CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA

ARTICLE I

BILL OF RIGHTS

Sec. 6  Suffrage; taxation; private property; consent of governed.
That all elections ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed, or deprived of, or damaged in, their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives duly elected, or bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented for the public good.

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W E ALL HEAR much today about the separation between organized politics and the voting public. We have seen in the rise of McCarthy a vigorous, active protest against the present political structure of the nation. As has been written in millions of words, this protest represents a deep and growing discontent with a situation in which the voter feels that he lacks any significant participation in the choice of candidates who will run for national office. The candidates are said to have been selected for the voter by organizations whose chief concern is to maintain themselves in power.

There is, of course, nothing new about the selection of candidates by political organizations whose concern was the perpetuation of their power. Something of this sort was practiced as early as Jefferson’s period of control, although in his case—and in those days—this control was maintained in the conviction that his candidates were the best qualified to govern. Governmental control solely in the interests of perpetuating a political party in power was established by the radical element of the Republican Party during the Civil War a full century ago. Long after the radical element had died off, the political machinery, manipulated by party bosses, continued the party in power for all except sixteen of the next twenty-two years.

Toward the end of this reign, the party in power reached the cynical low in selecting Harding as a presidential candidate—coining along the way the phrase and the concept of “the smoke-filled room.” We had a more unsophisticated electorate in those days. Incomparably fewer citizens were educated; there were no television and radio analysts of the political news; newspapers gave far less space to political coverage, and columns such as Winchell's and O. O. McIntyre—if the younger generation can believe it—were preferred to the pundits who now repeat themselves and each other in endless variations on a single theme. Most of all, young people were not as politically conscious as they are today.

Today voters under forty, the majority of the voting population, have no memory of life other than the control of the Democratic Party, except for the eight-year interlude of Eisenhower. The Democrats had gotten in finally only by the collapse of the economy, in the Depression, which frightened the populace into changing parties.

Now, the populace is in a condition of growing fear—over the devaluation of money with increasing tax-burdens, over the plight of the cities with “crime in the streets” as its most obvious symptom over the seemingly insoluble problem of inter-racial relations, and, inextricably involved with everything else, over the eternal entanglements caused by the nation’s assumed role in world affairs.

But the difference from 1932 is that a more enlightened electorate is by no means convinced that a change of political parties will affect significant changes in the fear-arousing ills of the nation.

In Virginia we hear less about the gulf between our representatives in government and the voting public. Part of this is caused by the homogenous nature of the society which characterized the state through (Continued on page 35)
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First Congressional District

Thomas N. Downing, M.C.

Democratic Nominee

Congressman Downing has no Republican opposition in this election.

Presenting: Virginia's Democratic and Republican nominees to the Congress of the United States

First Congressional District

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Congressman Downing has no Republican opposition in this election.
HAVING TAUGHT HISTORY at Old Dominion College for eighteen years and having long been an interested political observer, I feel that Virginia and the Nation are on the threshold of one of the most important elections in a century. In most elections it is possible to single out one issue and the campaign is fought out on this single question, but that is not the case in 1968.

America has assumed a series of obligations, each in itself a considerable burden, and they have all fallen due at the same time. Whether we live in an urban or rural area, each of us shares part of the mortgage.

Unquestionably, we are faced with a crisis in our cities. While Virginians may not have this problem to the degree that other states do, their tax money is still drawn into critical urban areas elsewhere. While barely 50 percent of the population lived in metropolitan areas in 1940, 65 percent do now and by 1980, it will be over 70 percent. It is truly an irony that the Federal Government is partly responsible for much of this increase, especially as far as the Negro is concerned. In adopting legislation in the 1930's to force down the amount of acreage under cultivation, Washington in effect squeezed tens of thousands of itinerant farmers and share croppers off farms in the South and forced them to the cities. The boom of World War II drew thousands more. The population curve of the last two census' confirms these facts.

Housing, education and jobs for the poverty neighborhoods of the cities are problems of immense magnitude, but they are not insuperable. One technique has already been tried but the results have not been satisfactory. Massive Federal spending and the creation of numerous Federal agencies to tackle the problems have served little more than to stave off the most critical situations. We are beginning to turn to private enterprise and local initiative to get at the roots. Certainly local leaders want to solve the problem. The establishment of an Urban Coalition in Norfolk marks the kind of step Virginians can take.

The crisis of the cities has borne upon it the additional problem of a sharp rise in crime and violence. The riots that stem from racial unrest are only a part of this. General moral laxity and permissiveness are surely the basis for the rise in crime and violence.

Recent judicial decisions have undoubtedly restricted law enforcement officers and there is a general consensus that law enforcement has not received sufficient funds to acquire adequate numbers and quality of personnel. Passage of the Omnibus Crime Bill will go a long way toward giving our law enforcement authorities greater power. Virginians can take pride in the fact that one of their own Representatives, the Honorable Richard Poff—R. of Roanoke played a major role in drafting that legislation.

Every Virginian has felt the impact of additional taxes in the past year from the national government, his State and probably his locality. He has also been trapped by the steady escalation of the cost of living. This silent whittling away of his paycheck has become more and more visible. The $25 billion deficit in Federal spending this year will surely demand that a determined effort be made to keep income and expenses in balance else the cost of living spiral will continue.

These serious domestic problems have to a large degree pushed the

(Continued on page 25)
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

FREDERICK T. "BINGO" STANT, JR.

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

THE SECOND DISTRICT of Virginia, composed of the cities of Portsmouth and Norfolk, reflects an astounding statistic that has revolutionized American life. In 1968 three out of every four Americans live in our cities. This rapid urbanization of American life has brought with it problems of poverty, friction between our citizens, scanty education, congestion and pollution. Moreover, these problems will be compounded by the passage of time. It is estimated that in forty years our population will double and will be concentrated primarily in urban areas.

The great domestic issue, then, which faces the United States and the state of Virginia today is whether we can make the city work... and in America, and especially in Virginia, the resolution of this problem is all the more difficult because the city is not now, nor has it ever been, a real part of the American dream. The American dream, the Virginia dream, is rural and agricultural, not urban. Most Virginians see themselves on states in Albemarle or Loudoun county. Because we inherently do not believe in the city, we do not devote the time, the effort, the money and the genius necessary to make the cities of America and of Virginia work.

The people of America and of Virginia must realize that somehow we must make our cities work. What happens in America's cities happens to America—as it is by the quality of life in our cities that our civilization will be judged. It is in our cities that the real American dream—the dream of a free and equal people living together in harmony will or will not be achieved.

The real domestic crisis which confronts our country and our state today is not merely urban, but human. In cities today, public services are poorest where education is most critical. Building codes are not enforced where conditions which they were designed to prevent are most prevalent. Where health problems are most severe, medical facilities and personnel are least adequate. Human beings, people, are the ones who suffer because of these substandard conditions, which should have no place in a truly good and compassionate society.

In the America, in the Virginia of 1968 (whether we live in Norfolk or The Narrows) we must concentrate all our energies to making our cities work. We must dedicate all our capacities for creativity, for commitment and for human compassion to the task of recreating cities that have grown old before their time. We cannot let our cities die... to do so would be to deny that in America we are striving for an environment that calls forth and rewards the best qualities, talents and ambitions in every person.

Born April 21, 1918 in Norfolk, Mr. Stant is married to the former Bette Jane Cassidy and they are the parents of six children, ranging in age from twenty-two years to nine years. Four of their children are in college.

He received his primary education at Holy Trinity School in Norfolk; Secondary—Holy Trinity High School, Norfolk; Preparatory—Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N. C.; College—B.S. in Economics from Catholic University, Graduate work in Labor Economics at Georgetown University and LL.B from Georgetown University.

Since 1949 Mr. Stant has been a lawyer. His practice has been extensive and varied, covering almost every field of law, including active trial practice in all types of cases, including negligence, admiralty, criminal

(Continued on page 26)
In this day of instant news coverage the public eye seems to be captivated by presidential candidates. However, the most important vote of all is the vote to select representatives to Congress. It is they who will vote on important issues which will profoundly affect our lives—issues which may well determine if our system of government is to endure.

The need for every citizen to be informed and to vote was never clearer, for we are confronted with an unprecedented number of grave problems which demand solution.

The gravest aspect of all our problems is the fact that our form of government and system of free enterprise are under serious attack at home and abroad. Above all we must successfully meet that threat. Internationally we must respond to those forces which would destroy us with a spirit of commitment with determination and perseverance to maintain a favorable strategic balance of world power. For in today's world isolationism in any degree is a doctrine of ultimate defeat.

At home the mounting incidence of crime, revolt and riots in our streets is most disturbing. Self-government can exist only in a law abiding society where acts of crime and violence against person or property are dealt with swiftly and effectively. It is time for government at all levels to make it clear that law and order will be maintained. The Federal government should take the lead in setting this pattern and although Congress is without the power of enforcement of its laws, it too should make this clear by doing all it can to provide the means for greater protection of the rights of law abiding citizens.

An overriding problem is that of our Federal finances. In a struggle of classic proportion the 90th Congress reflected its growing concern over the alarming increase in Federal expenditures and unprecedented annual deficits when it enacted the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. The 91st Congress will have to take the second but longer step toward permanent expenditure reduction so as to relate expenditures more realistically to revenues. At a time of ever increasing clamor for more and more Federal funds, this will not be easy. Inevitably Congress must revise existing budgeting processes in order to regain greater control over new commitments and maintain better oversight in the matter of actual expenditures. Furthermore, steps should be taken to provide for orderly appropriations on a priority basis.

Obviously attention must be given to our pressing domestic problems. At the same time we cannot deal with these problems without considering our financial ability to do so. Above all, we should be careful not to promise more than government can deliver. In my view, greater initiative and involvement by local government and the private segment of our economy is essential. The Federal government can exercise an important function in stimulating this involvement through judiciously conceived grants and tax incentives and by allowing greater local control. Federal funds for those physically able to work should be geared to the proposition of self help and not simply to provide support for an indeterminate period. They should be used to train persons for employment, where necessary, and to otherwise enable and encourage individuals to achieve a productive and sustaining place in our society.

David E. Satterfield, III, M.C.
Democratic Nominee

Virginia Record
THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT


JOHN S. HANSEN – REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

In the last four years the Federal Government has hired 500,000 new employees. That's more than the population of Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield combined!

It has piled agency upon agency, regulation upon regulation, in a dizzying spiral that has left our national finances some $325 billion in the red.

It has promised millions to the poor... and then let them down through flagrantly inept management.

Crime has increased 89% in the last 8 years while our population has only increased 10%.

I think we’ve been disillusioned one time too many by the Johnson-Humphrey administration and its Democrat majority.

It's time for performance instead of promises! It's time to eliminate those programs which accomplish nothing and to strengthen those which produce results. We cannot afford the luxury of red tape and rhetoric when the problems of our cities, our poor, and our domestic and foreign policies cry out for immediate actions, rather than alibis.

I realize it's a challenging task—but I assure you that you won't have to wait for an election-year newsletter to know that you have a representative in Congress who is aware of your problems, concerned about them and doing something about them!

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HOT SPRINGS NAT'L PARK ARKANSAS
Since 1948 I have had the high honor and privilege of representing the Fourth District of Virginia in the Congress of the United States. If re-elected this year, I will have the further distinction of serving as dean of the Virginia delegation in the House of Representatives which will broaden my capacity to serve not only the people of my District but all Virginians.

In many respects these are the most demanding times in all of our national history. Members of Congress must give daily attention to problems of great magnitude on the national and international level, while at the same time they must be able to serve the needs of their constituents in many, many ways. One must at the same time be conversant with issues of all kinds on the domestic scene and participate intelligently in this country's role in affairs around the world. Experience therefore is extremely valuable.

In my opinion the biggest issues facing the people this fall are the problems of maintaining peace and order at home and abroad and preserving our fiscal stability. It goes without saying that our role in keeping the peace abroad is going to have a direct relation to our ability to keep order at home. In many respects we have lost control of law and order in this country. Our police are handcuffed in their ability to enforce the laws and the criminal element and troublemakers are taking advantage of it. We must take steps to restore respect for the laws and the criminal element and troublemakers are taking advantage of it. We must take steps to restore respect for law and order and police must be given support by officials of government at the highest level.

Steps need to be taken to curb the power of the Federal courts to undermine the bulwarks of our society and some recent decisions of the Courts need to be reversed. If the Supreme Court is not going to preserve law and order, Congress should move to correct the situation.

The American people are getting sick and tired of the gross violation of the laws of this country. They cannot understand why the Federal government continues to take over more and more of the rights of our people through the expansion of controls and regulations, while at the same time appearing to give every benefit of the doubt to the law violators. They cannot understand why more concern is shown by the courts for those who have committed crimes than for the victims of such crimes.

We need to take steps to reverse the trend which has too long been in force where the best interests of the United States are often subverted to the interests of other nations.

Finally, it seems to me that we need to stop and take a look at where we are and where we are going insofar as government programs and spending are concerned. We cannot continue to increase spending, ignore our national debt and allow the dollar to be made worthless without facing utter defeat of our objectives at home and abroad.

Congressman Abbitt has no Republican Opposition

OCTOBER 1968
NEVER BEFORE HAS the United States of America needed courageous, dedicated leaders as we do today. We are witnessing strife-torn cities in our own country and war abroad. The people of the United States are in a quandry because they know that foreign entanglement and civil disorder are gnawing away at the foundation of the most powerful nation of the world. This is because we have an Administration which has divorced itself from the citizenry and too many public officials who are afraid to offer viable solutions to these problems.

Public office has become a stagnant, unresponsive institution that most of our people disdain and distrust. Men of courage and conviction have not taken up the challenge to lead. We need people who are vigorous and level-headed to come forth and make decisions based on the good of all the country—not just that of special interest groups, pressure organizations or political parties. We have violence in the streets unparalleled in our nation's history because we have not taken solid stands for law and order for the majority of our people. Any vociferous element is allowed to be spokesman by default for large numbers of people who do not subscribe to their contention that America isn't a good place to live. They wreck havoc upon our cities when they cannot obtain their every demand. At the same time bureaucrats in our government remain insensitive to the majority of our citizens, electing to manage, or mismanage, programs with total disregard for the wishes of the populace.

I am running for office because I feel there is a great, silent majority of people who don't feel they have a voice in the affairs of their government. These people are responsible, hard working people who have seen their lives directed in every way imaginable by people that they have not voted for, and do not respect.

The national Administration must be responsive to the desires of the people. The Congress must stand up and make itself heard, and heeded by the Administration for the people of the country. They must present positive programs that will be followed by the Administration. The need for the people to have a strong voice in Congress is a major issue in this election and will be for years to come with the growing involvement of the government in our lives.

The people need to elect dynamic Congressmen who will take the issues to the people, present solutions, and stand or fall on their programs. Too often the Congress has reacted instead of acted for the best interests of their constituencies. Why aren't the issues taken to the people and the people asked for their opinion? I think they can and should be! We must reevaluate many of our programs and strengthen some while deleting others. There must be new programs that correspond to the complex world of the 1970's. Those programs that correspond to the complex world of the 1970's. Those people know what needs to be done and I believe that a Congressman must meet with the people of his District personally to seek out the issues that are facing them. This person to person, neighbor to neighbor, government is what the people of the United States seek and deserve and as a Congressman I hope to offer.
W. C. (DAN) DANIEL of Danville, candidate for the Fifth District Congressional seat being vacated by Representative William M. Tuck, believes that development of a formal “platform” for candidates can become an exercise in political expediency that ignores—or even belies—the dictates of basic principles.

His experience in the General Assembly and quasi-legislative activities has convinced him that philosophy and performance are more to be preferred. And what is his philosophy and record?

Today’s times are troubled, he maintains, because of the erosion of faith, of patriotism, of inner love that once motivated and united the nation’s people, and “To surmount difficulties either domestic or international, a re-dedication to principle which assumes a positive posture is essential.

“To a very large extent,” he charges, “the American people have gone over to the defensive. We have retreated from just about everything we once held dear. We have limited ourselves or accepted the limitations of others on our historic objectives of human liberty and justice, and we question and qualify values that throughout our history have stood unquestioned—the heroism and vision of our forefathers, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the priority of moral principle over political expediency.

“To many Americans,” he says, “rather than doing what they know to be right, do what is calculated to please, to cause the least offense, to make them popular—as individuals or a nation. Is it any wonder,” he asks his Southside neighbors, “that our image has become distorted?”

By national self-depreciation and the evidencing of inferiority tendencies, the American people have projected an image which Daniel deplores: the image of opportunists who do not believe with fervor in their cause, who in fact do not appear to believe seriously and practically in any absolute, whether in the field of law, in the field of religion or the field of patriotism.

He views the present period as a time of crisis that is “essentially moral and of our own making—the blighted harvest of four decades of drift and detachment from historic moorings,” and reminds that the wisdom and the will of America can be no greater than the wisdom and will of Americans. For too many in the nation today, he charges, everything has become relative; everything is accepted or excused according to pliant standards that are termed success and expediency in popular fields.

“We must fully acknowledge our responsibility as citizens,” Daniel asserts; “we must serve the community for no other reason than the community’s gain. We must hold that the great principle of Americanism—the God-given capacity of the individual to live in freedom, justice and mercy—are truths to be honored not only in the abstract, but in the day-by-day progression of our lives.”

No matter how abundant and consoling are the material things of life, he warns, Americans cannot ignore the present danger of internal decay if they expect to continue as a free country; as the world grows smaller it becomes increasingly difficult to separate foreign and domestic affairs.

The United States cannot alone continue to police the world and (Continued on page 27)
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SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

BORN OCTOBER 19, 1923, Richard H. Poff was raised and educated in Montgomery County. Since 1948 he has practiced law in the Radford firm of Dalton, Poff, Turk and Stone, in which he is now a senior partner.

In 1952, at age 29, Poff was elected Representative of Virginia's 6th Congressional District, a post he has held since that time. The Congressman's concerns are widespread and his accomplishments impressive in working for his constituents, as a check of his record in Congress will reveal. His attendance and voting record in Congress is better than 98%—one of the highest in Congressional history.

In his newsletters (not printed at government expense) sent to constituents who request them, he has dealt with a variety of subjects. Following are but a few:

Firearms: "One is bound to question the sincerity of Ramsey Clark's shrill demands for new gun legislation when his record of prosecutions under the old gun laws is examined. "Between 1963 and 1967, the Treasury Department discovered, investigated and prepared for prosecution a total of 2,294 criminal cases of violations of the Federal Firearms Act of 1938 and the National Firearms Act of 1934. But Mr. Clark's Justice Department prosecuted only 1,192 cases; nearly half were never brought to trial. "If the Attorney General is not going to enforce the laws already on the books, why is he so eager to get new laws?"

How Your Money Is Spent: "The 'city' of Columbia, Md. is a planned, for-profit housing development on U. S. Highway 29 about midway between Baltimore and Washington, D. C. The Rouse Co. and its subsidiaries have invested about $50 million so far in the community. "Columbia is 1 year old. It has a population of 1,200 members of 386 families. It has 20 fully leased stores. "It has something else going for it: a mass transit grant from the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development of $277,733! "The money is to finance a study to determine the equipment that is currently available to solve its mass transit problems. According to newspaper reports, John Levering, Columbia Association President, said particular emphasis would be placed on the feasibility of an automated, driverless transport system. ALL OF THIS FOR A TOWN OF 1,200 PEOPLE!"

Straws in the Wind: "Back in 1920, a telephone call from New York to San Francisco cost $20. At that time, you could mail 1,037 letters for the same money. "In 1968, the same phone call costs $2.85; that will pay the postage on 47 letters. "So the government is investigating the TELEPHONE SYSTEM!" "In 1947, a loaf of bread cost 12.5¢; for the wheat in that bread, the farmer got 2.9¢. Today, that loaf costs 22.2¢; the farmer's share is only 2.6¢. "It seems the farmer is the real victim of this 'high-price spread'."

The First 125 Days: "If you are an 'average American worker,' May 5 was a significant date for you. Until that date, all of the average worker's earnings went toward the payment of Federal, state and local taxes. Only on May 5 did each dollar earned by this (Continued on page 28)

Congressman Poff has no Democratic Opposition

OCTOBER 1968 PAGE FIFTEEN
SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

ARTHUR R. "PETE" GIESEN, JR.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

THE GREATEST RISK the American voter could accept in this year's elections would be to repeat the mistakes made four years ago. These would be to believe there are any easy solutions to the complex problems facing this nation today.

I will not attempt to oversimplify the solutions I believe possible. Instead I will state the basic philosophy which underscores my position on the two most important issues, lawlessness and Vietnam.

Historically and traditionally, America's two party system has permitted the seekers, supporters and dissenters to be heard, no matter how few their numbers may have been. At the one and the same time, we as a nation have revered the basic concepts of majority rule and our fundamental respect for law and order.

This country's record of unparalleled economic progress and recognition of the need for equal human justice, although presently concealed in the din of extremist causes, occurred within the framework of the most practically workable form of free-government organism the world has ever known.

No super-charged appeal to the emotions of any group, left or right, black or white, can change this unalterable truth. We are where we are, we possess what we have and have been able to preserve our unity because of our total acceptance of our One Nation, Majority Rule and Respect for Law and Order Doctrine. And all within the framework of the two party system. I believe the two party system must be maintained.

Third and fourth party movements, regardless of how well intentioned they may be, only siphon off effective moderation. They unwittingly contribute to the ultimate victories of causes they purport to oppose.

Law and order must also be maintained. Lawlessness must never be condoned for any reason. Civil disobedience, coddling criminals, illogical and unworkable restrictions now confronting our nation's local police forces must be stopped. For unless the law is upheld and order is maintained, any changes in it will be meaningless.

No one, regardless of the grievance should be permitted to break the law with impunity. I believe the vast majority of Americans, black and white, share my view in condemning those who demand total morality and justice while they themselves remain above the law.

Yet, something must also be said about those who seek refuge in the law, while they themselves remain above justice and morality. I believe that Law, Justice and Morality comprise an absolutely inseparable covenant we of every color, social or political sections must share if our system is to continue. It is a tripartite of conditions upon which all of our freedoms rest. Nobody, be he black or white, left or right, can be self-absolved from responsibility to any one without ultimately contributing to the overthrow of all three. This fundamental need for a national unity of purpose based upon Law, Justice and Morality must be fulfilled. Anything less would be an outrage against the conscience of this country, those who have died preserving it and the God who created it.

I believe we as a nation must provide every opportunity possible to help (Continued on page 30)
JOHN O. MARSH, JR., M.C.

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

Congressman John O. Marsh, Jr., who represents the Seventh Congressional District has spoken out on many areas of concern in recent weeks. He has made known his opinions on issues of interest to all Virginians. Excerpts from some of his speeches follow.

Speaking on the subject of firearms, Congressman Marsh has this to say: "Law and order in the United States will not be assisted substantially by new laws to register and license firearms . . . Law and order will come through improvement of law-enforcement techniques, and through a broader and more active concern among all citizens for respect of all types of laws, because an orderly society cannot exist in the absence of such respect . . . the law, once established by the legislative agents of the people, must be enforced on an equitable basis—it must apply to the poor and the rich alike, to the privileged and the underprivileged, and no member of any class or group may be permitted an individual decision as to which laws he might decide to observe.

"This will cost more money for training and for the attraction to law enforcement of better-educated young people. The policeman, whether in the large city or the small town or rural area, must be respected not only for his uniform, but also for his competence in his profession—not only by the law-abiding, but also by the potential culprit. Every citizen must know that, if subjected to arrest, he will be treated firmly but honorably and that all of his rights will be protected."

(Marsh is the sponsor of legislation which would require additional and separate penalties in major crimes when firearms were used or carried, but would not affect the purchase of firearms for sport or for protection of a home or place of business.)

In the same vein as the above, the Congressman said. "the Bonnie and Clyde craze represents a growing disregard for values which contributes to a dangerously-lighthearted view of law and order among many people. The styles of dress and mannerisms of outlaws of the 1930's have been incorporated into mass advertising of products and into the entertainment media.

"The result has been to romanticize lawbreaking and minimize retribution . . . At a time when this country needs law and order, it does not need these types of heroes.

"It is important that we not restrict in any way the gathering or dissemination of news, but I believe it in the area of fair comment to suggest that some of the news media have tended to build news around a dramatic picture of violence—to emphasize unduly the violence which, undeniably, does occur . . . So it is up to individual citizens, and local communities, to show that they do not favor, or require, this type of material—that one sentence will satisfy them in regard to an unfortunate who ended his life with a plunge from a ship's mast in New York Harbor, rather than a picture of the event in the newspaper, news magazine or projected into the family group of an evening by television."

And in the area of community re-

(Continued on page 31)
THROUGH greater discipline: sounder progress.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss the principal question the people of the Eighth District are going to have to answer when they vote for their Representative in Congress this November. But first let me list what that principal question is not.

It is not a question of who is for law and order in this country. Both candidates in this race are for law and order and I am satisfied that the great majority of Virginians, young and old, black and white, Democrats and Republicans, believe in an orderly society under law.

It is not a question of fiscal responsibility, because there isn't a man in this District—or a candidate in this race—who doesn't want to see the Federal budget balanced at the same time the nation's needs are being met.

It is not a question of Viet Nam. No one is happy with this war and there is a universal hope for an honorable settlement. But few Virginians have been ready to withdraw from that conflict unilaterally and thus abandon a country and a cause for which so many young Americans have made the supreme sacrifice.

And it is not a question of who is in Congress now or who is not. My opponent has been in Congress less than two years. He got there essentially on a negative vote by those who were voting against something rather than for someone. So in a very real sense we are both before you on our own for the first time.

The principal question, instead, it seems to me, is which candidate in this race is best equipped . . . most qualified . . . more clearly motivated . . . to promote, over the next several years, sound solutions to the many problems we are trying to deal with in this country.

If I did not think I best met that test I would not be in this race, of course.

Therefore, I want to discuss what I think you should expect from a candidate for Congress — and what I think I offer, in this connection, the people of this district.

You should expect experience. I would cite seven years of service on Capitol Hill as an administrative assistant to Members of Congress from Virginia and an additional year, on the other side of the street, as a Congressional liaison officer in the executive branch of our government.

You should expect a Congressman who can communicate with his constituents. For eleven years, as a newspaper reporter in Richmond, communication was my business — and much of it took place in the area of this district.

And you have a right to expect a Congressman who can be effective in working with other public officials. In a state with a Democratic Governor, two Democratic United States Senators and a predominantly Democratic General Assembly, I think it is reasonable to assume that a Democratic Congressman would have something extra going for him in his work.

With this background—with these qualifications—I feel that I can make a contribution to the progress I believe is possible under the new sense of national discipline which I have been calling for since my nomination.

If our country is to survive and progress as a free society—with true liberty and real justice for all—discip (Continued on page 32)
EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

WILLIAM L. SCOTT, M.C.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

William Lloyd Scott of Fairfax County, was seated in the 90th Congress on January 10, 1967. He represents the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia which includes twenty counties and the City of Fredericksburg. The population of the District at the beginning of this year was estimated by the Bureau of the Census to be more than 544,000. Congressman Scott received 57.2% of the votes cast in the November 1966 election.

Born in Williamsburg, he has worked for the Federal government for more than 25 years, primarily as a trial attorney with the Department of Justice, although he has also served as a Special Assistant to the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

When he left the government in 1961, he became a practicing attorney in Fairfax, but closed his law office at the end of 1966 to devote full time to representing the citizens of the Eighth District in the Congress.

While working for the government, Congressman Scott attended college and law school in the evenings, receiving his LL.B. and LL.M. degrees from National University School of Law, now merged with George Washington University.

He is a past chancellor of Sigma Nu Phi Fraternity (legal), and a member of the Fairfax County, Virginia State and American Bar Associations.

Scott is married to the former Inez Huffman of Hickory, N. C. They have three children. A married daughter, Gail Ann Eldred, lives in Houston, Texas; and their two sons, William, Jr. and Paul, are students at the College of William and Mary.

The Congressman serves on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. He seeks the views of his constituents. Each year he has conducted a poll of his Congressional District. In 1968 over 30,000 people responded and expressed their opinion on the major issues, and Congressman Scott's votes have reflected these opinions.

During the past two years, thousands of people have written or visited him. He has also visited each county and kept the voters advised of Congressional activities. Each and every request for assistance has received prompt, courteous and thorough attention.

Congressman Scott has expressed his belief in enforcing existing laws impartially to reduce crime and disorder; following military advice so long as we are at war in Viet Nam; reducing government spending to curb inflation and establishing priorities for all Federal programs. And, last but not least, devoting full time to representing his people in Congress.
BRIEF THOUGHTS on election reform...

I am going to pass up what may seem to be an opportunity to get in a few partisan licks in this election year in order to discuss for a few minutes some changes in our system of holding national elections. The changes may or may not be for the better, but, in any event, I advocate their consideration.

I should say at the outset that I am of the positive opinion that our campaigns for national offices, at least, and probably for state offices as well, should be shortened by law to a maximum of two months, and preferably to six weeks. Were distances not so great in the rural sections of this country, I would advocate the English system of campaigning for about one month before election.

I take this view because the short ballot system, which is actually an election reform and is used by Virginia and many other states, has caused annual elections. With the opportunity of campaigning for six months or longer so enticing that candidates and political parties refused to forego it, the public, as a result, has had its annual fill of politics long before election day and is kept worn out by the continued campaigning which never seems to cease.

In addition, a shortened campaign offers to one of limited financial means the opportunity to make a good showing without the financial burden present campaigns require, a burden due largely to the necessary emphasis on television.

Not to be overlooked is the near impossibility of keeping together a voluntary, unpaid campaign staff for much longer than two months.

On another subject, there has been a great deal of talk recently about abolishing the Electoral College. While many of us feel the subject should be studied, I would add a word of caution before we abolish the Electoral College unless we have something better to take its place.

The reason for my caution is this. Under State laws in all 50 States, the members of the College are elected to vote for the candidate who receives the plurality of popular votes. Because the candidate with the plurality receives all the electoral votes in the State, splinter parties have been discouraged in this country. So, probably entirely unintentionally, the Electoral College has caused the two-party system to flourish.

Because third parties have seldom been able to gather enough electoral votes to influence an election, they have found that they exert more influence in the political affairs of the country by taking part in the party activities of one or the other of the major parties.

The Electoral College consists of one member for each Representative and one member for each Senator. Thus it is in fact based directly on the population of the several States, except that every State has at least three votes. The Electoral College is a recognition that States and regions, as well as population, are entitled to be recognized as they are in Congress.

While the Electoral College may be a holdover from early days and while it is presently faulted by many modern observers of the political process, it is not entirely without merit. Its opera-

(Continued on page 33)
The challenge facing America demands action.

We must live and sell positive Americanism. That is what blesses our many privileges of citizenship—that exalts the glories of our past—that operates within our laws to build and prosper, to grow in spirit and truth.

Our beloved country cannot continue to survive by running from responsibilities—we must stand up and be counted.

There is no choice today but to be tough minded and fair minded about stopping crime and violence.

Our nations problems cannot be solved by violence, or by yielding to those who provoke violence.

I cannot speak out too strongly against the trend in our society which shows more concern for the law breakers than for the victim.

I feel our laws must be enforced without fear and without favoritism. The first obligation of government is to maintain law and order.

Respect for law and order must be demanded and enforced if the civilization we have created is to last. Something must be done to those who say that they have the right to sit in, to riot, to burn, to loot and at the same time shout that your rights and my rights do not count. We must not let them turn our nation upside down.

I sincerely believe that whatever the trials and tests ahead the ultimate strength of our country and our cause does not lay in powerful weapons or in great resources or boundless wealth but in the unity of the people and the love for our God.

I am not one who believes in a guaranteed annual income. I prefer to put my stake in providing jobs.

We can't buy peace at home with handouts.

I have great confidence in our people. They are proud and independent. They prefer a job rather than a handout. I firmly believe it is the government's business to offer programs that make it possible to improve their own economic status. Create a desire and some ambition in our people.

Every penny we invest to bring health to our sick—education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless—will come back a hundredfold to the enrichment of America.

I think it is high time that we seek to eliminate wasteful spending but at the same time we should appropriate sufficient revenue to meet the needs of the country on a priority basis and to keep our budget in balance. We must stop talking about balancing our budget and do something about it.

I do not believe political leadership can be demonstrated by tearing down everything around us. Political leadership is demonstrated by building that which is needed.

Our government must operate on the basis of law and order blended in with the old fashion Christian beliefs that our forefathers had in the years past.

We must do something before it is

(Continued on page 34)
A successful Congressman must serve to bridge the gap between the federal, state, and local governments. We must attack the problem head-on with the full force and cooperation of the local, state, and federal governments. To accomplish this, a Congressman must open the lines of communication between his community and state and the federal government. Knowing and understanding not only the problems within his state but also having the ability to make these problems known to the federal government, he must also keep his constituents well informed of the resources available within the federal government to assist states and local communities. Many of Virginia’s Congressmen have failed to take full advantage of existing federal funds and programs in assisting the local communities.

The quality of Virginia’s leadership depends on the people who elect it. Every citizen has a responsibility not only to register and to vote, but also to inform himself of the issues and candidates involved in the election. It is the responsibility of every Virginian to exercise his right and option to vote. The state can no longer place obstacles in the citizens’ attempts to register and to vote. Two changes needed in this area are mobile registrars and a reduction of the residency requirement for voting. Virginians should be able to register where they vote, live, work, and shop. Mobile registrars would perform a service comparable to book mobiles and chest x-ray units.

Residency requirements for voting should be reduced to six months in Virginia for new citizens. The radio, TV, and press media are serving to familiarize the newcomer to Virginia with the pressing problems that his state and localities face.

Problems such as that of air, water, and noise pollution. Strengthened laws are needed to rid our streams and rivers of pollution and our air of the smog and particles which choke it. Today our lungs are subjected to every known waste material that man can discharge in the form of smoke, gas, or fumes. Industry uses our scenic and once beautiful natural waterways to float away waste and garbage. The problem of noise is now facing the residential areas. As larger airports and enlarged highways are built the human capacity for noise may well be stretched to its endurance.

Our state must expand its resources and facilities in the fields of mental health and education if we are to offer to the mentally ill and the young services which they deserve and must have.

The prosperity of the Northern Virginia area depends upon a fast efficient public transportation system which includes rapid rail transit throughout the whole Metropolitan Washington area, plus a feeder bus system to carry people to and from the stations. This rapid transit will help induce new business into our communities and will introduce greater prosperity to our communities and state.

The issues before us are great. The challenges are in front of us, and the solutions must be found. Virginia needs progressive leadership on the state, local and Congressional level—a leadership designed to preserve her traditions and to lead her to the forefront among the states.
Inflation is one of the nation's most serious problems and will, I am sure, be a major issue in the coming campaign.

The 1939 dollar now is worth only 41 cents. The cost of living is advancing at an annual rate of four percent. If inflation is not checked, at the present rate of decline the dollar will be worth only a nickel in 1982.

Huge deficits and wasteful Federal spending have spurred inflation and increased money supply by borrowing without increasing productivity. These deficits have been created while the Government is breaking all spending records.

Operating under the theory that the national debt is only "owed to ourselves," Government spenders have racked up a debt of more than $360 billion . . . a total of $3,679 for every family in the United States. The interest charges on this debt totalled $15.2 billion as of July 1 this year . . . a rate of $25 a month for every family. Give or take a few dollars, every member of your family is going into debt at the rate of $50 more each year of their lives.

As the population gets bigger the debt will get bigger, on the basis of the present Administration's approach to fiscal matters. If you have more people in the country you have to spend more Federal money, they say.

Something can be done about this debt. Along with a number of other Members of Congress, I introduced legislation last year to start cutting off Federal spending at the faucet . . . or at least diverting some of the cash flow back to the states before it gets diluted in the high priced paperwork maw in Washington.

The formula in the legislation is easy to understand; the procedure a simple one. The legislation would divert by return mail to the states 3 percent of all Federal income tax collections the first year after enactment. In four years this percentage would increase to a 5 percent rebate.

For the State of Virginia and our local governments the Federal Government would return approximately $37 million the first year . . . more than enough to encourage the State Legislature to repeal the food tax they fastened to the market baskets of our housewives.

Under the tax sharing plan the state and local governments would be free to manage their own affairs on a cash basis instead of running to Washington for almost every dime. Mountains of paper . . . application forms, referral forms, approval forms and the like . . . would be saved each step of the way, and the money now expended in processing these paper mountains would be freed for other use.

The bloated bureaucracy our people now have to contend with in Washington would be deflated as the tax rebate began to finance some local common sense approaches to programs on which Uncle Sam is now spending billions while doing little or nothing for the people they are supposed to help.

We offered Congress a workable solution in the face of growing public disgust over Federal red tape, confusion, delay and control. Congress has spent thirty some years adding agency after agency to the Federal Government without solving the problems it has attempted to solve. We suggested it is time to try the tax re-

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Vietnam War to one side although the cost of that war in terms of money has had a direct bearing on the domestic issues. The cost in blood can never be made up. The failure to conclude the war successfully has simply increased the measure of self doubt which now fills us. The stakes are too high in the Far East, not just in Vietnam, for a precipitate withdrawal. Most Americans recognize that. But a way must be found to place the security of free Asians upon themselves. If we do not lose our determination to hold on for a while longer, the signs point to a negotiated settlement. The war has certainly been punishing to the Communists, but peace in the future can best be secured by Asian self defense with American arms borne by Asian soldiers. A recent trip to the Far East assures me of this.

All of these specific problems have been compounded by a noticeable lack of confidence in the national leadership. We are a people who place great store in success. The Republic has grown to its present stature because of imaginative and courageous men who were bold and energetic. In business and in government, in factories and fields we have inherited a great country from men who had a vision of greatness which was recognized by the mass of Americans. That recognition is missing now, but there are capable men within our ranks and the mantle of leadership must be placed upon them.
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shoulder its financial burden, he asserts, "and, if in our attempt to do so we allow our level of living to be dragged down to match what we are attempting to raise, we will have served no man well. Our best guarantee for peace is to keep our country economically sound, morally and spiritually right, and militarily impregnable."

If a candidate must have a platform, he says, then his is one with a single plank—a call for righting the moral compass by adherence to principles and values which know no fashion or season in order to rediscover faith—a moving, irresistible faith—in God, in country and in self.

* * *

Southside Virginians who have known Daniel through the years insist that there are few in the area who better exemplify in their own lives the importance of faith in self.

He was born at Chatham, in Pittsylvania County, in 1914. As the son of a tenant farmer, he grew up on a tobacco farm in Mecklenburg County. Was forced to quit school at age fifteen and go to work because of his father's illness. After he started work as an hourly employee at Dan River Mills in 1939, he went to night school and earned his high school diploma. Since that time he has "risen through the ranks" in many directions—within the company to assistant to the president and board chairman and within the industry's trade association to high committee responsibility; within the American Legion to national commander; within the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce to its top office; within the Virginia House of Delegates, where he has represented Danville for five terms, to current service on the Privileges and Elections Committee, Finance Committee, Militia and Police Committee, General Laws Committee, and more than half a dozen different state commissions and committees.

His travels in connection with these various responsibilities and as a permanent member of the President's People to People Committee have taken him twice to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, to the countries of the Middle East, the Soviet Union, the NATO countries of Western Europe, Mexico, and Canada. A 1967 European trip was as a participant in Virginia's first overseas trade mission, designed to broaden the market base for Virginia agricultural and manufactured products.

Along with responsibilities have come special honors and recognition, among them the George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation for an article titled "Attacks on the Constitution," the Star of Italian Solidarity (First Class) from the Italian Nation, the Croix de Merite from the Republic of France, and the Distinguished Virginian Award from the Virginia Exchange Clubs.

In Danville, Daniel is a member of West Main Baptist Church and a trustee of Averett College, and he also is a director of some half-dozen business and philanthropic organizations in the city and elsewhere in Virginia. He and his wife, the former Ruby McGregor of Pittsylvania County, have one son, Jimmie Foxx. (by Arlon W. Johnson)
Richard H. Poff, M. C.

(Continued from page 15)

average American become his own. In other words, it required 4 months and 5 days just to earn enough money to pay the taxes imposed by all levels of government.

The Cost of Debt: "In our thinking about the national debt, we sometimes become preoccupied with what we owe and fail to consider how much what we owe costs."

"The national debt figure is the exact measure of the amount of other people's money the government is using... The interest on the national debt during fiscal 1969 will be $14.4 billion, only two other categories of spending are greater than what we spend to pay the cost of using other people's money."

"The get some idea of the size of this expense, consider the fact that if we did not have to pay $14.4 billion interest on the national debt, the government could:

... provide a $12 pair of shoes every other month for a whole year for every man, woman and child in the U. S.

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"Now comes Big Brother Bureaucrat with a new idea. He wants to set up what he calls a 'federal Data Bank.' He plans to systematize, categorize and program these 27 billion facts into giant computers so that they can be collated, coordinated and structured for instant retrieval by those who have the keys to the computers. It takes little imagination to foresee the uses to which such data and such a system could be put by either good men or bad men, depending upon who has the keys."

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those willing to help themselves. Not with more cradle to the grave welfare programs but with increased efficiency in educational and employment opportunities. Not through more federally controlled and administered programs which have not worked in the past, but through increased involvement on the part of business and unions combined. Meaningful opportunity cannot be legislated but must be guaranteed. And once offered, it must be utilized and not subsidized. When a man is willing to work for a living then he must have the right to climb as high as his ability and sweat will allow. Not because of federally enforced minimum standards, but because no American must ever be denied what is rightfully his.

Likewise, we must never sacrifice the freedoms of any man while attempting to guarantee those of another. No one should be denied the opportunity to live where his means permit or his desire may will, yet no one should ever be made to sell what is his by law to anyone to whom he chooses not to sell for whatever his personal reasons.

With regard to our innumerable problems overseas, let me rest for a moment on the most important, Vietnam. No American in his right mind relishes the thought of our present involvement. And it is naive and costly to continue the endless debate as to whether we should be there at all. The fact remains, we are there. The highest priority of thought should be given to how do we get out.

Only two roads are open to us. One would see us withdraw immediately and write off the whole of Asia. The other would be to execute our military superiority and win the war. We do have the capability of doing just that.

A. R. "Pete" Giesen, Jr.

(Continued from page 16)

In my estimation it is here the Johnson administration has misread the will of the American people. Either situation would be infinitely better than continuing the interminable entanglement which has seen over 26,000 of our boys killed, a hundred billion dollars wasted and divided our country. At this very moment, the world's greatest military power sits, as an equal, opposite the representatives of a country which is incapable of determining its own destiny, expecting to come away with a so-called honorable peace.

How long will it take for liberal democrat America to learn that freedom and communism are at opposite ends. The two are not compatible. Certainly we must try to coexist. But we must always remember that the very word coexistence carries an entirely different meaning in the communist world than it does in the free world. Communist objectives have never changed.

The only deterrent they recognize is force, retaliatory force. The same is true of Communist China. While Russia learned anew of our will to resist their encroachments in the Dominican Republic and Cuban missiles crisis, China got a mouthful in Korea. It is probably the biggest reason why they have not entered the Vietnam fighting. It would have brought total mobilization and eventual destruction of communist China. So they set the terms and design a war of circumstances favorable to them, correctly predicting that eventually the Johnson-Humphrey policy of gradualism would weaken the will of the American people and they'd get the whole pie if we pulled out in frustration.

There will be no so-called honorable peace in Vietnam or anywhere else in the world until we again make it clear that free peoples have the right to determine their own destinies. And the only thing the communists will accept is the use of effective counterforce and measures which would curtail their ability to wage war.

Surely, the mistakes of the Johnson-Humphrey administration must have taught us at least this much. Surely our will to defend the cause of freedom has not lessened. This will must not be confused or undermined by the democrat administration's absolute inability to bring the communist world to the realization that they stand to lose far more than they stand to gain should they persist in Vietnam. This is the lesson we must teach them once again.
John O. Marsh, Jr., M.C.  
(Continued from page 17)  
Responsibility: "Many of the frustrations of community life today could be eliminated or modified if the individualistic, pioneer approach to community problems were encouraged. This applies to such basic questions, in my view, as law and order, economic advancement and social welfare generally..."  
...too often, it seems, the pioneer idea of meeting needs close to home as they arise, with the means at hand, has been discarded, in the vain hope that 'passing a bill in Congress' is the simpler way, when no community program can be effective without local support, in cooperative effort to implement and enforce it, and if need be, to find the money at home to meet these home needs without the excesses of bureaucratic management from afar.

"...It is little understood by citizens generally, but the preparation of the federal budget, which comes to Congress in January of each year for the fiscal year beginning the following July 1, is begun a year in advance, and that the initiative on spending programs, within the limits of basic authorizing legislation rests for any fiscal year, largely with the Executive Branch."

He recommended, in addition to previous suggestions that, "at the close of each session, a Congressional joint resolution be adopted to place an overall limit on spending, with the exception of national emergency items—a limitation which would not be binding on the succeeding session of Congress, but which might be worded in a way to reduce shifting of funds within the Executive Branch contrary to the intent of the Congress—the elected representatives of the taxpayers."

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Andrew H. McCutcheon
(Continued from page 18)

line is going to have to be exercised as an individual responsibility in many ways.

Not merely the discipline it takes to stop what is bad and wrong . . . but also the discipline that is necessary to accomplish what is good and right.

The challenge for the Congress, it seems to me, is not just to vote “no” . . . not to oppose that with which you disagree.

The challenge before the Congress, and the country, in my judgment is to exercise discipline in finding sounder ways of attacking the problems we have . . . ways of meeting our needs within the limits of our ability to pay . . . ways of finding more adequate approaches to our difficulties abroad and the unfortunate division we find in our people at home.

So the question is:
—Do you want a first-term Congressman apparently content to continue to reject old programs?
Or do you want a new man pledged to seek sounder solutions?
I hope you will choose the search for progress which I promise.
Thank you.

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tion under existing laws throughout the country has caused the two-party system to flourish and has preserved to some extent the influence of the States in our national affairs.

I do not favor the abolition of the Electoral College if it means the creation and encouragement of splinter parties, because history has taught us that splinter parties have been the shoals on which most parliamentary governments have foundered.

Without advocating any particular point of view, but to see if a better system can be found, I will put out for the consideration and criticism of the reader this suggestion. If a candidate for President or Vice President does not receive a majority in the Electoral College, the election should go to the candidate who receives the plurality of popular votes in the entire country.

Would this not preserve the influence of the States, give effect also to population, and preserve the two-party system which has served us so well?
Jos. P. Johnson, Jr.

(Continued from page 21)

too late and I shall support all reasonable legislation introduced to stop the violence and disorder and return law and order to the country we love.

I sincerely love our country and I shall strive to keep it strong and maintain our form of government.

Born and reared on a farm in Washington County, Mr. Johnson is a graduate of Meadowview High School Emory and Henry College and the University of Richmond Law School. Married and the father of two children, he has been a practicing lawyer in Abingdon for eight years, has served two sessions in the Virginia Legislature and received the Young Man of the Year Award for 1966.

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Joel T. Broyhill, M.C.

(Continued from page 23)
bate plan and let the states and local communities try at a level closer to the problems.

The Johnson Administration and the Democratic Congressional leaders naturally ignored our proposal. Let us hope that new leadership in January will look on it with more favor. The plan may not solve the problem of inflation overnight, but it will be a big step in the direction this country must go if it is to avoid fiscal bankruptcy.

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most of her history, by which our elected representatives could serve the whole rather than segments of special interests. Today the state is less homogenous ideologically, with the gulls existing in viewpoints between separate sections. However, the sections mostly seem to elect representatives who reflect the viewpoints of the majority of their constituents. In its entirety the state is still without those fragmentations which cause representatives to seek blocs of special interests.

Because of the traumatic experience of Republican rule during Reconstruction, until recently Virginia did not participate actively in the two-party system, but today — except in certain areas — conditioning from the past would scarcely be a major contribution to voting habits. But, as a result of the long existence of what amounted to a one-party system, among other factors, the state voters do have the habit of acceptance of things more or less as they are. Thus, there is no Republican candidate opposing Downing in the 1st District nor Abbit in the 4th, while Republican Poff in the 6th has no Democratic opposition. This looks more like lack of participation among the state voters than anything of the chasm which is said to have grown at the national level between the political organizations and the younger and the enlightened electorate.

Whether or not the party system as now known does provide the voters with a real choice in candidates is a point which could be argued from many angles. Certainly Roosevelt, for example, after he was known to the people following his first term in office, would have been nationally the peoples' choice, and Eisenhower, as a war hero, would have been the peoples' choice whatever party nominated him. Then Goldwater, as poorly as he did, seemed to have been chosen a candidate more as a peoples' choice than by the decisions of party bosses made in the smoke-filled room. That is,
while younger voters do seem to feel alienated by the operation of the machinery of party systems, and while the system has undoubtedly turned up some feeble choices, a number of intelligent and well-informed political observers believe the party system as it survives remains the best known method of choosing candidates for office. The real point is that the system is what we have, for good or ill, and meaningful participation can be most effectively taken within the operational system—including, of course, that of any new party which emerges.

It was nearly two-and-one-half centuries ago that Bolingbroke wrote his brilliant attacks against the party system as established by Walpole in England, and yet it was under this system of practical politics that Great Britain reached her greatest glories—and also her great decline. Probably it could be argued that the system was suited to the 18th and 19th centuries, and became out-dated in the second half of the 20th century. It could doubtless also be argued that Great Britain’s decline—as well as the mess that America is in—was due to other factors. Or, perhaps, there might be some combination of both.

In Virginia, political theorists would be further confused by the seventy-five years from 1700 to the Revolution when the greatest glory of Virginians in government was created by a no party system. It was a period when without question the men best qualified to govern were elected to office, but it was also a period when practical politics were practiced by an oligarchy which controlled the Colony’s government. After Virginia, as a state, sent representatives to the national government, it would be ridiculous to claim that Virginia continually sent to Washington—as earlier it had to Williamsburg—the men best qualified to govern; but in the 177 years during which the state elected its representatives to the national government, Virginia can justly claim that her citizens usually sent men whom the voters could regard as truly
representing the interests of the state as those interests were conceived by the constituents.

Certainly in this coming election, the candidates are in the main tradition in the representation of their constituents. In the responsibilities they have assumed in a period that can be regarded as critical, these Virginians deserve to be supported for their participation in the realities as they exist today. They deserve to be supported by a voter participation which considers these realities and is not diverted by the current rise of political theories which stress alienation between the electorate and organized parties.

Because the electorate of today is more enlightened is the reason that Virginians should demonstrate the enlightenment by participation. For, if the often-described gap has grown between the younger voters and the standard operations of party politics, the gap will be closed by voter participation within the only system which is at present functioning. Changes, as desired, can be wrought within the structure within which the Virginia candidates have offered their services as national representatives of the state. Whatever changes the future may bring, for the present hour of growing fear at the nation's course, Virginia needs the participation of its citizens by which its representatives can know the expressions of the electorate's attitudes. Only by making known their wishes, their hopes and fears, their convictions and beliefs, can the voters assure their representatives of the extent to which they are truly representing Virginians according to the best traditions of Virginia.
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