

Title: **State's penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program**
 Author: BY SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com
 Size: 201.19 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



State's penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program

Records show too few state inspections, fines that could have enhanced safety

BY SAMMY FRETWELL
sfretwell@thestate.com

Tree limbs, broken medical equipment, crumbling walls and ankle-deep muck greeted Nori Warren the day she walked into her storm-battered veterinary clinic after the worst flood Columbia had experienced in decades.

Upstream dams had broken, adding millions of gallons of water to the already rain-choked Gills Creek system. Warren's business, Four Paws Animal Clinic, sustained about \$600,000 in flood damage that her insurance won't cover.

Today, as Warren seeks financing to build a new clinic, she says a stronger state dam safety program could have protected her business from the damage it suffered in October.

"In hindsight, they could have done more," Warren said of S.C. regulators.

"What is it that we can put in place to make them do more? There certainly are a lot of questions."

State officials have taken steps since the flood to improve dam safety. But, after years of inattention, those efforts still fall short.

The Legislature approved \$595,000 in added money to double the size of the dam safety program's staff in the state's new budget, which takes effect July 1.

State environmental

chief Catherine Heigel says that only will bring the program back to a basic level of service. But the added money won't pay for annual inspections of all high-hazard S.C. dams.

Heigel, director of the S.C. Department of Health and Environmental Control, said South Carolina also must consider strengthening its dam safety law – a measure that would allow the agency to do more than the basics.

"We have the opportunity to improve in a lot of places in the agency, but this is one that is squarely before us because of the experience that we had last fall," Heigel said. "That is what that legislation was reflective of – that real serious look at what do we need to do to be truly effective."

Legislation, introduced earlier this year, called for more frequent inspections of dams in heavily populated areas, increasing penalties for dam owners who don't obey state laws, and requiring high-hazard dam owners to post bonds that would pay to remove the structures if their embankments became dangerous.

But legislators in the S.C. House killed the plan, citing concerns that dam owners could not afford to make improvements if

inspectors looked at the structures more frequently and demanded fixes. Farmers also complained they might be unfairly burdened, even though the legislation did not focus on rural farm ponds.

Some lawmakers blamed the dam failures last fall on rainfall so unusual and heavy that it seldom would be seen again.

"Our concern was that we not have a wave of regulations and additional costs going back to our property owners all of a sudden because of this event that occurred," state Rep. Stephen Moss, R-Cherokee, said at a February meeting in which lawmakers shot down the proposal.

Tightening the law would cost another \$770,000, above and beyond the \$595,000 increase approved by the Legislature for DHEC next year. Had the law been strengthened, DHEC would have a total of 19 dam safety staff members in a program that recently had only one.

Heigel said her agency will "be back" to argue the case for tougher dam safety laws next year if "there is an appetite" by any lawmaker to sponsor new legislation.

Gov. Nikki Haley's of-

fice acknowledged the added money in the state budget that takes effect July 1 might be only a start of what is needed.

"The FY 2016-17 (governor's) budget fully funded the department's request for 7 dam safety professionals, but the governor understands that the department may need to request additional resources in the future," Haley spokeswoman Chaney Adams said in an email to The State newspaper.

IGNORING DAMS

For years, South Carolina's dam safety program, administered by the Department of Health and Environmental Control, operated on paltry budgets.

In 2005, the state's \$200,000 expenditure on the program was among the eight lowest amounts

spent nationally, according to the national Association of State Dam Safety Officials. By 2007, funding for employees to run the program had dipped to \$121,609, according to DHEC. Even after the economy began to revive in 2010, DHEC spent only \$144,570 on the program, DHEC statistics show.

That frugality cost the state dearly during last fall's flood, many now say.

During those lean years,

Title: **State s penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program**
 Author: BY SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com
 Size: 201.19 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

state inspectors were unable to examine many hazardous dams as often as necessary. They failed to regulate some potentially dangerous dams and they seldom issued fines against dam owners for violations of S.C. law, records show.

State Sen. Vincent Sheheen, D-Kershaw, said top state policy makers were so focused on trying to cut costs and lower taxes that they hurt vital government services, including dam safety.

"The key (question) is: 'Is the government doing its job?'" Sheheen said. "That means maintaining dams. The bad things that happened in Richland County weren't as a result of acts of God. They were problems that were exa-

cerbated by acts of man."

Statewide, 48 state-regulated dams failed during the October storm. Many more unregulated dams also crumbled.

Sheheen blames Gov. Haley and former Gov. Mark Sanford for creating a mindset that discouraged some agencies from seeking money to bolster programs.

"This destruction of state government has had real and lasting consequences," said Democrat Sheheen, who ran against Republican Haley in 2010 and 2014.

Haley's office says Sheheen considers "attacking the governor to be his job."

But the governor also blamed DHEC – an agency she controls – for the

lack of dam safety funding. The agency didn't make it clear that its dam safety office was in dire need of more money, Haley's office said.

"The governor's executive budget relies on requests from agencies about what their most pressing needs are, and the department had not, in previous years, expressed the degree of concern about the operations of the dam safety program that would elevate it to the level of receiving additional appropriations," Haley spokeswoman Adams said in an email to The State newspaper.

After last October's flooding, Haley supported a \$595,000 increase in the dam safety program's budget, requested by

DHEC. The Legislature approved the money as part of the new state budget. The extra money will roughly double the dam safety budget to more than \$1 million in the fiscal year that starts July 1.

Former dam safety director Steve Bradley said he tried to persuade top DHEC officials long ago to push for more money but was unsuccessful.

In 2006, the agency abandoned plans to inspect dams each year because of budget constraints, department records show. In 2005,

SEE DAMS, 11A

ONLINE

THESTATE.COM: Video: Did DHEC fail S.C. during 2015 flood?

FROM PAGE 9A

DAMS

DHEC inspected 59 high-hazard dams. The next year, it inspected only 40 high-hazard dams.

To inspect dams, the agency was relying heavily on staffers who also inspected wastewater plants, drinking water systems and other activities, Bradley said.

"The district inspectors were tied down, had a lot of other jobs to do, and limited time to spend on dams," Bradley said. "All the district personnel doing inspections didn't make up one full-time employee."

The agency also did not bring potentially dangerous dams under its authority because it lacked money, he said. South Carolina has about 2,400 dams regulated by DHEC, but at least 10,000 more do not fall

under government oversight. Bradley estimates at least 1,000 unregulated dams need some type of state oversight.

Aside from those issues, records show DHEC's enforcement of dam safety laws has been spotty.

From 1994, when DHEC took charge of the dam safety program, through September 2015, the agency made only 12 enforcement cases against dam owners, according to records reviewed last year by The State newspaper.

A GRIM TALE

Warren, the daughter of a country doctor from Great Falls, said she knows the firsthand effects of broken dams.

After the flood, nearly 10 feet of water filled her animal clinic. The water

remained for three days inside the 1950s-era structure on Gills Creek, she said.

The surging water wrecked the building the 53-year-old Warren and several fellow veterinarians have used since 2009. They now are working out of a temporary building near Five Points.

Warren said she expects to spend more than \$1 million to rebuild the structure.

Insurance covered only about \$400,000 of that loss. Her practice is borrowing money from a bank to pay for the rest and is working with contractors to construct a new, elevated building on the same spot.

Warren doesn't single out a specific dam for criticism. But, she added,

"The degree of flooding we suffered was directly related to the dam breaks."

Over the three-day period in which flood waters filled her clinic, at least four dams directly upstream from Warren's office failed. Other dams farther up in the watershed also failed.

On Oct. 4, the Cary Lake dam broke, according to a timeline by the Gills Creek Watershed Association. Sometime that day an unregulated dam at Pine Tree Lake, which lies above Cary Lake, also failed, according to the timeline.

The next day, the Upper Rockyford Lake dam failed, federal records show.

The Lower Rockyford

Title: **State s penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program**
 Author: BY SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com
 Size: 201.19 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

Lake dam failed Oct. 6, according to a federal report.

Lawsuits by some of Warren's neighbors say dam breaks – at Cary, Upper Rockyford and an unidentified lake – let a torrent of water rush downstream and cause massive property damage to homes and businesses in the Gills Creek watershed.

Columbia lawyer Pete Strom, who is handling the cases, identified the unregulated dam as the broken structure at Pine Tree Lake.

Representatives of Cary Lake and Upper Rockyford

Lake dispute the claims that those dam failures caused any problems downstream. Property owners say they did their best to maintain the dams. Any losses suffered downstream “were not due or caused by any negligence,” according to a response defending Cary Lake Homeowners Association.

But attorney Strom said DHEC shares responsibility with upstream dam owners for millions of dollars in damage to property.

“If DHEC would have been on top of this and these dams were all properly maintained, that number would be much

smaller,” Strom said.

Warren, who favors improving the state dam safety effort, said she’ll press ahead with her recovery plan.

But she said it is hard to forget the legacy of broken dams – and the state’s lack of oversight.

“I went through the entire emotional gamut,” she said. “I was confused, disoriented, mad, angry, emotional and distraught.”

“

“OUR CONCERN WAS THAT WE NOT

HAVE A WAVE OF REGULATIONS AND ADDITIONAL COSTS GOING BACK TO OUR PROPERTY OWNERS ALL OF A SUDDEN BECAUSE OF THIS EVENT THAT OCCURRED.”

State Rep. Stephen Moss, R-Cherokee, opposing a proposal in February to toughen South Carolina's dam safety law

PAYING FOR DAM SAFETY

For years, South Carolina's dam safety program was poorly funded, ranking as one of the most poorly funded in the nation.

Year	Dam safety budget	Full-time dam safety jobs
2005	\$200,000	2.5
2006	\$121,609	1.5
2007	\$121,609	1.5
2008	\$159,903	2.5
2009	\$129,020	1.5
2010	\$144,570	2.4
2011	\$242,377	2.4
2012	\$190,612	3.2
2013	\$288,939	2.7
2014	\$358,062	4.3
2015	\$452,099	6.75
2016	\$1,064,000	13.75 (1)

SOURCES: DHEC, Association of State Dam Safety Officials
 (1) Staff size after budget increase set for July 1

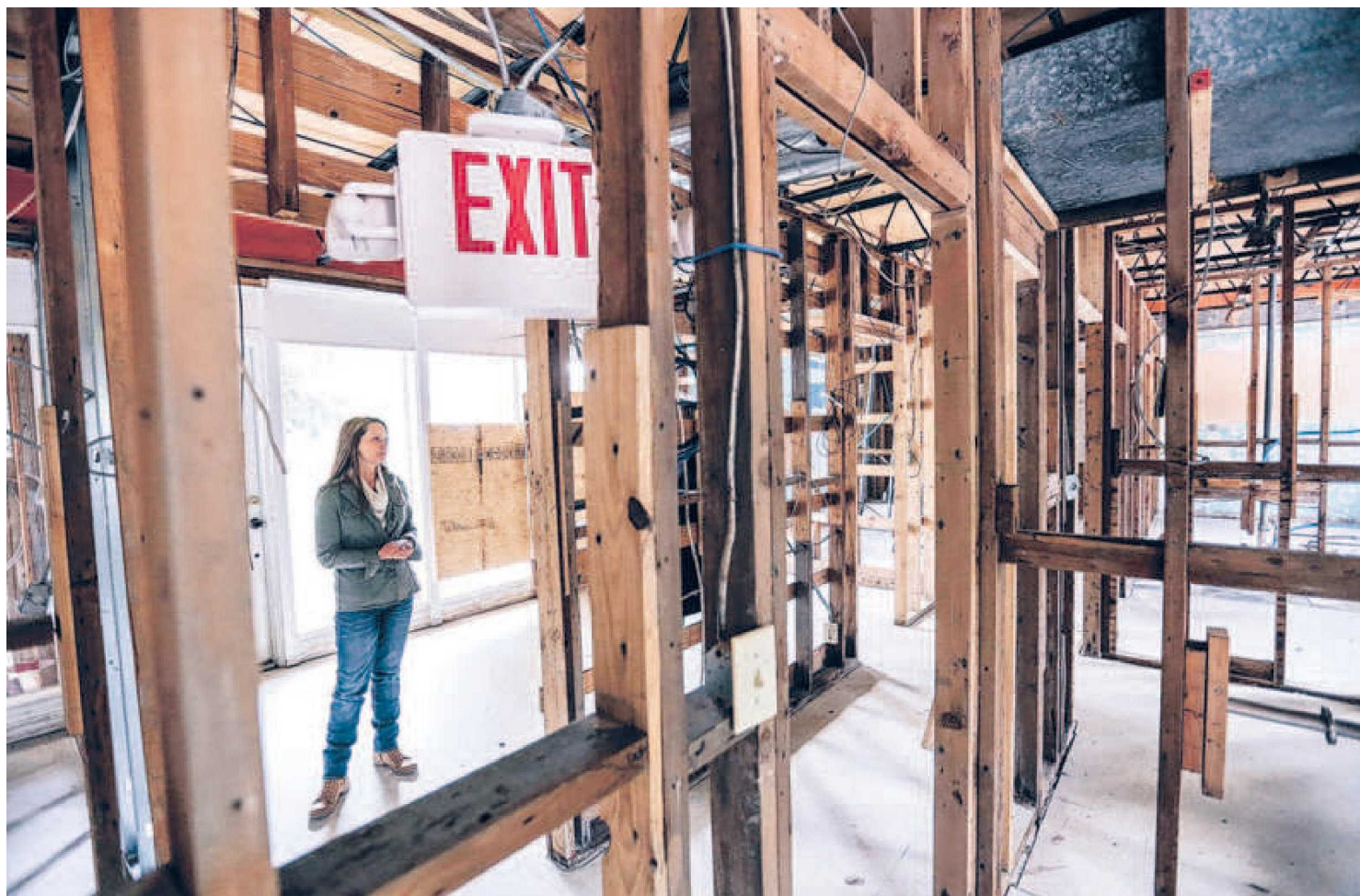
Title: **State s penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program**
Author: BY SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com
Size: 201.19 column inches
Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com

Wreckage of Cary Lake dam after the October 2015 flooding in Columbia.

Title: **State s penny-pinching ways crippled dam safety program**
Author: BY SAMMY FRETWELL sfretwell@thestate.com
Size: 201.19 column inches
Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



MATT WALSH mwals@thestate.com

Nori Warren's business, Four Paws Animal Clinic, sustained about \$600,000 in flood damage that her insurance won't cover. Warren, who is seeking financing as she rebuilds, believes the state could have done more to avoid devastating dam failures that caused flooding during the October storm.

Title: **Haley's status: Lame duck?**
 Author: BY CASSIE COPE ccope@thestate.com
 Size: 49.75 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



THE BUZZ

Haley's status: Lame duck?

For six years, Gov. Haley has clashed with members of the Legislature

In final two years in office, some legislators see Republican governor's influence waning

BY CASSIE COPE
ccope@thestate.com

Gov. **Nikki Haley**'s influence over the S.C. Legislature is waning.

In her six years in office, Haley – like her Republican predecessor Mark Sanford – has clashed repeatedly with lawmakers in the GOP-controlled General Assembly.

In her first term, Haley gave lawmakers report cards. She also once told a real estate

group to “take a good shower” after visiting the State House, and she often takes to her Facebook page urging lawmakers to vote a certain way on legislation.

This year, Haley helped a political group raise more than \$500,000,



Haley

mostly from out-of-state donors, in an effort to oust longtime state Senate leaders in the June 14 GOP primary.

However, Haley's chosen challengers won only one of the three Senate contests thus far decided. (Another will be decided by a June 28 runoff.)

Haley succeeded in ousting state Sen. **Wes Hayes**, R-York, one of three longtime state Sen-

ate leaders she targeted.

But she failed to oust Senate President Pro Tempore **Hugh Leatherman**, R-Florence, the state's most powerful politician, and state Sen. **Luke Ran-kin**, R-Horry, head of the Senate Ethics Committee.

Afterward, Leatherman acknowledges he told a primary-night victory

SEE BUZZ, 6A

FROM PAGE 3A

BUZZ

party that not only was Haley a lame duck, she was a “dead duck.”

State Rep. **Chip Limehouse**, a Charleston Republican who did not seek re-election, criticized the role Haley tried to play in the primaries.

“It's not good form for a sitting governor to go after members of his or her own party,” Limehouse said.

“I don't think it makes

getting her agenda passed for next year any easier,” he said, adding Haley targeting Leatherman “was a mistake at every different level.”

The influence of governors typically wanes in the last two years of their term, said Leatherman, whose legislative tenure has seen six governors. However, backing challengers to sitting legislators – and failing to unseat

them – could make Haley even more likely to become a lame duck, he added.

Florence County voters did not appreciate the governor telling them who should be their senator, Leatherman said, adding that Haley's opposition helped him win re-election.

“I've even considered writing her a letter thanking her for helping me

win,” Leatherman told The Buzz.

S.C. House Majority Leader **Bruce Bannister**, R-Greenville, says Haley's position is perfectly normal.

The closer a governor gets to the end of his or her term, the more people start looking forward to what is coming next, Bannister said. “Like the presidents and governors before her, obviously,

Title: **Haley's status: Lame duck?**
 Author: BY CASSIE COPE ccope@thestate.com
 Size: 49.75 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

she's in the last two years of her term."

Not everyone agrees Haley's influence is waning.

Haley has used her bully pulpit effectively in the past, most successfully when she called for lawmakers to remove the Confederate flag from the State House in the wake of the Charleston church shooting.

"I still think she drives the agenda," said state Rep. **Rick Quinn**, R-Lexington, a Haley ally.



He added lawmakers passed two ethics proposals before going home for the summer. "If she wasn't pushing those bills, we never would have passed them."

Another Haley ally, state Sen. **Harvey Peeler**, R-Cherokee, said, "I've tried to be her supporter long before now, and I will continue to try to be."

LEGISLATORS BACK LEXINGTON SOLICITOR CANDIDATE

Two top state Senate Republicans are lining up behind veteran prosecutor **Rick Hubbard** in the 11th Circuit solicitor's race in Lexington County and nearby areas.

Sens. **Katrina Shealy** of Red Bank and **Shane Massey** of Edgefield, the Senate majority leader, both are supporting Hubbard in his June 28 Republican runoff contest with **Candice Lively**.

Earlier in the race, Lively, a former Horry County prosecutor, went to Shealy

for advice about running an anti-establishment campaign.

However, the senators say Hubbard's experience – as a former 11th Circuit prosecutor and deputy S.C. attorney general – fits the bill for what's needed as chief prosecutor in Lexington, Edgefield, McCormick and Saluda counties.

Staff writer *Tim Flach* contributed. Cassie Cope: 803-771-8657, @cassielcope

Title: **S.C.Republicans should follow Graham's lead on Trump**
 Author:
 Size: 22.01 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



S.C. Republicans should follow Graham's lead on Trump



Every four years, Republicans have to swallow their pride and throw their support behind the nominee in order to face our common enemy — Democrats. Some candidates demand more out of us than others. One can only imagine the immense humility it took for Sen. Lindsey Graham to endorse Ted Cruz. But he knew it was for the greater good.

That said, no mountain has ever been taller to climb for many principled Republicans than Donald Trump.

South Carolina's leaders have fallen behind Trump, except for Sen. Graham. It's significant that Gov. Nikki Haley, Sen. Tim Scott

and Rep. Trey Gowdy have said that they will back him, because to many, they represent a fresh face for conservatism, reform-minded leaders who can sell the conservative idea. We can expect to be able to defend their actions without compromising our basic moral code.

But their support of Trump is completely indefensible. Admittedly, the prospect of a Clinton administration and a liberal Supreme Court can give the staunchest of Never Trump champions second thoughts. But we can rely on Mr. Trump to reinforce our resolve when he does things like suggest that a judge can't be impartial because he is of Mexican descent.

Sen. Graham said of the judge comments: "If anybody was

looking for an off-ramp, this is probably it. There'll come a time when the love of country will trump hatred of Hillary."

Those who continue to support Trump will have to give an account for his comments when the Trump flame burns out.

Our leaders seem to be slaves to party unity at all costs. But

they ought to consider Sen. Graham's advice and withdraw their support for Trump. They should reject the poisonous tenor of his campaign and call him what he is: a narcissistic, authoritarian populist who preys on people's anger and anxieties. That would do more for the GOP than a desperate rally around Trump. I doubt politicians will admit a mistake, but *dum spiro spero*.

— Jordan Morales
Columbia

Title: **1 year after church shooting, much is the same**
 Author: BY JEFFREY COLLINS AND JONATHAN DREW Associated Press
 Size: 137.79 column inches
 Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



1 year after church shooting, much is the same

Since the Charleston church shooting, the Confederate flag has been taken down from the Statehouse grounds

Most other Confederate symbols remain, including streets named after generals

Why hasn't more changed?

BY JEFFREY COLLINS AND JONATHAN DREW

Associated Press
 CHARLESTON

The names of Confederate generals still adorn street signs in Charleston's public housing projects, and a heroic waterfront statue dedicated to the Confederate Defenders of Charleston still faces Fort Sumter, where the first shots of the Civil War were fired.

Just down from the Emanuel AME church — where nine black parishioners studying their Bibles were gunned down one year ago — a statue of Vice President John C. Calhoun, a staunch defender of slavery, towers above a park.

After the June 17, 2015, massacre, South Carolina lawmakers did what many people thought was impossible to achieve and removed the Confederate flag from the Statehouse grounds in Columbia. Across the country, as far away as Alaska, officials moved to strip streets, college dormitories and even lakes of the names of Confederates, secessionists and public figures who championed segregation.

But a year later, little has changed in Charleston, the city where tens of thousands of enslaved Africans first set foot in North America. It was here that the work of plantation slaves made the city one of the wealthiest in the nation before the Civil War. It was here where the bombardment of Fort Sumter threw the nation into that war in 1861.

A section of a street in front of the white stucco Emanuel AME church may have been renamed "Mother Emanuel Way Memorial District," but all of Charleston's Confederate commemorations remain intact — and longstanding racial issues endure.

"I think a lot of things happened out of the immediate emotions of how horrific the killings were. That's the human side of folks and the politeness, particularly of Charleston, that we just had to do something. But then when reality checks us — the question is what is that going to cost us in terms of changing the way we think and do things?" said Dot Scott, president of the Charleston

branch of the NAACP.

A white man who police said hated blacks and posted photos of himself with the Confederate flag has been charged with killing the nine parishioners.

"It was truly an attack on a race of people," Malcolm Graham, the brother of victim Cynthia Hurd, said of the shootings. "After 400 years, the African-American community still is suffering and dealing with these types of issues relating to race."

So why was there not a push to remove Confederate symbols in Charleston following the church attack?

Bernard Powers, a black College of Charleston history professor, noted that it took a 15-year struggle to get the flag removed from the Statehouse grounds and that it happened only after the slayings.

"People see what it took, and ultimately that flag was removed because nine people were murdered," said Powers, who co-authored a book about the massacre called "We are Charleston." "I think people appreciate how deeply entrenched the

reverence is for the Confederacy. For a lot of folks, it is a civil religion."

As soon as South Carolina lawmakers voted to pull down the flag, they shut the door on any other changes.

Gov. Nikki Haley had pushed for the flag to come down but feared that going further would incite fights across the state, so she asked lawmakers to protect all the other flags and monuments while removing the Statehouse flag.

"Our goal was to hold everything together. Let's

do what we can, let's be kind and accepting and understand history is just that — it's history," she said.

So a statue of former Gov. and U.S. Sen. "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman still stands on the Statehouse grounds. Tillman once famously praised a lynch mob that killed seven black Republicans in 1876 to intimidate others from voting. The statue calls him a "friend and leader of the common people" but makes no mention of the violence he bragged about for decades,



Title: **1 year after church shooting, much is the same**
 Author: BY JEFFREY COLLINS AND JONATHAN DREW Associated Press
 Size: 137.79 column inches
 Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238

something black lawmakers would like to see added.

Changing a monument requires a two-thirds vote, and South Carolina and House Speaker Jay Lucas has vowed to block changes of any kind.

That means the Citadel, South Carolina's Charleston-based military college, has to keep the Confederate flag up in the campus chapel among the flags of the 50 states and other territories, even though the school's board of visitors voted to take it down.

It's not just South Carolina. North Carolina passed a bill protecting its Confederate monuments, and other Southern states also made it harder to alter monuments

or change the names of buildings honoring prominent Confederates.

Like many southern states, just about every North Carolina county has a monument extolling the bravery and honor of its Confederate soldiers.

University of North Carolina history professor W. Fitzhugh Brundage, who is white, said he understands blacks who feel alienated seeing statues in public places honoring those who fought a war in large part to keep them enslaved.

"That is a reminder that this state's history includes an organized effort to keep people like you, African-Americans, enslaved at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds

of millions of dollars of destruction," he said.

Though the monuments remain, the Confederate fervor may be fading decade by decade in Charleston. The area commemorated the 150th anniversary of the Civil War earlier this decade with subdued events at Fort Sumter and elsewhere, compared to the celebratory mood surrounding the 100th anniversary. And there was a new emphasis on slavery as a cause of the war and the roles that blacks played in the conflict.

Daniel Turner, a 57-year-old wastewater treatment plant operator from Charlotte, North Carolina, visiting Charleston's Confederate Museum, said he realizes why the Confederate flag

is offensive to many.

"I understand the flag," Turner said. "There are bad people who used it. But the monuments are different. They are a part of history. We can't change that."

Brundage said he expects skirmishes over Confederate monuments to continue to pop up across the South, but that a full-scale removal of Confederate symbols still seems a long way off, even generations removed from the Civil War.

"The flag may be down in front of the Statehouse of South Carolina, but the landscape of South Carolina is still full - bursting - with symbols honoring the Confederacy," the professor said. "And they're going to be there."

“

I THINK A LOT OF THINGS HAPPENED OUT OF THE IMMEDIATE EMOTIONS OF HOW HORRIFIC THE KILLINGS WERE. ... BUT THEN WHEN REALITY CHECKS US - THE QUESTION IS WHAT IS THAT GOING TO COST US IN TERMS OF CHANGING THE WAY WE THINK AND DO THINGS?

Dot Scott, president of the Charleston branch of the NAACP

Title: **1 year after church shooting,much is the same**
Author: BY JEFFREY COLLINS AND JONATHAN DREW Associated Press
Size: 137.79 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



AP file photo

After nine black parishioners were slain at a Charleston church, South Carolina did what many thought would never happen: It moved the Confederate flag off Statehouse grounds. But Charleston and other areas of the South mostly remain unchanged.

Title: **1 year after church shooting,much is the same**
Author: BY JEFFREY COLLINS AND JONATHAN DREW Associated Press
Size: 137.79 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



BRUCE SMITH AP file photo

Bree Newsome of Charlotte, N.C., climbs a flagpole to remove the Confederate battle flag at a Confederate monument in front of the Statehouse in Columbia.

Title: **Mourners recall victims at service**
 Author: BY BRUCE SMITH Associated Press
 Size: 116.71 column inches
 Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



CHARLESTON CHURCH SHOOTING

Mourners recall victims at service

BY BRUCE SMITH

Associated Press

CHARLESTON

South Carolina's governor somberly held up programs from the funerals of the victims of the Charleston church shootings, saying Friday during a memorial service that the faith of those victims showed how to heal in the aftermath of still another mass shooting.

"As for me, I will forever know that there are angels on Earth," said Gov. Nikki Haley during a three-hour service that was alternately somber and then punctuated by joyous singing.

Friday was the anniversary of the shooting deaths of nine black parishioners during a Bible study at Emanuel AME Church. A white man, Dylann Roof, faces charges in both state and federal courts and prosecutors in each are seeking the death penalty.

Haley, who attended the funerals of all the victims, said she got to know the families of both those who were killed and the three survivors in the days and weeks following the shootings.

"There hasn't been a day since June 17, 2015 that I haven't thought about the 12," she said.

She recalled each victim, sometimes with gentle humor, as she showed the funeral programs she says she keeps as reminders.

The Rev. DePayne Middleton-Doctor "had

the voice of an angel," she said.

Haley recalled state Sen. Clementa Pinckney, the Emanuel pastor who was slain as "a gentle giant" and a man "who never talked about what he was against. He always spoke about what he was for."

Haley said that in the wake of the shootings - after which many family members of the victims said they forgave Roof, the suspect charged in the deaths - the people of South Carolina "didn't have protests, they had vigils. They didn't have riots, they had hugs."

The College of Charleston's TD Arena, where the service was held, sits about 5,000 people and was about half full. The stage was lined with the pictures of the nine people killed. Above each were the words "Still Speaking from Eternity."

It's the same venue where President Barack Obama gave a rousing eulogy during the funeral for Pinckney that included a rendition of the hymn "Amazing Grace" for the packed audience at the TD Arena. The Obamas were accompanied by Vice President Joe Biden and his wife, Jill; nearly 6,000 people attended the funeral. Some 5,000 would-be mourners were turned away, apparently for lack of seating.

SEE CHARLESTON, 4A

FROM PAGE 1A

CHARLESTON

On Friday, a presidential aide read a message to the congregation from Obama and the first lady in which they said "as a nation we are deeply moved by your boundless love and your unshakeable resilience."

In the wake of the shootings, officials and businesses nationwide have taken steps to distance themselves from Confederate symbols and name. The suspect, Roof, had appeared in photos with the Confederate flag.

In Texas, the Austin school board voted to rename Robert E. Lee Elementary. The Houston school board voted to rename seven schools named for Confederate leaders. Ohio State Fair officials

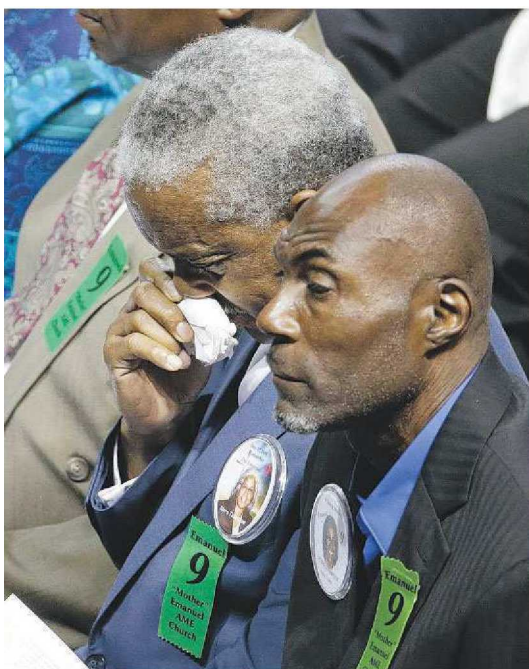
banned vendors from selling Confederate flag merchandise. In New Jersey, the nation's oldest and largest flag manufacturer decided a week after the shootings to stop making and selling the Confederate flag.

Title: **Mourners recall victims at service**
Author: BY BRUCE SMITH Associated Press
Size: 116.71 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238

“

[THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA]
DIDN'T HAVE PROTESTS, THEY HAD VIGILS.
THEY DIDN'T HAVE RIOTS, THEY HAD
HUGS.

Gov. Nikki Haley, of the reaction after the shooting



Rev. Anthony Thompson, husband of victim Myra Thompson, wipes his face during a memorial in Charleston on Friday, on the anniversary of the killing of nine black parishioners during bible study.

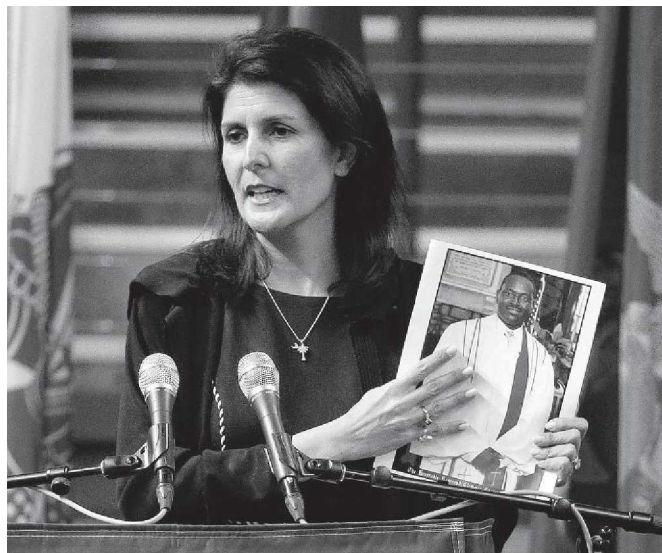
Title: **Mourners recall victims at service**
Author: BY BRUCE SMITH Associated Press
Size: 116.71 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



PHOTOS BY CHUCK BURTON AP

A man takes video of nine ribbons placed in front of the Mother Emanuel AME Church in Charleston on Friday.

Title: **Mourners recall victims at service**
Author: BY BRUCE SMITH Associated Press
Size: 116.71 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



CHUCK BURTON AP

Gov. Nikki Haley holds a photo of Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney as she speaks during a memorial service Friday in Charleston.

Title: **Mo-ped regulations way overdue**

Author:

Size: 7.28 column inches

Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238



Mo-ped regulations way overdue

Kudos to state Sen. Greg Hembree for sponsoring the mo-ped bill, and shame on Gov. Nikki Haley for vetoing it.

I often have come up upon a mo-ped doing 30 mph in a 50 mph zone and have nearly collided with them. They are very difficult to see, especially at night.

No rules on DUI? How stupid.

People older than 18 should decide for themselves what they should wear for safety? Haley doesn't get it. People of all ages are required to wear seat belts.

It would be a terrible situation if Haley's limo driver came upon a drunk mo-ped driver and hit and killed him. How would she feel then?

She needs to wake up and exercise common sense.

- Tom Powell, North Myrtle Beach

Title: **State of grace? Not at the S.C. House**
 Author: BY CINDIROSS SCOPPE
 Size: 54.56 column inches
 Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238


EDITORIAL

State of grace? Not at the S.C. House

BY CINDI ROSS SCOPPE

It felt, for a too-brief time, like everything truly had changed.

After we were shocked by the horror of a pastor and eight members of his flock massacred in their church, for the sin of being black. After we stared into the face of pure evil — and then were bathed in redeeming grace as we witnessed, in those forgiving family members, deep and abiding faith. After our horror turned into compassion as we realized the faith that unites us is stronger than race or ideology or class or anything else that divides us.

After white South Carolina, inspired by that newly recognized kinship, was horrified anew to realize that out of our ignorance or indifference, we had caused pain to our fellow Christians, and our political leaders responded by removing the Confederate flag — the one the evil killer had wrapped himself in — from the grounds of our State House.

After all of that, we thought we were a new people.

People who understand the politics of South Carolina said they had to act immediately to remove the flag because waiting until January would be too long. This wouldn't last, at least not inside the State House. And a year after the massacre, it seems all too clear that they were right.

It was never realistic to think there would be policy changes beyond the flag, at least not in the short term. Even the politician who seemed the most deeply moved by the massacre, Gov. Nikki Haley, drew a very bright line between symbolism and tone on the one hand and public policy on the other.

She could have great empathy for the families of the Emanuel innocents; she could condemn a presidential candidate's inflammatory

and divisive rhetoric. But in her worldview, expanding Medicaid was simply throwing good money after a bad program. Mourning the death of state Sen. Clementa Pinckney, who considered expanding Medicaid a top political priority, would never change that.

In her worldview, the most dangerous thing about guns is that there aren't enough people carrying them. Her compassion for people whose loved ones were massacred with a gun that couldn't have been bought but for a loophole in federal gun laws wasn't going to change that. Nor would it change her support for tax cuts that Sen. Pinckney saw as stealing resources that could have helped the poor in other ways.

What did seem realistic following the massacre and the flag removal — a Kumbaya period that was extended by the grace-filled response to the October floods — was that we might have a different kind of relationships and a different kind of dialogue. Relationships built on a willingness to consider the experiences and expectations and opinions of people who have very different life experiences than we do. Dialogues that begin with looking afresh at assumptions we never really questioned.

After all, in the days after the Emanuel tragedy, our legislators reached across racial divides and talked and listened to each other in ways most of them never had before.

If that continued into 2016, it was subtle and sporadic at best. If white Republicans recognized that they had pursued policies that disproportionately injured black people, and rejected policies that would have offered a helping hand to those who need it most, they didn't let on. If black Democrats recognized that they had been too

quick to assume deliberate racial motives on the part of Republicans, they didn't say so. If white and black, Republican and Democrat recognized that race is not always the motivation for others' actions, if they were willing to listen more openly and try harder to come to agreement on making South Carolina a better place for us all, it didn't show.

I don't suggest that lawmakers were extra divisive or went out of their way to give or take offense. I mean they did not go out of their way to not give or take offense. There were no moments of insight, when they understood each other in ways they never imagined they could, no surprising new consensus. They are no worse than they were a year ago. They are simply no better.

And what of the rest of us? Have we done any better than our leaders? Have we changed? Or have we scurried back to our safe places, where we have our opinions and assumptions affirmed by people who think like us and look like us and exist in the same echo-chamber as we do?

If we truly are people of faith and of good will, then the challenge remains as it ever has been: to love our neighbors as ourselves. To become people who are willing to apologize when we are wrong — and forgive when we are wronged. To become people who recognize that we sometimes do harm even when we mean no harm — and that others sometimes mean no injury even when they injure us.

We need to insist our elected leaders do the same — or else replace them with leaders who already have.

Scoppe writes editorials and columns for The State. Reach her at cscoppe@thestate.com or follow her on Twitter @CindiScoppe.



Title: **State of grace? Not at the S.C. House**
Author: BY CINDIROSS SCOPPE
Size: 54.56 column inches
Myrtle Beach, SC Circulation: 61238

**Emanuel AME Church massacre seemed to change SC, its people
Grace of victims' forgiving families touched & inspired us, led
Legislature to remove Confederate flag from State House grounds
On eve of anniversary of racist killing, it's hard to find lasting impact
beyond flag**

Title: **'Don't forget these people, 'Haley says**
 Author: BY SARAH ELLIS sellis@thestate.com
 Size: 163.83 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



'Don't forget these people,' Haley says

Some 2,000 people attend memorial service in Charleston

BY SARAH ELLIS

sellis@thestate.com

CHARLESTON

In the same arena where the beloved pastor-senator Clementa Pinckney was memorialized almost a year ago, hundreds came together Friday to remember Pinckney and the eight lives that were taken with his in the massacre at Charleston's Mother Emanuel AME Church on June 17, 2015.

To the survivors of the shooting and the families of the victims, "anniversaries don't mean anything," S.C. Gov. Nikki Haley said at a memorial service Friday morning a

block from where the Emanuel Nine were slain in their sacred space.

"They're living this each and every day. It is our job as a people to prove to them that June 17 was not in vain."

Haley spoke personally of each the nine who were killed – Pinckney, the Rev. DePayne Middleton-Doctor, Cynthia Hurd, Susie Jackson, Ethel Lance, Tywanza Sanders, the Rev. Daniel Simmons, the Rev. Sharronda Coleman-Singleton and Myra Thompson – and the three who survived when a racist gunman brought terror upon their Wednesday night Bible study one year ago Friday.



Haley

SEE MEMORIAL, 8A

FROM PAGE 1A

MEMORIAL

Haley referred to them collectively as "the Charleston 12" and said she thinks of them daily.

"Don't forget these people. They taught us amazing grace," she said.

Eulogizing Pinckney last year in the same arena, President Barack Obama, too, invoked "Amazing Grace," leading the congregation in a moving rendition of the traditional hymn.

On Friday, the president and his wife, Michelle, sent

a message read to the crowd lauding the response of Mother Emanuel and the Charleston community.

That response has been an inspiration to the nation as it grieves other such incidents, most recently the Orlando nightclub shooting that killed 49 people.

"As a nation, we are deeply moved by your boundless love and your unshakeable resilience,"

the Obamas said in their message. "The enduring

hope that you've embodied is not only a profound expression of your faith but also a symbol of the courage that has guided America forward for generations."

The service was attended by at least 2,000 people, with speakers including Charleston Mayor John Tecklenburg, Democratic state Sen. Marlon Kimpson and U.S. Sen. Tim Scott, a Charleston Republican.

Kimpson and Scott, along with a message read

from U.S. Rep. James Clyburn, took the occasion not only to honor the legacy of the Emanuel victims and survivors, but to advocate for action and change moving forward.

Implicit in their messages was that, while the community's response to the Emanuel slayings remains inspirational, the

Title: **'Don't forget these people, 'Haley says**
 Author: BY SARAH ELLIS sellis@thestate.com
 Size: 163.83 column inches
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

larger response of state and national leaders has not gone far enough in the past year.

"It takes no courage to sail the placid seas of contentment," Kimpson said. He delivered a straightforward call to action for a ban on assault weapons and an improved system of background checks for would-be gun buyers.

A message from Clyburn, which was spoken on the U.S. House floor Tuesday and read at Friday's service, echoed the plea for reformed gun laws, refer-

encing the so-called "Charleston loophole" that allowed accused Emanuel killer Dylann Roof to purchase a weapon - which he should not have legally been able to do, as he had a drug charge - because his background check was not completed within a three-day window.

"Words alone, no matter how sincere or well-intended, can never be substituted for sustained, meaningful action," Charleston Mayor Tecklenburg said. "Can't we at least remove the availability of

assault weapons to those who have broken the law, those who have mental issues? Can't we at least complete reasonable background checks for folks before they can purchase these types of weapons?"

But for whatever else has remained unchanged since the Emanuel shootings, one thing that has and must remain unchanged is the loving character of the church itself, said some in attendance at Friday's service.

Roslyn Arnold, a decades-long member of

Emanuel, said she hopes people all around can join her in recognizing the church "as the Mother."

"Because you can always come home to Mother," she said. "Mother is strong. When everybody else says, 'Do away with him,' Mothers says, 'Save him. He's mine. Bring him home.' "

Reach Ellis at
 (803) 771-8307.

➔ **ONLINE**

THESTATE.COM: See a video and photographs from the memorial service Friday morning.

➔ **MORE INSIDE**

Flashlights, candles, 9 minutes of silence: A nighttime Emanuel tribute at Hand Middle School, **3A**



EMANUEL

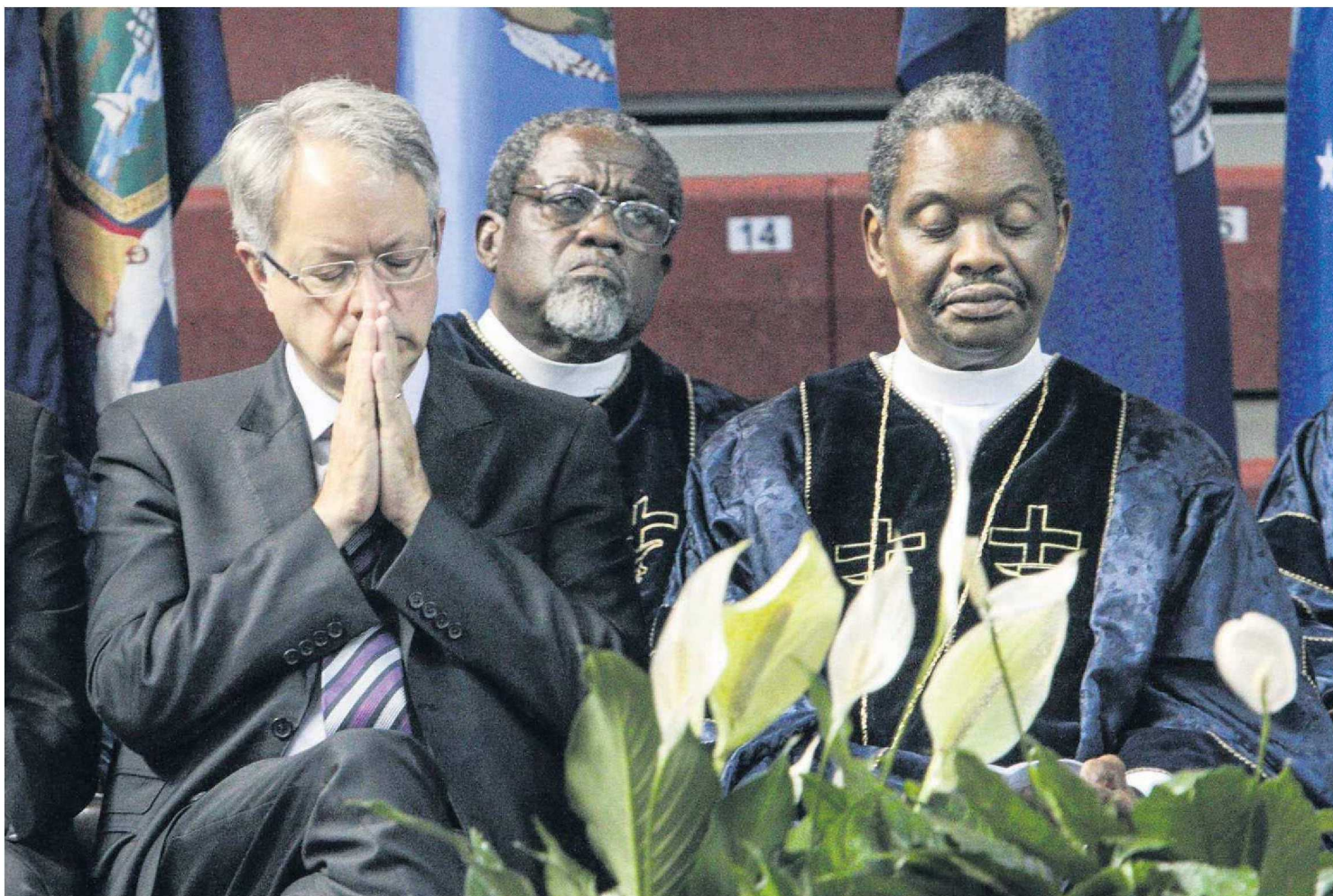
A YEAR LATER

Title: **'Don't forget these people, 'Haley says**
Author: BY SARAH ELLIS sellis@thestate.com
Size: 163.83 column inches
Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



Wilhelmina Jones with Nichols AME Church holds programs during the service.

Title: **'Don't forget these people, 'Haley says**
Author: BY SARAH ELLIS sellis@thestate.com
Size: 163.83 column inches
Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

TRACY GLANTZ tglantz@thestate.com

Charleston Mayor John Tecklenburg, left, and The Rev. Norvel Goff, Sr., right, show their emotion as Gov. Nikki Haley reflects on the lives lost a year ago during the massacre at Emanuel AME Church. A service was held at T.D. Arena in Charleston to mark the anniversary.

Title: **'Don't forget these people, 'Haley says**
Author: BY SARAH ELLIS sellis@thestate.com
Size: 163.83 column inches
Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564

TRACY GLANTZ tglantz@thestate.com

People worship during a service at T.D. Arena in Charleston on the anniversary of the massacre at Emanuel AME Church.

Title: **Is Gov. Nikki Haley a lame duck?**
 Author: BY CASSIE COPE ccope@thestate.com
 Size: 45.57 column inches
 Rock Hill, SC Circulation: 34688



THE BUZZ: S.C. POLITICS

Is Gov. Nikki Haley a lame duck?

For six years, Gov. Haley has clashed with Legislature

In final two years in office, some legislators see GOP governor's influence waning

BY CASSIE COPE
ccope@thestate.com

COLUMBIA

Gov. Nikki Haley's influence over the S.C. Legislature is waning.

In her six years in office, Haley – like her Republican predecessor Mark Sanford – has clashed repeatedly with lawmakers in the GOP-controlled General Assembly.

In her first term, Haley gave lawmakers report cards. She also once told a real estate group to “take a good shower” after visiting the State House, and she often takes to her Facebook page urging lawmakers to vote a certain way on legislation.

This year, Haley helped a political group raise

more than \$500,000, mostly from out-of-state donors, in an effort to oust longtime state Senate leaders in the June 14

GOP primary.

However, Haley's chosen challengers won only one of the three Senate contests thus far decided. (Another will be decided by a June 28 runoff.)

Haley succeeded in ousting state Sen. Wes Hayes, R-Rock Hill, one of three longtime state Senate leaders she targeted.

But she failed to oust Senate President Pro Tempore Hugh Leatherman, R-Florence, the state's most powerful politician, and state Sen. Luke Ran-

kin, R-Horry, head of the Senate Ethics Committee.

Afterward, Leatherman acknowledges he told a primary-night victory party that not only was Haley a lame duck, she was a “dead duck.”

State Rep. Chip Limehouse, a Charleston Republican who did not seek re-election, criticized the role that Haley tried to play in the primaries.

“It's not good form for a sitting governor to go after members of his or her own party,” Limehouse said.

“I don't think it makes getting her agenda passed for next year any easier,” he said, adding Haley's targeting Leatherman

“was a mistake at every different level.”

The influence of governors typically wanes in the last two years of their term, said Leatherman, whose legislative tenure has seen six governors. However, backing challengers to sitting legislators – and failing to unseat them – could make Haley even more likely to become a lame duck, he added.

Florence County voters did not appreciate the governor's telling them who should be their senator, Leatherman said, adding that Haley's opposition helped him win

SEE HALLEY, 7A

FROM PAGE 3A

HALEY

re-election.

“I've even considered writing her a letter thanking her for helping me win,” Leatherman said.

S.C. House Majority Leader Bruce Bannister, R-Greenville, says Haley's position is perfectly normal.

The closer a governor gets to the end of his or her term, the more people

start looking forward to what is coming next, Bannister said. “Like the presidents and governors before her, obviously, she's in the last two years of her term.”

Not everyone agrees Haley's influence is waning.

Haley has used her bully pulpit effectively in the past, most successfully

when she called for lawmakers to remove the Confederate flag from the State House in the wake of the Charleston church shooting.

“I still think she drives the agenda,” said state Rep. Rick Quinn, R-Lexington, a Haley ally. He added lawmakers passed two ethics proposals before going home for the

summer. “If she wasn't pushing those bills we never would have passed them.”

Another Haley ally, state Sen. Harvey Peeler, a Republican who represents much of western York County, said, “I've tried to be her supporter long before now, and I will continue to try to be.”

Title: **Is Gov. Nikki Haley a lame duck?**
Author: BY CASSIE COPE ccope@thestate.com
Size: 45.57 column inches
Rock Hill, SC Circulation: 34688

TRACY GLANTZ tglantz@thestate.com

Gov. Nikki Haley at her 2016 State of the State address.

Title: **'Former senator from York Co.' OK with new job**
 Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT bmarchant@heraldonline.com
 Size: 92.38 column inches
 Rock Hill, SC Circulation: 34688


WES HAYES

'Former senator from York Co.' OK with new job

Hayes looks forward to life after politics

Bittersweet accomplishment came after 30 years in Legislature

BY BRISTOW MARCHANT
bmarchant@heraldonline.com
 ROCK HILL

Just days after he narrowly lost his run for a seventh consecutive term in the S.C. Senate by 350 votes, Wes Hayes seems



Wes Hayes

placid. Sitting in his Rock Hill law office, Hayes talks about how, after three decades in

Columbia, he looks forward to practicing law "full time," practicing alongside his son and looking forward to the birth of his first grandchild.

As much as he enjoyed being one of the most senior members of the Legislature, he says he has what he considers the "best job" now.

"It's not such a bad

thing to be the former senator from York County either," Hayes said with a smile.

Hayes had just returned from a short "sine die" session at the Statehouse to finalize the state's budget, convened the day after his primary loss. It was likely the last time Hayes will set foot in the chamber as a member, and his colleagues gave him a heartfelt sendoff.

"There were a number of speeches given to recognize him," said Sen. Chauncey "Greg" Gregory, R-Lancaster, on what he called a "sad day" for the S.C. Senate. "He was always known to work hard for his constituents. A scroll a hundred yards long couldn't hold what he's done for York County."

SEE HAYES, 7A

FROM PAGE 1A

HAYES

In that same shortened session, Hayes was on hand to see the Legislature pass long-stalled ethics reform measures that Hayes had long championed.

"On ethics, he set the bar," said state Rep. Ralph Norman, R-Rock Hill. "He said, 'If you want to do something for me, pass ethics reform.'"

"It was a good way to go out," Hayes said. "You hate to leave something you've worked on for so long undone, so to see it through to completion is a good feeling."

It was a bittersweet moment at the same time, coming after a campaign in which the Senate's consistent failure to pass an ethics bill was a talking point used against long-time members like Hayes. But the soon-to-be former senator waves off any disappointment in his belated achievement.

"Sometimes people lose sight," he said. "It's not about me, it's about what's best for York County and South Carolina."

OPERATION LOST TRUST AND DARK

MONEY

Hayes has a long history of working on ethics measures in Columbia. While still a member of the House, he became chairman of the ethics committee in the aftermath of 1990s Operation Lost Trust, a federal sting that resulted in corruption indictments against numerous legislators. At the time, Hayes had been a representative since 1985, and he was soon elevated to the Senate in a 1991 special election, where he helped pass the post-Lost Trust ethics reforms.

"We came up with probably the toughest ethics law in the country," Hayes said, empowering the House and Senate ethics committees to initiate action against members on their own without an outside complaint being filed.

"Almost all the actions in the Senate are initiated by the ethics committee themselves," he said, citing the cases of two senators who wound up in hot water. "Jake Knotts and Robert Ford, those wouldn't have happened if we hadn't changed the

Title: **'Former senator from York Co.' OK with new job**
 Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT bmarchant@heraldonline.com
 Size: 92.38 column inches
 Rock Hill, SC Circulation: 34688

rules."

The new legislation will allow an independent ethics commission to investigate unethical members, while still referring cases to their respective chamber's ethics committee. Another bill requires legislators to disclose the sources of their personal income for the first time.

But next year, Hayes hopes the Legislature will take up "the third leg of the stool" of ethics reform, and require outside spending groups to report the sources of "dark money" used to influence the state's election campaigns.

"I think the battle will begin in January on that," he said, "and hopefully next year they will be able to tighten controls on what are called 'committees' under the law."

Hayes thought South Carolina had dealt with the issue when he first starting looking into ethics reform, but the U.S. Supreme Court's 2010 Citizens United decision expanded the range of spending allowed by outside groups.

"After Operation Lost Trust, we had it where committees had to report where they got their money, how they spent their money, etc.," he said. "But the federal decision basically made that unconstitutional."

During the campaign, Hayes found himself the target of advertising paid for by similar political action committees, such as the Great Day SC PAC affiliated with Gov. Nikki Haley and the Club for

Growth.

Since Citizens United, most other states have found ways to monitor election spending within the bounds of the Supreme Court ruling, Hayes said. "So I think we know what needs to be done."

DEVELOP THAT KIND OF KNOWLEDGE

Ethics was only one of a long list of items Hayes fondly recalls working to solve in the Legislature. As the senator for the Catawba Indian Nation, he helped resolve a long-standing land claim the tribe was pursuing against the state and the U.S. government in the early 1990s.

"We ended up with them being the only federally recognized tribe in South Carolina," Hayes says of the Catawba Indian Nation, "but also allowed growth to continue in this area. Most of my Senate district is in the claim area, and a lot of people were unable to get title insurance and were getting ready to have a lawsuit hanging over their heads."

Hayes also pushed to allow counties to adopt their own sales tax to address local infrastructure needs, which eventually led to York County's long-running "Pennies for Progress" program.

"He initiated that. It was a completely new concept, and he convinced the Legislature to go along," Gregory said. "That's why York County has some of the best roads of any county in the state."

"We were the first to do it, and now there's 15

counties in the state that have that," Hayes said. "I think it's helped us with our roads and infrastructure in York County, and that's one reason we've seen the growth and the jobs to support it."

One item Hayes feels he's left undone is education reform stemming from the S.C. Supreme Court's decision that the state hasn't adequately funded poorer school districts. Hayes had chaired a Senate committee studying the issue, and says the Legislature has taken action to address the problem.

"We've tried to improve the quality of teachers with rural teacher incentives," he said. "A lot of those districts just don't have the tax base to deal with buildings and infrastructure that they need. They get help from the state with operations, but they have to look to the local tax base to pay for their buildings, so we're trying to set up a new statewide infrastructure program to help those poor districts."

"Education was always at the top of his list," said Norman, who jokes that

his alliance with Hayes goes back to when they were in fourth grade together. "That was his focus even when he chaired banking and finance."

Colleagues say Hayes' experience and knowledge of the state's problems will be sorely missed.

"He was the moral compass of the Senate," said Sen. Creighton Coleman, D-Winnsboro, a classmate of Hayes at USC Law School. "He always does

the right thing. He has a very level mind, doesn't get emotional, even when people disagree with him.

"You can't fill his shoes, because it takes time to develop that kind of knowledge," said Coleman, who faces a June 28 primary runoff for re-election in District 17. "I hope the state isn't hurt by it."

While voters may have felt Hayes had been in Columbia too long, local legislators counted his connections there as an asset.

"He's gotten a lot of criticism for his relationship with Hugh Leatherman, the chairman of the finance committee," Gregory said. "But I don't

hear Winthrop complaining about it. There hasn't been anything done on that campus in two decades that he didn't have a hand in."

While his political career didn't end the way he wanted it to, Hayes said it doesn't discourage him when considering the benefits that political service can bring.

"We need to do everything we can to get good people to run for office," Hayes said. "It's a tough thing to do. It's tough on your family, so I have all the admiration in the world for people who put themselves forward."

"It is difficult to get things done. It's a glacial pace in Columbia, and Washington for that matter. But at least for me, enough good happens to keep me coming back."

Bristow Marchant:
 803-329-4062,
 @BristowatHome

Title: **'Former senator from York Co.' OK with new job**
Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT bmarchant@heraldonline.com
Size: 92.38 column inches
Rock Hill, SC Circulation: 34688

THE S.C. SENATE
PASSED ETHICS
REFORM
WEDNESDAY, THE
DAY AFTER HAYES
LOST A CAMPAIGN
THAT FOCUSED ON
THE
LEGISLATURE'S
INABILITY TO DO
SO.