan for a cap on real estate taxes "irresponsible".

As Lieutenant Governor Wilder was a silent partner in the 1986 tax hikes in Virginia and waited until they were safely enacted before claiming that he was

opposed to them.

Mr. Wilder, as a member of the state senate in the 1970's, sponsored legislation to raise income taxes (SB 513), inheritance taxes (SB 498), and motor vehicle taxes (SB 507). In 1982, Wilder voted for a 3 percent motor fuels tax and an increase in the sales tax imposed on distilled spirits (Richmond News Leader, November 1, 1985).

In the final gubernatorial debate (October 19), Marshall Coleman documented that Doug Wilder's tax proposals through the years collectively would have added more than \$6,000 to the annual tax bill of the average Virginia family. Wilder did not challenge the Coleman statement.

SUPPORT FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Marshall Coleman, like President Bush, supports a strong national defense. He would fight for important defense projects, like shipbuilding in Newport News and Norfolk.

Doug Wilder, like Michael Dukakis, does not think that a strong defense is necessary. In September, he told the Richmond Times Dispatch "There is a lack of emphasis on over expenditure of defense" (RTD, September 24, 1989).

He added "I don't think that this country has to look to the future believing that we've got to spend these awesome and inordinate amounts relative to an adequate defense."

He also told the paper that the government "could reassess some of the monies we're spending for some of our defense weaponry" (RTD, September 24, 1989)

In 1988, Doug Wilder campaigned actively for the election of Democrat Michael Dukakis for President. Governor Dukakis, in speeches to Virginia and elsewhere, advocated cutting a vital defense project -- the construction of two aircraft carriers at Newport News Shipbuilding.

Governors Robb and Baliles repudiated Dukakis' anti-defense stance. Wilder never publicly criticized Dukakis.

SPENDING LOTTERY REVENUES

As Governor, Marshall Coleman would return lottery revenues back to local

governments. These revenues could then be used to provide tax relief or fund other priorities as identified at the local level.

Doug Wilder has spent the lottery proceeds many times over by suggesting them as a cure-all that would solve all the state's woes. He has proposed using them for: providing jobs, business opportunities, and affordable housing (RTD, September 24, 1989), guaranteed loans for the private sector (Greene County Record), fighting the war on drugs, and basic aid for local schools (Richmond News Leader, September 11, 1989). Wilder has even proposed substituting lottery revenues for the \$30 million shortfall that would result from his own plan to repeal the sales tax on non-prescription drugs (Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, September 3, 1989). By suggesting that all this can be done with those funds, Wilder is trying to mislead Virginians and cover up his tax increase plans.

IV. EDUCATION

COMMUNITY AND PARENTAL CONTROL

Marshall Coleman favors greater parental involvement in education and greater parental and community control over school curricula.

He supports improving educational opportunities by allowing parents to choose the schools their children attend. This includes both a parental choice program for public schools, as well as tuition tax credits and voucher systems for private schools.

Marshall Coleman favors locally-determined Family Life Education. He will work to rescind the state Family Life Education (sex education) mandate, which usurps the traditional role of parents as well as local control over school curricula. He believes local school boards should determine the content of all FLE curricula with full parental input.

Marshall Coleman also supports the popular election of school boards.

Doug Wilder would take away local and parental involvement in establishing curricula.

As Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate, Wilder cast the tie-breaking vote in 1988 to enact legislation imposing these FLE mandates on every locality. He supports establishing class content for sex education at the state level. "The state determines the curriculum", he said (RTD, September 24, 1989).

Wilder opposes giving parents choice in schooling. Echoing the official position of the teachers' union that endorsed him, Wilder opposes allowing parents to choose among public schools. He also opposes vouchers and tuition tax credits.

Also while Lieutenant Governor, Wilder cast the deciding vote to kill a proposal to allow school administrators to alert parents of suspected drug use by their children (Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 8, 1989)

Improving Teaching Quality

Marshall Coleman wants to improve the quality of teachers by working for real merit pay for outstanding educators. Support for merit pay was a campaign position embraced by 1981 and 1985 gubernatorial candidates Jerry Baliles and

Chuck Robb.

Doug Wilder is firmly against merit pay, also called pay for performance. He wants to pay all teachers the same, from the worst to the best. This puts him in complete agreement with the teachers' union, which enthusiastically supports Wilder.

V. SOCIAL ISSUES

THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

Marshall Coleman supports the constitutional rights of citizens to keep and bear arms. He believes the answer to the criminal use of firearms is not gun control, but tougher measures to control gun-wielding criminals. He supports using instantaneous record checks to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

In 1975, Doug Wilder asked the State Senate "Should not our moral outrage be loosed upon our congressional representatives" for failure to pass stringent handgun control measures? (RTD, January 21, 1975)

In 1984, Wilder patroned legislation giving local governments the authority to regulate possession of firearms (SB 121).

In May of this year, Wilder announced in Craig County that he supports a ban on semi-automatic weapons (New Castle Record, May 17, 1989). Such a ban would prohibit all semi-automatic shotguns used by Virginia sportsmen.

Marshall Coleman supports increasing the mandatory sentence for the use of firearms during the commission of a crime to at least five years in order to provide a better deterrent. He also favors especially severe mandatory penalties for use of semi-automatic or fully automatic firearms during the commission of a crime.

Doug Wilder was the only member of the Senate to oppose a mandatory two-year prison term for the use of a firearm during the commission of a felony. Marshall Coleman strongly supported the measure (HB 231, 1976).

Marshall Coleman supports the computer criminal background check passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1989, requiring that the Virginia State Police immediately notify a licensed gun dealer if a prospective buyer has a felony criminal record.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) reviewed the records of the two gubernatorial candidates on the issues of law enforcement, criminal justice, and gun owner's rights - and joined the FOP to endorse Marshall Coleman. This is the first gubernatorial endorsement the NRA has made since 1977. The NRA awarded Marshall Coleman an "A" on the basis of his record; Doug Wilder received a "D".

ABORTION

Marshall Coleman joins with Presidents Reagan and Bush in seeking to preserve and protect the sanctity of life for unborn babies. He believes an unborn baby's life deserves our compassion and the full protection of the law, and that we are morally obliged to seek alternatives to abortion, such as adoption.

It is the intention of Marshall Coleman to support passage of reasonable pro-life measures consistent with the recent Webster Supreme Court ruling, including continued strong support for passage of legislation requiring parental consent for teen-age girls to seek an abortion.

Contrary to Douglas Wilder's false negative ads, Marshall Coleman has consistently made it clear since Webster that he will not seek to limit abortion in cases of rape or incest. Despite this, Wilder continues to inflame and exploit groundless fears about this on the part of women. His single-issue campaign on abortion has been criticized even by Governor Robb.

Four years ago, Doug Wilder dismissed adoption as an alternative, saying, "No one wants these children." (Richmond News Leader, March 12, 1985)

Soon after the Webster decision was handed down, Wilder acknowledged that restrictions on abortions used for birth control were needed. He said, "I don't think abortions for the purposes of birth control should be available. My God, none of us would be here." (Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 6, 1989). But after Molly Yard of the National Organization for Women (NOW) called his stand "wimpish," he immediately reversed himself and adopted his extreme pro-abortion-on-demand position.

Wilder voted in 1978, 1980, and 1982 to make medicaid money available to pay for abortions (New Dominion, October 1989)

Wilder currently claims to support parental notification legislation "to the extent he supported it in 1985." (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). But in 1985, in a debate at St. Catherine's Girls School, Wilder said "he was opposed to requiring pregnant teenagers to obtain a parent's or judge's consent before undergoing an abortion." (RTD, October 8, 1985). And, as recently as 1985, "he voted to severely weaken a House-passed parental/judicial consent bill." (Robert G. Holland column, RTD, August 16, 1989). Wilder opposed parental notification legislation in 1978 as a member of the State Senate (RTD, July 10, 1989).

DRUNK-DRIVING LEGISLATION

Marshall Coleman supports legislative measures to punish and penalize those who drive drunk.

In 1984, Doug Wilder voted against a bill that would have made a conviction of drunken driving automatic if a driver's blood alcohol level registered 0.10 (HB 958, 1984).

Wilder also voted against a mandatory 30-day driver's license suspension for a motorist convicted of drunken driving. (SB 179, 1984).

In 1972, Wilder was the only Senator to vote against allowing the police to use a breath test to determine a motorist's blood alcohol content (RTD, February 19, 1972).

VI. OTHER ISSUES

Party Allegiance

Marshall Coleman has proudly supported and campaigned aggressively for the election of conservative Republican presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and George Bush. In 1988, Marshall Coleman served as the statewide Co-Chairman of George Bush's Virginia pre-nomination campaign.

Doug Wilder, on the other hand, has supported liberals like Mike Dukakis and Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter and George McGovern for president.

Doug Wilder has said that he supported these liberal candidates because they were Democrats and he was a Democrat (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). But in 1982, when a middle-of-the-road Democrat -- Owen Pickett, now Congressman from the Second District -- won the delegate votes he needed to become the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate, Doug Wilder declared Mr. Pickett was "too conservative" and said he would not support him. Mr. Wilder even threatened to run for the Senate himself as an Independent if Owen Pickett did not surrender the Democratic nomination he had won fair and square.

In 1980, Wilder considered a bid against conservative Democratic Congressman David Satterfield of Richmond, had Satterfield sought re-election. "Wilder said running as an 'independent Democrat' [was] one of the options he [was] considering." (Richmond News Leader, February 20, 1980)

Wilder has also denounced Reagan administration economic policies, derisively criticizing the "nightmare of Reaganomics." (Richmond Afro-American, May 8, 1982). At other times he has referred to President Reagan's policies as "disastrous." (Potomac News, December 11, 1986).

Advocates for Coleman

Hon. Thomas J. Bliley
Honorary Chairman

THE ISSUE IS CHARACTER

Hon. M. Caldwell Butler
Hon. Wyatt B. Durrette, Jr.
Hon. Frank D. Hargrove
Honorary Co-Chairmen

Ultimately, whatever you think of where Marshall Coleman and Douglas Wilder stand on the issues, the central issue is character. Who has the personal integrity to govern honestly and serve the people of Virginia well? Who will honor Virginia's noble tradition of public service, and who will not? All Virginians owe it to themselves and their Commonwealth to ask these questions about the candidates for Governor.

Through the years, Douglas Wilder has compiled a record of personal, professional and official misconduct that renders him ~~and~~ undeserving and unfit to hold Virginia's highest position of public trust. Never before have Virginians been asked to reward with the gift of office one who has so flagrantly violated basic standards of integrity.

It is important to consider the facts. Douglas Wilder says it is negative to discuss these facts. But since the facts are true, they should be placed before the people of Virginia as they consider who should be their Governor. To dismiss important facts as "negative campaigning" is to simply hide from the truth behind a cliché.

Harry Truman had a line that fits here. They used to say, "Give 'em hell, Harry." And once he answered, "They say, 'Give 'em hell, Harry.' Well, I don't give 'em hell. I just tell the truth, and they think it's hell."

Well, as long as we are telling the people of Virginia the truth, Doug Wilder may think it's hell. He may call it negative. But the people of Virginia will call it information they have a right to know. And most Virginians I know will call Doug Wilder's conduct outrageous.

Reprimand for Unprofessional Conduct

First and foremost, there is the judgment about Douglas Wilder rendered by our own Supreme Court. We have never had a Governor who has been reprimanded for "unprofessional conduct" by that Court. If he is elected, Mr. Wilder would be the first.

What did he do to earn that type of denunciation by the Commonwealth's highest court? Well, according to the Court's official ruling, which was published and included in a Virginia State Bar handbook used to teach lawyers how not to conduct themselves, he did the following.

He took the case of a family that was injured in an automobile accident. Having done so, it was, in the words of the Supreme Court, "the duty of Wilder to exercise his best professional efforts on behalf of his clients." "The cases were relatively simple," said the Court. They were "routine and required no extraordinary legal expertise, only diligence and promptness." With only minimal concern and attention, Mr. Wilder could have protected the injured family's legal rights. But he did not do so.

The cases were eventually foreclosed by the statute of limitations as a result of what the Supreme Court termed Wilder's "unreasonable and inordinate procrastination and delay." It held that he had "neglected a legal matter entrusted to him; and that he prejudiced and damaged his clients."

Such reprimands are highly unusual. And even among cases of unprofessional conduct, this one was regarded as extreme. According to Mr. Wilder's fellow Democrat, Attorney General Anthony Troy, "A clearer case of neglect could scarcely be imagined."

But there is more. Mr. Wilder did not merely fail to look out for his clients' interests, which was his duty as a matter of professional ethics. He flagrantly misled the family. Even though no lawsuit was pending at the time, he wrote to his clients and told them, "Your case is proceeding as well as can be expected at the moment." The truth was that the case was not proceeding at all because of his neglect. But rather than admit that, Mr. Wilder simply wrote a letter to those who had trusted him

and told them things which he knew were untrue. He neglected their case, and misled them in an effort to cover up his neglect.

The Court denounced this action by Mr. Wilder as well, stating that the letter he sent "could obviously have had no effect other than to mislead his clients."

Even if this were an isolated instance of professional neglect and deceit, it would be deeply disturbing. For how can we entrust the future of all Virginia families to a person who so callously ignored the interests of that one family and then misled them in an effort to avoid accountability for his neglect?

But it is not an isolated instance.

Using Public Office for Personal Gain

The Allen case. The case of Maggie Allen, another of Mr. Wilder's clients, is even more disturbing than the one for which he was formally disciplined by the Supreme Court. It raises questions of public corruption as well as professional neglect.

Mrs. Allen came to Mr. Wilder for help in getting back money which had been wrongly confiscated by police officers. More than \$50,000 dollars were involved. Mr. Wilder filed a motion with the court to have the money returned; the court ruled against the motion; and Wilder endorsed the court's order denying Mrs. Allen's claim. The effect of Mr. Wilder's endorsement of the adverse ruling was to bar Mrs. Allen from appealing the decision. From that moment on, another court later ruled, she had no legal right to get the money back from the government. The court pointed out that her recourse was now against Wilder for wrongly endorsing the adverse ruling.

Faced with a probable malpractice suit right on the heels of his reprimand for neglecting another client's case, Mr. Wilder attempted to have state taxpayers bail him out. He used his position as a state senator to introduce a bill that would have paid more than \$50,000 in public funds to Mrs. Allen, thereby heading off her malpractice lawsuit against him.

There could not be a clearer case of using public office for private gain. And that is how the members of the legislative committee that considered the bill viewed it.

One of them commented that they were being asked to rule on the case of "a defective attorney." The legislation was completely improper, and it was killed by the committee. Mrs. Allen went forward with her lawsuit against Mr. Wilder.

Neither the Supreme Court reprimand nor this personal interest legislation were discussed in the 1985 campaign. And until now, Mr. Wilder has never been held accountable. But all Virginians who view public office as a trust, not an occasion for self-enrichment, must be offended by Mr. Wilder's professional neglect and his effort to spend public funds in order to sweep under the rug an embarrassing and potentially expensive malpractice lawsuit against himself.

Profit-making as Lieutenant Governor. With Douglas Wilder, the use of public office for private gain is a pattern. In the Maggie Allen case, he sought to save himself \$50,000 and plenty of embarrassment by putting in a bill to spend tax dollars to head off a lawsuit. As Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilder doubled the budget of that office, and then used his taxpayer-paid staff to make the arrangements for an unprecedented speech-making schedule, for which Mr. Wilder was paid handsomely.

In his first year in office, Mr. Wilder pocketed more than \$50,000 in speaking fees. And in so doing, he became the only state official in history to charge money for giving speeches to groups of Virginians, his own constituents.

The office of lieutenant governor became a for-profit enterprise under Douglas Wilder. In this campaign, the Washington Post has documented instances where public funds were used to cover expenses associated with Mr. Wilder's speaking schedule and other personal, professional and business matters. As our Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilder cost the taxpayers of Virginia twice as much as his predecessor, then added insult to injury by adding on a charge for the privilege of hearing him speak. Among the speeches for which he received payment was an address during the University of Virginia's commencement ceremony.

It was only after his practice of charging for speeches to Virginians was publicly exposed and a firestorm of criticism followed that Mr. Wilder stopped collecting and pocketing the fees. And although he said at the time that he was turning the funds

over to charity, he has steadfastly refused to identify the charities, account for the funds, or otherwise document that gifts were made.

It is interesting to note also that Mr. Wilder's first reaction was not to acknowledge that his profiteering at public expense was improper, but rather to lash out at unnamed aides to Governors Robb and Baliles, who he charged with leaking the information about his speaking fees to the press. Today, when Mr. Wilder seeks to run on the coattails of those two governors rather than on his own merit or vision, it is instructive that he had such little trust of them and such a poor working relationship with them just a few years ago.

Business Matters and Ethics Law Violations

Mr. Wilder has had a pattern of disregard for the state laws that require public officials to make periodic disclosures of their personal and business interests. These laws are designed to prevent the use of public office for private gain. Mr. Wilder opposed the state ethics law when it was enacted in 1983, and as Lieutenant Governor he voted to remove the criminal penalties for conflict-of-interest violations under that law.

Slum Property. Mr. Wilder's handling of dilapidated rental property he owned in the City of Richmond for eight years shows both his insensitivity to the concerns of ordinary Virginians and his own disdain for Virginia's ethics laws.

As a state senator, Mr. Wilder failed to list on his financial disclosure form various houses he owned in Richmond, among them the "slum" house in the Church Hill section of Richmond that has received extensive publicity because of building code violations.

In 1985, Mr. Wilder was cited for a building code violation because of the condition of the Church Hill property. For three years, residents of the neighborhood had complained to Mr. Wilder and urged him to repair and clean up the broken-down row house. They said that it had become a haven for rats and vagrants, and a threat to children playing in the neighborhood. Mr. Wilder, a millionaire with two Mercedes

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72-1974; and Special
nt Secretary of Labor
ty and Health, 1971-
o served as the safety
l Haas Co. in Bristol,

PA, 1965-1971; safety manager at the Thio-
kol Chemical Corp. in Bristol, PA, 1962-
1965; and supervisor of the safety engineer-
ing department at Aetna Casualty and
Surety Company in Worcester, MA 1958-
1962.

Mr. Scannell graduated from the Massa-
chusetts Maritime Academy (B.S., 1955). He
served in the U.S. Navy as a safety officer,
1955-1958. He is married, has five children,
and resides in Hampton, NJ.

Nomination of Richard A. Clarke To Be an Assistant Secretary of State June 21, 1989

The President today announced his inten-
tion to nominate Richard A. Clarke to be an
Assistant Secretary of State (Politico-Military
Affairs). He would succeed H. Allen
Holmes.

Since 1985 Mr. Clarke has been Deputy
Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence
Analysis. Prior to this, he served in several
capacities at the Bureau of Politico-Military
Affairs in the Department of State, 1979-
1985; as a senior analyst with Pacific Sierra
Research Corp., 1978-1979; and in several
positions in the Office of the Secretary of
Defense, 1973-1977.

Mr. Clarke graduated from the University
of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1972) and the Massa-
chusetts Institute of Technology (S.M.,
1978).

Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Richmond, Virginia June 21, 1989

Thank you all very, very much. Barbara
and I are delighted to be here, but inas-
much as we're speaking before the olives
and before the celery, I will be mercifully
brief.

But first let me pay my respects to vari-
ous stars here at this head table. I want to
single out our congressional delegation—the
five Members that are here—my able chair-
man, Tom Bliley, and Frank Wolf and Stan

Parris and Herb Bateman, French Slaugh-
ter, and all of them are doing an outstand-
ing job for this State. Of course, I'm delight-
ed that Tom and I were joined—or perhaps
you might say led, inasmuch as we came
from the Pentagon—by the former Secre-
tary, your great Senator. John Warner flew
down with us on Marine One. And I'm very
pleased that he is here. And I want to
salute, of course, the three gladiators from
the primary, all of whom I know and all of
whom I respect: Paul Triple, Stan Parris,
and Marshall Coleman.

And let me say, it's great to be back in
Virginia. You know, on the way down here,
I couldn't help, as we looked out of the
window of the helicopter, but notice that
King's Dominion [a local amusement park]
was open for business. [Laughter] If I'm not
mistaken—although I could have been from
the height of a thousand feet—I could
swear I saw the entire Virginia Democratic
ticket riding Shockwave. [Laughter]

Now, we all know that as good Republi-
cans we had to resolve a few differences.
When I told Barbara I was hoping to visit
some historic battlefield sites in Virginia,
she said she didn't know if I was referring
to the Civil War or to the Republican gu-
bernatorial primary. [Laughter]

But, Marshall, you're our candidate. Cer-
tainly you have my full support, and you
know Virginia better than I do. But let me
give you a little free advice: Don't film your
TV ads riding around in a tank. [Laughter]

But all kidding aside, with Stan, whom I
see and work with in the Congress, with
Paul, who served with such distinction in
the Senate, and with Marshall Coleman,
who's been at my side for a long, long time
in my political efforts, in this competition,
all three of them, one thing—and I was an
outsider at that. I don't believe in getting
involved in primaries from the office I now
hold. But one thing was certain: With these
three outstanding people, Virginia could
not lose.

And, yes, I am pleased that Virginia held
this primary, our first in 40 years. And, yes,
there was a rough and tumble competition,
and Republicans turned out in huge num-
bers. But we've proven once again that we
are different than the other party. We are
united by principles, by a great cause; and

that's why, now that the dust is settled, we are all still Republicans. And I am convinced we are going to win the gubernatorial seat in Richmond come fall.

And I do feel, and people have told me, John, coming down here—the others as well—that we were getting into a united frame of mind for this fall. And you can feel it, and I am delighted that we are uniting behind Marshall Coleman. It is absolutely essential, because as you remember, it is every 4 years that this State and one other are in the eyes of the entire Nation. They are going to be on us, looking for little straws in the wind regarding the 1990 nationwide elections. And so, unity behind our candidates here tonight is terribly important.

And let me say, I do believe from the bottom of my heart that Marshall will make a great Governor of the Commonwealth, for he is a Virginian, through and through. From his Marine days to his service as a delegate and State senator, he's always been a trailblazer. And he knows best and can meet the challenges that are facing your State. And as I said, I will always be grateful to him for his early support, and I know that he can stand up for what he believes in.

This former attorney general has a tough, hardnosed plan for putting away violent criminals for good. And he has solid proposals dealing with the scourge of drugs, proposals that only a veteran crime fighter could conceive and implement. And what happens in Virginia will be of tremendous help to what happens across this country.

And then for 1990, Virginia is also going to be a battleground between the parties in the 1990's. And the question that comes: Will Virginia be fairly represented? We need a Republican watchdog in Richmond, protecting the fairness of the reapportionment process and vetoing liberal legislation.

And let me just say a word about the ticket that Marshall heads, a strong, impressive Republican ticket. I've known her for a long time—up close and personal, as they say. Not that personal—up close and friendly. [Laughter] But I had great respect for Eddy's husband, and I have great respect for her, and so does Barbara. And we know deep in our hearts that Eddy Dalton is

going to make a great Lieutenant Governor for this Commonwealth. She's got the experience. As a State senator, led the charge against the drug thugs, demanding mandatory sentencing for those convicted of selling drugs to minors. And her commitment to curbing State spending is so strong that she'll begin with the office of Lieutenant Governor the minute she takes over.

And you also have nominated another excellent candidate in State Senator Joe Benedetto for attorney general of this Commonwealth. You deserve a full-time attorney general who is willing to lead the fight on drugs and crime. And this ticket, with Joe on there for attorney general, offers leadership, great leadership, for Virginia.

But to win, it seems to me the Republicans have got to develop an appeal as diverse as this State. Virginia has changed, no longer simply what some thought of as a rural State. You now have large metropolitan areas growing at both ends of this great State. And your State has changed in other ways, too. We Republicans must do more than recognize the change. We must take our message to every neighborhood and every community. And we will take our Republican message, a message of hope and opportunity, to the black and other minority voters of Virginia. Marshall Coleman and I agree: We will not concede a community, a precinct, or a single voter to the opposition.

And so, it's up to you people in this room, doesn't matter who you were for in the primary, to come together, because we must win. And I'm thinking nationally now. We must win in Virginia, as in New Jersey, to set the stage for 1990, the critical year, the year that my friend and your great Senator, John Warner, will be reelected to his third term, a year that these outstanding Virginia Congressmen will be reelected to the House of Representatives. And as President, I can tell you, I wish we had more like them to deal with every single day up there. A year that will shape the future of American politics well into the next century.

But there are other reasons, some practical and some sentimental, why we want a

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victory in November. Every American, from Maine to Texas, looks to Virginia as the cradle of democracy. Every American heart quickens at the ideals, of the builders of Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Montpelier. From the mountains of the Shenandoah to the rivers of the Tidewater, from the country lanes of Abingdon to the city lights of Alexandria, what Thomas Jefferson said is still true: "Old Dominion is the mother of us all." Let's show what we can do come fall.

Thank you for inviting me to Richmond. God bless you, God bless our ticket, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 7:32 p.m. in the First Floor Exhibition Hall of the Richmond Center. At the conclusion of his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Nomination of Lou Gallegos To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior *June 22, 1989*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lou Gallegos to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Policy, Budget and Administration). He would succeed Henry M. Ventura.

Since 1987 Mr. Gallegos has served as cabinet secretary of the human service department for Gov. Garrey E. Carruthers in the State of New Mexico. He was the Farmers Home Administration State Director for New Mexico at the Department of Agriculture, 1985-1986; executive director for the Republican Party of New Mexico, 1985; a candidate for the United States Congress, 1984; and director of field operations for Senator Pete V. Domenici, 1977-1984.

Mr. Gallegos attended the University of Maryland and New Mexico Highlands University. He currently resides in Sena, NM.

Nomination of Richard B. Stewart To Be an Assistant Attorney General *June 22, 1989*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard Bursleson Stewart to be an Assistant Attorney General (Lands and Natural Resources), Department of Justice. He would succeed Roger J. Marzulla.

Mr. Stewart is currently a Byrne professor of administrative law at Harvard Law School and a member of the faculty of the J.F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has served as a visiting professor of law at the University of Chicago Law School, and a visiting fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. He was a visiting scholar for the Environmental Protection Agency, 1980; visiting professor of law at the University of California at Berkeley, 1979-1980; professor of law at Harvard Law School, 1975-1984; and an assistant professor of law, Harvard Law School, 1971-1975. He was special counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, 1973; and an attorney with Covington and Burling in Washington, DC.

Mr. Stewart graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1961); Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University, 1963; and Harvard Law School (LL.B., 1966). He is married, has three children, and resides in Cambridge, MA.

Nomination of Thomas E. Collins III To Be an Assistant Secretary of Labor *June 22, 1989*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas E. Collins III to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans' Employment and Training. He would succeed Donald E. Shasteen.

Most recently, in 1988, Mr. Collins was the Republican congressional candidate for Mississippi's Fourth District. Prior to this, he served as the executive director for the Mississippi veterans' farm and home board. Mr. Collins was the president and chief executive officer of Collins Investments, Inc., 1980-1981, and a member of the board of directors for Donnie Collins Properties,

The Marshall Coleman Fact Sheet

Born: Staunton, Virginia June 8, 1942

Raised: Waynesboro, Virginia

Education: Waynesboro Public Schools
Graduated Waynesboro High School 1960
BA with high honors, University of Virginia 1964
President UVA Council
Member Raven Society, ODK
Phi Beta Kappa
JD, University of Virginia Law School 1970

Military: United States Marine Corps, 1966 - 1969
13 months service Republic of Vietnam
Veteran of "Tet Offensive"
First Lieutenant, USMC

Professional: Partner, Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin and Kahn law firm:
Leads the firm's Virginia Division
Former partner, Beveridge & Diamond, P.C., Washington, D.C.
Former partner, Lotz, Black, Coleman and Gudal law firm
of Staunton, Virginia
Member, Board of Directors, NV/Ryan Homes, McLean, Va
United States Magistrate for Western District of Virginia
1971-1972

**Public Service
Career:** Attorney General of Virginia 1978 - 1982
First and only Republican elected AG this century
Member, Senate of Virginia 1976 - 1977
Senate Committees: Agriculture, Conservation and
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Education and Health
Rehabilitation and Social Services
Member, Virginia House of Delegates 1972 - 1975
House Committees: General Laws
Corporations, Insurance and
Banking
Commission to Study Needs of
the Elderly
Member, Virginia State Crime Commission 1978 - 1982

Past Civic

Activities:

Board of Directors, Staunton - Augusta Chamber of
Commerce
Chairman, Staunton-Augusta United Fund Drive
Staunton Rotary Club

Personal:

Two sons,

Sean Kelly Coleman, 19, a Freshman at Princeton
University

William Phillip "Billy" Coleman, 14, a Freshman at
Lee High School, Staunton, Virginia

Mother, Marguerite Brooks Coleman of Waynesboro, Virginia

Father, deceased

One brother, Warren Coleman, a broadcast executive in
Waynesboro, Virginia

Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

Biographical Information

John Marshall Coleman has spent a lifetime in service to his Commonwealth and his Nation. As a Marine in Vietnam, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, a Senator, and Attorney General of Virginia, he has fought and worked to keep Virginia strong, free and true to its heritage of leadership. As Governor, he will provide the creative, trustworthy, conservative leadership Virginia needs in the challenging and promising times ahead.

Marshall Coleman: Portrait of a Virginia Leader

- Marshall Coleman was born and raised in Virginia and is entirely a product of Virginia's public schools.
- He was born in Staunton, June 8, 1942, and was raised in nearby Waynesboro.
- He attended the University of Virginia as an undergraduate and as a law student.
 - Undergraduate honors included membership in the Raven Society, ODK, and Phi Beta Kappa.
 - Served as President of the Student Council.
 - Received a Bachelor of Arts degree with high honors, 1964.
 - Received a Juris Doctor degree, 1970.
- Following his second year in law school, Marshall Coleman enlisted in the United States Marine Corps.
 - He served 13 months in Vietnam and saw duty in combat.

- He completed his military service as a First Lieutenant and returned to law school.
- Marshall Coleman practiced law in Staunton as a partner in the firm of Lotz, Black, Coleman, and Gudal.
- He served as a United States Magistrate for the Western District of Virginia.
- Marshall Coleman's legislative career began in 1972, when he was elected, without opposition, to the House of Delegates. He was re-elected in 1973.
- In 1975, he challenged an incumbent for the State Senate and was elected.
- Marshall Coleman was elected Virginia's first Republican Attorney General in 1977.
 - He was a strong, effective, conservative attorney general and a key adviser to Governor John Dalton.
 - When a state judge freed major convicted drug smugglers who had served only a brief portion of their prison terms, Attorney General Coleman filed suit challenging the judge's authority, argued the case successfully in the Virginia Supreme Court, and the drug smugglers were returned to prison.
 - Attorney General Coleman fought for truth-in-sentencing in Virginia (more uniform sentences; abolition of parole and early release).
 - Although the Democrat-controlled General Assembly blocked the measures in Virginia, the federal government and numerous states have since adopted truth-in-sentencing laws. Governor Coleman will get this passed.
 - Attorney General Coleman kept a campaign pledge and reduced the size of the attorney general's office by 10%.
 - Under Attorney General Coleman, challenges to Virginia's Right to Work and Capital Punishment statutes were successfully defended.
 - A staunch advocate for principles of federalism (states' rights), Attorney General Coleman argued cases personally in the U.S. Supreme Court when Virginia's interests were at stake.

- During the recent Democratic administrations in Virginia, Marshall Coleman has been a vocal leader of the Republican loyal opposition and has unanimously defended the interests of the taxpayers.
- Marshall Coleman has been a leading Virginia supporter of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.
 - In his 1981 campaign and throughout the eighties, Marshall Coleman strongly supported President Reagan's policies and refused to distance himself from the Reagan administration in times of trouble.
 - Marshall Coleman supported George Bush during the campaign for the Republican presidential nomination and was co-chairman of the President's Virginia campaign.
- Since 1982, Marshall Coleman has resided in McLean. He is a partner in the McLean office of Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn.
- He has two sons: Sean, 19, and Bill, 14.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Bush chair for VA

- Thos Jefferson designed
Capital / Capital Square

3rd floor cap = gov's office
gov's mansion also in
square

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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Maurin & Margaret?

Bruce Zanca - 2421

~~Brend Marcus 804/358-1989~~
~~Ned Mansel RNC~~
~~Frank Atkinson Rep + Karen Riv.~~
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Marion Dixon - 10/19

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Paul Hedges
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